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## **EMPLOYMENT**

### **Koç University**

Professor, Department of International Relations, August 19, 2022 – (continuing)

Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, December 21, 2015 – August 12, 2022

Doçent (Associate Professor), Inter-University Council (ÜAK), Ankara, May 27, 2013

Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, September 1, 2009 – December 21, 2015

### **Harvard University**

Postdoctoral Fellow, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, 2009-2010

Visiting Lecturer, Department of Government, Spring 2010

## **EDUCATION**

2009 Ph.D., Department of Political Science, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Dissertation: “Re-defining Ethnicity and Belonging: Persistence and Transformation in Regimes of Ethnicity in Germany, the USSR/Russian Federation, and Turkey”

Subfields: 1. Comparative Politics, 2. Russia & Eastern Europe & Eurasia, 3. Political Theory  
Qualified in *Russia & E. Europe & Eurasia* and in *Comparative Politics (with distinction)*, 2005

2004 M.A., Political Science, *University of California, Berkeley*  
Thesis: “Moral Economy: Its Establishment, Enforcement, and Transformation in Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*”

2003 M.A., Committee on International Relations, *University of Chicago*  
Thesis: “An Inquiry into the Nature of Asymmetric Conflict: The Influence of Ideational Factors on Great Power Policy-making vis-à-vis Small States and the Third World, with a Case Study of U.S. Foreign Policy Towards Iran during the Musaddiq Era (1950-1953)”

2003 B.A., Political Science and International Studies (double major), *University of Chicago*  
Thesis: “Turkish-Russian Relations after the Cold War, 1992-2002”

## **FIELDS OF INTERESTS**

Comparative Politics; Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism; Grand Strategy; Geopolitical Identities and Foreign Policy; Russia, Eastern Europe, Eurasia; Turkish-Russian relations

## **HONORS & AWARDS**

The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK), Incentive Award, 2019

Koç University CASE Outstanding Faculty (Research) Award, 2019-2020

Koç University CASE Faculty Outstanding Teaching Award, Spring 2017

Science Academy (Bilim Akademisi), Young Scientist Award (BAGEP), 2017

Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA), Outstanding Young Scholar Award (GEBİP), 2016

Kadir Has Prize, Promising Social Scientist, 2015 (10,000 USD)

European Commission, Marie Curie International Reintegration Grant, 2010-2014 (100,000 Euros)

Joseph Rothschild Prize, best book in ethnicity and nationalism, 2013

Association for the Study of Nationalities and the Harriman Institute, Columbia University

*Baki Komsuoğlu Social Sciences Encouragement Award 2011* (Kocaeli University, Turkey)

*Sakıp Sabancı International Research Award 2010* (3<sup>rd</sup> Place, 5.000 USD), Sabancı University

*Teaching Effectiveness Award 2009*, Graduate Council, UC Berkeley

*Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor*, UC Berkeley, 2009

*Alan Sharlin Memorial Research Fellowship*, 2008-09. UC Berkeley, Institute for International Studies

*John L. Simpson Memorial Research Fellowship*, 2006-2007, International and Comparative Studies, IIS

*Peter H. Odegard Award 2006*, UC Berkeley, awarded annually to two advanced Ph.D. students in Political Science for excellence and promise as a young scholar

*Academic Progress Award*, 2006, Graduate Division, UC Berkeley

*Graduate Student Training Fellowship*, 2005-2006, 2004-2005,  
Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies

*Summer Language Training Grant* (for Russian),  
Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Summer 2004

*Gateway Scholarship* (formerly International House Fellowship), UC Berkeley, 2003-2004

*Foreign Language Acquisition Grant* (for German), Summer 2001, the University of Chicago

*Vehbi Koç Award*, Koç Özel Lisesi, 1996

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2004—2009 Teaching Assistant for Comparative Politics; Russian Politics; European Integration  
University of California, Berkeley

Spring 2010 Visiting Lecturer, “Comparative Politics of Post-Soviet States,” Harvard University

2010—2020 “Introduction to Comparative Politics,” Koç University

2011—2022 Designed and taught “Eurasia: Politics and Society since 1914,” Koç University

2011—2022 Designed and taught “Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism,” Koç University

2013—2018 Designed and taught “Qualitative Research Methods,” Koç University

2019—2022 “Comparative Politics,” graduate seminar, Koç University

## PUBLICATIONS

### BOOKS

***Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey.*** New York: Cambridge University Press (Problems of International Politics), 2012.

Winner of the 2013 Joseph Rothschild Book Prize, Association for the Study of Nationalities and the Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

Reviewed in *Comparative Political Studies*, *American Historical Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *German Politics*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Survival*, *Pro et Contra*, *National Identities*, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, *Insight Turkey*, *Laboratorium*, *Perceptions*, *Turkish Studies*, *Turkish Review*. Book Symposium in *Nationalities Papers*.

*Almanya, Rusya ve Türkiye’de Etnisite Rejimleri ve Milliyet* (Turkish translation of my book above), Bilgi University Press, 2015. Reviewed in *Hürriyet / Radikal Kitap, Star Kitap, Kitap Zamanı*. Book interviews at *Agos, Yeni Şafak, and TheNewTurkey.org*

*Türkiye’nin Kimlikleri: Din, Dil, Etnisite, Milliyet, Devlet ve Medeniyet*. Istanbul: Etkileşim, 2013. Reviewed in *İGÜSBD, Kitaptomani, Star Kitap, and Taraf Kitap*.

