SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX

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SECTION I -- SURVEY DETAILS

Timing: The data for this paper comes from the third round of a 3-wave elite panel survey conducted in Turkey. The first round was fielded in May 2015 (prior to the 2015 parliamentary elections), the second in October 2015 (prior to the snap elections called in November 2015) and the third in April 2017 (prior to the constitutional referendum held in May 2017). For the analysis, the demographic variables are drawn from wave 1 of this panel but all other substantive variables come exclusively from wave 3.

Survey Population: The total number of parliamentary candidates participating in these elections was 9861 from 20 parties. However, since 1983, the year that the current democratic regime began in Turkey, the parliament has never seen more than 5 parties win seats. The vast majority of the 9861 candidates are therefore not from parties which have had a realistic chance of winning elections anytime in the last three decades. Therefore, we only considered the 3850 candidates standing for elections in June 2015 from the six parties drawing the most support across public opinion polls during that election campaign -- the AKP, CHP, MHP, HDP, Saadet Party and Demokrat Party-- as part of the sampling population. The AKP and Saadet are considered religious parties, the MHP is a nationalist party, the others are secular parties of

varying sizes. Of these parties, only the first four entered parliament following the June 2015 elections.

Sampling Design: The data for this survey was obtained using a stratified, clustered, random sampling design. Turkey has 81 administrative districts which contain 87 electoral districts. The total number of seats from these 87 districts was 550 until 2018. Istanbul had 3 electoral districts, Ankara 2 and Izmir 2, and all other administrative districts corresponded to exactly 1 electoral district. All single-electoral district administrative districts accounted for a total of 404 (73.5%) out of 550 seats, the three multi-electoral cities accounted for 146 (26.5%) of 550 seats. Thus, even though they represented only 7 (8.1%) of 87 electoral districts in total these 3 cities represented 26.5% of parliamentary seats. Therefore, to obtain a nationally representative sample, we used a stratified, clustered, random sampling design.

Turkey is generally divided into 7 geographic regions – Central Anatolia, Eastern Anatolia, South East Anatolia, Mediterranean, Black Sea, Marmara, and Aegean. Each of these geographic reasons was identified as a stratum and the three cities – Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir – were defined as superstrata i.e. each of the administrative districts of these cities was defined as an individual stratum. Within each stratum, electoral districts were defined as clusters. Clusters (electoral districts) were then randomly chosen from each of the 7 regular strata for a total of 40 clusters. All 7 clusters (electoral districts) in the three superstrata (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir) were selected in order to proportionately represent their 26.5% share of seats. After this, in each of the 40 selected clusters, all candidates from only the 6 parties listed above were organized into an alphabetical list. Respondents were then randomly selected from this list based on a list of

random numbers generated using an online random number generator. The number of interviews assigned to each stratum was proportional to its share of seats in the national parliament.

The survey instrument was administered through face-to-face interviews in Turkish by FREKANS, a research and survey institute based in Istanbul. Round 1 realized a sample of 300 respondents, round 3 re-interviewed 226 of the original 300 respondents. 54% of respondents contact in round 1, gave an interview. The elite sample of 226 from round 3 is composed of about 18 % AKP, 18% Saadet, 18% CHP, 18% MHP, and, 24% HDP members with the remaining 4% coming from the Demokrat party. The average age of respondents was 47.3 years, 93 % held college degrees and about 31% were women. Further details of the sampling design are available on request.

SECTION II -- ESTIMATION OF RELIGIOSITY

MEASUREMENT MODEL

We use seven items from the survey to estimate a latent measure of religiosity using an item respond theory (IRT) model. In conceptualizing and measuring religiosity, scholars have emphasized different dimensions including religious beliefs, behaviors, belonging, fundamentalism, intrinsic religiosity, and general religiosity (See Moaddel and Karabenick 2017, Beit-Hallahmi 2015 and Koenig 2015 for recent reviews of this literature on religiosity and on different measures of religiosity). Depending on the phenomenon of interest to them, scholars have focused on different dimensions. In this paper, we are interested in the effects of religiosity broadly since this is a first cut of exploring its effect on undemocratic tendencies among elites. Therefore, instead of focusing on a single specific dimension, we follow the example of Altemeyer and Hunsberger (2004: 51) and combine seven questions that give us “topical

breadth" across these different dimensions. Table 1 lists the English translations of all 7 survey questions, along with the scale on which responses were measured and the conceptual category those questions belonged to based on existing studies of religiosity.

To measure general religiosity, we use two commonly used questions repeated as # 1 and 2 in table 1 (Johnson et al 2012; Moaddel and Karabenick 2017). To measure religious fundamentalism, we use # 3 to measure how literalist the religious view of a respondent is and # 4 to measure how exclusive a respondent's view of religion is (Moadel and Karabenick 2017; Johnson et al 2010; Altemeyer and Hunsberger 2004). Finally, to measure respondents' commitment to and engagement with religious practices, we ask them # 5, 6, and 7 capturing their observance of 3 religious practices that are central to Islam. These practices are not drinking alcohol, observing halal strictly, and praying five times a day. These are all practices that are associated with the faithful practice of Islam in doctrine as well as observance in society (Çarkoğlu and Kalaycioğlu. 2009). Since the population is that of elites rather than students or citizens, we believed we would get better response rates and more honest responses if questions were framed in a way that did not inquire about personal practices. This is a strategy that is borrowed from studies of corruption where firms are often asked about bribes paid by "firms like yours" rather than bribes paid by the responding firm. We believe that elite responses regarding these religious practices are likely to be highly correlated with their own religious practices.

TABLE A1: Details of 7 survey items used to estimate *Religiosity*

Conceptual Category	**Item wording in Survey**	**Scale of item response in survey**
General religiosity	To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person, on a scale from 1 to 10?	1 -- Not at all religious to 10 --Very religious
General religiosity	How important is religion in your life?	1- Very important 2- Rather important 3- Not very important 4- Not important at all
Religious fundamentalism - Scripture	How comfortable would you be if a son or daughter of yours someday married a person who believed that the Sharia has multiple interpretations?"	1 -- Very comfortable 2 – Somewhat comfortable 3 – Not too comfortable 4 – Not at all comfortable
Religious fundamentalism - Exclusivity	How comfortable would you be if a son or daughter of yours someday married a non-Muslim?	1 -- Very comfortable 2 – Somewhat comfortable 3 – Not too comfortable 4 – Not at all comfortable
Religious practices	Please tell me whether you personally believe that it is morally acceptable, morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue: *Not observing halal strictly*	1 --Very big problem 2 -- Moderately big problem 3 -- Small problem 4 -- Not moral problem at all
Religious practices	Please tell me whether you personally believe that it is morally acceptable, morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue: *Drinking alcohol*	1 --Very big problem 2 -- Moderately big problem 3 -- Small problem 4 -- Not moral problem at all
Religious practices	Please tell me whether you personally believe that it is morally acceptable, morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue: *Not praying five times a day*	1 --Very big problem 2 -- Moderately big problem 3 -- Small problem 4 -- Not moral problem at all

Responses to these seven questions were used to estimate a Bayesian graded response model (GRM). GRMs are item response theory (IRT) models specifically designed to account for ordered response data. They are similar to factor analysis models, but they include a threshold process to take into account the ordinal nature of the indicator variables (Forero and Maydeu-Olivaras 2009). GRMs model the cumulative probability of selecting each category of an indicator variable directly, making it appropriate for ordinal data. This bayesian model was estimated using rstan software which emplys an extension to the Hamiltonian Monte Carlo algorithm to draw from the posterior distribution.

$$p(y_{ijk}|\theta_i, \alpha_j, \beta_{jk-1}) = \frac{e^{\alpha_j(\theta_i - \beta_{jk-1})}}{1 + e^{\alpha_j(\theta_i - \beta_{jk-1})}}$$

