

Ozyegin University –Nişantepe Mah. Orman Sk. 34794 Çekmeköy – İstanbul Turkey  
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### **Major Academic Appointments**

Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Ozyegin University, Istanbul, July 2023 - present

Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Koç University, Istanbul, 2018 - 2023

Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Koç University, Istanbul, 2008 - 2018

Democracy and Development Fellow, Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS), Princeton University, New Jersey, 2010 - 2011

Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Koç University, Istanbul, 2002 – 2007

Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow in Modern Ethnic Conflicts and Lecturer, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, 2001 - 2002

### **Education**

Ph.D. Political Economy and Public Policy (Fields: Political Economy of Institutions and Development; Comparative Politics), University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 2000

M.A. Economics, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1995

B.A. Economics, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, 1992

### **Research Areas**

Comparative Politics; Political Economy; Polarization, Depolarization and Democracy; Democratization, Democratic Erosion and Opposition Behavior; Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism; Political Religion and Secularism; the Kurdish Question

### **Books and Edited Volumes**

1. *Return to Point Zero: The Turkish-Kurdish Question and How Politics and Ideas (Re)Make Empires, Nations and States* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2022)
2. *Polarizing Polities: A Global Threat to Democracy*, Special Volume of *The American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681(1) (2019) (Co-edited with Jennifer McCoy)

3. *Polarization and Democracy: A Janus-Faced Relationship with Pernicious Consequences*, Special Volume of *American Behavioral Scientist* 62 (1) (2018) (Co-edited with Jennifer McCoy)
4. *Sosyal Demokratlar ve Türkiye’de Kürt Sorunu* (Social Democrats and the Kurdish Question in Turkey). Ankara: Bencekitap, 2016. ISBN-13: 978-6059158466
5. *Milada Dönüş: Ulus-Devletten Devlet-Ulusa Türk ve Kürt Meselesinin Üç İkilemi* (Return to Point Zero: From Nation-State to State-Nation, the Three Dilemmas of the Turkish and Kurdish Question). Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2015; (2. Print, 2016). ISBN-13: 978-6055250898

### Articles in ISI-Indexed Journals

1. “Regime uncertainty, democratic erosion and resilience, and Turkish opposition actors,” *Z Vgl Polit Wiss* (German Journal of Comparative Politics) *OnlineFirst*: 1-29 (2024) (with Metehan Tekinürk) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12286-024-00595-x>
2. “Pernicious Polarization, Autocratization and Opposition Strategies,” *Democratization* 28(5): 929-948 (2021) (with Jennifer McCoy and Russell E. Luke)
3. “Overcoming Polarization,” *Journal of Democracy* ) 32 (1): 6-21 (2021) (with Jennifer McCoy)
4. “Transformations through Polarizations and Global Threats to Democracy,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681 (1): 8-22 (with Jennifer McCoy) (January 2019)
5. “Turkey: The Slippery Slope from Reformist to Revolutionary Polarization and Democratic Breakdown” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681 (1): 42-61 (January 2019)
6. “Toward a Theory of Pernicious Polarization and How It Harms Democracies: Comparative Evidence and Possible Remedies,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681: 234-271 (with Jennifer McCoy) (January 2019)
7. “Déjà vu? Polarization and Endangered Democracies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 62 (1): 3-15 (2018) (with Jennifer McCoy)
8. “Polarization and the Global Crisis of Democracy: Common Patterns, Dynamics and Pernicious Consequences for Democratic Polities,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 62 (1): 16-42 (2018) (with Jennifer McCoy and Tahmina Rahman)
9. “Conquering versus Democratizing the State: Political Islamists and Fourth Wave Democratization in Turkey and Tunisia,” *Democratization* 24 (6): 1025-1043 (2017).

10. "Understanding Turkey's Democratic Breakdown: Old versus New and Indigenous versus Global Authoritarianism" *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 16 (4): 481-503 (2016).
11. "Is Islam the Solution? Comparing Turkish Islamic and Secular Thinking toward Ethnic and Religious Minorities." *Journal of Church and State* 58 (3): 529-555 (2015) (with Gitta Glüpker-Kesebir).
12. "Theory-Consuming or Theory-Producing?: Studying Turkey as a Theory-Developing Critical Case," *Turkish Studies* 15 (4): 571-588 (2014).
13. "Moderation of Religious and Secular Politics, a Country's 'Center' and Democratization," *Democratization* 21 (2): 244-267 (2014).
14. "Is Turkish Secularism Anti-Religious, Reformist, Separationist, Integrationist, or Simply Undemocratic?" Review Essay, *Journal of Church and State* 55 (3): 585-597 (2013).
15. "Does It Take Democrats to Democratize?: Lessons from Islamic and Secular Elite Values in Turkey," *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (5): 511-545 (2011).
16. "Media Values and Democratization: What Unites and What Divides Religious-Conservative and Pro-Secular Elites?" *Turkish Studies* 11 (4): 555-577 (December 2010).
17. "Turkey's New Kurdish Opening: Religious versus Secular Values" *Middle East Policy* 17 (2):152-165 (2010). (with Evangelos G. Liaras).
18. "Why Aren't Kurds Like the Scots and the Turks Like the Brits? Moderation and Democracy in the Kurdish Question," *Cooperation and Conflict* 43 (2): 220-249 (2008).
19. "Moderate Islam and Secularist Opposition in Turkey: Implications for the World, Muslims and Secular Democracy," *Third World Quarterly* 28 (7): 1271-1289 (2007).
20. "Resurgence and Remaking of Identity: Civil Beliefs, Domestic and External Dynamics, and the Turkish Mainstream Discourse on Kurds," *Comparative Political Studies* 38 (6): 591-622 (2005).
21. "Defensive- vs. Liberal-Nationalist Perspectives on Diversity and the Kurdish Conflict: Europeanization, the Internal Debate, and *Türkiyelilik*," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 32: 73-91 (2005).
22. "Failures of the Discourse of Ethnicity: Turkey, Kurds, and the Emerging Iraq," *Security Dialogue* 36 (1): 109-128 (2005).
23. "Turkey's Kurdish Conflict: Changing Context and Domestic and Regional Implications," *Middle East Journal* 58 (2): 235-253 (2004).

24. "Demokratlığın Politik Ekonomisi: İnandır Demokrasi, Düzenleyici Devlet, ve AB'li Küreselleşme," (The Political Economy of Being a Democrat: Credible Democracy, Regulatory State, and Globalization with the EU), *Doğu Batı* 7 (28): 227-25 (2004).
25. "Insincere Public Discourse, Trust, and Implications for Democratic Transition: The Yugoslav Meltdown Revisited." *Journal for Institutional Innovation, Development, and Transition* 6: 92-112 (2002).
26. "Ethnic Kurds, Endogenous Identities, and Turkey's Democratization and Integration with Europe," *Global Review of Ethnopolitics* (now *Ethnopolitics*) 1 (4): 74-93 (2002).
27. "Cascades of Ethnic Polarization: Lessons from Yugoslavia." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 573: 127-151 (2001).