## EDITED BOOK

*The Arab Spring: Past, Present, and Future*. Istanbul: TRT World Research Centre, 2022. (with chapters by François Burgat, Richard Falk, Mujeeb Khan, Ziad Majed, Ömer Özkızılcık, Nur Günay, Ferhat Polat, Tahir Kılavuz, Michael Arnold, and Ildir Lika.) ISBN: 978-605-9984-39-3

## EDITED SPECIAL ISSUE

Guest editor of “Debating Turkey’s Grand Strategy,” Special Issue of *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs* 25, no. 2 (2020): 151-283 (with five articles by Şener Aktürk, Meltem Müftüler Baç, Mustafa Aydın, Ersel Aydınli, and Belgin Şan Akça). Full issue available at <http://sam.gov.tr/pdf/perceptions/Volume-XXV/Autumn-Winter-2020/perceptions-Volume-XXV-Autumn-Winter-2020.pdf> and <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/perception/issue/59437>

## ARTICLES published in journals included in the Social Science Citation Index (marked with “SSCI”)

1. “Nationalism and Religion in Comparative Perspective: A New Typology of National-Religious Configurations.” *Nationalities Papers* 50, no. 2 (2022): 205-218. (SSCI) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2021.17>
2. “Varieties of Resilience and Side Effects of Disobedience: Cross-National Patterns of Survival during the Coronavirus Pandemic.” Coauthored with Ildir Lika. *Problems of Post-Communism* 69, no. 1 (2022): 1-13. (SSCI) DOI: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10758216.2021.1894405>
3. “The puzzle of Turkish minority representation, nationhood cleavage, and politics of recognition in Bulgaria, Greece, and North Macedonia.” Coauthored with Ildir Lika. *Mediterranean Politics* 27, no. 1 (2022): 1-28. (SSCI) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2020.1750269>
4. “Institutionalization of Ethnocultural Diversity and the Representation of European Muslims.” Coauthored with Yury Katliarou. *Perspectives on Politics* 19, no. 2 (2021): 388-405. (SSCI) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720001334>
5. “Comparative Politics of Exclusion in Europe and the Americas: Religious, Sectarian, and Racial Boundary Making since the Reformation.” *Comparative Politics* 52, no. 4 (2020): 695-719. (SSCI) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041520X15786939438699>

6. “Unipolar vs. Multipolar: Russland und die Türkei im Vergleich.” (“Unipolar vs. Multipolar: Russia and Turkey in comparison”). *Osteuropa* 68, no. 10-12 (2018): 119-129. (SSCI)
7. “One Nation under Allah? Islamic Multiculturalism and Muslim Nationalism in Turkey’s Kurdish, Alevi, and Non-Muslim Reforms.” *Turkish Studies* 19, no.4 (2018): 523-551. (SSCI)
8. “Post-imperial democracies and new projects of nationhood in Eurasia: Transforming the nation through migration.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, no.7 (2017): 1101-1120. (SSCI)
9. “Religion and Nationalism: Contradictions of Islamic Origins and Secular Nation-Building in Turkey, Algeria, and Pakistan.” *Social Science Quarterly* 96, no.3 (2015): 778-806. (SSCI)
10. “Fourth Style of Politics: Eurasianism as a Pro-Russian Rethinking of Turkey’s Geopolitical Identity.” *Turkish Studies* 16, no. 01 (2015): 54-79. (SSCI)
11. “NATO Neden Genişledi? Uluslararası İlişkiler Kuramları Işığında NATO’nun Genişlemesi ve ABD-Rusya İç Siyaseti.” *Uluslararası İlişkiler* 9, no. 34 (2012): 73-97. (SSCI)
12. “Regimes of Ethnicity: Comparative Analysis of Germany, the Soviet Union/Post-Soviet Russia, and Turkey.” *World Politics* 63, no. 01 (2011): 115-164. (SSCI)
13. “Passport Identification and Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Russia.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 26, no. 04 (2010): 314-341. (SSCI)
14. “Persistence of the Islamic *Millet* as an Ottoman Legacy: Mono-Religious and Anti-Ethnic Definition of Turkish Nationhood.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 6 (2009): 913-929. (SSCI)
15. “Incompatible Visions of Supra-nationalism: National Identity in Turkey and the European Union.” *European Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 2 (2007): 347-372. (SSCI)

**ARTICLES** in journals not included in the Social Sciences Citation Index

16. “Turkey’s Grand Strategy and the Great Powers.” *Insight Turkey* 23, no. 4 (2021): 95-118.
17. “Turkey’s Grand Strategy as the Third Power: A Realist Proposal.” *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs* 25, no. 2 (2020): 152-177.
18. “Relations between Russia and Turkey Before, During, and After the Failed Coup of 2016.” *Insight Turkey* 21, no. 4 (2019): 97-113.
19. “Temporal Horizons in the Study of Turkish Politics: Prevalence of Non-Causal Description and Seemingly Global Warming Type of Causality.” *All Azimuth* 8, no. 2 (2019): 117-133.
20. “Türkiye’de Ulus Devletin Dönüşümü: Çok Kültürcü Açılımların Sebepleri ve Sonuçları, 2004-