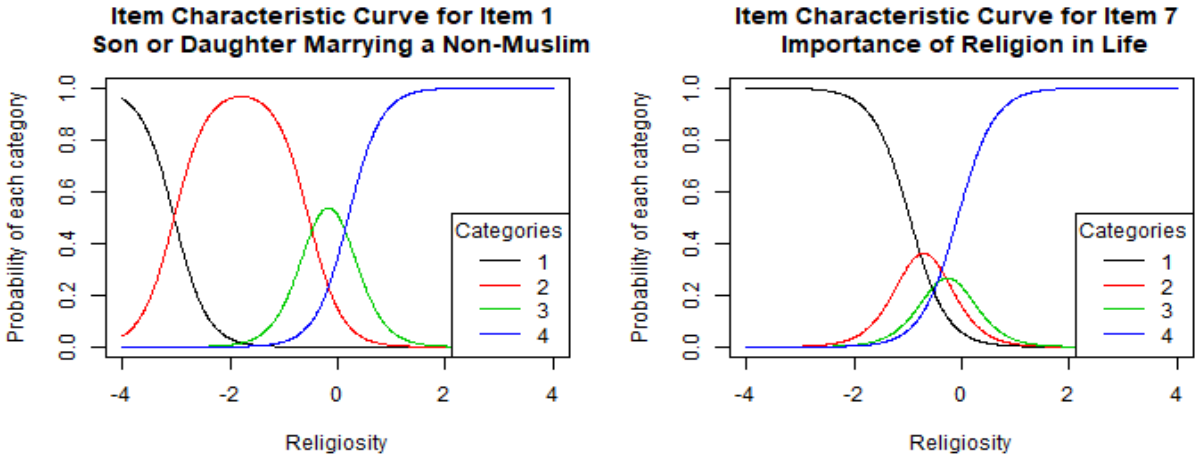
The basic model equation is presented above. It predicts the probability that a respondent *i* selects response category *k* on item *j* as a function of that item's discrimination α_j, the difficulty of a particular response category *k* (represented by β_{jk-1} cut point parameters), and an individual's value on the latent trait represented by θ_i. Essentially, the model is a standard ordinal logistic regression model in which responses to each of the seven religiosity questions are predicted using a respondent's latent level of religiosity as an independent variable. The model is identified by setting the mean of the latent trait to 0 and the standard deviation at 1. This model is estimated using Bayesian methods which treat all the model parameters as random variables with prior distributions. We use uninformative priors to estimate this GRM. The results of this model are included in table 2.

The discrimination parameters, α_j, tells us how well a particular survey item is able to discriminate between respondent scores on the latent variable. The cut points represent the difficulty of the response category of each item. Larger cut points suggest that individuals with higher values on the latent scale are more likely to respond with a particular category. Overall, our difficulty parameters vary across the theoretical range of the latent variable meaning that we have categories that help us identify those with lower religiosity scores (difficulty parameters below 0) and higher religiosity scores (difficulty parameters above 0).

TABLE A2: Results of Graded Response Model Estimating Religiosity from 7 items

	Discrimination Parameters	*Difficulty Parameters*		
	α_j	*Cut-point 1*	*Cut-point 2*	*Cut-point 3*
Marriage: non-Muslim	3.56	-1.95	0.69	1.51
	(2.60, 4.78)	(-2.79, -1.21)	(0.04, 1.44)	(0.81, 2.32)
Marriage: Sharia is not the revealed word of God	2.57	-1.54	0.32	1.00
	(1.91, 3.34)	(-2.17, -0.96)	(-0.22, 0.87)	(0.46, 1.62)
Moral belief: drinking alcohol	3.43	-0.80	-0.18	1.46
	(2.55, 4.63)	(-1.46, -0.16)	(-0.81, 0.45)	(0.83, 2.19)
Moral belief: observing halal	2.92	-1.67	-1.12	0.36
	(2.17, 3.82)	(-2.35, -1.06)	(-1.74, -0.53)	(-0.22, 0.94)
Moral belief: praying five times a day	4.22	-0.16	0.53	2.34
	(2.98, 5.94)	(-0.93 0.61)	(-0.23, 1.37)	(1.45, 3.40)
Do you consider yourself a religious person?	2.08	-4.83	-4.19	-3.43
	(1.62, 2.59)	(-5.86, -3.94)	(-5.10, -3.39)	(-4.24, -2.75)
		Cut 4	*Cut5*	*Cut 6*
		-2.86	-1.33	-0.22
		(-3.55, -2.26)	(-1.84, -0.82)	(-0.69, 0.27)
		Cut 7	*Cut 8*	*Cut 9*
		0.92	2.72	3.81
		(0.47, 1.44)	(2.12, 3.40)	(3.07, 4.62)
How important is religion in your life?	2.95	-5.36	-3.34	0.77
	(2.20, 3.91)	(-6.79,-4.10)	(-4.37,-2.47)	(0.20, 1.42)
WAIC	2516.599			
AIC	2793.024			
BIC	2902.7			

FIGURE A1



Item characteristics curves (ICCs) like those in figure A1 tell us how likely a respondent is to response with a particular category of each indicator variable based on their latent level of religiosity. They display information across the full theoretical range of the latent variable. Individuals in our sample only have religiosity scores that range from -2 to 2 but the range could be wider. The plot on the left suggests that those with extremely low levels of religiosity (less than -3) are most likely to select the category of 1, indicating someone that that is very comfortable with their child marrying a non-Muslim. It also suggests that those with a religiosity score above about 1 are more likely to select category 4, that they are very uncomfortable with their child marrying a non-Muslim.

The item information curves in figure A2 tell us which item provides information to identify respondents along the range of the latent trait. In this case, we have more items that prove to be helpful at the lower range, but the eventual latent trait ranges from -1.98 to 1.98, so we have a sufficient number of items providing information at the higher range as well.

FIGURE A2

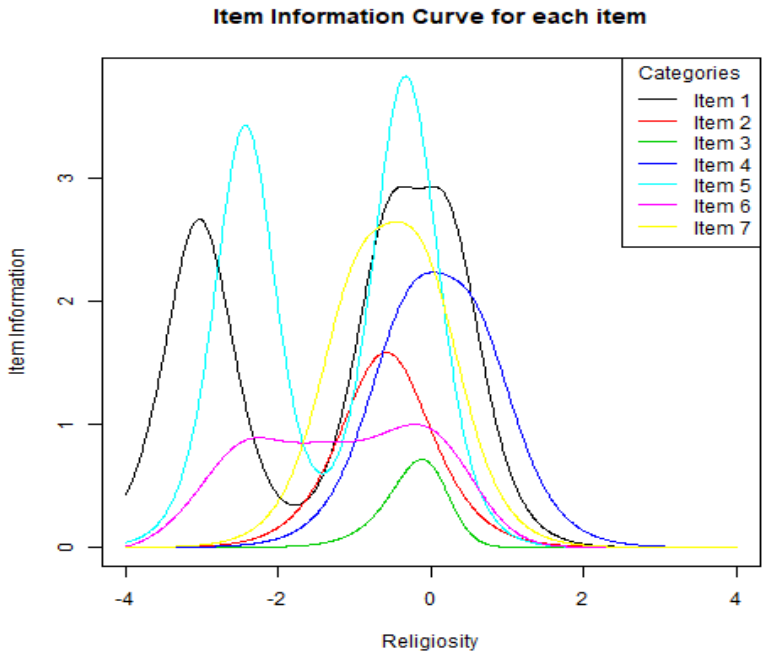
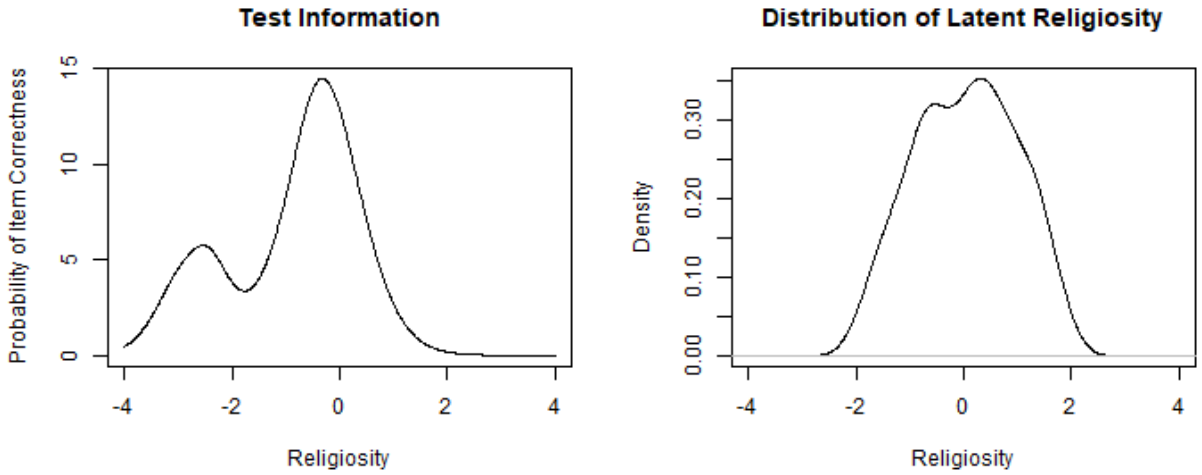