### Chapters in Books

1. "Affective Polarization and Democratic Backsliding," in *Handbook of Affective Polarization*, Mariano Torcal and Eelco Harteveld, eds. (London: Edwar Elgar Publishing, forthcoming) (with Jennifer McCoy)
2. "Polarization and Autocratization" in Luca Tomini and Aurel Croissant, eds, *Routledge Handbook of Autocratization* (London: Routledge, forthcoming) (with Jennifer McCoy)
3. "2000'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Parlamenter Muhalefet ve İkilemleri: Normal Siyasetten Olağanüstü Siyasete," *Siyasi ve İktisadi Hayatın 100 Yılı*, İsmet Akça, Mine Eder ve Barış Alp Özden, Der., içinde (Istanbul: İBB Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 2024)
4. "Pernicious Polarization and Democratic Resilience in the US: Comparative Lessons," in Robert C. Lieberman, Suzanne Mettler and Kenneth Roberts, eds. *Democratic Resilience: Can the United States Withstand Rising Polarization?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) (with Jennifer McCoy)
5. "Political Fragmentation and Polarization: The Impact on Political Parties and Movements," in András Sajó, Stephen Holmes and Renáta Uitz, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Illiberalism* (London: Routledge, 2021) (with Jennifer McCoy).
6. "Old and New Polarizations and Failed Democratizations in Turkey," in Güneş Murat Tezcür, ed. *Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020)
7. "Turkish Secularism: Looking Forward and Beyond the West," pp. 37-54 in Matthew Whiting and Alpaslan Özerdem, eds, *Routledge Handbook on Turkish Politics* (London: Routledge, 2019).

8. "What Makes a Good Constitution from a Political Science Perspective?" (Sections 6, 13 and 52, pp. 37-39, 65-68 and 232-236 in İbrahim Ö. Kaboğlu, Ed., *Türkiye'nin Anayasa Gündemi: 27 Uzman, 66 Soru-Yanıt* (Turkey's Agenda of Constitution: 27 Experts, 66 Questions-Answers) (Istanbul: İletişim, 2016).
9. "Muslim Secularisms in the European Context," pp. 171-188 in *Global Secularisms in a Post-Secular Age*, Michael Rectenwald, Rochelle Almeida, and George Levine, eds. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015) (with Arolda Elbasani).
10. "Whither with Secularism or Just Undemocratic Laiklik? The Evolution and Future of Secularism under the AKP," pp. 23-49 in Valeria Talbot, ed, *The Uncertain Path of the 'New Turkey,'* (Milan: ISPI, Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale, 2015).
11. "When is Normalization Also Democratization?: Islamist Political Parties, the Turkish Case and the Future of Muslim Polities," pp. 41-57 in Quinn Meacham and Julie Chernov Hwang (eds), *Strategies and Behavior of Islamist Political Parties: Lessons from Asia and the Middle East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).
12. "The Janus-Faced Relation of Religious Non-State Actors and Human Security: Islamic and Secular Values in Turkey," pp. 30-47 in James Wellman and Clark Lombardi, eds, *Religion and Human Security* (Oxford University Press, 2012).
13. "Kürt Meselesi'nde Dünü ve Bugünü Barış İçin Yorumlamak" (Interpreting the Past and the Future of the Kurdish Question for Peace), pp. 15-81 in Konda Araştırma (Ed.), *Kürt Meselesi'nde Algı ve Beklentiler* (Perceptions and Expectations in the Kurdish Question) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011).
14. "Toward A Non-Standard Story: The Kurdish Question and the Headscarf, Nationalism, and Iraq," pp. 253-288 in Ayşe Kadioğlu and Fuat Keyman, eds, *Symbiotic Antagonisms in Turkey: Sources, Discourses and Changing Nature of Turkish, Kurdish, and Islamic Nationalisms* (The University of Utah Press, 2011).
15. "Democratization, Clashing Narratives, and 'Twin Tolerations' between Islamic-Conservative and Pro-Secular Actors," pp. 28-47 in Marlies Casier and Joost Jongerden, eds, *Nationalisms and Politics in Turkey: Political Islam, Kemalism and the Kurdish Issue* (New York: Routledge, 2010). (Turkish edition, Istanbul, Vate Yayınevi, 2013).
16. "New Muslim Pluralism and Secular Democracy in Turkey and the EU," pp. 95-111 in Elizabeth Prugl and Markus Thiel, eds., *Diversity in the European Union* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2009) (with Gönül Tol).
17. "Defensive- and Liberal Nationalisms, the Kurdish Question and Modernization/ Democratization," pp. 103-135 in E. Fuat Keyman, ed., *Remaking*

*Turkey: Globalization, Alternative Modernities, and Democracy* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2007).

18. "Ethnic Kurds: Rival and Compatible Definitions of Identities, and Turkey's Integration with the EU," pp. 331-349 in Armand Clesse and Seyfi Tashan, eds., *Turkey and the EU: 2004 and beyond* (Dutch University Press, 2004).
19. "Ethnic and Regional Conflict," pp. 173-196 in *World at Risk: A Global Issues Sourcebook*. New York: Congressional Quarterly Press: May 2002. (Selected "Outstanding Academic Title" for 2002 by Choice magazine, revised edition published in 2009).

### Articles in Non-ISI Journals

1. "Politics of Notables versus National Machine: Social, Political and State Transformations, Party Organizations and Clientelism during AKP Governments," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 34 (2022) (with Sinan Toygar Baykan)
2. "Siyasal Rejim Nedir Ne Değildir?: Kavram Karmaşası Kademeli Otokratikleşmenin İçsel Bir Mekanizması Olabilir mi?" (What is and is not a political regime?: can conceptual confusion be an endogenous mechanism of incremental autocratization?), *Toplum ve Bilim* 158: 6-26 (2021)
3. "Muslim Secularisms in Europe: The Making, Unmaking and Remaking of Laicite in Albania and Turkey," *Occhiali – Rivista sul Mediterraneo islamico* 5: 15-37 (2019) (with Arolda Elbasani).
4. Review of "*Nation-Building in Turkey and Morocco*" (Cambridge University Press, 2015) by Senem Aslan, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49 (4): 774-776 (2017).
5. "Barış Süreci ve Kürt Meselesi'nde Kimlik ve Dış Politika: Riskler ve Fırsatlar," (The Peace Process and Identity and Foreign Policy in the Kurdish Question), *Ortadoğu Analiz* 5 (57): 46-53. (2013).
6. "Turkey's New Constitution & Secular Democracy: A Case for Liberty", *E-International Relations*. June 5. (2012).
7. "Sustainable Democratization and the Roles of the US and the EU: Political İslam and Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 5 (3): 89-108 (2006).
8. "Looking Objectively at Rebels: The Political Economy of Violence, Kurdish Nationalism, and the PKK." Review of "Primitive Rebels or Revolutionary Modernizers?" by Paul White. *Turkish Studies* 5 (2), pp. 162-165. Summer 2004.

9. "Collective Action or Madness?: Explaining Group Identities and Violence." Review of *Path to Collective Madness: A Study in Social Order and Political Pathology* by Dipak K. Gupta. *Journal of Socio-Economics* 31 (3), pp. 318-322. June 2002.

