

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Kemal Kirişci

### DEGREES:

Ph.D. in International Relations, Department of Systems Science, The City University, London.

M.A. in International Relations, The University of Kent at Canterbury, England.

B.A. in Finance and Management, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

### PRESENT POSITION:

Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, Washington DC.

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

TUSIAD Senior Fellow and Director of Center on the United States and Europe's Turkey Project, Brookings Institution, Washington DC (January 2013 – February 2020).

Affiliate Adjunct Professor, Institute for the Study of International Migration, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (August-December 2018).

Full Professor of International Relations, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul (1997-2013).

Jean Monnet Chair in European integration, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul (2001-2013).

Member of the University Senate, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul (2012-2013).

Lecturer at training seminars organized for Turkish officials by the UNHCR and the Turkish Ministry of the Interior (1997 – 2011).

Senior Fellow, Transatlantic Academy, Washington DC (September 2009-July 2010).

Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa (2008-2009 academic year).

Director of European Studies Center and Jean Monnet Center of Excellence, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, (2002-2008).

Faculty, Salzburg Seminar Session 440: Immigration and Inclusion: Rethinking National Identity, 27-30 March 2007.

Faculty, Salzburg Seminar Session 409: Migration, Race and Ethnicity in Europe, 17-24 June 2003.

Chair, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, (December 1999-January 2002).

Member of the External Research Advisory Committee of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1996-2000).

Fulbright Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota (March-July 1998)

Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota (Winter Quarter, 1998).

Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Center for Middle Eastern and North Africa Studies, University of Michigan (Fall, 1997 and Winter 1999).

Adjunct faculty at the General Staff Armed Forces College, Istanbul (1992-1998, 1999-2004).

Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA, (March - September 1994).

Associate Professor of International Relations, Department of Political Science, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, (1993 - 1997).

Assistant Director of the Institute of Social Sciences, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, (1992-1994).

Assistant Professor of International Relations, Department of Political Science, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, (1990 - 1992).

Adjunct Professor of International Relations, Webster University, Geneva, Switzerland, (1983-1992).

Assistant Professor of International Relations, International Studies Division, American College of Switzerland, Leysin, Switzerland, (1989 - 1990).

Visiting Professor of International Relations, Webster University, St. Louis, Missouri, (March - June 1988).

Lecturer in International Relations, The City University, London (1985-1986).

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

European Integration, European Asylum and Immigration Policies, International Relations Theory, International Organizations, International Politics of the Middle East, Government and Society in the Middle East, Turkish Foreign Policy, Diplomatic History since 1648, Introduction to Political Science, and Refugee Studies.

LANGUAGES: Turkish, English, French and some German and Swedish.

PUBLICATIONS:

**Note:** All publications in the form of research reports and short commentaries/blog posts since 2013 can be reached from [here](#).

***Books:***

Turkey and the West: Fault Lines in a Troubled Alliance (Brookings Institution Press, November 2017).

The Consequences of Chaos: Syria's Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect (co-authored with Elizabeth Ferris) (Brookings Institution Press, 2016).

Turkey and Its Neighbors: Foreign Relations in Transition (co-authored Linden, Ronald et al.) (Lyne Rienner, 2011).

Land of Diverse Migrations: Challenges of Emigration and Immigration in Turkey (co-edited with A. İcduygu) (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2009).

Turkish Immigrants in the European Union: Determinants of Immigration and Integration (co-edited book with R. Erzan) (Routledge, 2007)

Turkey In World Politics: An Emerging Multi-Regional Power (co-edited with B. Rubin) (Lynne Rienner, 2001).

The Political Economy of Regional Cooperation in the Middle East (co-authored with A. Carkoğlu and M. Eder) (Routledge, 1998).

The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of a Trans-State Ethnic Conflict (co-authored with G. Winrow) (Frank Cass, London, 1997).

The PLO and World Politics, (Frances Pinters, London, 1986).

**Book chapters:**

“Turkey’s Migration Management Regimes,” (co-authored with Ayselin Yıldız) in Alpaslan Özerdem and Ahmet Erdi Ozturk (eds), A Companion to Modern Turkey’s Centennial, (Edinburgh University Press, 2023).

“Taking EU-Turkish Refugee Cooperation Beyond Humanitarian Assistance,” in Andrea Dessì, Senem Aydın-Düzgit and Daniela Huber (eds.), Tackling Uncertainty: Turkish-EU Foreign Policy Cooperation in the Middle East and North Africa (International Affairs Institute, Rome, July 2022).

“Coexistence and Convergence in Turkish-Iranian Relations,” in Suzanne Maloney (ed.), The Iranian Revolution at Forty, (Brookings Institution Press, 2020).

“As the country normalizes, COVID-19 strains Turkey’s economy and politics,” in John R. Allen and Darrell M. West (eds.), Reopening the World: How to Save Lives and Livelihoods, (Brookings Institution Press, June 2020).

“US-Turkish Relations in Turmoil,” in Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting (eds.), The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics (Routledge, 2019).

“The rise and fall of liberal democracy in Turkey: Implications for the West,” (co-authored with Amanda Sloat) in Democracy & Disorder Project Paper Series, (Brookings, February 2019).

“Case Studies: Turkey” (co-authored with Amanda Sloat) in The anatomy of illiberal states: Assessing and responding to democratic decline in Turkey and Central Europe, (Foreign Policy at Brookings, February 2019).

“Syrian Displacement Crisis, the GCR, and Challenges to Host Community and Refugee Representation,” in Spring 2018 Global Shifts Colloquium Thought Pieces, (Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania, 2018)

“Turkey and EU Relations in Light of Recent Political and Economic Developments in the Region” (co-authored with Sinan Ekim) in IEMed. Mediterranean Yearbook, (Barcelona: European Institute of the Mediterranean, 2016).

“Hoşgörü ve Çelişkiler: 1989, 1991 ve 2011 Türkiye’ye Yönelen Kitleli Mülteci Akınları” (co-authored Sema Karaca) in M. Murat Erdoğan and Ayhan Kaya (eds.), Türkiye’nin Göç Tarihi (Istanbul, Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015).

“The State of the Art in Migration Research in Turkey” in Ahmet İçduygu and Ayşem Biriz Karaçay (eds.), Critical reflections in migration research: views from the North and the South, (Istanbul, Koc University, 2014).

“TTIP and Turkey: The Geopolitical Dimension” in Daniel S. Hamilton (ed.), The Geopolitics of TTIP: Repositioning the Transatlantic Relationship for a Changing World, (Washington, D.C.

Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2014; distributed by Brookings Institution Press).

“Turkey in Turbulence: Its Geo-strategic Meaning for the Transatlantic Community” in The State of the Transatlantic World 2014, (Transatlantic Academy, Washington DC, April, 2014).

“The EU, Turkey, and the Arab Spring: Challenges and Opportunities for Regional Integration” in Senem Aydın-Düzgit et al (eds.), Global Turkey in Europe Political, Economic, and Foreign Policy Dimensions of Turkey’s Evolving Relationship with the Europe, (IAI Research Papers, Rome, 2013).

“Is the Turkish Model Relevant for the Middle East?” in C. Henry and J. Ji-Hyand (eds.), The Arab Spring: Will it lead to Democratic Institutions? (Seoul, The Asan Institute for Policy Studies, 2012).

“Turkey’s New Draft Law on Asylum: What to Make of it?” in S. Paçacı Elitok and T. Straubhaar (eds.) Turkey, Migration and the EU: Potentials, Challenges and Opportunities, (Hamburg, Hamburg University Press, 2012).

“Turkey and the Mediterranean: What has Changed?” *Med. 2011: IEMed. Mediterranean Yearbook*, (Barcelona: European Institute of the Mediterranean, 2011).

“Democracy diffusion: the Turkish experience” in Linden, Ronald (et al.), Turkey and Its Neighbors: Foreign Relations in Transition (Lyne Rienner, 2011).

“Turkey’s Middle Eastern assets” in T. Behr (ed.), Hard Choices: The EU’s options in a changing Middle East (Helsinki: FIIA, 2011).

“Comparing the Neighborhood Policies of Turkey and the EU in the Mediterranean” in M. Benli-Altunışık, K. Kirişci and N. Tocci, Turkey: Reluctant Mediterranean Power, (GMF, Mediterranean Paper Series, February 2011)

“Turkey’s Kurdish Challenge” in G. Stansfield and R. Lowe (eds.), The Kurdish Policy Imperative (London: Chatham House, 2010).

“Introduction: Turkey’s International Migration in Transition” in Land of Diverse Migrations: Challenges of Emigration and Immigration in Turkey (co-edited with A. İçduygu) (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2009)/

“Religion as an Argument in the Debate on Turkish EU Membership” in D. Jung and C. Raudvere (eds.), Religion, Politics and Turkey’s EU Accession (Palgrave/MacMillan, 2008).