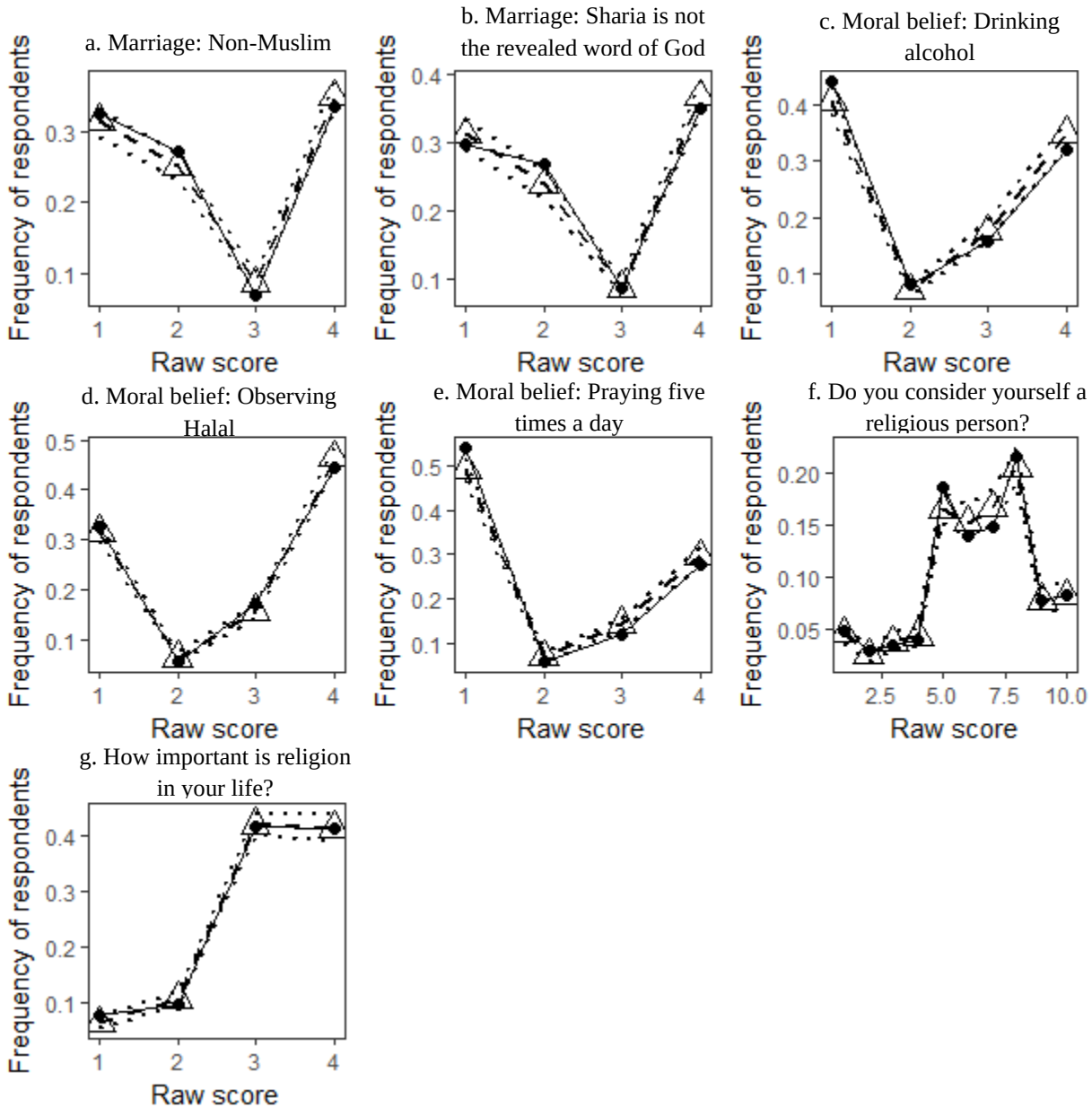
FIGURE A3



Finally, the plot on the left in figure A3 displays the test information function. It displays the level of information that we have from all 7 items. As you can see this function peaks around 0 and suggests that we have more information about respondents that are close to the mean than those that have lower or higher religiosity scores. The plot on the right displays the actual

distribution of the latent religiosity score for our dataset. This distribution is relatively normally distributed with a mean of 0. We have sufficient information about the full distribution.

FIGURE A4



In order to assess the fit of the graded response model, we estimated a posterior predictive check. This check involved generating a number of replicated datasets by drawing

from the posterior predictive distribution. We then compared these replicated datasets to the original data. For example, the plot in figure A4 presents the observed score frequency for all 7 questions used to estimate our latent religiosity measure (filled circles and solid lines). These are then compared to the distribution for the replicated datasets (represented by the triangles). We used the replicated datasets to create 95% credible intervals. The model we generated fit all seven items relatively well, and there are very few observed frequencies that fall outside of the 95% credible interval suggested by the model. Overall, these checks indicate relatively good item fit.

FIGURE A5

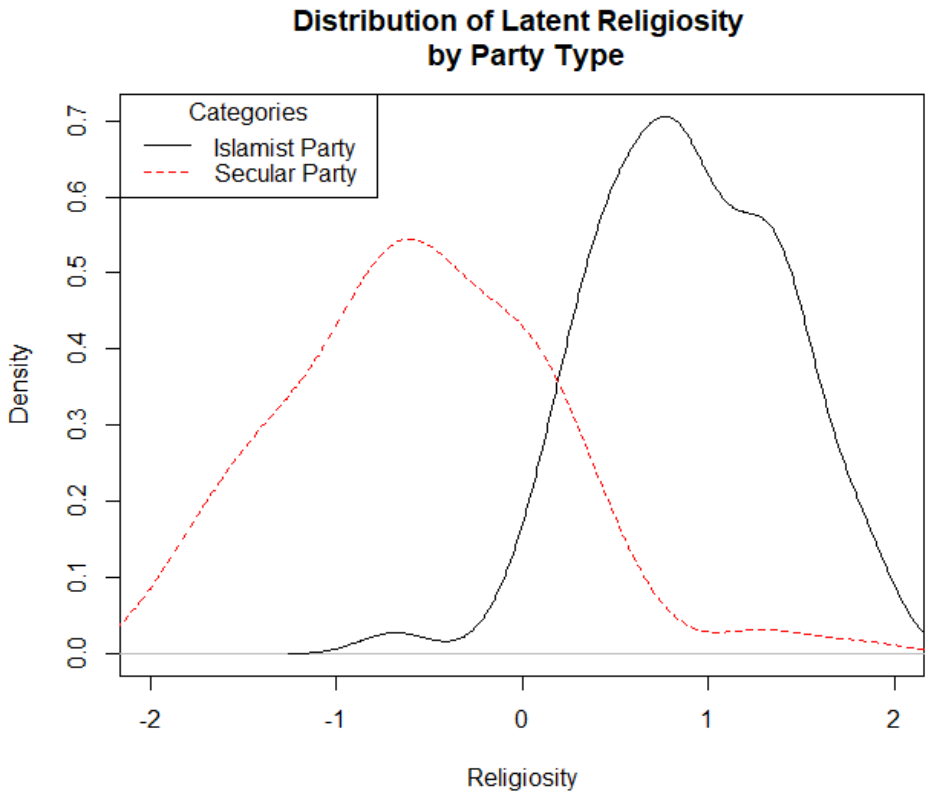
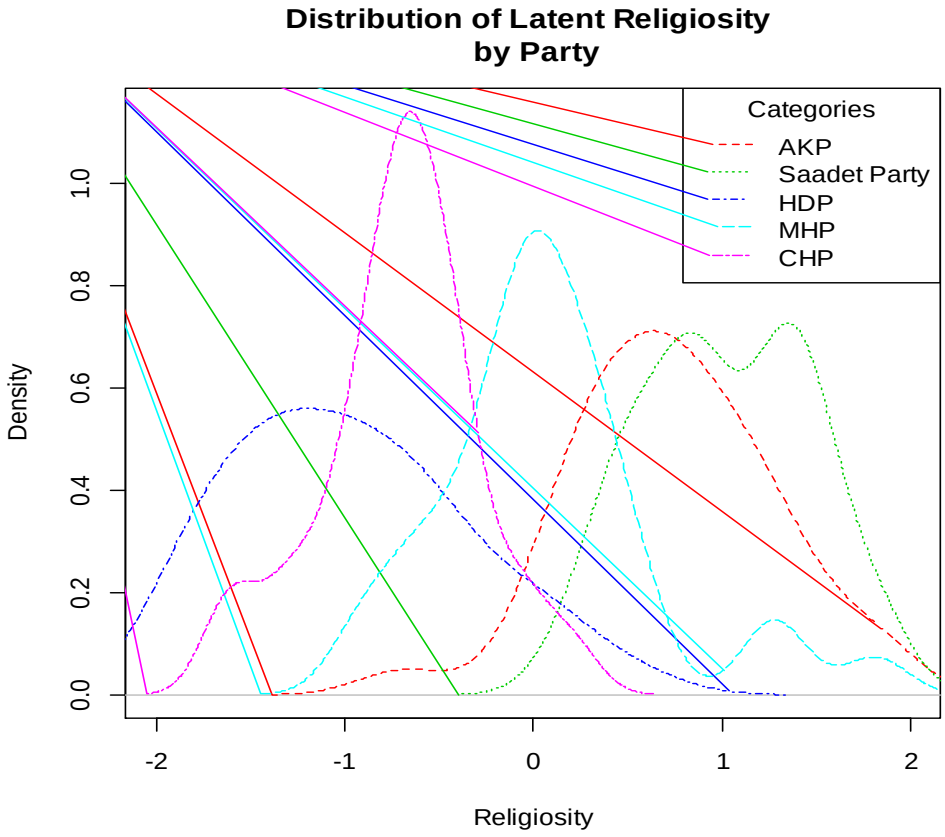


FIGURE A6



Finally, to get a sense of the validity of our measure of religiosity, figure A5 displays the distribution of the latent religiosity score by Islamist party membership and figure A6 displays this distribution by party. As one might expect, Islamist party members have a higher average religiosity score than secular party members. However, there is a fair bit of overlap between the two groups. The same can be seen on the second plot. The Saadet and AKP, the two Islamist parties, have higher average latent religiosity scores than any other party.