### Policy Reports, Research Notes and Book Reviews

1. "Understanding and Overcoming Extreme Political Polarization," *Democracy Reporting International Public Report* (Berlin, forthcoming)
2. "Cumhuriyet ve Demokrasi" (Republic and Democracy), pp. 14-49 in *Cumhuriyet'in İkinci Yüzyılına Girerken Türkiye: Çalıştay Düzisinden Perspektifler* (Turkey while entering the second century of the republic: perspectives from the workshop). Istanbul: Tüsiad, Turkish Businessmen Association, 2023. (with Ali Yayıncıoğlu).
3. "Turkey's 2023 Elections: Successful Autocracy or Failure of Conventional Parties?" *SUITS Policy Brief*, No. 3, October 2023; Stockholm University of Turkish Studies
4. *DRG Center Learning Agenda Opening Up Democratic Spaces Original Research: Summary Report*. USAID: July 2023. (with Paul Friesen, Jennifer McCoy, Rachel Beatty Riedl, and Kenneth Roberts). [https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PA02166K.pdf](https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA02166K.pdf)
5. [7 Lessons from Turkey's Effort to Beat a Populist Autocrat](#) (Online Exclusive Research Note), *Journal of Democracy*, May 2023 (with Jennifer McCoy)
6. "[Reducing Pernicious Polarization: A Comparative Historical Analysis of Depolarization](#)," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace working paper*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC: May 2022 (with Jennifer McCoy, Ben Press and Özlem Tuncel)
7. *Demokrasiye Geçiş İçin İttifak ve Mutabakat Senaryoları* (Scenarios of Alliance and Accord for Transition to Democracy), Policy Report, Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı (Social, Economic and Political Research Foundation of Turkey) (Istanbul: Tüses, 2021) (with Seren Selvin Korkmaz and Edgar Şar)

### Published Working Papers and Reports

1. "Old Autocracy or Something New?: Conceptualizing and Measuring Democratic Erosion and Overcoming It." *APSA Preprints*, December 11, 2023. doi: 10.33774/apsa-2023-sshrp. (with Alper Yılmaz)
2. "Toward a New Transition Theory: Opposition Dilemmas and Countering Democratic Erosion." *APSA Preprints*, September 27, 2022. doi: 10.33774/apsa-2022-nr4mz. (with Jennifer McCoy and Ozlem Tuncel)
3. Democracy (for me): Religious and Secular Beliefs and Social and Political Pluralism in Turkey. Recipient of the 2009 Sabancı-Brooking International Research Award.

4. "Değişen Türkiye'de Kimlik, Laiklik ve Demokrasi," (Identity, Laicism, and Democracy in Changing Turkey) *Siyasi İktisat Söyleşileri, Osman Bankası Arşiv & Araştırma Merkezi*: Vol.6, Feb. 2008.  
[http://www.obarsiv.com/pdf/MuratSomer\\_NB.pdf](http://www.obarsiv.com/pdf/MuratSomer_NB.pdf).

### **Work in Progress and Submitted for Publication**

1. Depolarizing Democracies: Preventing and Overcoming Pernicious Polarization. Book manuscript in writing with advanced contract from Princeton University Press. Expected publication in 2014 (with Jennifer McCoy)
2. Oppositions and Overcoming Democratic Erosion. Book manuscript in writing (with Jennifer McCoy)
3. Toward a New Transition Theory?: Opposition Dilemmas and Countering Democratic Erosion. Journal article submitted for publication in *Government and Opposition*. (with Jennifer McCoy and Özlem Tuncel)

### **Verified Citations**

Web of Science: 1321 (*h-index*: 17, as of April 2024); Scopus: 1438 (*h-index*: 17, as of April 2024); Google Scholar: 3705 (*h-index*: 25, as of April 2024)

### **Awards**

- Sedat Simavi Social Sciences Prize, 2015
- Sabancı Brookings International Research Award, Third Prize, 2009
- Best Graduate Essay, Center for International Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1997
- Outstanding Academic Achievement Award, Office of International Students, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1997

### **Affiliations, Memberships and Visiting Appointments & Fellowships**

- Research Affiliate, Democracy Institute, Central European University, Budapest, De- and Re-Democratization (DRD) Research Group, 2022 –
- Member, Democratic Erosion Consortium: <https://www.democratic-erosion.com/>
- Visiting Scholar and Lecturer, The Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, Stanford University, January 2019-2020
- Associate and Visiting Scholar, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, October 2016-2017
- Visiting Scholar, Weatherhead Center for Foreign and International Affairs (WCFIA), Harvard University, August-September 2016



Visiting Fellow, Center for Southeast European Studies (CSEES), University of Graz, June-July, 2016

Senior Visiting Scholar, Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies (SUITS), August 2013-February 2014

Visiting Scholar, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, July-Aug. 2011, Aug-Sept. 2009, and Aug-Sept. 2005

Democracy and Development Fellow, Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS), Princeton University, New Jersey, 2010-2011

Post-doctoral Research Scholarship, the Turkish Academy of Sciences, (Tüba – Dsydab), Visiting fellow, Institute of Governance, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Aug-Sept 2006

Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Modern Ethnic Conflicts, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, 2001 - 2002

Humane Studies Fellowship, Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University, Virginia, 1998 - 1999

Dissertation Fellowship, Center for International Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1996 – 1997

## Research Grants

Course Support Grant, Institute for Humane Studies, (USD 8,300), Fall 2023

Member of the PI team: “Opening Up Democratic Spaces,” USAID Project granted to Cornell and Yale Universities, 2022-2023.

Principal investigator. Project title: “How do Political Parties Organize in Turkey? Bringing Basic Indicators and Qualitative Assessment Together.” The Turkish Institute of Science and Technology (Tübitak). (Amount: TL 187,000 - USD 37,500), 2018 – 2021

Member of the Scientific Advisory Board: European Commission, Horizon 2020 (The H2020-SC6-ENG-GLOBALLY-2017), Project title: “Respond: Multilevel Governance of Mass Migration in Europe and Beyond” (€3,310,405). 2017 - 2021

Principal investigator: Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and International Development Research Center (IDRC). Project title: “Explaining Secular Weakness and Implications for Democratization in the Middle East: Comparative Examination of Islamic and Secular Actors in Turkey and Tunisia ” (CAD 149, 000 = TL 290,000), 2014-2017

Principal investigator: The Turkish Institute of Science and Technology (Tübitak). Project title: “Islamic- Conservative and Secular Constituencies and Democracy in Turkey.” (Amount: USD 15,000), 2008 – 2009

Principal investigator: Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and International Development Research Center (IDRC). Project title: "Islamist Parties, Domestic and External Mechanisms, and Democratization: Lessons from Turkey's AKP." (Amount: CAD 135,000), 2006 – 2009

## Teaching

Özyeğin University, Istanbul, 2023 --

Graduate Courses:

IR 535 – Global Polarization and Democracy (MA-level course)

Undergraduate Courses:

IR 329 – Democracy and Democratization

Stanford University, California, Spring 2019

Hist 282F – History of Modern Turkey (Co-taught with Ali Yaycioglu)

Political Science and International Relations Department, Koç University, Istanbul, 2002-2023

Graduate Courses:

Intl 602 – Comparative Politics (PhD level)

Intl 504 – Comparative Politics (MA level)

Intl 552 – Politics and International Relations of Religion and Secularism (MA and PhD level)

Undergraduate Courses:

Intl 444/452/552 – Democracy and Authoritarianism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Senior BA level, formerly MA-PhD cross-listed)

Intl 451 – History and Politics of Modern Turkey (Co-taught with Ali Yaycioglu as part of the Koç-Stanford program in Fall 2022)

Intl 440/342 – Religion, Secularism, and Democracy in the World

Intl 432 – Political Economy of Institutions, Values, and Development

Intl 314 – Politics of International Finance

Intl 204 – Introduction to Comparative Politics

Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, 2001-2002.