- 2013.” *Bilgi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 20, no. 1 (2018): 74-101.
21. “Turkey’s Role in the Arab Spring and the Syrian Conflict.” *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (2017): 87-96.
22. “Turkey’s Civil Rights Movement and the Reactionary Coup: Segregation, Emancipation, and the Western Reaction.” *Insight Turkey* 18, no. 03 (2016): 141-167.
23. “The Movement Toward a Monolingual Nation in Russia: The Language Policy in the Circassian Republics of the Northern Caucasus.” coauthored with Sufian Zhemukov. *Journal of Caucasian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2015): 35-72. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21488/jocas.46077>
24. “Toward a Turkish-Russian Axis? Conflicts in Georgia, Syria, and Ukraine, and Cooperation over Nuclear Energy.” *Insight Turkey* 16, no. 4 (2014): 13-23.
25. “Karşılaştırmalı Siyasetin Zaviyesinden Türk Kimliğinin Geçmişi, Bugünü ve Geleceği.” *Türkiye Günlüğü* 114 (2013): 31-46.
26. “The Four Pillars of Ottoman Identity: Religious Toleration, Diversity and the Four Millets under the Eternal State.” *Turkish Review* 3, no. 1 (2013): 14-21.
27. “Türk-Rus İlişkilerinin Realist Bir Değerlendirmesi, 2002-2012: Zirveden Dibe Mi?.” *Hazar Raporu*, no.3 (2013): 55-70.
28. “September 11, 1683: Myth of a Christian Europe and the Massacre in Norway.” *Insight Turkey* 14, no. 1 (2012): 1-11.
29. “The Turkish Minority in German Politics: Trends, Diversification of Representation, and Policy Implications for Turkey.” *Insight Turkey* 11, no.1 (2010): 65-80.
30. “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Dini Çeşitlilik: Farklı Olan Neydi?.” *Doğu Batı* 50 (2010): 133-158.
31. “Origins of Gandhi's Emergence as a World Historical Figure and the New Age Culture.” *Journal of Academic Studies* 10, no. 38, (2008): 126-138.
32. “Why did the United States overthrow the Prime Minister of Iran in 1953?.” *Journal of Associated Graduate Students of Near Eastern Studies* 13, no. 2 (2008): 3-22.
33. “Türkiye Siyasetinde Etnik Hareketler, 1920-2007.” *Doğu Batı* 44 (2008): 43-74.
34. “Continuity and Change in the Regimes of Ethnicity in Austria, Germany, USSR/Russia, and Turkey: Varieties of Ethnic Regimes and Hypotheses for Change.” *Nationalities Papers* 35, no. 1 (2007): 23-49.

35. "Braudel'den Elias'a ve Huntington'a 'Medeniyet' Kavramının Kullanımları." *Doğu Batı* 41 (2007): 147-175.
36. "Turkish-Russian Relations after the Cold War, 1992-2002." *Turkish Studies* 7, no. 3 (2006): 337-364.
37. "Between Aristotle and the Welfare State: The Establishment, Enforcement, and Transformation of the Moral Economy in Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*." *Theoria* 53, no.1 (2006): 100-122.
38. "Etnik Kategori ve Milliyetçilik: Tek-etnili, Çok-etnili, ve Gayri-etnik Rejimler." *Doğu Batı* 38 (2006): 23-53.
39. "A Military History of the New World Order and the Emergence of U.S. Hegemony." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 1-2 (2006): 65-72.
40. "Representations of the Turkic Peoples in *Shahnameh* and the Greco-Roman Sources." *Journal of Academic Studies* 8, no. 29 (2006): 15-26.
41. "Turkey's Special Relationship with Germany and Russia." *Insight Turkey* 8, no. 4 (2006): 7-14.
42. "American and British Foreign Policy in the Middle East." *Insight Turkey* 7, no. 1 (2005): 153-161.
43. "Counter-Hegemonic Visions and Reconciliation through the Past: The Case of Turkish Eurasianism." *Ab Imperio* 4 (2004): 207-238.
44. "Global Governance, Humanitarian Intervention, and the UN." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 2, no. 3-4 (2003): 50-62.
45. "Distributional Consequences of Globalization: Economic and Political Redistribution." *Journal of Academic Studies* 5, no. 17 (2003): 1-15.
46. "Market Liberalism and Social Protection: Hayek, Durkheim, and Polanyi in Theoretical Perspective." *Journal of Academic Studies* 4, no. 14 (2002): 17-32.
47. "Reflections on a Central Eurasian Model: A Foucauldian Reply to Barfield on the Historiography of Ethnonationalism." *Central Eurasian Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (2006): 19-25.
48. "Identity Crisis: Russia's Muslims in the debate over Russian Identity vis-à-vis Europe." *UC Davis International Affairs Journal* 2, no. 1 (2005): 3-10.
49. "Perspectives on Assyrian Nationalism." *Hemispheres: Tufts University Journal of International Affairs* 25 (2002): 134-155.