“Turkey too Big, too Poor and too Different: Asset or Liability?” in C. Timmerman, Sara Mels and D. Rochtus (eds.), European and Turkish Voices in Favour and Against Turkish Accession to the European Union (Brussels: Peilang, 2008).

“Migration and National Identity” in Reşat Kasaba (ed.), Cambridge History of Turkey: Volume 4

(Cambridge University Press, 2008).

“Turkish asylum policy and human rights: Adjusting to international norms and EU accession requirements” in Z. Kabasakal-Arat (ed.), Human Rights Policies and Prospects in Turkey (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

“Turkey: Political Dimension of Migration”, in P. Fargues (ed.), Mediterranean Migration 2006-2007 Report (CARIM, European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence, 2007).

“National Identity, Asylum and Immigration: EU as a vehicle of "post-national" transformation in Turkey” in Hans-Lukas Kieser (ed.), Turkey: Nationalism, Post-Nationalism and the European Community (I.B. Taurus, 2006).

“The Hague Programme: Challenges of Turkish pre-accession in the area of asylum, migration and border control” in J. W. de Zwaan and F. A. Goudappel (eds.) Freedom, Security and Justice in the European Union (Asser Press, The Hague, 2006).

“Turkey: Political Dimension of Migration”, in P. Fargues (ed.), Mediterranean Migration Report 2005 (CARIM, European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence, 2005).

“Turkey on the edges of the ‘Convention on the Future of Europe’” in S. Lucarelli and C. M. Radaelli (eds.), Mobilizing Politics and Society?: The EU Convention’s Impact on Southern Europe (Routledge, London, 2005).

“Turkey, the EU and the Middle East: Should Turkey come from Mars or Venus?” in A. Clesse and S. Taşhan (eds.) Turkey and the European Union: 2004 and beyond (Dutch University Press, Amsterdam, 2004).

“Asylum, Immigration and National Identity: Challenges to Turkish Harmonization of Policy and Practice with that of the EU” in N. Tocci and A. Evin (eds.), Towards Accession Negotiations: Turkey’s Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges Ahead (European University Institute, Florence, July 2004).

“Civil Society, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Greek-Turkish Relations” (co-authored with Ali Çarkoğlu) in T. Belge (ed.), in Voices For The Future: Civic Dialogue Between Turks and Greeks (Istanbul Bilgi University Press, Istanbul, 2004)

“The Kurdish Question and Turkish Foreign Policy” in D. Kerides and L. Martin (eds.), The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy (M.I.T press, 2004).

“Turkish Asylum Practices in a European Perspective” in Emrehan Zeybekoğlu and Bo Johansson (eds.), Migration and Labour in Europe: Views from Turkey and Sweden (Şefik Matbaası, Istanbul, 2003).

“The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration in European Union-Turkish Relations” in A. Çarkoğlu and B. Rubin (eds.), Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration and International Dynamics (Frank Cass, London, 2003).

“Immigration and Asylum Issues in EU-Turkish Relations: Assessing EU’s Impact on Turkish Policy and Practice” in S. Lavenex and E. Uçarer (eds.), Migration and the Externalities of European Integration (Lexington Books, 2002).

“Evaluating the Question of Minorities in Turkey in the light of Turkish-EU Relations” in B. Duner (ed.), Turkey: the Road Ahead? (The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, 2002)

“The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East” in B. Rubin and K. Kirisci (eds.), Turkey In World Politics: An Emerging Multi-Regional Power (Lynne Rienner, 2001).

“U.S. and Turkish Relations: New Uncertainties in a Renewed Partnership” in B. Rubin and K. Kirisci (eds.), Turkey In World Politics: An Emerging Multi-Regional Power (Lynne Rienner, 2001).

“Turkey and the Muslim Middle East” in A. Makovsky and S. Sayarı (eds.), Turkey’s New World: Changing Dynamics in Turkish Foreign Policy (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington DC, 2000)

“Turkey and the United States: Ambivalent Allies” in T. Keaney and B. Rubin (eds.), Friends of America: U.S. Allies in a Changing World (Frank Cass, London, 2000).

"Turkey: Foreign Policy Making and the Mediterranean" in T. Couloumbis et al. (eds.), The Foreign Policies of the European Union's Mediterranean States and Applicant Countries in the 1990s: A Comparative Analysis (Macmillan, London, 1999).

"Minority/Majority Discourse: The Case of the Kurds in Turkey" in D. Gladney (ed.), Making and Marking Majorities (Stanford University Press, 1998).

“Turkey” in J. Hampton (ed.), Internally Displaced People: A Global Survey (Global IDP Survey, Earthscan Publications, London, 1998).

“Forced migration into, inside and out of Turkey” in W. Heller (ed.), Migration und sozioökonomische Transformation in Südosteuropa (Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, München, 1997).

"Turkey and Economic Integration in the Middle East" in S. A. Salama (ed.), The Middle East Market: Is It The Only Choice? (Al-Ahram, Cairo, 1996) (in Arabic).

"New Patterns of Turkish Foreign Policy Behaviour" in C. Balım et al. (eds.), Turkey: Economic, Political and Foreign Policy Challenges for the 1990s (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1995).

"Interdependence and Conflict in Afghanistan" in J. Rosenau and H. Tromp (eds.), Interdependence and Conflict in World Politics (Gower Publishing Company, Aldershot, England, 1989).

***Journal Articles:***

"Turkey's asylum policies over the last century: continuity, change and contradictions," (co-authored with Ayselin Yıldız), Turkish Studies, 2023.

"At 70, the 1951 Geneva Convention is under duress: The Global Compact on Refugees could help save lives and economies," International Migration, Vol. 59, Issue 4, August 2021.

"Turkey and the South Caucasus: An opportunity for soft regionalism?" (co-authored with Andrew Moffatt), Regional Security Issues: 2015, (Spectrum: Center for Strategic Analysis, Yerevan, April 2016).

"Turkey to Tel Aviv: Trade Diplomacy" (co-authored with Sinan Ekim), Foreign Affairs, May 6, 2015.

"Northern Exodus: How Turkey Can Integrate Syrian Refugees" (co-authored), Foreign Affairs, April 16, 2014.

"Armenia and Turkey: From Normalization to Reconciliation" (co-authored with Fiona Hill and Andrew Moffatt) Turkish Policy Quarterly, Vol. 13, No. 4, Winter 2015.

"Turkey and Its Post-Soviet Neighborhood", Current History, Vol. 112, No. 756, October 2013.

"With or Without the EU: Europeanisation of Asylum and Competition Policies in Turkey" (with Umut Aydın) South European Society and Politics, Vol. 18, No. 3, June 2013.

"Arab Uprisings and Completing Turkey's Regional Economic Integration: Challenges and Opportunities for US-Turkish Relations" Journal of Balkan and Near East Studies, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2013.

"Turkey's Engagement with Its Neighborhood: A 'Synthetic' and Multidimensional Look at Turkey's Foreign Policy Transformation" Turkish Studies, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2012.

"The politics of trade and Turkish foreign policy," (co-authored with Neslihan Kaptanoğlu) Middle Eastern Studies, Vol: 47, No. 5, 2011.

"The Kurdish Issue in Turkey: The Limits of European Reform" South European Society and Politics, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 2011).

"Turkey's 'demonstrative effect' and the transformation of the Middle East" Insight Turkey, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2011.



“A ‘three-way approach’ to incorporating Muslim immigrants in the EU: A Turkish perspective” International Journal of Multicultural Societies, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2009.

“Harmonisation of Migration Policy and Turkey’s Security Challenges” EDAM Discussion Series, 2009/01 (available at: [www.edam.org.tr](http://www.edam.org.tr))

“The transformation of Turkish foreign policy: the rise of the trading state” *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No. 40, 2009.

“Managing Irregular Migration in Turkey: A Political-Bureaucratic Perspective” Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration, (Analytical and Synthetic Notes 2008/61, Circular Migration, European University Institute, The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies).

“Informal circular migration into Turkey: The bureaucratic and political context” Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration, (Analytical and Synthetic Notes, Circular Migration, European University Institute, The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, May 2008).

“Turkey: A country of transition from Emigration to Immigration” Mediterranean Politics Vol. 12, No. 1, March 2007.

“Introduction” and “Conclusion” to the Special Issue of Turkish Studies on “Determinants of Immigration and Integration of Turkish Immigrants in the European Union” (eds. with R. Erzan), Vol. 7, No. 1, March 2006.

“A friendlier Schengen visa system as a tool of “soft power”: The experience of Turkey” European Journal of Migration and Law Vol. 7, No. 4, 2005.

“Turkey and the European Union: The Domestic Politics of Negotiating Pre-Accession”, Macalester International, Vol. 15, Spring 2005.

“The December 2004 European Council Decision on Turkey: Is it an historic turning point? Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA), Vol. 8, No. 4, December 2004.