SECTION III -- DATA SUMMARIES

SURVEY QUESTIONS FOR OPERATIONALIZING:

DEPENDENT VARIABLE**:**

- ***LSP Position:*** *"*It is better for senior party leaders to appoint people to party positions than to have elections for filling party positions because senior party leaders are better able to see the national picture*?*" *Scale:* Strongly disagree (1), moderately agree (2), moderately disagree (3) strongly agree (4)
- ***LSP Position Dummy:*** Binary variable with a 1 indicating support for party-wide primaries and 0 for undemocratic party leader selection. Scores of 3 and 4 are recoded as 1, 1 and 2 as 0.

In this paper, we are interested in analyzing whether religiosity and political family membership are associated with preferences for inclusive, decentralized party selection practices or exclusive, centralized selection practices. As discussed earlier, the former type of selection practices enhances internal democracy in parties, the latter type undermines it. We therefore use a question which asks respondent whether they supported holding direct party-wide elections to choose party leaders in their parties or if they supported letting current party leaders choose who fills these positions. This particular phrasing was used in these questions because open-ended interviews conducted prior to the survey in Turkey found that this was the reason most often given by politicians to support letting party leaders fill these positions.[1] Furthermore, in line with

[1] This phrasing also follows standard recommendations of how best to design survey questions (Groves et al 2013) to phrase questions in a manner that make the question cognitively accessible to respondents to maximize accuracy and response rates.

design-based approaches, this phrasing reduces the likelihood that in a democracy, respondents succumb to potential social desirability bias to always say they support elections. Finally, while this phrasing does not allow respondents to express preferences over alternative methods of democratic selection which may vary in how democratic they are, it clearly allows them to express a preference *against* undemocratic selection methods and *in favor* of democratic methods such as direct elections.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES:

- **Religiosity: Please see previous section**
- ***PPF:*** Coded 1 if respondent answered yes to either of the following two questions, 0 otherwise :
    - "Do you have other family members who have held elected office?"
    - "Do you have other family members who have previously run for any office?"

CONTROL VARIABLES:

- ***Voter Contact***: "Other than during election periods, how often do you meet with voters from your district to learn about and help with their concerns and wishes?"
  Scale: yearly (1), Every few month (2), Monthly (3), weekly (4), and almost daily (5). Scores of 4 or 5 recoded as a 1. Scores 1-3 recoded as a 0.
- ***Party Rank:*** Respondent's rank on the June 2015 election list of their party.
- ***Office Experience:*** **"**Have you held elected office before?" 1, Yes; 0, No
- ***Incumbent party:*** Coded 1 if respondent belonged to the ruling AKP, 0 otherwise
- ***Party Brand:*** Difference in the candidate party's district vote share between the 2011 and 2015 elections. Can range between -1 and 1.

- ***Education:*** "What is the highest educational degree you hold?" _____. Recoded into three categories. 1 for less than high school, 2 for high school and 3 for any college level education
- ***Rural population:*** proportion of the population in a respondents's district that is rural, ranging from 0 to 1

SURVEY QUESTIONS FOR ROBUSTNESS TESTS:

- ***Age:*** "What is your age?" (in years)
- ***Party Brand2:*** Dichotomous variable where a 1 indicates that the respondent's party received a higher vote share at the district level than at the national level in the 2015 election.
- ***Party Brand 3:*** Respondent's party's district vote share in the 2015 election.
- ***Ideology- Economic:*** *"*Turkey passed a comprehensive intellectual property rights law in 2016. This law allows domestic producers to manufacture patented pharmaceuticals under certain conditions specified in the compulsory licensing rules. Some international and Turkish firms have expressed concerns that this can potentially lead to the violations of their intellectual property patents. Others believe that Turkey should keep this option open in the interests of its citizens even if it occasionally leads to the violation of intellectual property patents. What do you think?" Responses are 1, "Government should change law to respect intellectual property patents at all times" or 0, "Government should keep the current law and keep the option of violating intellectual property patents if it needs to do so."
- ***Ideology- Political Islam:*** "Which of the following three statements comes closer to your view?" Responses include: 1, "Laws should not be influenced by

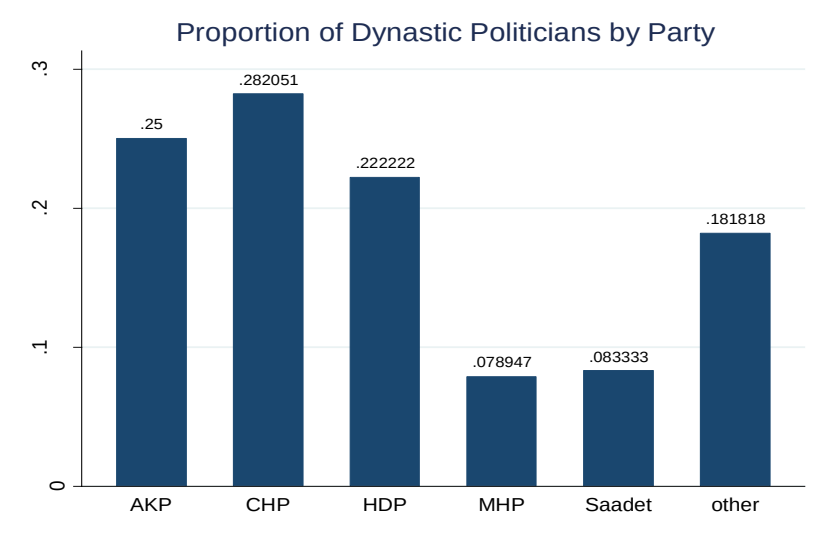
the teachings of the Quran"; 2, "Laws should follow the values and principles of Islam but not strictly follow the teachings of the Quran"; or 3, "Laws should strictly follow the teachings of the Quran"

- ***Islamist Party* membership:** Coded 1 if respondent belonged to *AKP* or *Saadet* Parties, 0 otherwise.
- ***HDP:*** Coded 1 if a respondent belonged to the HDP party, 0 otherwise
- ***MHP:*** Coded 1 if a respondent belonged to the MHP party, 0 otherwise
- ***Islamist Vote Share:*** District vote share received by the AKP and Saadet parties in the 2015 election

TABLE A3: Summary of Variables Used in Estimation of Main and Robustness Check Models

	Mean or Mode	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Religiosity	0.043	0.947	-1.881	1.825
PPF	0		0	1
Voter Contact	1		0	1
Party Rank	0.507	0.273	0	0.969
Office Experience	0		0	1
Incumbent Party	0		0	1
Party Brand	0.013	0.092	-0.318	0.786
Education	2		0	2
Rural Pop.	0.199	0.152	0.010	0.626
Age	47.316	9.626	24	78
Alternative Religiosity	0.051	0.946	-1.861	1.824
Party Brand 2	0		0	1
Party brand 3	0.169	0.146	0.001	0.791
Ideology- Economic	1		0	1
Ideology- Political Islam	1		1	3
Islamist Party Member	0		0	1
HDP	0		0	1
MHP	0		0	1