## BOOK CHAPTERS

1. "Ethnicity and Religion in Russia." In Susanne Wengle (ed.), **Russian Politics Today: Stability and Fragility** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022): 482-505.
2. "Comparative Politics of the Coronavirus Pandemic." In Muzaffer Şeker, Ali Özer, Cem Korkut (eds.), **Reflections on the Pandemic in the Future of the World** (Ankara: TÜBA, 2020): 309-324.
3. "Etnisite Rejimleri ve Türkiye'de Ulus Devletin Dönüşümü." In Muzaffer Elmas, Mahmut Bilen, Mustafa Kemal Şan (eds.), **Sosyal Bilimlerle Çağı Yorumlamak: Fikirler, Düşünceler**, Volume 2 (Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2018): 135-149.
4. "Demokratik Zeminde Tabanı Eriyenler ve 15 Temmuz Darbe Girişiminin Sebepleri." In Abdurrahman Babacan (ed.), **15 Temmuz: Geçmiş-Gelecek** (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2018): 325-352.
5. "AK Parti ve Türkiye'nin Sivil Haklar Hareketi: Dindar Muhafazakarlığa ve Etnik Kimliklere Yönelik Siyasi Tecridin Kaldırılması." In Nebi Miş and Ali Aslan (eds.), **Kuruluşundan Bugüne AK Parti: Siyaset** (İstanbul: SETA, 2018): 297-314.
6. "Türkiye'nin Rusya ile İlişkilerinin Yükseliş ve Gerilemesi, 1992-2015: Neorealist Bir Değerlendirme." In Gencer Özcan, Evren Balta, Burç Beşgül (eds.), **Kuşku ile Komşuluk: Türkiye-Rusya İlişkilerinde Değişen Dinamikler** (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017): 129-145.
7. "The Myth of a Christian Europe: From the Siege of Vienna to the Massacre in Norway." In Andreas Delsett (ed.), **The Saladin Anthology** (Oslo: Litteraturhuset, 2016): 58-67.
8. (with Evangelos Liaras) "Uluslararası Nüfus Yer Değiştirmeleri ve Uzun Vadeli Seçmen Davranışı: Karşılaştırmalı Bakış Açısından Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi." In **90. Yılında Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi: Yeni Yaklaşımlar, Yeni Bulgular**. (İstanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı Yayınları, 2016): 26-32.
9. "Etnik ve Dini Kimlikler ve Özgürlükler: Avrupa Çapında Bir Karşılaştırma." In **Liberal Temalar** (İstanbul: Liber, 2016): 123-138.
10. "A Realist Reassessment of Turkish-Russian Relations, 2002-2012: From the Peak to the Dip?." in Ahmet Yükleyen (ed.), **Geopolitics of the Caspian Region** (İstanbul: Caspian Strategy Institute, 2015): 42-66.
11. "Milliyetçilik ve Etnik Çatışmalar." in Şaban Kardaş and Ali Balcı (eds.), **Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş** (İstanbul: Küre, 2014): 419-426.
12. "Vaka Analizi." in Ali Çarkoğlu (ed.), **Uluslararası İlişkilerde Araştırma Yöntemleri** (Eskişehir:



Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2012): 92-121.

13. “Çoklu Yöntem Yaklaşımları.” (with Belgin Şan Akça) in Ali Çarkoğlu (ed.), *Uluslararası İlişkilerde Araştırma Yöntemleri* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012): 212-241.
14. “Politics of History in Turkey: Revisionist Historiography’s Challenge to the Official Version of the Turkish War of Liberation (1919-1922).” in Alexei Miller and Maria Lipman (eds.), *Convolutions of Historical Politics*, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012): 279-308.
15. “İstoricheskaia politika v Turtsii: revizionistskaia istoriografiia brosaet vyzov ofitsial’noi versii voyny Turtsii za nezavisimost’.” in Alexei Miller and Maria Lipman (eds.), *İstoricheskaia politik v 21-m veke*, (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2012): 506-542.
16. “İslamcılığın Kürt Açılımı.” in Seyfullah Özkurt (ed.), *İslamcılık Tartışmaları* (İstanbul: Ufuk, 2012): 297-301.
17. “Türkiye’de Kürt Kimliğinin Siyasallaşma Süreci: 1918-2008.” in Rasim Özgür Dönmez, Pınar Enneli, Nezahat Altuntaş (eds.), *Türkiye’de Kesisen-Çatısın Dinsel ve Etnik Kimlikler* (İstanbul: Say, 2010): 83-114.
18. “What is a Civilization? From Braudel to Elias the Varying Definitions of 'Civilization'.” In Muzaffer Senel and Sadik Unay (eds.), *Global Orders and Civilizations: Perspectives from History, Philosophy and International Relations* (New York: Nova Publishers, 2009): 49-66.
19. “Türkiye Siyasetinde Alevi ve Kürt Talepleri: Anti-Etnik bir Rejimde Etnik Muhalefet, 1923-1980.” In Ayşegül Komsuoğlu (ed.), *Türkiye’de Siyasal Muhalefet* (İstanbul: Bengi, 2008): 315-349.
20. “Living at and beyond the *Grenzenpunkte*: A Comparison of Nietzsche’s Artistic Socrates and Kierkegaard’s knight of faith.” In Stephen Voss (ed.), *The Proceedings of the twenty-first World Congress of Philosophy, Volume 9: Philosophical Anthropology* (Ankara: Philosophical Society of Turkey, 2006): 51-62.
21. “Perspectives on Daniel Bell’s East Asian Challenge to Human Rights: East Asian Challenge or Alternative Trends within Modern Thought?.” in Zeynep Davran and Stephen Voss (eds.), *The Proceedings of the twenty-first World Congress of Philosophy, Volume 3: Human Rights* (Ankara: Philosophical Society of Turkey, 2006): 37-44.

## BOOK REVIEWS

1. “Why African Americans Do Not Rebel? How Hierarchic Integration Prevents Rebellion,” *Nationalities Papers*, online ahead of print, p.1-5. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2021.96>