“Asylum, Immigration, Irregular migration and Internally Displacement in Turkey: Institutions, Policies and Analysis” Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration, (European University Institute, The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, November 2004).

“Reconciling refugee rights with efforts to combat irregular migration: the case of the European Union and Turkey” Global Migration Perspectives, No. 11, October 2004.

“Turkish Immigrants: Their Integration within the EU” (with Refik Erzan) Turkish Policy Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 3, Fall, 2004.

“Reconciling Refugee Protection with Combating Irregular Migration: Turkey and the EU” Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs, Vo. IX, No. 2, Summer 2004.

“Turkey on the edges of the ‘Convention on the Future of Europe’” (co-authored with Zeynep Gülşah Capan) Journal of South European Society and Politics, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 2004.

“Should Turks come from Mars or Venus?”, Bitterlemons-International, June 2004, Edition 22, Volume 2.

“Perceptions of Greeks and Greek-Turkish rapprochement by the Turkish public” (co-authored with Ali Çarkoğlu) Turkish Studies, Vol. 5, No.1, Spring 2004.

“Between Europe and the Middle East: The Transformation of Turkish Policy” Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA), Vol. 8, No. 1, March 2004.

“Turkey: A Transformation from Emigration to Immigration” Migration Information Source: Country Profiles (Migration Policy Institute, Washington DC, November 2003).

“The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration in European Union-Turkish Relations” Turkish Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2003.

“Internationalism vs. Parochialism in the era of Globalization: Can the EU help the search for security in the Middle East?” Turkish Policy Quarterly Vol. 1, No. 4, Winter 2002.

“The ‘enduring rivalry’ between Greece and Turkey: can ‘democratic peace’ break it?” Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 2002.

“UNHCR and Turkey: Cooperating towards an improved implementation of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees” International Journal of Refugee Law, Vol. 13, No. 1/2, 2001.

“Disaggregating Turkish citizenship and immigration practices” Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 36, No. 3, July 2000.

“Asylum in Turkey: Forced migration from the Balkans to Turkey and the case of Kurdish refugees and internally displaced” (co-authored with Necmi Sönmez) AWR Bulletin, Vol. 36, No.4, 1998.

“Turkey and the United States: Ambivalent Allies” Middle East Review of International Affairs (Electronic Journal), Vol. 2, No. 4, December 1998.

“Turkish Security and the Middle East” Middle East Review of International Affairs (Electronic Journal), Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1997.

“Editorial Note: Symposium on International Migration and Turkey” Boğaziçi Journal, Vol. 10, No. 1-2, 1996.

"The Challenges of Terrorism: A Turkish Perspective" Foreign Policy (Ankara), Vol. 20, Nos. 3-4 (1996).

"Coerced Immigrants': Refugees of Turkish Origins since 1945" International Migration Vol. 34, No. 3, 1996.

"Is Turkey lifting the "geographical limitation"?: The November 1994 Regulation on Asylum in Turkey" International Journal of Refugee Law Vol. 8, No. 3, 1996.

"Refugee vs. State Security: The Case of Operation Provide Comfort" Refuge: Canada's Periodical on Refugees Vol. 15, No. 3, 1996.

"Turkey and the Kurdish Safe-Haven in Northern Iraq" Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Volume 19, No. 3, 1996.

"Turkey in Search of Security in the Middle East: The Economic Dimension" Perceptions (Journal of International Affairs - Ankara), Volume 1, No. 1, March-May 1996.

"Report on Recent Movements of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Illegal Immigrants into Turkey" (co-authored with Necmi Sönmez) AWR Bulletin, Vol. 33, No.4, 1995.

"Post Second World War Immigration From Balkan Countries to Turkey" New Perspectives on Turkey, Spring, 12, 1995.

"Provide Comfort or Trouble: Operation Provide Comfort and Turkish Foreign Policy" Turkish Review of Middle East Studies, 1994.

"Provide Comfort' and Turkey: Decision Making for Refugee Assistance" Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement Vol. 2, No. 2, Autumn 1993.

"The End of the Cold War and Changes in Turkish Foreign Policy Behavior", Foreign Policy (Ankara), Vol. 17, nos: 3-4, 1993)

"Introduction" and "Kurdish Ethnicity and Turkish Security" in Turkish Security Policy and the "Out of Area" Issue: Implications for NATO (co-authored project submitted to NATO, March 1993.

"Asylum Seekers and Human Rights in Turkey" Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights Vol. 10, No. 4, 1992.

"Refugee Movements and Turkey" International Migration Vol. 29, No. 4, 1991.

"The Legal Status of Asylum Seekers in Turkey: Problems and Prospects" International Journal of Refugee Law Vol. 3, No. 3, 1991.

"The Diplomatic Performance and Status of the Palestine Liberation Organization", Research Report IJA, No. 1, 1988)

***Monographs:***

Revisiting and going beyond the EU-Turkey migration agreement of 2016: an opportunity for Greece to overcome being just "Europe's aspis" ELIAMEP Policy Paper No. 64, April 2, 2021.

Improving Syrian Refugee Inclusion in the Turkish Economy: How Can the International Community Help? (with Murat Erdoğan and Gökçe Uysal), World Refugee & Migration Council Research Report, September 2021.

How the EU and Turkey can promote self-reliance for Syrian refugees through agricultural trade, Brookings Institution, February 2020.

Turkey's new presidential system and a changing west: Implications for Turkish foreign policy and Turkish-West relations (co-authored with Ilke Toygur) (Turkey Project Policy Paper, No. 15, January 2019, Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings Institution, Washington DC Brookings).

An ambiguous partnership: The serpentine trajectory of Turkish-Russian relations in the era of Erdoğan and Putin (co-authored with Pavel Baev) (Turkey Project Policy Paper, No. 13, September 2017, Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings Institution, Washington DC Brookings).

The United States and Turkey: Friends, enemies or only interests? (co-authored with Asli Aydintasbas) (Turkey Project Policy Paper, No. 12, April 2017, Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings Institution, Washington DC Brookings).

Not likely to go home: Syrian refugees and the challenges to Turkey—and the international community (co-authored with Elizabeth Ferris) (Turkey Project Policy Paper, No. 7, September 29, 2015, Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings Institution, Washington DC Brookings).

Retracing the Caucasian Circle: Considerations and constraints for U.S., EU, and Turkish engagement in the South Caucasus (co-authored with Fiona Hill and Andrew Moffatt) (Turkey Project Policy Paper, No. 6, July 15, 2015, Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings Institution, Washington DC Brookings).

TTIP's Enlargement and the Case of Turkey, (Wilson Center, Global Europe Program, January 2015).

Syrian Refugees and Turkey's Challenges: Going Beyond Hospitality (Brookings, May 2014).

Syrian Crisis: Massive Displacement, Dire Needs and A Shortage of Solutions (co-authored with Elizabeth Ferris and Salman Shaikh) (Foreign Policy at Brookings, September 18, 2013).

Turkey and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: Boosting the Model Partnership with the United States (Turkey Project Policy Paper, No. 2, September 1, 2013, Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings Institution, Washington DC).

A Neighborhood Rediscovered: Turkey's Transatlantic Value in the Middle East, (Brussels Forum Paper Series, German Marshall Fund, Washington DC, March 2010) (co-authored with Nathalie Tocci and Joshua Walker).

Mirage or Reality: Post-National Turkey and its Implications for Immigration (CARIM Research Report 2009/14, European University Institute, The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence).

“Three Way Approach” to Meeting the Challenges of Migrant Incorporation in the European Union: Reflections from a Turkish Perspective, (CARIM Research Report 2008/3, European University Institute, The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence).

“The Kurdish Question and Turkey: Future Challenges and prospect for a Solution”, ISPI - Working Paper No. 24, (December 2007).

Border Management and EU-Turkish Relations: Convergence or Deadlock (CARIM Research Report 2007/03, European University Institute, Florence, 2007).

Turkish Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times (Chaillot Papers, No. 92, European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris, September 2006).

Turkey in the European Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (Co-authored with J. Apap and S. Carrera) (EU-Turkey Working Papers, No: 3, August 2004, CEPS, Brussels, 2004).

Justice and Home Affairs Issues in EU-Turkish Relations (Monograph, TESEV, Istanbul, 2002).

#### SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS

Participant at panel on “Creating Lasting Solutions to Displacement: Lessons from Turkey for the Rest of the World,” Migration Policy Institute, March 22, 2019.

Participant at workshop on “Refugee Integration: Translating Local Experiences to Policy Solutions,” Institute for the Study of International Migration, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, Georgetown University, March 21, 2019.

Participant at the TOBB University Japanese-Turkish think-tank dialogue, March 8-13, 2019, Tokyo.

Participant and speaker at the Delphi Economic Forum IV: The Challenge of Inclusive Growth, in Delphi, Greece, March 1-3, 2018.