FIGURE A7



SECTION IV – RESULTS AND ROBUSTNESS CHECKS

(A) ORDERED PROBIT MODELS

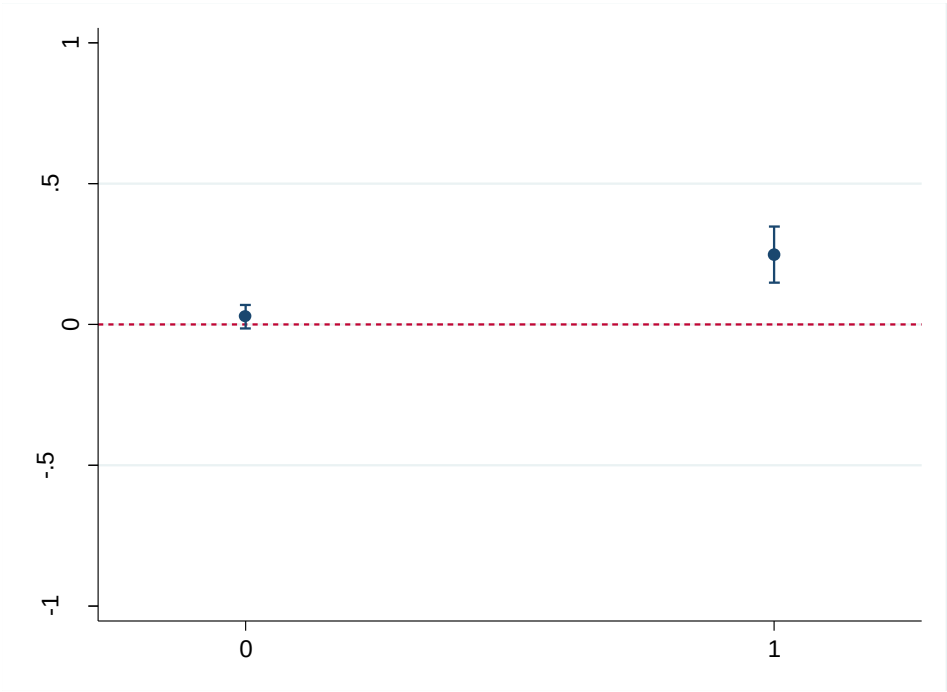
TABLE A4: Ordered Probit Models Using Categorical Responses for Democratic *LSP Position*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Religiosity	**-0.223***	-0.131	-0.083
	(0.095)	(0.102)	(0.131)
PPF	**-0.550***	**-0.556***	**-0.637***
	(0.243)	**(0.253)**	**(0.291)**
Religiosity* PPF		**-0.786***	**-0.800***
		(0.315)	**(0.406)**
Voter Contact			**0.739****
			(0.262)
Party Rank			0.109
			(0.416)
Office Experience			**0.545***
			(0.227)
Incumbent Party			-0.461
			(0.368)
Party brand			-1.093
			(1.038)
Education			-0.109
			(0.199)
Rural Population			-1.025
			(0.817)
Cut 1	-1.126	-1.141	-0.971
	(1.126)	(0.128)	(0.489)
Cut 2	-0.528	-0.521	-0.297
	(0.108)	(0.109)	(0.485)
Cut 3	-0.242	-0.227	0.017
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.484)
N	171	171	151
AIC	395.535	390.705	337.335

Standard errors in parentheses. # <0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01

FIGURE A8: Marginal effect of Religiosity on Strong Preference for Undemocratic LSPs (*LSP Position* =1), *Conditional* on being a PPF

(a) Based on Model 2



(b) Based on Model 3

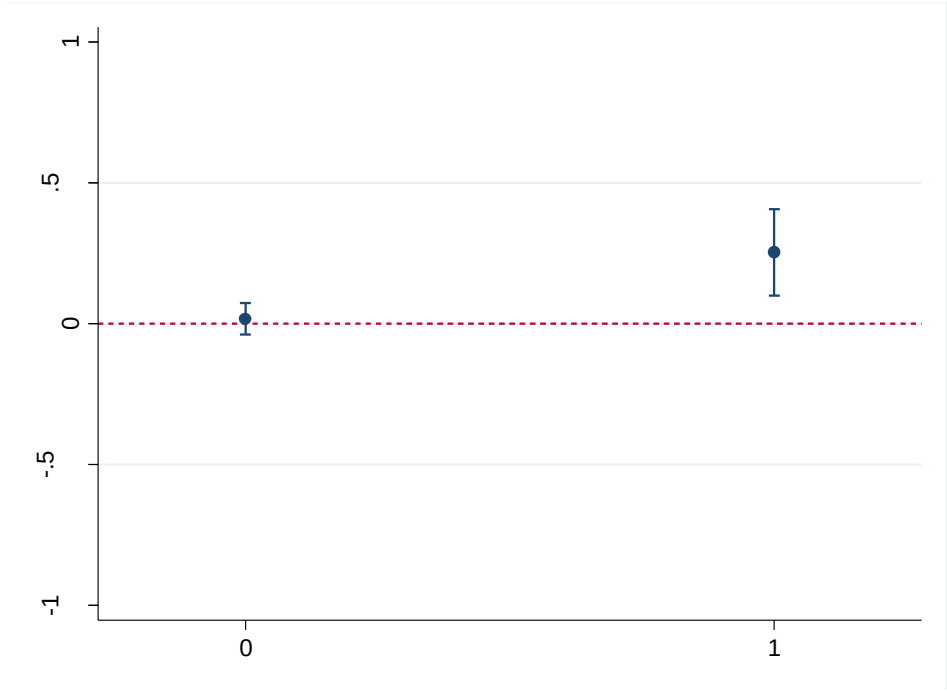
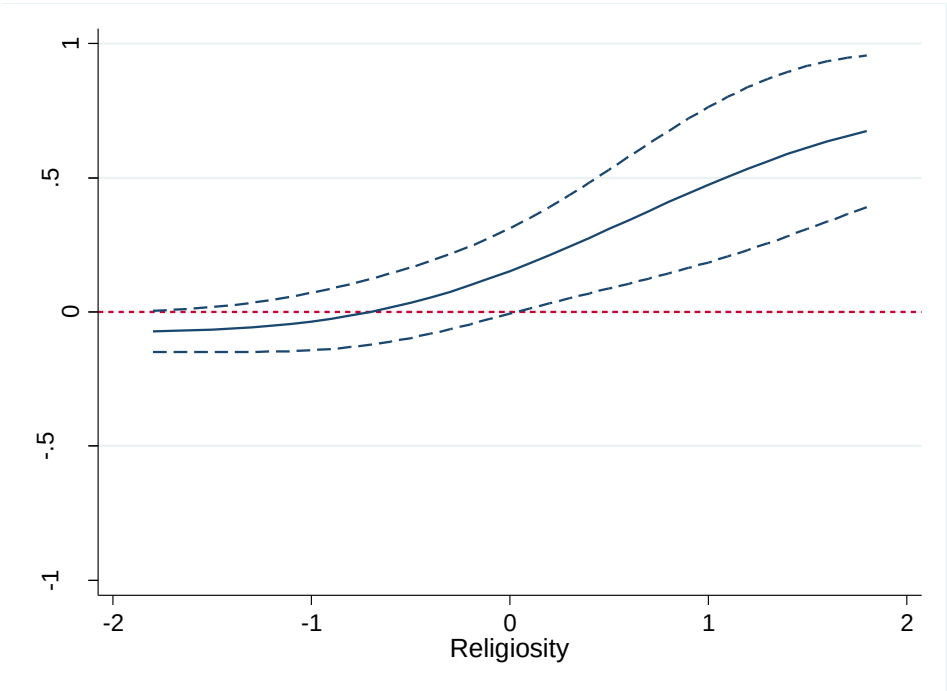


FIGURE A9: Marginal Effect of being a PPF on Strong Preference for Undemocratic LSPs (*LSP Position* =1), *Conditional* on being a PPF

(a) Based on Model 2



(b) Based on Model 3

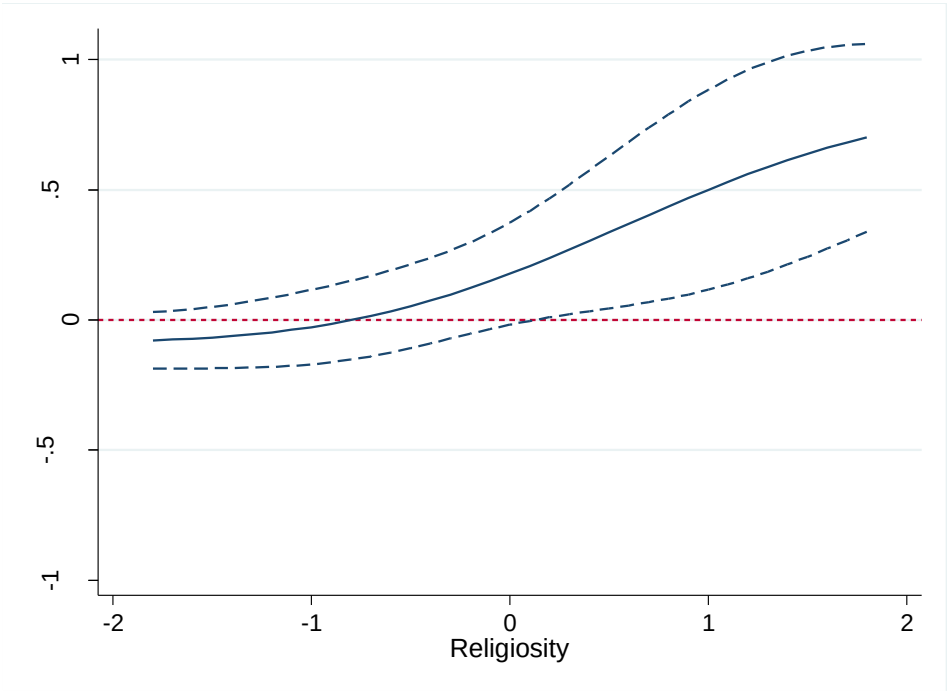


TABLE A5: Probit Models Using Dichotomous Responses for Democratic *LSP Position*