- (Review of Manuel Vogt, *Mobilization and Conflict in Multiethnic States*, by Manuel Vogt, New York, Oxford University Press, 2019, as part of a Book Symposium)
2. Michael Albertus and Victor Menaldo, *Authoritarianism and the Elite Origins of Democracy*, **TRT World Research Centre**, April 26, 2021.
  3. Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua A. Tucker, *Communism's Shadow: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Political Attitudes*, **TRT World Research Centre**, December 29, 2020.
  4. Leonard C. Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, **TRT World Research Centre**, November 23, 2020.
  5. M. Hakan Yavuz (ed.), *Turkey's July 15<sup>th</sup> Coup: What Happened and Why*, **Insight Turkey** 21, no. 3 (2019): 247-250.
  6. H. Zeynep Bulutgil, *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe*, *Nationalities Papers* 46, no. 5 (2018): 911-916. (as part of a Book Symposium)
  7. Philip T. Hoffman, *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?*, *Insight Turkey* 19, no. 3 (2017): 243-246.
  8. Prerna Singh, *How Solidarity Works for Welfare: Subnationalism and Social Development in India*, *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 4 (2017): 722-724.
  9. Senem Aslan, *Nation-Building in Turkey and Morocco: Governing Kurdish and Berber Dissent*, *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 1 (2016): 187-189.
  10. James H. Meyer, *Turks across Empires: Marketing Muslim Identity in the Russian-Ottoman Borderlands, 1856-1914*, *Turkish Review*, no. 29 (2015).
  11. Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands*, *New Perspectives on Turkey* 52, no. 1 (2015): 162-165.
  12. M. Steven Fish, *Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence*, *Perceptions* 17, no. 1 (2012): 110-113.
  13. Ahmet T. Kuru, *Pasif ve Dışlayıcı Laiklik: ABD, Fransa, Türkiye*, "Üç Ülkede Laiklik," *Radikal Kitap*, October 14, 2011.
  14. Roland Dannreuther and Luke March (eds.), *Russia and Islam: State, Society, and Radicalism*, *Russian Review* 70, no. 3 (2011): 550-551.
  15. Frank Grüner, *Patrioten und Kosmopoliten: Juden im Sowjetstaat 1941-1953*, *Cold War Studies* 12, no. 4 (2010): 205-207

16. John Erik Fossum, Johanne Poirier, Paul Magnette (eds.), *The Ties that Bind: Accommodating Diversity in Canada and the European Union*, **Insight Turkey** 12, no. 2 (2010): 271-273.
17. Gwendolyn Sasse, *The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict*, **Comparative Political Studies** 42, no.3 (2009): 464-467.
18. Asa Lundgren, *The Unwelcome Neighbour: Turkey's Kurdish Policy*, **Nationalities Papers** 37, no. 2 (2009): 242-244.
19. James N. Rosenau, David C. Earnest, Yale H. Ferguson, and Ole R. Holsti, *On the Cutting Edge of Globalization: An Inquiry into American Elites*, **Millennium: Journal of International Studies** 37, no. 1 (2008): 236-237.
20. Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union*, **Europe-Asia Studies** 60, no. 4 (2008): 696-698.
21. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude*, **Rethinking Marxism** 19, no. 2 (2007): 275-277.
22. Ayse Ayata, Ayca Ergun, and Isil Celimli (eds.), *Black Sea Politics: Political Culture and Civil Society in an Unstable Region*, **Europe-Asia Studies** 58, no. 5 (2006): 810-812.
23. Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century*, **Nationalities Papers** 33, no. 4 (2005): 601-603.
24. (with Kate Graney) Shireen Hunter, *Islam in Russia: The Politics of Identity and Security*, **Eurasian Geography and Economics** 46, no. 4 (2005): 319-325.

## ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES

1. “Post-Soviet Eastern Europe” and “Post-Soviet Central Asia”, in Fred Nadis and Jack Waskey, eds. **World History Encyclopedia** (ABC-Clio, 2011): 345-349.
2. “Contract Enforcement” in Mark Bevir ed., **Encyclopedia of Governance**, Sage, 2006.
3. “Iran” (with Payam Foroughi) in M. Odekon ed., **Encyclopedia of World Poverty**, Sage, 2006.
4. Provided an expert evaluation of parliamentary powers in “Cyprus”, “Turkey”, “Turkmenistan”, and “Saudi Arabia”, for M. Steven Fish and Matthew Kroenig (eds.), **The Handbook of National Legislatures: A Global Survey**, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1. “Evaluation of the Global Environment: Rise of China; Russia-West Confrontation; and Emerging Threats.” **Panorama**, Online, 22 July 2022, DOI: [10.13140/RG.2.2.21362.79042](https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.21362.79042)

2. "After the Deluge: Comparative Politics of the Coronavirus Pandemic." *TRT World Research Centre Policy Outlook*, May 2020.
3. "Turkey's Operation Peace Spring and the Battle for a Free Syria." *TRT World Research Centre Policy Outlook*, December 2019.
4. "Five Faces of Russia's Soft Power: Far Left, Far Right, Orthodox Christian, Russophone, and Ethnoreligious Networks." *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* 623, November 2019.
5. "Comparative Politics of Circumcision Bans." American Political Science Association, *APSA Preprints*, November 7, 2019. doi: [10.33774/apsa-2019-d0gw1](https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2019-d0gw1)
6. *Political Engineering and the Exclusion of Religious Conservative Muslims in Europe: Muslim Parliamentarians and the Prohibition of Islamic Practices in Western Europe*. Istanbul: SETA, 2018. (95 pages). Translated into German and Turkish.
7. "Why did the PKK declare Revolutionary People's War in July 2015?." *POMEPS Studies 22: Contemporary Turkish Politics*, 2016, pp.59-63.
8. "The Crisis in Russian-Turkish Relations, 2008-2015." *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 179 (12 February 2016): 2-5.
9. "How Immigration Aids Russia's Transformation into an Assimilationist Nation-State." *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, no. 347 (2014): 1-6.
10. (with Dmitry Gorenburg, Sherrill Stroschein, Gunes Murat Tezcur) "Book Symposium on Şener Aktürk's *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*." *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 5 (2014): 890-904.
11. *A Realist Reassessment of Turkish-Russian Relations, 2002-2012: From the Peak to the Dip?*. Istanbul: Caspian Strategy Institute, 2013. (24 pages).
12. "Russian-Turkish Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 2000-2012." *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 125 (25 March 2013): 2-5.
13. "Comparing Ethnicity Regimes in the Five Central Asian Republics." *Institute for Slavic, Eastern European, and Eurasian Studies Newsletter* 25, no. 3 (2008): 6-12.
14. "15 Years after the "Collapse" of Soviet Socialism: The Role of Elite Choices, Class Conflict, and a Critique of Modernization Theory." *Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series* (February 2008), 1-31.
15. "Explaining the Variation in Political Regime Outcomes after Communism: Displacement of the Communist Era Nomenklatura and Democratization." *Institute for Slavic, Eastern European, and Eurasian Studies Newsletter* 24, no. 2 (2007): 5-12.