Participant at the panel on “Mülteciler için Küresel Sözleşme (Global Compact on Refugees), Türkiye-AB İlişkileri, Mülteci Uzlaşısı ve Tercihli Ticaret Düzenlemeleri Hakkında Görüş Alışverişi Toplantısı,” IKV, Istanbul, February 21, 2019.

Participant on panel “Fostering Business Through Cultural Partnership,” organized by AmCham, Fulbright and Dow Chemical, Istanbul, February 22, 2019.

Book talk “Turbulent Times: Turkey’s Tenuous Relationship with the West,” “Turkish Lecture Series,” The Halle Institute for Global Research, Emory University, February 6, 2019, Atlanta.

Book talk “Turbulent Times: Turkey’s Tenuous Relationship with the West,” to the Vail Symposium’s Geopolitical Series, January 3, 2019, Vail.

Book talk, “Turbulent Times: Turkey’s Tenuous Relationship with the West,” Committee on Foreign Relations Minnesota, December 12, 2018, St. Paul.

Book talk, "Turkey: A Necessary Ally in a Troubled Region," Network 20/20 meeting, November 19, 2018, NYC.

Participant at the “Change in the Global Order: Actors, Regions and Issues: Japan-Turkey Joint Seminar, TOBB University, November 7, 2018.

Participant in panel on “Briefing by Turkey Policy Experts,” at the 5th Annual Turkish American Youth Leadership Congress, organized by the Turkish Coalition of America, Washington DC, October 26, 2018.

Moderator at panel on “Between Lost Utopias and Feared Dystopias: The Future of the Liberal World Order,” Brookings-TUSIAD Annual Conference, October 16, 2018.

Participant at workshop on workshop “The Future of EU-Turkey Relations: Mapping Dynamics and Testing Scenarios” by Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), the Centre for Economic and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM) and the University of Cologne, October 15, 2018, Bodrum.

Participant at the 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. Think Tanks Tour to Switzerland, October 10-12, 2018.

Book talk, “Turkey and the West: Where is the Alliance Headed?” at Vinson Hall, American Legion Post 18, September 25, 2018, McLean.

Participant at the International Refugee Congress, May 10-11, 2018, Istanbul.

Panel discussion on US-Turkey relations at NYU’s Turkish Political Society, April 27, 2018, NYC

Participant at the panel on “Where is Turkey Headed? Assessing the State of Democracy in Turkey” at the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy’s Annual Conference, Washington DC, April

2018.

Participant at several panels at the 70th Conference on World Affairs at the University of Colorado in Denver, on April 9-13, 2018.

Participant and paper presenter at the “2018 Global Shifts Colloquium: Prospects of Institutional and Policy Reform on International Migration and Refugees,” University of Pennsylvania’s Perry World House on April 9-10, 2018.

Book talk, “Turkey and the West: Future of Partnership in Uncertain Times,” Ryerson University, Toronto, April 3, 2018.

Presentation on “Turkey’s drift away from the West: From 1999 Helsinki EU Summit to 2019 Presidential Elections,” the Centre for European Studies, at Carleton University, April 2, 2018, Ottawa.

Book talk at Princeton University’s Program in Near Eastern Studies, March 28, 2018.

Book talk “Turkey, a Partner in Crisis,” as part of the University of North Carolina Global Decisions Lecture Series, March 27, 2018.

Participant at Ditchley conference on “Turkey’s place in the West,” Ditchley, England, March 15-17, 2018.

Participant at panel discussion entitled “Turkey’s relations with the West: Abandonment, transactionalism or engagement?” ECFR, March 15, 2018, London.

Participant at workshop on “U.S.-Turkey-NATO Strategic Dialogue, 2018,” U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, March 8-9, 2018.

Participant and speaker at the Delphi Economic Forum III: New Globalization and Growth Challenges, in Delphi, Greece, March 1-4, 2018.

Participant at workshop “What does the Global Compact on Refugees mean for the MENA region? Co-organized by the Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility of The New School, the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, and the Migration Research Centre at Koç University in February 26-27, 2018, Istanbul.

“Turkey and the West: in a mood of crisis?” book talk at the Centre for International Affairs in Barcelona, February 16, 2019.

“Turkey in a changing world,” book talk at Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid, February 15, 2018.

Book talk at the Institute of Turkish Studies, Georgetown University, January 31, 2018.

Book talk on “Turkey and the West” at the University of Washington and the World Affairs Council in Seattle January 17, 2018.

Book talk and participant at panel on “Turkey and the West” at the at the Dansk Institut for Internationale Studier, December 13, 2017.

Book talk “Turkey and the West” at the Stockholm Institute for Turkish Studies on December 12, 2017.

“Turkey’s drift away from the West” presentation at the University of Tampere, December 11, 2017.

Moderator to panel on “Economic Outlook: Trajectories and Setbacks,” at the Middle East Institute’s 8th annual Turkey conference in December 4, 2017.

Participant at the Astana Club, Astana, Kazakhstan, November 13-14, 2017.

“The future of Turkey: At home and abroad” presentation at the Worcester World Affairs Council, Worcester, December 9, 2016.

“Democracy in Turkey: Before and after the coup” presentation at Trinity University, San Antonio, November 30, 2016.

Participant at the Astana Club, Astana, Kazakhstan, November 14-16, 2016.

“Will Turkey Remain Part of the West?” presentation at The Center for International and Security Studies, University of Maryland, November 3, 2016.

“From Coup to Cooperation: Is There a Way Forward for Turkish Transatlantic Relations?” presentation at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy in New York, NY, October 24, 2016.

“Where is Turkey going?” presentation at University of Montreal, September 19, 2016.

“The future of Turkey: At home and abroad” presentation the Ralph Bunce Forum, The Graduate Center of the City University of New York, September 13, 2016.

“The Consequences of Chaos: Syria's Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect” presentation at Bogazici University, May 16, 2017.

“The Consequences of Chaos: Syria's Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect”, presentation at World Bank, Washington DC, May 24, 2017.

Speaker at the conference on "Flight and Refuge: The European Refugee Crisis in Global Perspective", Virginia University, April 13, 2016.



“Syrian Refugees, Turkey, and the EU” presentation at The American Council on Germany and American Friends of Bucerius (New York, NY), December 9, 2015.

Participant at the Congressional Study Group meeting on Turkey, Rayburn House, December 1, 2015.

Participant at the Trilateral Strategy Group, Twelfth Meeting, German Marshall Fund, Washington DC, November 6, 2015.

Participant at the Astana Club, Astana, Kazakhstan, November 8-12, 2015.

Participant at the Trilateral Strategy Group, Twelfth Meeting, German Marshall Fund, Washington DC, November 6, 2015

Participant at the panel with Keynote speaker: Martti Ahtisaari, Chairman, Independent Commission on Turkey at the Inaugural Hüsni Özyeğin Annual Lecture on Modern Turkey, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, October 1, 2015.

“Turkey's Quest for Influence in International Governance”, Indiana University, Indianapolis, April 10, 2015.

Speaker at the conference on “Turkish Studies/Transatlantic Security Symposium: Turkish Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities”, University of Illinois, Champaign, IL, April 3, 2015.

“The Rise and Demise of the Turkish Trading State: Is there a way out?” presentation at the Boğaziçi University-TÜSİAD Foreign Policy Forum, Istanbul, March 5, 2015.

“The Prospects and Challenges of the TTIP and A US-Turkey Free Trade Agreement” presentation at The Turkish-American Chamber of Commerce and Industry (TACCI), New York, NY, January 12, 2015.

Speaker at the conference on “MiReKoc 10th Year Anniversary Conference: Borders, Mobility and Diversity”, Koc University, Istanbul, November 21, 2014.

Speaker at the “Hrant Dink Foundation Conference Sealed Gate: The Prospects of the Turkey-Armenia Border” Ankara, Turkey, November 23, 2014.

Participant at the “Chatham House Workshop, Future Scenarios for Jordan and Turkey: Syria’s impact on social divisions and the domestic political environment”, Old Swan and Minster Mill, Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire, UK, December 2-3, 2014.

Participant and recipient of an award for migration studies at the “4th Annual Crime and Punishment Film Festival” Istanbul, Turkey, November 6-7, 2014.

“EU-Turkish Relations in Tough Times: Could Upgrading the Customs Union Become a Means to Reviving EU-Turkish Relations?” presentation at Harvard University, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, October 29, 2014.

“New North American Trade Engagements & Emerging Markets: a Perspective From Turkey” presentation at Carleton University, Faculty of Public Affairs, Modern Turkish Studies Initiative, September 25, 2014.

“Brookings Private Roundtable Discussion: Syrian Refugees in Turkey” Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, September 25, 2014.