SIS 498 - Political Economy of Ethnicity, Conflict, and Development

University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Fall 2000 and Summer 1997

Econ 336 - The Political Economy of Values

California State University, Fullerton, 1998- 2000

Econ 333 - Economics of Development

Econ 331 - Economies in Transition

Econ 515 - Managerial Economics (Web-integrated Distance learning class)

Teaching Assistantship: Economics Department, University of Southern California, Los Angeles 1994- Spring 1996 & 1997 – 1998; Economics Department, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul 1991-1992

Post-doctoral Researcher Supervision (Koç University):  
Evangelos Liaras (PhD, MIT) (2009-2010)

PhD Dissertation Supervision (Koç University PhD Program in Politics and International Relations, unless stated otherwise):

Fazıl Alp Akış (first advisor)

Alper Yılmaz (first advisor)

İdlir Lika (completed in December 2019, committee member)

İlker Kocael (ongoing since 2014, first advisor)

Sezai Doruk Soyata (committee member, Koç University PhD Program in Sociology, since 2023)

Metehan Tekinırk (Boston University, completed in 2022, committee member)

Yunus Emre Orhan (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, completed in 2022, committee member)

MA Theses Supervision, (Koç University MA Program in International Relations):

First Advisor:

Semuhi Sinanoğlu (2017)

Şenay Yeğın (2010)

Ebru Eren (2010)

Osman Şahin (2008)

Naci Yıldız (2008)

Second Advisor:

Gizem Çetin (2021)

Didem Seyis (2014)

Şebnem Keniş (2012)

Selim Erdem Aytaç (2009)

Gülhan Aygün (2008)

Nihal Esra Ükü (2008)

Boğaziçi University MA Program in Political Science and International Relations:  
Patrick Sykes (committee member, 2016)

Boğaziçi University PhD Program in Political Science and International Relations:  
Edgar Şar (committee member, completed in 2023)

Stockholm University Institute of Turkish Studies:

Seren Selvin Korkmaz (committee member and opponent/discussant, 2023)

### **Refereeing for Academic Journals, Book Publishers & Funding Organizations**

Journals:

*World Politics; Comparative Political Studies; American Political Science Review; American Sociological Review; Comparative Politics; International Studies Quarterly; Electoral Studies; International Affairs; Perspectives on Politics; Democratization; British Journal of Middle East Studies; Security Dialogue; Ethnic and Racial Studies; Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology; Foreign Policy Analysis; Nationalism and Ethnic Politics; Contemporary Islam; Politics, Religion and Ideology; Politics and Governance; Journal of Church and State; Peacebuilding; Turkish Studies; European Journal of Turkish Studies; New Perspectives on Turkey; South European Society and Politics; Southeast European and Black Sea Studies; Third World Quarterly; Studies in Comparative International Development; Party Politics; Political Research Quarterly.*

Book Publishers:

Bristol University Press; Edinburgh University Press; Indiana University Press; Koç University Press; Oxford University Press; Palgrave Macmillan; Routledge

Funding Organizations:

European Research Council; Turkish Science and Technology Foundation

### **Administrative Experience, Formal Consulting and Public Service**

Member of the University Senate, Faculty of Social Sciences Representative, Özyeğin University, Istanbul, 2023 --

Member of the University Promotion Committee, Faculty of Social Sciences Representative, Özyeğin University, Istanbul, 2023 --

Member, Project [Advisory Group](#), the Global Initiative on Polarization by Institute for Integrated Transitions in collaboration with the Ford Foundation, 2023 --

Consulting, Democracy Reporting International, Berlin, Germany, 2022 --

Expert Advisor, Reform Enstitüsü (Reform Institute) Think Tank, Istanbul, 2022 --

Expert Advisor, Istanbul Planning Agency (IPA) of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2022 --

Member of Advisory Board, IstanPol (Istanbul Political Research Institute), 2022 --

Member of the Editorial Board, *Secular Studies* (Brill), 2017 --

Member of Tüses (Turkish Social, Economic and Political Research Foundation), since December 2016.

Member of the Editorial Board, Koç University Press, 2016-2018.

Member of the American Political Science Association, 2000 --

Member of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, 2000 – present.

Co-coordinator of PhD and MA programs in Political Science and International Relations, Koç University, Istanbul, 2012 – 2014.

Organizer of International Workshop on “Islamist Parties and Constituencies, Domestic and External Mechanisms, and Democratization,” Koç University, Istanbul, May 25-26. 2007.

## Contributions to Media

Opinion Pieces and Interviews:

In Turkish: *T24; Politikyol; Yeni Arayış; Deutsche Welle Türkçe; Al Jazeera Turk; Karar; Newsweek Türkiye; Ortaksöz; Taraf; Radikal; Radikal İki*

In English: *Bitterlemons-international.org; Foreign Policy; Middle East Roundtable; European Western Balkans; Monkey Cage – The Washington Post; The National*

Interviews, Expert Opinions, and Roundtable Discussions:

In Turkish:

*Akşam; Birgün; CNN-Türk TV; Deutsche Welle Türkçe; Evrensel; Habertürk; Habertürk TV; Halk TV; Hürriyet; Karantina TV; KRT TV; Medyascope; Milliyet; NTV; NTV Radyo; Sabah; Sözcü; Tele1; Tempo; TGRT TV; Tonet; Zaman*

In English and Other International:

*Al Jazeera International TV; ARTE TV; Artı TV; Associated Press; BBC World; BBC News; Boston Globe; Bulgarian National Radio; CNN International; Deutsche Welle; Deutsche Welle Türkçe; El Confidencial; El Pais; Euronews TV; Financial Times; Gulan Media (Iraq); interfaithradio.org; International Business Times; MO Magazine (Belgium); National Public Radio (USA and Canada); Neue Gesellschaft; Neue Zürcher Zeitung; New Republic; New Yorker; New York Times; NRK (Norway); ÖRF TV (Österreichischer Rundfunk); PS: Europ; Raport o stanie Świata with Adrian Bąk; Reuters; RS Radio; Review of Democracy, Central European University, Budapest; Der Tagesspiegel; USA Today; Washington Report on the Middle East*

Podcasts:

*Institute of International Relations, Prague; KUTalks; Turkey Book Talk; Tüses; World Class from the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI) at Stanford University; The Review of Democracy*

## Talks, Lectures, and Presentations

“A Political and Oppositional Concept of Democratic Resilience Against Democratic Erosion,” Conference on Research Frontiers in Democratic Threats and Resilience Hosted by Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, March 22-23, 2024

“Strategies Against Authoritarianism” Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Belgrade and Institute for Philosophy und Social Theory, Belgrade, Serbia, March 14, 2024

“Authoritarianism and Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade, Serbia, March 13, 2024

“Cumhuriyet ve Demokrasi” (Republic and Democracy), panel on Cumhuriyet’in İkinci Yüzyılına Gिरerken Türkiye (Türkiye while entering the second century of the republic). Tüsiad, Turkish Businessmen Association executive board meeting, Ankara, November 8, 2023.