	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Religiosity	**-0.210***	-0.113	-0.113
	(0.105)	(0.113)	(0.150)
PPF	**-0.462#**	-0.438	-0.465
	(0.278)	(0.307)	(0.361)
Religiosity* PPF		**-0.920***	**-1.015#**
		(0.404)	**(0.538)**
Voter Contact			**0.864****
			(0.308)
Party Rank			-0.085
			(0.470)
Office Experience			**0.452#**
			(0.259)
Incumbent Party			-0.236
			(0.417)
Party brand			-1.137
			(1.191)
Education			-0.165
			(0.226)
Rural Population			-1.367
			(0.930)
Constant	**0.513****	**0.506****	0.410
	(0.110)	**(0.109)**	(0.539)
N	171	171	151
AIC	216.974	212.587	187.612

Standard errors in parentheses. # <0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01

(B) MISSING OBSERVATIONS ANALYSIS

TABLE A6: Missing data frequency by variable

Variable	**Missing**	**Total**	**Percent Missing**
Dependent variable			
LSP Position	1	226	0.44
Independent variables			
Religiosity	46	226	20.35
PPF	8	226	3.54
Personal Capital	22	226	9.73
Party Rank	3	226	1.33
Office Experience	8	226	3.54
Incumbent Party	0	226	0
Party Brand	1	226	0.44
Education	9	226	3.98

TABLE A7: Frequency of Missing observations by Party

	Political Party					
	AKP	CHP	HDP	MHP	Saadet	other
Total in each party	40	40	54	40	41	11
LSP Positions	1 (0.025)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Religiosity	5 (0.125)	12 (0.3)	16 (0.296)	8 (0.2)	2 (0.049)	3 (0.273)
PPF	0 (0)	1 (0.025)	0 (0)	2 (0.05)	5 (0.122)	0 (0)
Personal Capital	5 (0.125)	3 (0.075)	9 (0.167)	1 (0.025)	1 (0.024)	3 (0.273)
Party Rank	0 (0)	2 (0.050)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.024)	0 (0)
Office Experience	0 (0)	1 (0.025)	0 (0)	2 (0.05)	5 (0.122)	0 (0)
Incumbent party	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Party Brand	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.091)
Education	0 (0)	1 (0.025)	0 (0)	2 (0.05)	6 (0.146)	0 (0)

% of total observations in brackets

TABLE A8**:** t-tests (or proportions tests for dichotomous variables) comparing missing and non-missing observations

	Based on the sample size for model 2			Based on the sample size for model 3		
	Mean/prop. For Non-Missing group	Mean/prop. For Missing Observations	Difference in means or prop.	Mean/prop. For Non-Missing group	Mean/prop. For Missing Observations	Difference in means or prop.
Religiosity	0.020 (0.073)	0.485 (0.233)	-0.465 (0.323)	0.078 (0.075)	-0.142 (0.194)	0.220 (0.192)
PPF	0.146 (0.027)	0.191 (0.057)	-0.045 (0.063)	0.132 (0.028)	0.209 (0.050)	-0.077 (0.057)
Personal Capital				0.841 (0.030)	0.774 (0.058)	0.067 (0.061)
Party Rank				0.503 (0.022)	0.516 (0.033)	-0.013 (0.039)
Office Experience				0.371 (0.039)	0.299 (0.056)	0.072 (0.068)
Party Brand				0.157 (0.011)	0.193 (0.018)	-0.036 (0.021)
Education				1.570 (0.052)	1.576 (0.075)	-0.006 (0.093)
Rural population				0.220 (0.012)	0.158 (0.016)	**0.062*** **(0.021)**

Standard errors in parentheses * indicate a significant t-test for the difference in means ($p<0.05$). Incumbent vote share had no missing observations and thus isn't included.

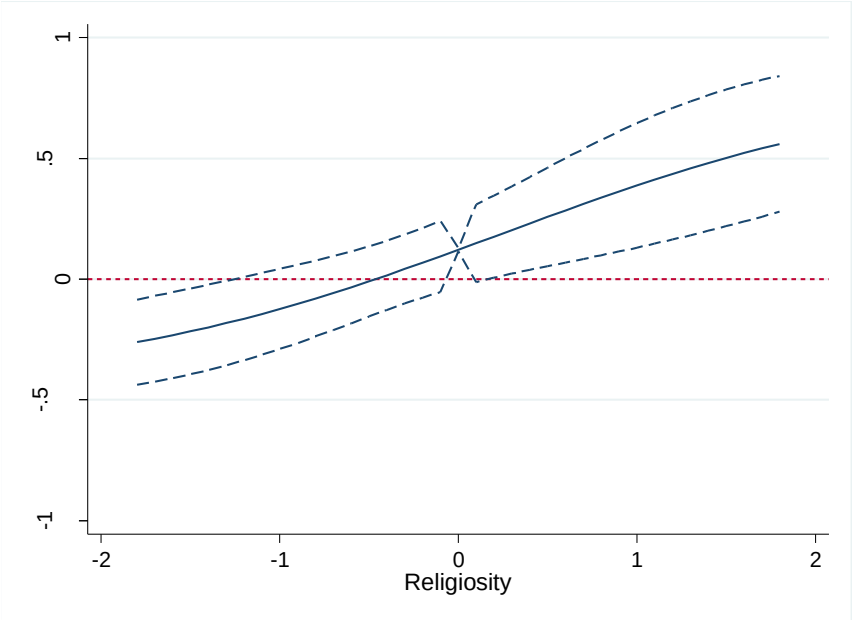
TABLE A9: Selection model results for Missing Religiosity: Democratic LSP Position

	Model 7	**Model 8**	**Model 9**
Religiosity	-0.007	0.067	0.094
	(0.076)	(0.071)	(0.129)
PPF	-0.327	-0.322	**-0.583***
	(0.256)	(0.200)	**(0.276)**
Religiosity*PPF		**-0.694****	**-0.624**#
		(0.261)	**(0.346)**
Voter Contact			**0.546***
			(0.230)
Party Rank			0.145
			(0.452)
Office Exp.			**0.397**#
			(0.243)
Incumbent Party			-0.337
			(0.343)
Party Brand			-0.867
			(1.003)
Education			-0.127
			(0.190)
Rural Pop.			-0.806
			(0.816)
Cut 1	**-0.537****	**-0.479****	-0.539
	(0.132)	**(0.093)**	(0.622)
Cut 2	-0.119	-0.106	-0.015
	(0.099)	(0.090)	(0.565)
Cut 3	0.097	0.109	0.231
	(0.094)	(0.090)	(0.542)
Selection Model			
AKP	0.433	0.458	0.224
	(0.356)	(0.344)	(0.422)
CHP	-0.486	-0.230	-0.528
	(0.330)	(0.282)	(0.390)
HDP	-0.420	-0.368	-0.482
	(0.305)	(0.275)	(0.355)
MHP	-0.172	-0.134	-0.058
	(0.328)	(0.300)	(0.388)
Saadet	0.510	0.587	0.764
	(0.440)	(0.429)	(0.478)
Intercept	**0.908****	**0.834****	**0.850****
	(0.290)	**(0.274)**	**(0.332)**
Rho	0.952	1.000	0.877
	(0.057)	(0.001)	(0.172)
N	217	217	197
AIC	614.787	607.387	548.349

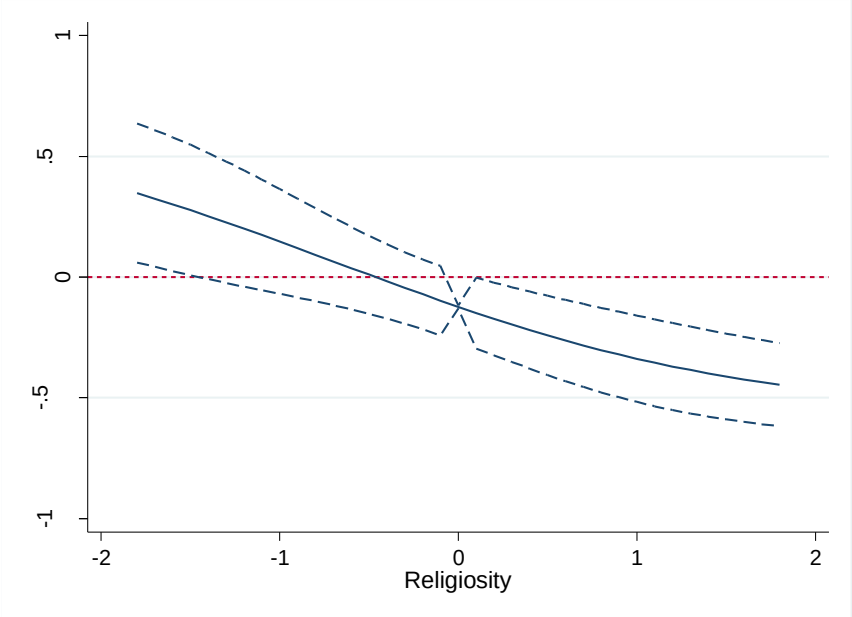
Standard errors in parentheses. *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01