Speaker at conference on “New Era for Turkey-USA-EU Perspective: Transatlantic Trade & Investment Partnership (TTIP) Opportunities & Risks,” ESBAŞ Technology Center, Aegean Free Zone, Gazimir-İzmir, Turkey, September 18-19, 2014.

Speaker at conference on “U.S.-Turkey Turkey Relations: A Critical Partnership for a Changing World,” 33rd Annual ATC Conference on U.S.-Turkish Relations, Washington, DC, June 1-4, 2014.

“Fifty Years of EU-Turkey Relations in Turbulent Times: Where to go from here?” presentation at the Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington – Seattle, May 24, 2014.

“Turkish Trade Issues and TTIP,” presentation at U.S. Foreign Service Institute, April 25, 2014.

Speaker at conference on “Turkey’s Turn? Perennial Linchpin or Emerging Hub”, The Fletcher School, Tufts University, April 10-11, 2014.

Witness at “Congressional Briefing: Human Rights & Rule of Law in Turkey,” Washington DC, March 27, 2014.

Participant at conference on “NATO’s Partnerships and the South Caucasus: A Strategic Approach to Regional Security” Centre for Strategic Studies (Yerevan), March 20-21, 2014.

“From Kopru (Bridge) to Merkez (Center): Turkey’s Regional and Global Impact,” presentation at University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, March 3, 2014.

“Partnership, Trade, and Investment: The Time is Now,” presentation at Turkish Coalition of America’s 32nd Annual Conference on U.S.-Turkey Relations, June 2-5, 2013.

“Zero Problems Policy? Turkey, Syria and the Kurds in 2013,” presentation at Europa-Institute Basel University, May 21, 2013, Basel, Switzerland.

“Turkey and Europe: Time to Decide,” presentation at Insight Turkey’s 3rd Annual Conference: “Europe and Turkey: drifting apart?” March 25, 2013, European Parliament,

Brussels, Belgium.

“U.S. Turkish Relations,” presentation at U.S. Foreign Service Institute, February 20, 2013.

“Turkey and its Neighborhood foreign policy” Presentation at the *Seminar on Modern Turkey*, Center for Middle Eastern Studies and Kokkalis Program, Harvard University, 30 November 2011.

“Turkey and the current reform of the migration and asylum legislation” presentation at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), Oxford University, 9 November 2011.

“Is the Turkish Model relevant for the Middle East?” paper presented at the conference on Democracy and Development in the Middle East and North Africa after the Arab Spring, 4-5 November 2011, The Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Seoul, Korea,

“Debating Turkey’s Enduring Kurdish Challenge in the Light of the Arab Spring” presentation at the conference on New Regional Perspectives for the Kurds, 28 October 2011, Bilgi University, Istanbul.

“Is the Turkish Model relevant for the Middle East?” presentation at The 7<sup>th</sup> EDAM Bodrum Roundtable, 14-17 October 2011, Bodrum, Turkey.

“Turkey: Migration and Labour Movement” presentation at the British-Turkish Tatlıdil Forum Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, 7-9 October 2011.

“Turkey as an immigration, transit and emigration country” speech delivered at the opening of Turkish Research Center, Ghent University, Ghent, 31 May 2011.

“Evolution in the Southern Mediterranean: Implications for the European Union” Jean Monnet Seminar, participant, Brussels, 30 May 2011.

“Reforming Turkey's asylum policy: Is it Europeanization, UNHCR-ization or ECHR-ization?” paper presented at the conference on “Faraway, So Close? Reaching beyond the Pro/Contra Controversy on Turkey’s EU Accession”, Sabanci University, Istanbul, 2-4 June 2011.

“Turkish foreign policy: Lessons for Ukraine” presentation at the conference on “Ukraine at a Crossroads” Think Tank Fund, Kiev, 13-14 May 2011.

“EU, Turkey and the Neighborhood”, conference participant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands and TEPAV, Amsterdam, 8-10 April 2011.

“Comparing Turkey’s and EU’s Neighbourhood Policies: conditionality versus regional integration”, presentation at the Turkish Studies Institute, The Haque, 9 February 2011.

“A historical perspective on Turkish asylum practices” and “Should the geographical limitation

be kept or lifted?” presentations Turkey’s Asylum Tradition, UNHCR, Ankara, 6-7 January 2011.

“Turkey’s Middle East Policy: Asset or Liability for the EU” paper presented at the conference on Turkey and the Middle East, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki, 15 October 2010.

“External Perceptions of US Policy” participant at the 15<sup>th</sup> US-Chatham House Working Group, 9 December 2010, Chatham House, London.

“Diffusing liberal market and democratic values: Assessing Turkey’s “soft power” in transforming its neighbourhood” paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC, 2-5 September 2010.

“Democracy diffusion in the Middle East: Is there a role for Turkey?” presentation at the conference on Turkey’s emerging role in its neighborhood, Northwestern University, Evanston, 17 May 2010.

“Democracy diffusion: the Turkish experience” draft paper to be presented at the Council of European Studies Conference, 15 April 2010, Montreal.

“A New Perspective on Democracy Assistance: Lessons Learned from the Turkish Experience” draft Paper prepared for presentation at the panel on “Turkish Soft Power? Historical and Contemporary Influences on Turkish Foreign Policy” ISA Convention 2010, New Orleans, 18 February 2010.

“The transformation of Turkish foreign policy: The rise of the trading state”, presentation prepared for the conference on “Transformation of Turkish foreign policy”, London School of Economics, 4 December 2009.

“Turkish-Syrian Relations and the Middle East” talk presented at Damascus University, Damascus, 12 November 2009.

“Civilianizing Turkish foreign policy: the role of civil society in Turkey’s relations with its neighborhood” Paper prepared for the conference on Turkey and the Middle East 10-11 November 2009, the Aqqad House, the Danish Institute in Damascus.

“A critical assessment of Turkey’s ‘New’ Foreign Policy” presentation delivered at GSPIA and CIPS at Ottawa University, 25 March 2009.

Presentation at the panel on “ESDP and the Outsiders” at the Conference on Saint Malo + 10: Is the ESDP Capable and Credible?, Donald Gordon Conference Center, Queen’s University, Kingston, 4 December 2008.

“Turkey’s Kurdish Challenge: Renegotiating the State, the Nation and the Neighborhood”

presentation delivered at the Department of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa, 20 November 2008.

Participant at the panel “Turkey’s Challenges and Opportunities and Its Region: Iraq, Iran, the Caucasus and the EU Process” at the Conference on Turkey, the Region and US-Turkish Relations: Assessing the Challenges and Prospects, Brookings and SETA, University of California Washington Center, Washington DC, 28 October 2008.

“Controlling Extra-EU Transnational Mobility as a Source of Insecurity between the EU and Transit Migration Countries” paper presented at the Conference on Transnational Europe: Promise, Paradox, Limits, Carleton University, Ottawa, 17-18 October, 2008.

Participant at the panel on “Repercussions of the War in Iraq: Intended and Unintended Consequences” at the Conference on Reconfiguring a Region: Opportunities and Challenges in the Middle East, Yale University, 26-27 September 2008.

“The European Union’s common immigration policy: Calling for partnerships with third countries but seeking security unilaterally” paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, 28-31 August 2008.

“Managing irregular migration: The Turkish experience” Paper prepared for the Thematic Session on Irregular Migration into and through Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries, CARIM, European University Institute, Florence, 6-8 July 2008.

“Turkish bureaucratic and Public Attitudes on Turkey’s Accession to the EU” presentation at the conference on The EU-membership and non EU-membership alternatives for Turkey organized by the Open Society Institute Sofia, 19-20 April 2008.

“How Would Membership Affect Population Movements Within the EU?” paper presented at the 908<sup>th</sup> Wilton Park Conference on Turkey’s Accession Process to the European Union held in Istanbul, 31 March – 3 April 2008.

“Democracy, pluralism and the challenges of Turkish accession to the EU” paper prepared for the conference on Turkey in Motion held at the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination of Princeton University, 28-29 February 2008

“Transformation of Turkish foreign policy and the rise of the trading state” presentation at the conference on Options for an International Trade and Investment Strategy for Turkey in the Next Decade, organized by DEIK and TEPAV, Antalya, 9 February 2008.

“Informal “circular migration” into Turkey: The bureaucratic and political context” paper presented at the seminar on Circular Migration from Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries: Experiences, Opportunities and Constraints at CARIM, European University Institute 28-29 January 2008.

“New Cold Wars? Civilization discourse and beyond” paper presented at the conference on Expanding Horizons – Challenges, Solidarities, Resistances, Lisbon, 30 November 2007

“Turkey’s European Journey” presentation at the seminar organized by the European Institute at the London School of Economics, 22 November 2007.

“European Union Common Asylum and Migration Policies” presentation at the Refugees Management in PSO Course, Gendarmerie Schools Command, Ankara, 12-16 November 2007.