“Republic and Democracy” Young Presidents Organization, Turkish Businessmen and Industrialists Association seminar, Istanbul Salt Galata, Nov. 2, 2023

“Affective Polarization and Democratic Backsliding” Affective Polarization Handbook Workshop, Barcelona, Spain, Sept. 21-22, 2023 (with Jennifer McCoy)

“The Global Rise of Political Polarization – Implications for Democracies,” Turkey Europe Future Forum, Stiftung Mercator, Istanbul, Sept.. 15, 2023

Forum on “CHP in Its Centennial” Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Reform Institute, Harbiye Kongre Merkezi, Istanbul, Sept.9, 2023

Presenter in Author Meet Critics panel on "Resisting Backsliding: Opposition Strategies against the Erosion of Democracy" by Laura Gamboa, American Political Science Association annual meeting, Los Angeles, California, Sept.2, 2023

“Old Autocracy or Something New?: Conceptualizing and Measuring Democratic Erosion and Overcoming It”, American Political Science Association annual meeting, Los Angeles, California, Aug. 31, 2023 (with Alper Yilmaz)

Roundtable on “Strategies of Democratic Resilience”, presenter, the American Political Science Association annual meeting, Los Angeles, California, Aug. 31, 2023

“Toward a Political and Ideational Theory of Democratic Resilience in Contexts of Democratic Erosion: Turkey and Comparative Evidence,” 27th World Congress of Political Science, International Political Science Association, July 17, 2023, Buenos Aires, Argentina (could not physically attend due to unforeseen consequences)

“What to Expect in Turkey's Elections”, panel speaker at the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., May 11, 2023

“Turkish Pres. Election: Will Turkey Restore Its Democracy or Further Slide into Authoritarianism?” Speaker at the Moynihan Institute Middle Eastern Studies Program panel, Syracuse University, April 11, 2023

“Party Alliances In Turkey Have Never Been as Relevant and as Transparent as Today” Interview with Review of Democracy: Party Co-op Series, Central European University, April 11, 2023.

Invited expert participant in Ford Foundation, Global Initiative on Polarization and

Institute for Integrated Transitions Workshop on How to Combat Polarization,  
Barcelona, Spain, November 29-30, 2022

“Countering Democratic Erosion and Oppositions: Turkey and Beyond,” Consortium  
or European Symposia on Turkey Limits of Autocratisation: Actors and Institutions of  
Democratic Resilience Ca’ Foscari University of Venice / 18 – 20 November 2022 / VIU  
Campus, San Servolo Island

“Return to Point Zero: The Turkish-Kurdish Question and How Politics and Ideas  
(Re)Make Empires, Nations and States Kitabı ve Düşündürdükleri,” Siyasi İlimler Türk  
Derneği, I. Ulusal Siyaset Bilimi Kongresi, Bilgi University, Istanbul, September 24,  
2022

“Otoriterleşme ve Siyasi Rejim Üzerindeki Etkileri: Kuramsal Çerçeve ve Türkiye  
Örneği” Siyasi İlimler Türk Derneği, I. Ulusal Siyaset Bilimi Kongresi, Bilgi University,  
Istanbul, September 24, 2022

“Political Polarization: Georgian Context in Comparative Perspective” Future of  
Georgia Conference Carnegie Europe and the Levan Mikeladze Foundation, Tbilisi,  
Georgia, December 14, 2021

“Toward a New Transition Theory? Opposition Dilemmas during Incremental  
Autocratization,” American Political Science Association annual meeting, Seattle, WA  
and virtual, September 28-October 3, 2021 (with Jennifer McCoy)

“Uzlaşmak veya Uzlaşmamak: Güdümlü Demokrasi, Seçimli Otoriterlik ve  
Gelecek,” (Compromise or Not: Guided Democracy, Electoral Autocracy and the  
Future), Demokrasi Kitabı Çalıştayı (Democracy Book Workshop), Başkent University  
Webinar, July 26-27, 2021

Speaker in Brown University webinar on “Race, Ethnicity and Democratic Erosion in  
Comparative Perspective,” March 30, 2021

Speaker in roundtable on “Büyüme” (what does it mean to ‘grow’ for a society?),  
Özyeğin University Istanbul social science webinar series, March 2, 2021

Speaker in roundtable on “Lessons from the 2020 U.S. Elections: How to Deal with  
Populist Incumbents All Around the World?” Istanbul: Istanbul Political Research  
Center Webinar, December 3, 2020

“Oppositions, Autocratization and Democratization: Which Opposition, What and  
Why?” Unpacking ‘The Opposition’ In Undemocratic Regimes: The Role,  
Transformation and Challenges of the Oppositional Actor In Turkey and Beyond,  
University of Turin-based Webinar, November 27-28, 2020

Public Lecture, “Perspectives on Middle Eastern Politics: Polarization and  
Fragmentation,” The University of Central Florida Kurdish Studies Program, Orlando,  
FL, November 21, 2019

Keynote Speaker, "Polarization and Democratic Erosion: Lessons for the US, Turkey and Other Polarized Societies," Center for Human Rights and Democracy, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA, November 19, 2019

"Pernicious Polarization and Democratic Resilience: Implications for the US and Others," (with Jennifer McCoy) Conference on Democratic Resilience: Can the US Democracy Withstand Rising Polarization? Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, November 7-9, 2019

"Toplumsal Barış-Kutuplaşma ve Sosyal Demokrasi" (Social Peace-Polarization and Social Democracy), Sosyal Demokrasi Derneği (Social Democracy Foundation), İzmir, October 19, 2019

Speaker in "Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Yaşanan Demokrasi Krizi ve Sosyal Demokrasinin Kendini Yeniden Yapılandırması: Sosyal Demokrasi Sempozyumu" (The Democracy Crisis in Turkey and the World and How Social Democracy Should Restructure Itself: Social Democracy Symposium), Ankara, October 18, 2019

"Prospects for Democratization and Turkey's Foreign Policy," Expert Workshop on Turkey, the Syrian War, and the Future of the Transatlantic Alliance, Transatlantic Turkey Dialogue, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Brussels, October 10-1 2019

Chair, organizer and presenter (with Jennifer McCoy), "Roundtable on Polarizing Politics: Toward A Comparative Theory of A Global Threat to Democracy," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 30, 2019

"Polarizing-Cum-Transformative Politics and Democratic Breakdown in Turkey: From Reforms to Revolution and the Prospects," Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Conference, Columbia University, New York, NY, May 3, 2019

"Coping with Polarizing-cum-Transforming Politics and Democratic Decay," Center for Democracy, Development and Rule of Law, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, February 7, 2019