FIGURE A10: Marginal Effects for Model 8 – *selection model for LSP Position*

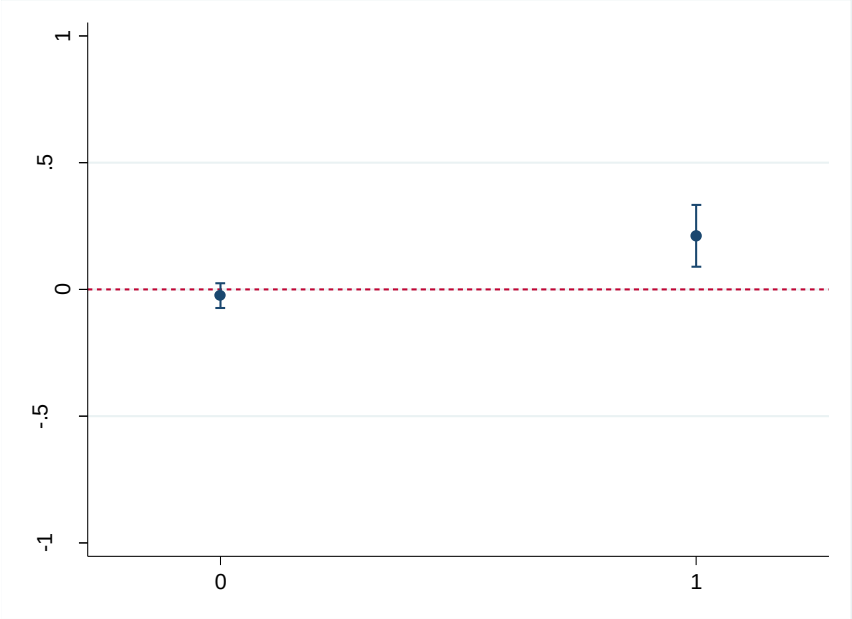
(a) Marginal effect of PPF on the likelihood of strongly opposing democratic selection (LSP Position =1)



(b) Marginal effect of PPF on the likelihood of strongly supporting democratic selection (LSP Position =4)



(c) Marginal effect of Religiosity on the likelihood of strongly opposing democratic selection (LSP Position =1)



(d) Marginal effect of Religiosity on the likelihood of strongly supporting democratic selection (LSP Position =4)

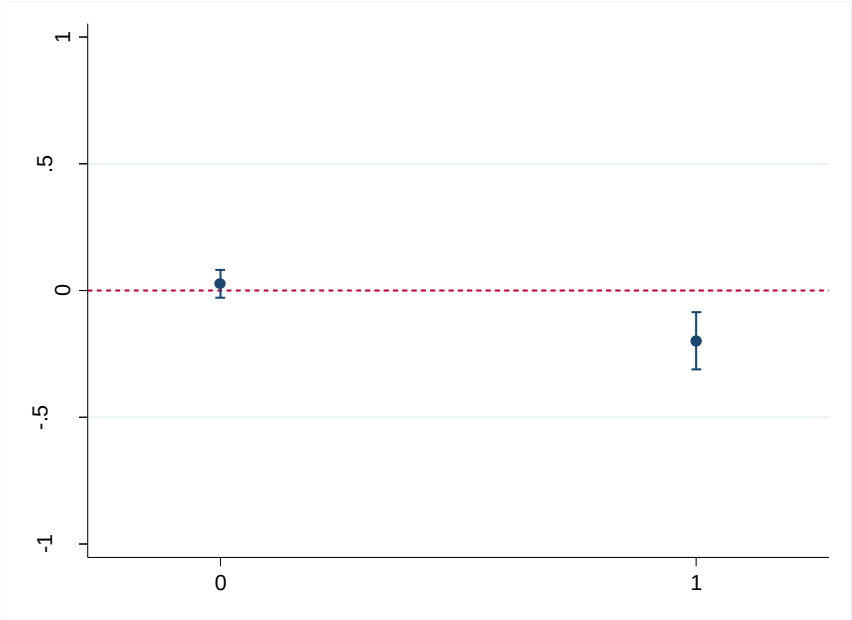


TABLE A10: Additional Controls: Democratic LSP Position

	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15	Model 16
Religiosity	0.014		-0.069	-0.062	-0.107	-0.077	-0.090
	(0.159)		(0.133)	(0.130)	(0.136)	(0.160)	(0.162)
Alternative Religiosity		-0.073					
		(0.132)					
PPF	**-0.660***	**-0.660***	**-0.664***	**-0.674***	**-0.784***	**-0.934****	**-0.636**
	(0.295)	**(0.294)**	**(0.291)**	**(0.292)**	**(0.338)**	**(0.330)**	**(0.292)**
Religiosity*PPF	**-0.783***	**-0.834***	**-0.755#**	**-0.795***	**-0.971***	**-0.821#**	**-0.800**
	(0.405)	**(0.413)**	**(0.404)**	**(0.411)**	**(0.460)**	**(0.437)**	**(0.406)**
Voter Contact	**0.818****	**0.744****	**0.710****	**0.661***	**0.629***	**0.698****	**0.740**
	(0.274)	**(0.262)**	**(0.261)**	**(0.270)**	**(0.275)**	**(0.266)**	**(0.262)**
Party Rank	0.136	0.107	0.179	0.253	0.188	0.261	0.108
	(0.418)	(0.417)	(0.412)	(0.418)	(0.433)	(0.438)	(0.416)
Office Exp.	**0.564***	**0.544***	**0.510***	**0.509#**	**0.487***	**0.659****	**0.543**
	(0.229)	**(0.228)**	**(0.225)**	**(0.224)**	**(0.238)**	**(0.240)**	**(0.228)**
Incumbent	-0.599	-0.460	**-0.732#**	-0.585	-0.377	-0.556	-0.481
	(0.413)	(0.369)	**(0.390)**	(0.329)	(0.414)	(0.386)	(0.467)
Party Brand	-0.741	-1.101			-1.073	-0.538	-1.073
	(1.090)	(1.039)			(1.119)	(1.109)	(1.074)
Party Brand 2 (District vs. Natl.)			-0.355 (2.000)				
Party Brand 3 (2015 district vote)				0.198 (0.271)			
Ideology-Economic					0.176 (0.241)		
Ideology-Political Islam						-0.137 (0.201)	
Islamist Party Membership							0.027 (0.393)
Education	-0.049	-0.110	-0.168	-0.213	-0.135	-0.062	-0.107
	(0.209)	(0.200)	(0.191)	(0.200)	(0.210)	(0.209)	(0.201)
Rural Pop.	-1.065	-1.037	-0.766	-0.572	-1.221	-0.331	-1.033
	(0.830)	(0.818)	(0.782)	(0.807)	(0.865)	(0.895)	(0.826)
HDP	0.304						
	(0.330)						
MHP	-0.134						
	(0.307)						
Cut 1	-0.736	-0.973	-0.887	-0.832	-1.019	-0.856	-0.960
	(0.544)	(0.488)	(0.494)	(0.479)	(0.527)	(0.547)	(0.512)
Cut 2	-0.058	-0.299	-0.218	-0.162	-0.300	-0.166	-0.286
	(0.543)	(0.485)	(0.492)	(0.477)	(0.524)	(0.545)	(0.509)
Cut 3	0.257	0.014	0.094	0.152	0.004	0.126	0.027
	(0.542)	(0.484)	(0.491)	(0.476)	(0.522)	(0.543)	(0.508)
N	151	151	151	151	135	144	151
AIC	340.131	337.259	338.409	337.906	305.17	317.164	339.331

TABLE A11: Controlling for Religious Party Membership Using Conditional Mixed Process Models: Democratic *LSP Position*

	Model 17	**Model 18**
Equation 1	*Islamist Party*	*Islamist Party*
Religiosity	**1.854****	**1.976****
	(0.260)	**(0.287)**
Islamist Vote Share	-1.592	-0.895
	(1.087)	(1.139)
Education	0.228	0.314
	(0.239)	(0.252)
Age	-0.006	-0.015
	(0.016)	(0.017)
Constant	-0.120	-0.120
	(1.007)	(1.055)
Equation 2	*LSP Position*	*LSP Position*
Religiosity	-0.135	-0.058
	(0.102)	(0.140)
PPF	**-0.535***	**-0.633***
	(0.251)	**(0.291)**
Religiosity*PPF	**-0.744***	**-0.794***
	(0.314)	**(0.407)**
Voter Contact		**0.752****
		(0.263)
Party Rank		0.090
		(0.417)
Office Exp.		**0.530***
		(0.229)
Incumbent Party		-0.587
		(0.439)
Party Brand		-1.030
		(1.044)
Education		-0.089
		(0.202)
Rural Pop.		-1.090
		(0.826)
Cut 1	**-1.137****	**-0.969***
	(0.128)	**(0.488)**
Cut 2	**-0.516****	-0.297
	(0.109)	(0.485)
Cut 3	**-0.224***	0.017
	(0.105)	(0.484)
Correlation	-0.247	0.126
	(0.175)	(0.243)
N	171	151
AIC	500.671	439.061

SECTION V – PUBLIC OPINIONS SURVEY RESULTS

In addition to our elite level survey, we also use mass public opinion data to demonstrate that religiosity is associated with membership in religious party networks. We use two sources of data to support this assertion. First, we use data from Wave 7 of the World and European Values Survey which were conducted between 2017 and 2021 (Turkey survey was conducted in 2017). This survey allows us to explore the relationship between religious and religious networks across both Muslim majority and non-Muslim majority countries. Table A13 below present a series of regressions exploring the relationship between religiosity and the extent to which respondents attend religious services. This is one indication that a respondent is a member of a congregation and thus a religious network. We estimate models in Turkey and in the larger sample of 49 WVS countries. Table A12 below lists the survey questions used to measure each concept.