“European Union and Turkish Relations: Challenges and Prospects” presentation at the National Europe Centre, Australian National University, 9 October 2007.

“Turkish Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times” presentation at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 8 October 2007.

“Muslim immigrants and challenges of incorporation in Europe: a three way approach to managing hybrid societies” paper presented at the conference on Immigrants as Citizens: Transnationalism and Incorporation as Future Directions in Turkish Relations with Australia, Europe and North America, University of Sydney, 6-7 October 2007.

“Turkey’s EU Transformation: Challenges and Prospects Ahead” presentation at the 6<sup>th</sup> Annual ASEE Global Colloquium, Istanbul, 2 October 2007.

“Challenges for Europe, Russia and FSU Republics” participant at the Chatham House Working Group on Challenges for Europe, Eurasia and the Other Former Soviet States, 27-28 June 2007, Chatham House, London.

“The limits of conditionality and Europeanization: Turkey’s dilemmas in adopting the EU acquis on asylum” draft paper prepared for the panel on “Immigration, asylum and supranational governance: Implications of Europeanization” at the EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, 17-19 May 2007.

“Turkey’s European Transformation and its Impact on Regional Security” presentation at the Centre for International Studies, Queens University, Kingston, 17 May 2007.

Turkey: Elections, the EU, the Kurds and the Future of Islamist Governance” presentation at the seminar on “Turkey at a turning point: The battle for Turkey’s soul” at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington DC, 15 May 2007.

“Turkish Foreign Policy ‘Without’ a New President” presentation at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington DC, 14 May 2007.

“What is Turkey’s Place in Europe? European Contestation of Turkish Membership” paper presented at the conference on Turkey and Israel – A Comparative Analysis, Tel Aviv University, 30 April 2007.

“The Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey and its relations to the European Union” presentation to the 21<sup>th</sup> International Training Course in Security Policy, Geneva Center for Security Policy, Geneva, 8 March 2007.

“Immigration Issues in EU-Turkish Relations: Harmonization or Externalization?” presentation at the Centre for European Studies and the Institute of European and Russian Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, 12 February 2007.

“Religion as an argument in the Debate on Turkish Membership” paper presented at the conference on Turkey: An International Crossroads, 12<sup>th</sup> Annual International Studies Symposium, Glendon College, York University, Toronto, 10 February 2007.

“Religion as an argument in the Debate on Turkish Membership” paper presented at the conference on Turkey in Europe, Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, 18-20 January 2007.

“The challenges of Europeanization without membership: the case of Turkish immigration policy” presentation at the European University Institute Migration Program, Florence, 6 December 2006.

“Turkey and the EU: Turkey’s Perspective” presentation at the seminar series on Turkey and Europe, University Helsinki, 27 November 2006.

“EU-Turkish Relations: A traincrash vs full-steam ahead” Department of Political Science, Montreal University, Montreal, 23 November 2006.

“Harmonization or externalization: Asylum and irregular migration issues in EU-Turkish relations” presentation at CERIUM, University of Montreal, Montreal, 22 November 2006.

“Turkish Pre-Accession to the European Union and the Dynamics of Domestic Politics” presentation at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence, 21 November 2006.

“Turkey’s foreign policy in turbulent times: the EU dimension,” Presentation at the *Seminar on Modern Turkey*, Center for Middle Eastern Studies and Kokkalis Program, Harvard University, 20 November 2006.

“The Quest for ‘Democratic Peace’ in the Middle East: Can Turkey’s EU Vocation Help?” paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, Boston, 18-21 November 2006.

“Turkish Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times” presentation at the JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, 20 November 2006.

“Turkey’s foreign policy in turbulent times: the EU dimension” presentation at the Elliott School of International Affairs, GWU, Washington DC, 16 November 2006.

“Will Turkey ever become a member of the European Union?” presentation at the European Institute, Basel University, 23 October 2006.

“Limits of Conditionality and Europeanization: Turkey’s dilemma ‘To Lift or Not to Lift’ the Geographical Limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees” paper prepared for the European Consortium for Political Research Standing Group on EU Politics, Third Pan-European Conference, Bilgi University, Istanbul, 21-23 September 2006.

“State of the EU-Turkey relations: alternative point of view” presentation at the EU lobbyists and refugee coordinators meetings of Amnesty International, 13-15 September 2006, Istanbul.

“Consequences of Turkish membership for the EU and its neighborhood” paper prepared for the conference on Caspian Outlook 2008, Bled Strategic Forum, Bled, 27-28 August 2006.

“Limits of Conditionality: Challenges to Harmonizing Turkish Refugees Policy to the EU *Acquis*” paper presented for The 5th METU International Relations Conference, Ankara, 15-17 July 2006.

“Turkey’s immigration and emigration dilemmas at the gate of the European Union” paper presented together with Gamze Avcı at the conference on Migration and Development Challenges: Perspectives from the South, Bellagio, Italy, 10-13 July 2006.

“The Transformation of Turkey and Pre-Accession to the European Union: Challenges, Opportunities and Tasks” presentation at the Euromediterranean School of Law and Politics, Lecce University, Lecce, 28 June 2006.

“Turkey too big, too poor and too different: asset or liability” paper presented at the conference on Four voices: Turkey’s Accession to the European Union”, ACSIA Workshop, Antwerp University, Antwerp, 9-10 June 2006.

“Consequences of Turkish membership for the EU and its neighborhood” paper presented to the conference on Where next for Europe?, The Finnish Institute of International Relations, Helsinki, 13 June 2006.

“Turkey too big, too poor and too different: asset or liability” paper presented to the conference on Four Voices: Turkish Accession to the European Union, UCSIA, Antwerp University, 8-10 June 2006.

“Kantinization of Turkish foreign policy: Constructing a zone of democratic peace in Turkey’s region?” presentation to the conference on Decoding Modern Turkey and the Greek European Experience, EKEM, Athens, 10 May 2006.

“The Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey and its relations to the European Union” presentation to the 20<sup>th</sup> International Training Course in Security Policy, Geneva Center for Security Policy,



Geneva, 9 March 2006.

“Challenges for Europe, Russia and FSU Republics” talking points presented at the Chatham House Working Group on Challenges for Europe, Eurasia and the Other Former Soviet States, 11-12 January 2006, Chatham House, London.

“Transforming ‘hearts and minds’ in EU-Turkish relations and expanding the zone of ‘democratic peace’: Challenges, Opportunities and Tasks ahead” Draft paper prepared for the conference Portugal in Europe and in the World: 25 Years Foreign and Security Policy, IEEI, Lisbon, 5-6 December 2005.

“The role of the European Union in EU-Turkish relations” presentation at the closing seminar of the EU Framework Five Research project EUBORDERCONF led by Birmingham University, Brussels, 25 November 2005.

Participant at the workshop on Governance and the Military: Perspectives for Change in Turkey organized by Center for European Studies (Brüksel) ile Istanbul Policy, Ankara, 15-16 November 2005.

“Turkish Perspective” presentation at the workshop on “Iran’s Role in the Greater Middle East: Options for a Transatlantic Approach” organized by the Center for European Policy Centre, Brussels, 3-4 November 2005.

“Turkey and migration” presentation at the seminar of Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration, European University Institute, Florence, 19-20 October 2005.

“Migration issues in EU-Turkish Relations” presentation at the conference on Societe, Droit et Religion en Europe, University of Robert Schuman, Strasbourg 7-9 July 2005.

‘To Lift or Not to Lift’ the Geographical Limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees: Turkey’s Pre-accession to the EU and Asylum”, Draft paper prepared for The 4th METU International Relations Conference, Ankara, 30 June – 2 July 2005.

“The Hague Programme: Challenges of Turkish pre-accession in the area of asylum, migration and border control” discussion points prepared for the Conference The Implementation of the Hague Programme, 23-24 June 2005, Rotterdam.

Presentation and participant at the Conference on ESDP and the Mediterranean: prospects for the security dialogue of the Barcelona process, EU-ISS, Paris, 10 May 2005.

“Turkey’s Pre-Accession: The Pumpy Road to European Union Membership”, presentation at Macalester College, St. Paul, 5 April 2005.

“Turkish Accession to the EU: A Trojan Horse or a Partner in Expanding Democratic Peace”,

presentation to the European Studies Consortium, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 4 April 2005.

“A friendlier Schengen visa system as a tool of “soft power”: The experience of Turkey” Draft paper prepared for presentation at the 2005 Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association, 31 March – 2 April 2005, Austin, Texas.

“Turkey and the European Union: A Clash or a Mesh of Civilizations” presentation at Trinity University, San Antonio, 30 March 2005.

“Is Turkey a European Country: Framing the debate on Turkey’s EU Membership?” Presentation at the Cox International Center, Georgia University, Athens, 29 March 2005.