"Extreme Polarization, Institutional Context, and Democratic Crisis Globally" (with Jennifer McCoy), FSI-SSRC joint conference on Political Institutions and Challenges to Democracy: America in Comparative Perspective, New York City, NY, January 31, 2019

"The Three Dilemmas of the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict and the Question of Majority Group Recognition of Minorities," Workshop on Ethnic Conflict and Post-Conflict Strategies to Institutionalize or Avoid Reference to Ethnicities, New York University Florence, February 22-23, 2018

"Polarization and New Authoritarianism in Turkey and Beyond," the University of Osnabrück, January 11, 2018



"Polarization and New Authoritarianism in Turkey and Beyond," Uppsala Religion and Society Research Centre (CRS), Uppsala University, November 30, 2017

"The Independence Referendum in the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq and Its Consequences," Boğaziçi University and the Turkish Industry and Business Association (Tüsiad) Foreign Policy Forum meeting, Istanbul October 13, 2017

"The EU, Turkey and the Kurdish Question," Conference on Turkey-EU Relations, Bilgi University, Istanbul, September 22, 2017

"The State of Turkey's Democracy and Western Alliances," Political Science Department, Boston College, September 14, 2017

"Toward a More Democratic and Workable Secularism: Insights from Secularities beyond the West'" Department of Government, Harvard University, September 11, 2017

"Political Elite Conflicts, the Future of Turkish Secularism and Secularities beyond the West," American Political Science Association annual meeting, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 4, 2017

"Neo-Populist Polarization and Boundary-Making: The Clash of Democratization versus New Authoritarianism," Politics and Society Workshop, International Relations Department, Özyeğin University, Istanbul, May 17, 2017

"Turkey's Protean Formative Rift, Religious and Secular Politics and Benign versus Pernicious Polarization," Workshop on Polarized Polities, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, March 12-14, 2017

"Identity, Nationalism and Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization," public lecture, Antalya International University, March 10, 2017

"Moderation, State Regulation and Moderate Islam in Turkey," Middle East Studies Association annual conference, Boston, MA, November 17-20, 2016

"What's Happening in Turkey?" Georgia State University, November 7, 2016

"Return to Point Zero: Turkey's Democratic Breakdown, Remaking and the Turkish and Kurdish Question," Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, September 14, 2016

"What Happened to Turkey? Old versus New and Indigenous versus Global Dynamics of Authoritarianism," Department of Government, Harvard University, September 14, 2016

"What Happened to Turkey?" Austrian Institute for International Politics (OIIB), Wien, Austria, July 11, 2016

“Political Islam, Secularism and Future of Democracy in Turkey,” Center for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, Austria, June 23, 2016.

“What are the Premises of a Democratic Constitution?” Democracy First (Önce Demokrasi) Initiative conference, Istanbul, June 1, 2016.

“Religious and Secular Politics and the Refugee Crisis in Turkey,” Guest Speaker in Workshop on the EU Refugee Crisis, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, April 22, 2016.

“Conceptualizing Polarization and the Case of Religious-Secular Polarization in Turkey,” ISA Polarized Politics Workshop, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA, March 14-15, 2016.

“Milada Dönüş: Ulus-Devletten Devlet-Ulusa Türk ve Kürt Meselesinin Üç İkilemi” (Return to Point Zero: From Nation-State to State-Nation, the Three Dilemmas of the Turkish and Kurdish Question), Lecture in Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul, December 21, 2015.

“Explaining Neo-Authoritarianism: Turkey and Hungary,” Annual Conference of the Comparative European Politics Specialist Group of the Political Studies Association, Moscow State University, November 19-20, 2015.

“Explaining Turkey’s Old and New Authoritarianism: Secularism and Democracy, and Domestic and External Dimensions,” Symposium on Populism, Majoritarianism and Crises of liberal democracy: Modes of illiberal governance in Comparative Perspective, the Centre for Southeast European Studies and the Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey, University of Graz, October 1-3, 2015.

“Religious Actors and Democratization in Turkey and Tunisia: Legacy of Secular Modernization and the Challenges of Building a Democratic Center,” Workshop on Religious Actors in the Fourth Wave of Democratization, European Consortium for Political Research Session, Nijmegen, Netherlands, June 30-July 3, 2015.

Speaker in Roundtable on the Dynamics of Kurdish Question in Turkey and the Middle East, Association for the Study of Nationalities annual conference, Columbia University, New York, NY, April 23-25, 2015 .

“The Dynamics of New Authoritarianism: Comparative Mechanisms of Turkey’s Authoritarian Turn,” Session on Political Systems in Central and Eastern Europe and Southern Europe: Comparative Politics,” European Consortium for Political Research Conference, University of Warsaw, Poland, March 29-April 2, 2015

“Theory-Informed or Theory-Producing: How to Study Turkey as a Theory-Relevant Crucial Case,” Symposium on Turkish Studies from an Interdisciplinary Perspective, Joint Symposium by Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies and Institute for Turkish Studies, Stockholm, May 14, 2014

“What Do Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia Have in Common? Religious and Secular Elite Disunity, Popular Uprisings and Democratization,” Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Conference, April 24-26, 2014.

“Religious and Secular Elite Cooperation and Institution Building: Critical Junctures and Value Divisions,” Religion, Law and Society Seminar at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, February 11, 2014.

“Democracy, Security and Identity in Turkey’s Kurdish Peace Process,” Public Lecture, Stockholm University, January 28, 2014

“Turkey at Crossroads,” Linköping University Foreign Affairs Association, Sweden, November 20, 2013.

Discussant, Islam in Europe through the Balkan Prism Conference organized by European University Institute and University of Sarajevo, University of Sarajevo, Sarajevo, October 24-26, 2013.

“What Do Turkey and Egypt Have in Common: Religious and Secular Elite Disunity, Popular Uprisings, and Democratization,” Higher Seminar Series, Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies, October 22, 2013.

“Islam, Secularism and Democracy in Albania and Turkey,” (with Arolda Elbasani), 20th International Conference of Europeanists,” University of Amsterdam, Netherlands, June 25-27, 2013.

“Kürt sorununun çözüm süreci ve PKK’nın silah bırakması bağlamında TDP,” (Turkish Foreign Policy in the Context of the Peace Process and the Kurdish Question), Symposium on ‘Güncel Gelişmeler Işığında Türk Dış Politikası: Zorluklar ve Fırsatlar’ (Turkish Foreign Policy in Light of Current Developments: Challenges and Opportunities), Antalya International University, Antalya, Turkey, May 10, 2013.

“Does Democratization Take Strong Leaders, Identities or Institutions? The Turkish Experience, Moderation & The Middle East,” Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies (SUITS) Open Lecture Series, Stockholm, Sweden, April 30, 2013.

“Is Islam the Solution?: Comparing Turkish pro-Islamic and pro-Secular Thinking and Policies toward Ethnic Minorities,” 18th Annual Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention Columbia University, New York, NY, 18-20 April 2013.

“The Three Dilemmas of the Kurdish Question toward a Possible Solution: Identity versus Institutions,” Bilkent University Political Science Department, POLS TALKS, March 29, 2013.