## POPULAR MEDIA

Numerous opinion pieces published in Turkish for various newspapers including (in alphabetical order) *Karar*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, *Star*, *Taraf*, *Yeni Safak*, *Zaman*; opinion pieces in English for the *Anadolu Agency*, *Chicago Maroon*, *Daily Sabah*, *Hürriyet Daily News*, *Politics Today*, *The New Turkey*, *Today's Zaman*; articles for the popular monthly journals *Kriter* and *Lacivert*.

Appeared in Turkish national TV stations as a guest commentator including in *A Haber*, *CNN Türk*, *Habertürk*, *Sky 360*, *Tele 1*, *TRT Haber*, *TRT Türk*, *TV Net*, *TGRT Haber*; and in English language programs in *CNN International*, *The Real News Network*, and *TRT World*. I gave full length interviews about my research to the daily and weekly newspapers and news agencies including in *Agos* (twice), *Anadolu Ajansı*, *Gerçek Hayat*, *Hürriyet Pazar*, *Sabah*, *Takvim*, *Yeni Asya* and *Yeni Şafak*.

## GRANTS AND PROJECTS

European Commission, Erasmus+/Jean Monnet Network project, “The Securitization of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities and the Rise of Xenophobia in the EU,” 2021-2024.

Science Academy (Bilim Akademisi), Young Scientist Award (BAGEP), 2017-2018

Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA), Outstanding Young Scientist Award (GEBİP), 2016-2018

European Commission, FP 7, Marie Curie International Reintegration Grant, 2010-2014

## GRADUATE STUDENT SUPERVISION

Primary advisor of three Ph.D. students who defended their dissertation in the past:

İdilir Lika, Ph.D. Thesis, “Nationhood Cleavages and Ethnic Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of Post-Communist Bulgaria, Montenegro, and North Macedonia.”

Primary advisor. Defended his dissertation on December 18, 2019.

Kadir Aydın Gündüz, Ph.D. Thesis, “Moving Beyond ‘a Minimal Democracy’: A comparative analysis of democratization reforms in three protracted democratizations.”

Primary advisor. Defended his dissertation on July 26, 2017.

İmren Borsuk, Ph.D. Thesis, “Explaining Intercommunal Peace and Conflict in Turkey and Northern Ireland.” Primary advisor. Defended her dissertation on August 18, 2015.

Primary advisor of seven M.A. students who defended their MA theses in the past:

Nihal Tüzgen, M.A. Thesis, “Politics of Ethnic Classification: A Comparative Analysis of Censuses in Bolivia and Peru.” Primary advisor. Defended her thesis on July 27, 2020.

Ayşenur Değer Yanık, M.A. Thesis, “Women’s Parliamentary Representation in Poland, Hungary, and Czechia: The Role of Women’s Mobilization on Representational Gains.” Primary advisor. Defended her thesis on July 28, 2020.

Zsofia Flora Bocskay, M.A. Thesis, “Comparative Analysis of Language Reforms and Nationalism in Hungary, Croatia, and Norway.” Primary advisor. Defended her thesis on May 23, 2017.

Muhammed Yasin Budak, M.A. Thesis, “Ethnic Identity and Political Participation: The Case of Circassians in Uzunyayla.” Primary advisor. Defended on November 25, 2014.

Şükriye Gökçe Silman, M.A. Thesis, “Politics of National Identity and Language: A Comparative Study of Linguistic Rights and Language Policies in Turkey and France.” Primary advisor. Defended on August 28, 2012.

Matthew Osarenren Akiya, M.A. Thesis, “The Polarization of Electoral Support: Analysis of the Nigerian Presidential Elections.” Primary advisor. Defended on July 10, 2012.

Ayhan Özşeker, M.A. Thesis, “Discourse and Policies on Non-Muslim Citizens: A Comparative Analysis of Main Political Traditions in Turkey (1923-2012).” Primary advisor. Defended on July 2, 2012.

## **METHODOLOGY and LANGUAGE TRAINING**

*Institute for Qualitative Research Methods*, Arizona State University, Phoenix, January 3-13, 2006.