Table A15 presents a series of regression models using the Pew Research Center's World's Muslim Data Set (WMDS). This survey conducted between October 2011 and November 2012 collected information about Muslim populations in 39 countries with large Muslim populations. Using this data, we can explore the relationship between a variety of measures of religious belief and practice and attendance at Mosque services. Using data from just Turkey, we can also explore the relationship between religiosity and membership in a Sufi organization. Table A14 presents a list of all the variables included in this analysis.

These results suggest that religious individuals across the world and specifically in Turkey are more likely to attend religious services. In Turkey, they also suggest that religious individuals are more likely to be members of Sufi organizations. This supports the idea that religious individuals are more likely to be embedded in religious networks.

TABLE A12: VARIABLES USED IN THE ANALYSIS IN TABLE A13

Variable	Survey Question	Variable coding
Attending religious services	Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?	Scale from 0, never, to 6, more than one a week
Importance of religion	For each of the following, indicate how important it is in your life.	1, indicating not at all important to 4 indicating very important
Religious person (1/0)	Independently of whether you attend religious services or not, would you say you are…?	1, a religious person, 0, not a religious person or an atheist.
Prayer	Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you pray?	Scale from 0, never, to 6, several times a day
Age	This means you are _____ years old	Age in years
Male	Respondent sex coded by observation	1, Male; 0, female
Employment	Are you employed now or not?	Factor variable coded 1 for employed, 2 for retired, 3 for housewife, 4 for student, 5 for unemployed/other
Education	What is the highest educational level that you, your spouse, your mother and your father have attained?	Respondent education varies from early childhood education (0) to doctoral or equivalent (8)
Marital Status	Are you currently (read out and code one answer only): 1 Married 2 Living together as married 3 Divorced 4 Separated 5 Widowed 6 Single	Factor variable coded 1 for married, 2 for single/never married, and 3 for other marital statuses
Religious denomination	Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? If yes, which one?	Factor variable coded 1 for no religion, 2 for Christian, 3 for Jewish, 4 for Muslim, 5 for Hindu, 6 for Buddhist, 7 for other

TABLE A13: Association Between Measures of Religiosity and Attendance at Religious Services Using Data from The World Values Survey (WVS)

	Data from Turkey		Data from the full WVS	
	Model 19 Attending religious services	Model 20 Attending religious services	Model 21 Attending religious services	Model 22 Attending religious services
Importance of religion	**0.202****	**0.157****	**0.412****	**0.366****
	(0.068)	**(0.060)**	**(0.010)**	**(0.011)**
Religious person (1/0)	**1.070****	**1.039****	**0.640****	**0.464****
	(0.109)	**(0.096)**	**(0.020)**	**(0.020)**
Prayer	**0.312****	**0.317****	**0.451****	**0.445****
	(0.025)	**(0.022)**	**(0.004)**	**(0.004)**
Age		-0.002		**-0.005****
		(0.004)		**(0.001)**
Male		**2.091****		**0.401****
		(0.100)		**(0.016)**
Employment (base-employed)				
Retired		0.200		-0.029
		(0.182)		(0.029)
Housewife		**0.407****		**-0.266****
		(0.123)		**(0.024)**
Student		-0.273		**0.103****
		(0.204)		**(0.037)**
Unemployed/other		0.227		**-0.076****
		(0.159)		**(0.027)**
Education		-0.009		**-0.035****
		(0.017)		**(0.004)**
Marital status (base-married)				
Single/never married		-0.169		**-0.232****
		(0.114)		**(0.022)**
Other marital status		-0.161		**-0.349****
		(0.181)		**(0.021)**
Religious denomination (base- no religion)				
Christian				**0.958****
				(0.025)
Jewish				-0.069
				(0.172)
Muslim				**0.246****
				(0.028)
Hindu				**0.792****

Buddhist				**(0.103)** **0.711**** **(0.036)**
Other				**0.707**** **(0.049)**
Constant	**0.853**** **(0.241)**	-0.004 (0.318)	**-0.116**** **(0.024)**	-0.056 (0.045)
N	2,063	2,049	67,534	65,271
Number of countries	1	1	49	49
AIC	8802.979	8229.993	281988.6	269153.4

Standard errors in parentheses. $^{\#}$ <0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01. Data comes from Wave 7 of the World Values Survey. Religious denomination was not included in Model 20 because there was very little variation in Turkey. Models using the full sample include data from 49 countries which are not all Muslim majority countries.

Pew survey results

TABLE A14: Variables Used in The Analysis In Table A15

Variable	Survey Question	Variable coding
Mosque Attendance	On average, how often do you attend the mosque for salah and Jum'ah Prayer?	Index from 0, never to 5, more than once a week
Importance of religion	How important is religion in your life – very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?	Index from 1, not at all important to 4, very important
Prayer	People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week, a few times a month, seldom, or never?	Index from 0, never to 6, several times a day
Sharia Orthodoxy	Which is closer to you view: the sharia should be open to multiple interpretations or there is only one, true understanding of the sharia?	1-there is only one, true understanding; 0-the sharia should be open to interpretation
Morality of Alcohol	For each, please tell me whether you personally believe that it is morally acceptable, morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue? *drinking alcohol*	1- Morally wrong; 0-Morally acceptable
Age	How old were you at your last birthday?	1-79 representing the ages 18 and older
Male	Gender (no Question)	1- Male, 0- Female
Marital status	Are you currently married, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married?	1-Married, 2-never married, 3-divorced, separated, widowed
Urban	Urbanity (no question)	1- Urban 0- Rural

Education (Turkey only)	Education was recorded differently in each country, so we include just the education measure in the Turkey only models	Index from no formal education, 1 to 9, a PhD

TABLE A15: Association Between Measures of Religiosity and Attendance at Religious Using Data from The Pew Research Center's World's Muslim Data Set

	Data from Turkey		Data from the full WMD	
	Model 23 Mosque Attendance	Model 24 Mosque Attendance	Model 25 Mosque Attendance	Model 26 Mosque Attendance
Importance of religion	**0.351**** **(0.080)**	**0.371**** **(0.068)**	**0.499**** **(0.018)**	**0.498**** **(0.016)**
Prayer	**0.200**** **(0.029)**	**0.220**** **(0.025)**	**0.293**** **(0.006)**	**0.291**** **(0.005)**
Sharia Orthodoxy	**0.502**** **(0.108)**	**0.402**** **(0.093)**		
Morality of alcohol	**0.283*** **(0.117)**	**0.328**** **(0.101)**	**0.127**** **(0.027)**	**0.186**** **(0.024)**
Age		**0.011**** **(0.004)**		**0.007**** **(0.001)**
Male		**1.780**** **(0.099)**		**1.689**** **(0.019)**
Marital status (base-married)				
Single/never married		-0.145 (0.135)		**0.066*** **(0.027)**
Other marital status		**-0.388*** **(0.195)**		**-0.162**** **(0.039)**
Urban		-0.116 (0.109)		-0.029 (0.019)
Education (Turkey only)		**0.065*** **(0.032)**		
Constant	0.038 (0.274)	**-1.368**** **(0.317)**	**-0.589**** **(0.059)**	**-1.601**** **(0.058)**
N	1,116	1,111	28,710	28,304
Number of countries	1	1	24	24
AIC	4472.235	4105.713	115460.9	106452.4

Standard errors in parentheses. $^{\#}$ <0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01. All models are OLS regression models. There is no common measure of education across all countries, so it is only included as a control variable in the analysis of Turkey. The question about interpretations of Sharia is only included in the analysis of Turkey because it was not asked in every country in the full sample.

Table A16: Elite Correlations for the religious beliefs and behaviors common to WVS, PEW & Elite Surveys

	Importance of religion	Importance of prayer	Sharia orthodoxy	Morality of alcohol
Importance of religion	1			
Importance of prayer	0.516**	1		
Sharia orthodoxy	0.496**	0.679**	1	
Morality of alcohol	0.550**	0.721**	0.571**	1

** indicates significance at 1% confidence level

Additional References Used in Appendix

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