“Is Islam the Solution?: Comparing Turkish pro-Islamic and pro-Secular Thinking and Policies toward Ethnic Minorities” (with Beyza Büyüker), The Fourteenth Mediterranean Research Meeting organized by the European University Institute,

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and Mersin University, Mersin, Turkey, March 20-23, 2013.

“28 Şubat Post-Modern Darbe,” (February 28 Postmodern Coup), Panel in Koç University, Istanbul, February 28, 2013.

“Turkey’s Middle East Policy, Democratization, and the Kurdish Question,” Georgetown University Institute of Turkish Studies and Okan University Center for Eurasian Studies Joint Workshop, “Turkey’s Changing Foreign Policy Paradigm Following the Arab Spring” Okan University, Tuzla, Istanbul, December 14, 2012.

“Tunisia and the Arab Uprisings: Two Years On,” KUGlobalAid Talk Series, Koç University, December 3, 2012.

“Religious and Secular Elite Cooperation, Reconstruction of A Country’s Center and Democratization: Turkey and the World,” Lecture at Şehir University, Istanbul, November 21, 2012.

“Taking Stock: Ten Years of AKP Rule in Turkey,” Politics Department and the Alexander Hamilton Center for Political Economy, New York University, November 16, 2012.

“Religious and Secular Elite Cooperation and Democratization in the Muslim World,” Lecture in Georgetown University, Washington, DC, November 9, 2012.

Speaker in roundtable on “Turkey: A Long-term Solution to the Kurdish Question,” Foreign Service Institute, Washington, DC, November 8, 2012.

“Muslim and Secular Actor Cooperation and Democratization in Muslim Countries,” Middle Eastern Congress on Politics and Society, October 11, 2012, Sakarya University, Sakarya, “The Kurdish Question in New Turkey,” (in Turkish) Bilgi University, Istanbul, May 11, 2012.

“Moderation, Religious Politics and Democratization: Theory and Evidence from Turkey and the Arab Spring,” Annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York (NY), April 20, 2012.

“Democratization in Turkey in an Age of Arab Uprisings,” Lecture in Chicago Loyola University, Chicago (IL), April 17, 2012.

“Muslim and Secular Elite Values and the Management of Ethnic Conflict,” Eurasian Peace Science Conference, Koç University, Istanbul, January 14, 2012.

“The Democracy Paradox in A Rising Regional and Economic Power, Turkey: Secular and Religious-Conservative Elite Values,” (in Turkish) Global Studies Center, Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul, October 11, 2011.

“Constitutionalism in Turkey and the United States: Comparative Perspective on Building Democracy,” St. Johns University, Staten Island (NY), September 15, 2011.

“Turkish Domestic Politics After the Elections: What’s Next?” Annual Conference on Turkey, Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., June 23, 2011.

“Moderation and Democracy: Comparing Religious and Secular Values in Turkey,” Middle East Social Science Study Group, Yale University, New Haven (CT), May 5, 2011.

“Muslim Politics, Moderation and Democratization: Lessons from Comparing Religious and Secular Values in Turkey,” Center for the Study of Democracy, Toleration, and Religion, Columbia University, New York (NY), April 20, 2011.

“Explaining Moderation, Political Islamism, and Democratization: Theorizing from the Turkish Case” Northeast Middle East Politics Workshop Fifth Annual Meeting - Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence (RI), March 11-13, 2011.

“Islamic and Secular Values, Moderation and Democracy: Empirical and Theoretical implications of the Turkish Case,” Democracy and Development Seminar, Princeton University, Princeton (NJ), February 16, 2011.

“Religious and Secular Values and Democratization: the Kurdish Question, Nationalism and Beyond,” Symposium on Turkey, Middle East Studies Center, Florida State University, Tallahassee (FL), February 11, 2011.

“Changing Values, Interests or Both? Turkish Politics, Foreign Policy and Western Relations in A Changing World,” Public Lecture, Florida State University, Tallahassee (FL), February 10, 2011.

“Turks and Kurds in Post-US Iraq,” Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, San Diego (CA), November 18-20, 2010.

“Islamic-Conservative and Pro-Secular Values and the Management of Ethnic Diversity and Conflict,” Workshop on Islam and Secularism in Contemporary Turkey, Stanford Humanities Center, Stanford University, Palo Alto (CA), November 15-16, 2010.

Speaker in the Seminar on “Turkey as a Rising Power,” Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, June 9, 2010.

“Battle of Frames: Interpreting Turkey’s post-2007 Critical Juncture of Democratization and the World,” Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies, Northwestern University, Chicago (IL), May 17, 2010.

“Values, Elites, and Political Parties: Turkey and the AKP between Liberal and Illiberal Democracy,” Conference on Islamist Political Parties in the Arab World; Processes of Political Participation and Policy Influence, International Development Center, Ottawa, Canada, May 13-14, 2010.

“Secular and Religious-Conservative Values and Democracy,” Symposium on New Conservatism and the Right along the ‘Turkish-EU Axis,’ Bosphorus University, Istanbul, December 18, 2009.

“Explicit and Banal, Secular and Religious Nationalisms and Turkey’s Kurdish Question,” Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, Boston (MA), November 22, 2009.

“Secularism in Turkey and the World,” Conference on Secularism, Arbil, Iraq, October 17-18, 2009.

“What Does the Kurdish Opening in Turkey Entail? Political and Comparative Perspectives,” Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., October 1, 2009.

“Religious and Secular Elite Values and Liberal Democracies: Lessons from Turkey,” Seminar on Turkey in the Modern World, co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA), September 23, 2009.

“Democracy (For Me): Religious and Secular Beliefs in Turkey and Liberal Democracy,” Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life, Boston College, Boston (MA), September 22, 2009

“Democracy (For Me): Religious and Secular Beliefs and Social and Political Pluralism in Turkey,” Sabancı Brookings International Research Award Workshop, Sabancı University, Istanbul, May 27, 2009.

“The Janus-Faced Relation of Religious Actors and Human Security: Islamic and Secular Values in Turkey,” the Luce Symposium on Religion and Human Security, University of Washington, Seattle (WA), May 6-8, 2009.

“Islam, Nationalism, and Democracy in Turkey’s Post-2007 Kurdish Conflict,” Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., November 24, 2008.

“The Search for ‘Twin Tolerations’ Between Islamic and Secularist Actors and Institutions In Turkey,” Lecture, Ghent University, Belgium, November 6, 2008.

“Turkey: AKP and Democratization in Turkey,” Symposium on Current Trends in Political Parties organized by the International Development Research Institute, Beirut, Lebanon, October 14-15, 2008.

“Turkish Politics: Secularism and Democracy in A Changing World,” Lecture, Society for International Development, Ottawa, Canada, June 11, 2008.

“Religious Non-State Actors and Secular Democracy: Evidence from Political Islam in Turkey,” Luce Symposium on Religion and Human Security, University of Washington, Seattle (WA), May 8-9, 2008.

“Political Islam, Social and Political Diversity, and Turkey’s EU Membership,” Conference on Diversity and European Integration, Florida International University, Miami (FL), April 1-2, 2008.

“Moderation and Sustainable Secular Democracy: Lessons from Political Islam in Turkey,” International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco (CA), March 25-29, 2008.