“Turkey a separate world or a new borderline for Europe?” presentation at the Conference on European Union and Turkey: towards a new perspective, Brindisi, 11 March 2005.

“The Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey and its relations to the European Union” presentation to the 19<sup>th</sup> International Training Course in Security Policy, Geneva Center for Security Policy, Geneva, 10 March 2005.

“Asylum: EU Process and Turkey” ICMC Seminar on Asylum Law for the Police, Baltalimani, Istanbul, 8 March 2005.

“Perspectives from Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom” presentations at the Wilton Park Conference on Cyprus: The Way Forward, Larnaca, 7-10 February 2005.

“Challenges for Europe, Russia and FSU Republics” talking points presented at the Chatham House Working Group on Challenges for Europe, Eurasia and the Other Former Soviet States, 15-16 December 2004, Chatham House, London.

Participant at the Regional Hearing for Europe, Global Commission on International Migration, Budapest, 25-26 November 2004.

“Is Turkey a European Country?” presentation at the conference on Turkey – the European Perspective organized by Fundacja Unia&Polska, Warsaw, 8-9 November 2004.

“Old and new patterns of immigration into Turkey: EU as a vehicle of “post-national” transformation in Turkey” draft paper presented at on Turkey – Towards Post Nationalism, Basel, 14-16 October 2004.

“Turkey’s Pre-Accession and Immigration Issues” draft paper presented at the conference on Population Challenges, International Migration and Reproductive Health in Turkey and the European Union: Issues and Policy Implications, Istanbul, 11-12 October 2004.

“Harmonizing Turkish Immigration Policies with the EU: the challenges ahead” paper presented

for the conference on Immigration Issues in European Union-Turkish Relations: Determinants of Immigration and Integration, 8-9 October 2004, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

“Reconciling refugee protection with combating irregular migration: Turkey and the EU” paper prepared for the Council of Europe Regional Conference on Migrants in transit countries: sharing responsibility for management and protection”, İstanbul, 30 September – 1 October 2004.

“Assessing Turkey’s accession to the European Union: A Trojan Horse or a partner for expanding ‘democratic peace’” draft paper presented at the conference on Solidarity in Europe: Are Migration and Enlargement Real Challenges?, 23-25 September 2004, University of Antwerp, Antwerp.

“Immigration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: What are the challenges and how might it be managed?” lecture at the Wharton Fellows Seminar on Toward a New Europe, Prague, 12-14 September, 2004.

“Turkey: Challenges of Harmonizing Immigration Policies with the EU” draft paper prepared for the *Dialogues* session on *Emerging Countries of Immigration* at the HMI World Congress Human Movements and Immigration, Barcelona, 1-5 September 2004.

“Turkey, the EU and the Middle East: Can Turkey help with democratization in the Middle East?” draft paper prepared for the workshop on Turkey’s World in the Early Twenty-First Century, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 16-17 August 2004.

“The Domestic Politics of Negotiating Turkey’s Pre-Accession” draft paper prepared for the Second Pan-European Conference on EU Politics: Implications of a Wider Europe, 24-26 June 2004, Bologna, Italy.

“Challenges for Europe, Russia and FSU Republics” talking points presented at the Chatham House Working Group on Challenges for Europe, Eurasia and the Other Former Soviet States, 2-3 June 2004, Chatham House, London.

“Turkey, the EU and the Middle East: Should Turks come from Mars or Venus?” draft paper prepared for the Third METU Conference themed “Europe in Changing World” 24-26 May 2004, Ankara.

Presentation at the “New Horizons for Turkish Foreign Policy” conference organized by the Boğaziçi Yöneticiler Vakfı, 22 May 2004, Dedeman Hotel, Istanbul.

“Democracy Without Borders?” presentation at the conference on Tomorrow’s Europe: Democracy Without Borders?, organized by the European Association of Political Consultants, 6-8 May 2004, Istanbul.

Presentation to the session on “Main obstacles to a peaceful reconstruction of the Middle East: Israel-Palestine, Iraq, Iran” at the EUISS Seminar on Options For the Greater Middle East, Paris, 3 May 2004.

“Turkey: A NATO country between the EU and the Middle East” draft paper presentation at the Royal Danish Defense College, Copenhagen, 23 April 2004.

“The Eastern Mediterranean: Stakes, Pitfalls and Opportunity for Peace” presentation to the 19<sup>th</sup> International Training Course in Security Policy, Geneva Center for Security Policy, 4 March 2004, Geneva.

“La Turquie et le Greater Middle East” debate participant, organized by the Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris, 7 April 2004.

“Dynamique des reformes en cours et perspectives politiques” presentation at the Fifth French-Turkish Strategy Meeting, organized by IRIS and SAM, 6 April 2004, Goethe Institute, Paris

“How would Turkish membership affect population movements and social integration within the EU?” draft paper presentation at the Wilton Park conference on Turkey, and Its Prospects for Accession to the European Union, 23-26 March 2004, Istanbul.

“Un Nouveau Pays d’Immigration aux Portes de l’Union Europeenne: L’Identite Nationale, la Politique d’Asile et l’Immigration Turque” paper presented at INED, Paris, 15 January 2004.

“Spain, Turkey, Europe : From Confrontation to Integration” debate participant, organized by the FAES Foundation, Madrid, 23 December 2003.

“Turkey between the Middle East and Europe: Assessing the impact of the aftermath of the US intervention in Iraq on Turkey and Turkish foreign policy” draft paper prepared for presentation at IFRI, Paris, 12 December 2003.

“Europe and the FSU Recent Developments” talking points presented at the Chatham House Working Group on Challenges for Europe, Eurasia and the Other Former Soviet States, 10-11 December 2003, Chatham House, London.

“Turkey’s Justice and Home Affairs Issues in EU Candidacy Process” presentation prepared for the conference on Turkey in the Aftermath of the War in Iraq, 8 December 2003, Tel Aviv University.

“Harmonizing Turkish asylum and immigration policy with the EU: Civic and Human Rights Approach vs. Security Approach” presentation prepared for the *Session on Demographic Impact: Migration* at the conference on Turkey and the EU, From Association to Accession?, 6-7 November 2003, Amsterdam.

“Asylum, Immigration and National Identity: Challenges to Turkish Harmonization of Policy and Practice with that of the EU” paper prepared for presentation for the Third Annual EU-Turkey Conference, Siena, 20-21 October 2003.

Conference on Turkey and the European Union: 2004 and Beyond, participant, Luxembourg Institute for European and International Relations, 3-4 October 2003.

“Old and New Patterns of Immigration and Turkey’s national identity” paper presented for at the conference on Türk(iye) Kültürleri 3-5 September 2003, Yüzüncü Yıl University, Van.

“The West and Its Institutions: Losing Allies but Gaining Converts – the case of Turkey” paper presented at the conference on Geopolitical Change, the Use of Force, and New Strategic Doctrines, 12-14 September 2004, Lansdowne Resort, Leesburg, Virginia.

“Europe and the FSU After the Iraqi Conflict” talking points presented at the Chatham House Working Group on Challenges for Europe, Eurasia and the Other Former Soviet States, 11-12 June 2003, Chatham House, London.

“Two Level Diplomatic Games: The role of Public Opinion in Greek-Turkish Relations” Presentation at the conference on The Future of Greek-Turkish Relations and the European Union: Problem and Perspectives, HEI, Geneva, 20 May 2003.

“Can the EU help to reconcile Greece and Turkey?” Presentation at the conference on Guerre-Paix-Avenir, Centre Culturel Français, İzmir, 28 May 2003.

“Religiosity and Foreign Policy Preferences in Turkey” Presentation at the conference on The Religious Dimension in World Politics, May 21-22, 2003, BESA, Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv

“Turkey’s encounter with Europe and Its attitudes toward Greece and Cyprus” presentation at the conference on Cyprus’s European Accession and the Greek-Turkish Rivalry, April 4-6, 2003, Yale University, New Haven.

“Country Report: Turkey” paper presented at the Conference on the “Past, Present and Future of European East-West Migrations: Old Predicaments and New Challenges”, 10-12 April 2003, Center for International Organizations, Warsaw.

“War in Iraq and the Future of Turkish-American Relations” Presentation at Rayburn House Office Building, the US Congress, Washington DC, 4 April 2003.

“Two Level Diplomatic Games: The role of Public Opinion in Greek-Turkish Relations” presentation for the Study Group on Modern Turkey, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, 1 April 2003.

“The Eastern Mediterranean: Stakes, Pitfalls and Opportunity for Peace” presentation to the 17<sup>th</sup> International Training Course in Security Policy, Geneva Center for Security Policy, 27 March 2003, Geneva.

“Implication of the War on Terrorism/Iraq for Europe and the FSU” talking points presented at Working Group on Challenges for Europe, Russia and the Other Former Soviet States, 19-20

November 2002, Chatham House, London.