*Russian Language Center*, Moscow State University, Russia (Summer 2004)

*Language Proficiency Certificate in German*, University of Chicago (May 2002)

*Studies in Western Civilization with a focus on East-Central Europe, and German language*, Vienna, Austria (Fall 2001)

*Österreichische Sprach-Diplom Deutsch* (Austrian Diploma for German Language), Actilingua Academy, Vienna, Austria (August 2001)

**Languages:** *Turkish* (native), *German* (proficient), *Russian* (proficient)

## ORGANIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC MEETINGS

- 2013—2022 (continuing) Member of the Committee for organizing/reviewing Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus panels at the ASN Annual Conventions, Columbia University, New York
- 2013 International Conference on the 90<sup>th</sup> Year of Turkish-Greek Population Exchange, Istanbul

## INSTITUTIONAL SERVICE RESPONSIBILITIES

- December 2021— Koç University Press, Editorial Board Member
- 2021-2022 EQUIS Committee Member
- 2020-2021 Stanford-Koç Bing Overseas Studies Program (BOSP) Committee Member for CASE
- 2019-2020 Academic Review of the Department of International Relations (with Prof. Ziya Öniş)
- 2016—2017 Graduate program coordinator for Political Science & International Relations
- 2013-2014 Executive Board Member, Migration Research Center (MiReKoc), Koç University
- 2011— 2013 International Relations Seminar Series Coordinator, Koç University
- 2011—Qualifying Exam Committees for Ph.D. Students

## Editing and Reviewing for Academic Journals

- 2013 – Associate Editor, *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*
- 2009 – Reviewer for the *American Political Science Review*, *World Politics*, *International Security*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Politics and Religion*, *International Migration*, *International Relations*, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Social Science History*, *South European Society and Politics*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, *Ethnicities*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *Insight Turkey*, and *Uluslararası İlişkiler*

## Membership of Scientific Societies

- 2018-2021 Executive Board Member, Council for European Studies, Historical Study of States and Regimes (HSSR)
- 2004 – Member, *American Political Science Association* (APSA).  
Member of the APSA sections on “Qualitative and Multi-Method Research”, “Comparative Politics” and “Religion and Politics”
- 2004 – Member, *Association for the Study of Nationalities*

- 2014 – Member (by invitation), Research Network, *PONARS: New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia*, George Washington University, Washington, DC, U.S.A.
- 2014 – Member (by invitation), Research Network, “Historical Study of States and Regimes,” *Council for European Studies* (institutional host: Columbia University, New York)
- 2014 – Member (by invitation), *International Association for the Study of German Politics*

## SELECTION OF INVITED LECTURES

Lectures on Strategy, **Joint War Institute (Müşterek Harp Enstitüsü)**, National Defense University, Istanbul, October 12-14, 2022.

“Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine and Turkey’s Role in NATO,” hosted by the Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Program, **Northwestern University**, March 22, 2022 (virtual). Available on YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qq-6iU3KPnQ>

“Çokkültürcü Birlikten Asimilasyoncu Ulus Devlete: Rusya’da Dil ve Kimlik Politikaları, 1922-2022,” *Kafkas Vakfı*, January 29, 2022. Available on YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CaI9xLbfqck>

“Turkey’s Grand Strategy and the Great Powers,” **NORIA** network, November 3, 2021 (virtual). Available on YouTube [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IgAFdttd\\_fl](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IgAFdttd_fl)

“Does Nationalism increase or decrease religiosity? An Empirical Baseline.” **ETHNICGOODS** workshop, European Research Council funded project based in **IBEI**, Barcelona, June 2021 (online).

“Türkiye’nin Büyük Stratejisi,” **TİKA**, April 2021 (online due to the Covid-19 pandemic)

“Turkey’s Grand Strategy,” **CIGA**, March 2021 (online/virtual due to the Covid-19 pandemic)

“Türkiye’nin Grand Stratejisi,” **Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, January 2021 (virtual due to the pandemic)

“Not So Innocent? The Political Origins of Religious Homogeneity in Medieval Western Europe, 1209-1609,” **Bilkent University**, Ankara, November 21, 2019.

“Democracy and Multiculturalism: (Dis)Enfranchisement of Religious Minorities and the Origins of Democracy,” **Izmir University of Economics**, Izmir, October 17, 2019.

“Democracy and Multiculturalism: Political Representation of Ethnoreligious Groups in the Ottoman and Tsarist Russian Parliaments,” Eurasian Parliamentary Practices and Political Mythologies, **Heidelberg University**, IWH, June 2019.

“Turkey’s Role in the Arab Spring and the Syrian Conflict,” **Karadeniz Vakfı**, Istanbul, April 2019.



“Karşılaştırmalı Siyaset: Etnisite ve Milliyetçilik,” **Medipol Üniversitesi Siyaset Akademisi**, İstanbul, February 2019.

“Türkiye’nin Grand Stratejisi,” **Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, Ankara, December 2018.

“European state formation: three models of nation-building, and the variation in state policies toward ethnic diversity,” St. Anthony’s College, **University of Oxford**, November 24, 2018.

“Development Paths in Russia since 1991 and in Turkey since 1983,” **Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde**, Bonn, Germany, November 24, 2017.

“Turkey’s Civil Rights Movement: Segregation, Emancipation, and Democracy Indices,” Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, **Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs**, Middle East Initiative Speaker Series, May 3, 2017.

“One nation under Allah? Islamic multiculturalism and Muslim nationalism in Turkey’s Kurdish, Alevi, and Armenian Openings,” **Max Planck Institute for the Study of Ethnic and Religious Diversity**, Göttingen, Germany, July 2016

“Etnisite Rejimleri ve Milliyet,” **Bursa Akademi**, Fikir Zanaatkarları, Uludağ University, Mart 2016

“Uçak Krizi Sonrası Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri,” **SETA**, Ankara, December 2015

“Din ve Milliyetçilik: Türkiye, Cezayir ve Pakistan’da İslami Kökenler ile Laik Ulus İnşasının Çelişkileri,” **Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı (BİSAV)**, Vefa, İstanbul, October 2015

“European State Formation and Three Models of Nation-Building,” **University of Bern**, Institute of Sociology, March 2015

“Muslim Representation in Western and Post-Communist Legislatures,” Annual Koç-Stanford Lecture, The Mediterranean Studies Forum; Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies; and the Sohaib and Sara Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, **Stanford University**, November 1, 2013.

“Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey,” Annual Koç-Stanford Lecture, The Mediterranean Studies Forum; Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies; and the Sohaib and Sara Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, **Stanford University**, October 29, 2013.

Public presentation to the members of the parliament on the origins and possible solutions of the Kurdish question in Turkey, **TBMM Toplumsal Barış Yollarının Araştırılması ve Çözüm Sürecinin Değerlendirilmesi Komisyonu**, TBMM, May 28, 2013

“Türkiye’nin Kimlikleri ve Etnisite Rejimleri: Din, Dil, Etnisite, Milliyet, Devlet ve Medeniyet,” (book talk) **İstanbul Şehir University**, Department of Sociology, May 8, 2013

“Domestic Drivers of Turkey’s Democratic Transformation,” **SETA**, Washington, D.C., April 16, 2013

“Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey” (book talk), **George Washington University**, Department of Political Science, Washington, D.C., April 15, 2013

“Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey” (book talk), **Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies**, University of California, Berkeley, April 10, 2013

“Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey” (book talk), **International House**, University of California, Berkeley, April 8, 2013

“Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey” (book talk), University of California, Berkeley, **Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science**, April 5, 2013

Almanya, Rusya ve Türkiye’de Etnisite Rejimleri ve Milliyet, **Bilim Sanat Vakfı**, March 30, 2013

Alman Siyasetinde Göçtürkler, **BİLGESAM**, İstanbul, March 13, 2013

September 11, 1683: The Myth of a Christian Europe and the Massacre in Norway, **House of Literature**, sponsored by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, Norway, March 2, 2012

Kürt Çözümü: Açılımın Sebepleri, Sonuçları ve Sınırları, **SÜREÇ (Sosyal Üretim ve Eğitim Çalışmaları) Derneği**, Haziran 2012

Three Lectures on Muslim Minority Representation, German Citizenship Reform, and Turkish Minority in Germany Politics, **Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey**, Ankara, December 2011

“Batı ve Komünist-Sonrası Yasama Organlarında Müslüman Azınlıkların Temsili,” **TOBB ETU University**, Ankara, December 2011

“The German Ethnicity Regime,” **Einstein Forum**, Potsdam, Germany, May 2011

“Multiculturalism under the JDP Government: Kurds, Alevis, and Other Minorities in Turkey,” inaugural invited speaker of the *Young Scholars on Turkey Series*, **SETA**, Washington, DC, May 7, 2010

“Carving Nation from Confession: Haven Nationalism and Religious Backlash in Turkey, Israel, and Pakistan,” invited speaker to the Princeton University, Program in Near Eastern Studies, May 11, 2010

“Religious Diversity Gap: A Global Comparison of Muslim and Christian Minorities,” invited speaker to the **Center for the Study of Democracy, Toleration, and Religion**, Columbia University, April 15, 2010; **Çağatay Turkish Studies Lecture Series**, Yale University, February 25, 2010.

“Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism in Turkey: From Empire through the Republic,” invited speaker of the *KSG-Turkish Caucus*, **Kennedy School of Government-Harvard University**, March 8, 2010

“From Social Democracy to Islamic-Ottoman Multiculturalism: Origins of the Historic Reforms in State

Policies Towards Ethnicity in Turkey”, *Turkey in the Modern World Series*, Weatherhead Center for International and Area Studies, Harvard University, December 9, 2009

“Turkey and the EU,” at the *European Union: A Teachers' Institute*, Apr.4, 2009, UC Berkeley.

“Nation-Building, Islam, and Resistance in Turkey, Pakistan, and Algeria,” *International House*, Feb. 25, 2009

“Alevi-Kürt Denklemi: Etnik Kimlik Temelli Sorunlarımızın Evrimi, 1918-2008, ADAM Sosyal Bilimler Araştırma Merkezi (*ADAM Social Sciences Research Center*), Istanbul, July 30, 2008.

“Alevi and Kurdish Representation and Demands in Turkish Politics, 1950-2007”, *Department of Political Science and International Relations Lecture Series*, Bogazici University, July 10, 2008.

"Challenges to Transform the Ethnicity Regime in Turkey: Alevi and Kurdish Electoral Behavior and Demands for Recognition, 1946-2007", *Center for the Study of Democracy, Toleration, and Religion (CDTR) lecture series*, Columbia University, New York, April 14, 2008.

“Regimes of Ethnicity in Germany, Soviet Union/Russian Federation, and Turkey: Mono-ethnic, Multi-ethnic, and Non-ethnic regimes and pressures for change”, *Dept. of Political Science and International Relations*, Bogazici University, Istanbul, November 5, 2007.

"Challenging Turkey's Ethnicity Regime: Political Demands of Religious and Ethnic Minorities, 1946-2007", Public talk sponsored by the *Religion, Politics and Globalization Program (RPGP)*, April 29, 2008, University of California, Berkeley.

“Turkey and the European Union”, *Berkeley City Club* (Affiliate of the *World Affairs Council*), *Great Decisions Lecture Series*, Apr 13, 2006

“What Was Communism and What Did It Mean to Different People” and “Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Eastern Europe: From Bosnia to Bulgaria”, *ORIAS Summer Teacher’s Institute at the University of California, Berkeley*. Personal Narratives: Studying Cultural Interaction, Exchange and Migration through First Person Accounts. July 26, 2005. (Reviewed by Stella Bourgoïn in the ISEES Newsletter, vol.22, no.3 (Fall 2005), p.20-21.