“Sustainable Democratization and Secularism: Lessons from Political Islam in Turkey,” Conference on Islamists and Democrats, The American University of Cairo, Egypt, March 15-16, 2008.

“Değişen Türkiye’de Kimlik, Laiklik ve Demokrasi” (Identity, Secularism, and Democracy in Turkey in Transformation), Voyvoda Caddesi Toplantıları (Voyvoda Street Meetings), Osmanlı Bankası Center of Archives and Research, Istanbul, February 6, 2008.

“Turkey’s Kurdish Conflict in the Aftermath of the 2007 Elections: Structural, Political, and Ideational Challenges,” Workshop on Turkish Elections-2007, Sabancı University, Istanbul, November 30, 2007.

“The Development of Political Islam and Democracy in Turkey,” seminar on Political Party Development and Democracy in the Middle East, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada, November 21, 2007.

“Constituency Values and Sustainable Democratization of Political Islam: Insights from Turkey,” Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, November 16-17, 2007.

“Value Change and Sustainable Moderation of Political Islam: Theory and Evidence from Turkey,” Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Religion, Economics, and Culture (ASREC), Tampa (FL), November 2-4, 2007.

“When is Democratization Sustainable? Lessons from Political Islam in Turkey,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago (IL), August 30 - September 2, 2007.

Chair and Discussant in panel on “Security and Terror” in International Conference on “Dismantling Security,” Koç University, Istanbul, June 1-2, 2007.

Organizer and Speaker in the International Workshop on “Islamist Parties and Constituencies, Domestic and External Mechanisms, and Democratization, Koç University, Istanbul, May 25-26, 2007.

“Moderate-Moderate Cooperation and the Kurdish Question,” 12th World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York (NY), March 14, 2007.

“Turkey's Internal Fault Lines and EU Relations” Lecture at the University of Helsinki, November 13, 2006.

“Turkey and the New Iraq,” 1st Annual Conference on the Middle East, Işık University, Istanbul, November 2, 2006.

“The Future of Turkey’s Kurdish Conflict: Domestic and External Dynamics, and Lessons from Scotland,” Institute of Governance, University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom, September 14, 2006.

Speaker in session on “Political Party Evolution” at the Workshop on “Democratic Transitions in Europe and Latin America: What Relevance for The Arab World?,” Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE) and Club de Madrid, Madrid, March 24-25, 2006.

“Identity Politics, Liberal Nationalism, and Europeanization,” Conference on Europeanization and Transformation: Turkey in The Post-Helsinki Era, Koç University, Istanbul, December 2, 2005.

Speaker in the panel on “Development and Its Impact on Southeastern Anatolia,” Conference on Turkey: Culture, Change, and Development, Cornell University, Ithaca (NY), October 1, 2005.

“Defensive vs. Liberal Nationalism, Democratization, and Turkey’s Kurdish Question,” Center for Government and International Affairs (CGIS), Harvard University, Cambridge (MA), September 28, 2005.

Speaker in the panel on “Understanding the Role of External Actors,” 7th International Security Conference on “Democratization and Security in the Wider Middle East,” ARI movement, Istanbul, June 24, 2005.

Moderator in the Working Group “Youth and Multiculturalism: the Case and Lessons of the EU & Turkey” in the Open World Initiative (Evian Group)'s three-day conference at Koç University, Istanbul, April 1-2, 2005.

“Turkish Identities in the Process of Approaching the EU,” Lecture for visiting graduate students from the German National Academic Foundation, Koç University, Istanbul, March 17, 2005.

“Effective Mixing, Civil Discourse, and Violent Disintegration: Theory and Comparative Evidence toward an Explanation,” (with Ebru Erdem) Midwest Political Science Association National Conference, Chicago (IL), (presented in absentia due to conflict in travel arrangements), April 15-18, 2004.

“Resurgence and Remaking: Civil Beliefs, Domestic and External Security, And the Turkish Mainstream Discourse on Kurds,” Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, March 17-20, 2004.



"Muslim Democrats in the Making? Explaining Turkey's AKP," Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, March 17-20, 2004.

"Turkey's Kurdish Conflict and the Emerging Iraq: A Theoretical Inquiry with Policy Implications," 2003 Middle East & Central Asia Politics, Economics, and Society Conference: Contemporary Affairs & Future Prospects, the University of Utah, Salt Lake City (UT), October 16-18, 2003.

"Private Identities and Public Expressions: Domestic and External Security and the Public Discourse on Turkish Kurds," Central and Eastern European International Studies Association (CEEISA/ISA) conference, Budapest, Hungary, June 26-28, 2003.

"Political Economy of Islam and Democracy: Notes on the Turkish Experience," Globalization and Multiple Modernities: Joint Workshop attended by Carleton, Koç, Trent and York Universities, International Relations Department, Koç University, Istanbul, June 23, 2003.

Chair and Discussant, Panel on "Turkish Citizens in the Making," Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., November 23-25, 2002.

Selected Participant in the conference on "Mass Killing: A Micro Perspective," Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, Palo Alto (CA), May 24-26, 2002.

"The Political Economy of Ethnic-Religious Conflict," Lecture, International Updates Lectures Series, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle (WA), April 17, 2002.

"Ethnic Kurds and Democratic Transition: History and Future Possibilities in Turkey," International Studies Association annual meeting, New Orleans (LA), March 24-27, 2002.

"Ethnic Conflict in Low-Trust Societies: The Role of Long-Term Institutions," Western Political Science Association annual meeting, Long Beach (CA), March 22, 2002.

Selected participant in the conference on "Macroexplanations of Mass Murder," Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, Palo Alto (CA), January 18-19, 2002.

"Ethnic Conflict in Low-Trust Societies: How Can Economic Institutions Help during Transition?" Middle Eastern Economic Association Panel, Allied Social Sciences Association annual meeting, Atlanta (GA), January 4-6, 2002.

"Oil, Economic Freedom, and Human Rights: Is There A Link?" Discussant, Middle Eastern Economic Association Panel, Allied Social Sciences Association annual meeting, Atlanta (GA), January 4-6, 2002.

“The Political Economy of Ethnic Polarization,” Macedonian President’s Cabinet Training Program, Global Education Services and Jackson School of International Studies, University Inn, Seattle (WA), December 4, 2001 & February 7, 2002.

“Ethnic Kurds, Private and Public Beliefs, and Democratic Transition in Turkey,” Middle Eastern Studies Association annual meeting, San Francisco (CA), November 18-20, 2001.

“Domestic Ethnic Norms and Integration with International Markets: The Case of Turkey,” Western Political Science Association Annual Conference, Las Vegas (NV), March 15-17, 2001.

Chair and Discussant, Current Topics in International Political Economy Panel, Western Political Science Association Annual Conference, Las Vegas (NV), March 15-17, 2001.

“Diversity vs. Unity: The Dynamics of Ethnic Polarization,” the poster session of the Society for the Advancement of Behavioral Economics at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association, Boston (MA), January 7, 2000.

“The Limits of Diversity: Lessons from Turkey and the Former Yugoslavia,” The Society for the Advancement of Behavioral Economics conference, San Diego State University, San Diego (CA), June 14, 1999.

## References

Available upon request