“Internationalism vs. Parochialism in the era of Globalization: Can the EU help the search for security in the Middle East?” paper prepared for the Seminar on Mideast Regional Security Dilemmas: Searching for Solutions, Athens, Greece, October 5-8, 2002.

“Old and New Patterns of Immigration and Turkey’s national identity” paper prepared for presentation at the workshop on Migration Research in Turkey, 6-7 September 2002, Centre for European Studies, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

“In a Globalizing World Reconciling National Security with Refugee Rights: Fortress Europe or Friendly Schengen?” paper presented at the METU Conference on International Relations, 3-5 July 2002, METU, Ankara.

“The Question of Cyprus and Turkish Public Opinion” presentation prepared for the conference on Cyprus’s accession to the European Union, 4 May 2002, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

“Justice and Home Affairs Issues in EU-Turkish Relations” presentation made at the Center for European Policy Studies, 22 March 2002, Brussels.

“Hobbes, Locke, Kant and the Security Malaise in the Middle East” paper presented at the conference on Mideast Regional Security in a Transitional Era Istanbul, Turkey, 6-9 January 2002.

“EU-Turkey Laboratory/Cyprus: the next stage”, 2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting, 14-15 December 2001, The European University Institute, Florence.

“Problems of Refugees: Importance and Relevance for the Black Sea Region” presentation delivered at the conference Coping with New Security Threats in the Black Sea Region co-organized by the EastWest Institute and the ICBSS, Athens, 27-29 November 2001.

“Turkey and Europe: Prospects for the Near Future” presentation delivered at the Annual Convention of the Assembly of Turkish American Associations, Washington DC, 2-3 November 2001.

“Evaluating the Question of Minorities in Turkey in the light of Turkish-EU Relations” paper prepared for presentation at the conference Turkey, the road ahead? The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, 25-26 October 2001.

“Egyptian-Turkish Second Track Diplomacy Meeting” Ankara Palas State Guest House, 30 January 2001.

“UNHCR and Turkey: Nudging Turkey towards a better implementation of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees” paper prepared for presentation at the 7<sup>th</sup> IRAP Conference The Refugee Convention at 50, 8-11 January 2001, Eskom Conference Center, South Africa.

“Turkey and its Foreign Policy in the New Millennium” presentation made to a seminar at the South African Institute of International Affairs, 9 January 2001, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

“Notions of citizenship and practices of immigration in Turkey” presentation made to the Study Group on Modern Turkey, 18 October 2000, Center for Middle Eastern Studies Harvard University.

“Turkish Perception of Gulf Security: a strategic overview of relations between Turkey and Turkey’s Middle Eastern Neighbors” presentation made at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defence University, 20 October 2000, Washington DC.

Participant at Taking Stock of the Middle East Peace Process and Post-Peace Process, Muscat, Oman, 17-22 September 2000.

“Betraying a civic definition of Turkish citizenship: the case of Kurds in the early Republican era (1923-1938)” draft paper prepared for presentation at the International Conference on Citizenship, State, and Identity in a Globalizing World, 1-3 June 2000, Bilkent University, Ankara

“Turkey’s threat perceptions and the search for a security regime in the Middle East”, Draft paper prepared for submission at the Workshop on Promoting Regional Security in the Middle East, 29-30 March 2000, Cairo.

“Turkish Foreign Policy and the European Union” paper presented at the conference on Turkey in the European Union: A Question of Image or Governance? organized by the Center for European Studies (CES), Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, 3 December 1999.

Participant at Workshop on Promoting Regional Security in the Middle East, Cairo, 2-3 November 1999.

“The ‘enduring rivalry’ between Greece and Turkey: can ‘democratic peace’ break it?” Draft paper prepared for the panel on “Greece – Turkey: Prospects for Cooperation or Confrontation?” at the Halki International Seminar on The Emerging Security Environment in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea to be held from September 12 - 16, 1999 on the Dodecanese island of Halki.

“Geo-strategic allies in a relationship of ambivalence: evaluating American-Turkish relations towards the year 2000” paper presented at the conference on America’s Allies in a Changing World 9-10 November 1998, BESA, Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv.

“Turkish foreign policy and the Kurdish problem” paper presented at the conference on The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy, October 24-25 October 1998, Harvard University, Center for Middle East Studies.

“Report on Turkey: asylum in Turkey, forced migration from the Balkans to Turkey and the case of Kurdish refugees and internally displaced” Paper co-prepared with Necmi Sonmez for the 48<sup>th</sup> Congress of the A.W.R., Gorizia, Italy, 28-30 September 1998.

“Ethnicity and Turkish Foreign Policy” co-authored with Martin Sampson and presented at the conference on Communal Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East, University of Maryland, 11 June 1998.

“Turkish-Arab Relations: Current Turkish Policies and Future Prospects” paper presented at conference on Turkish Foreign Policy Toward the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Policy Implications for the U.S. and the Region, The Washington Institute for Near East Studies, 6-7 April 1998.

“Emerging Patterns of Regional Security and Cooperation in the Middle East” paper presented at the ISA Annual Convention, 18-22 April 1998, Minneapolis.

“Mixing and Unmixing People: Migration, Nation-building, and the Roots of the Kurdish Problem in Turkey” presentation to the International Center for Migration, Ethnicity and Citizenship, New School for Social Research, 9 April 1997.

"Democratic Peace and Cooperation in the Middle East: A Preliminary Model for Cooperation Among 'Like-Minded' Countries" Paper prepared for the 31st Annual Meeting of MESA, 22-24 November 1997, San Francisco.

"Constructing Majorities in Turkey: The Making of the 'Mountain Turks'" Presentation to the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies and the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 13 November 1997.

"Causes and Consequences of the Kurdish Problem" Presentation at Seminar XXI on Ethnic Conflict, 3-5 October 1997, Airlie House, Virginia.

“Post Gulf War Politics and Prospects of Political Cooperation in the Middle East” Paper prepared for the 38<sup>th</sup> Annual ISA Convention Coping with Insecurity: Threats more than Enemies, Toronto, Canada, 18-22 March 1997.

"Post Cold-War Turkish Security and the Middle East" Paper prepared for the Conference on Israel and Turkey Current Politics and Foreign Policy, Tel Aviv, BESA Center, 14-15 January 1997.

"Forced Migration into, out of and inside Turkey" Paper prepared for the Conference on Migration and Socio-Economic Transformation in South-East Europe, Potsdam, Potsdam University, 18-21 September 1996.

"Migration and security in Turkey" Paper presented for the Conference on Migration and Security in the Black Sea Region, Bogazici University, Istanbul, 13-14 September 1996.

"A Mediterranean Pact of Stability: A Turkish Perspective" Paper prepared for the Conference on



Mediterranee: Quelles Propositions pour le Pacte de Stabilité?, Marseille, FMES, 20-22 June 1996.

"The Challenges of Terrorism" Trilateral Colloquium, 20-21 May 1996, BESA, Bar Ilan University, Tel Aviv.

"Turkey in Search of Security in the Middle East: The Economic Dimension" Paper prepared for the Annual Conference of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, Washington D.C., 6-10 December 1995.

"Ethnicity and Civil Society: the case of Kurds in Turkey" paper presented at the Fourth General Assembly of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 19-22 October 1995.

"Minority and Majority Discourse: the Case of Kurds in Turkey" Paper prepared for the Conference on Configuring Minority/ Majority Discourse: Problematizing Multiculturalism East-West Centre, Honolulu, 11-12 August 1994.

"Provide Comfort or Trouble: Kurdish Ethnicity and Turkish Foreign Policy" paper prepared for the Annual Conference of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, Research Triangle, North Carolina, 11-14 November.

"New Patterns of Turkish Foreign Policy Behaviour" Conference on Change in Modern Turkey: Politics, Economy, and Society Manchester University, England, 4-5 May 1993.

"Iraqi Kurds in Turkey: Decision Making for Refugee Assistance" paper prepared for the Annual Convention of the International Studies, Acapulco, Mexico, 23-27 March 1993.

"Contemporary Turkish Refugee Problems: A research Outline" prepared for European Development Institutes, Working Group on Refugees Geneva, 14-16 February 1991.

"The Dynamics of Protest in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: an International Political Perspective" paper prepared for the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, London, 28 March - 4 April 1989.

#### PUBLICATIONS IN TURKISH

"Yumuşak Güç Aracı Olarak Daha Dostça bir Şengen Vize Sistemi: Türkiye'nin Deneyimi" Uluslararası İlişkiler, Vol. 4, No. 13, Spring 2007.

"Türkiye ve Avrupa Birliği: Katılım Öncesi Dönemin İç ve Dış Politika Dinamikleri" Uluslararası İlişkiler, Vol. 2, No. 8, Winter 2005-2006.

"Eski ve yeni göç modelleri ile Türkiye'nin ulusal kimliği" in G. Pultar and T. Erman (eds.) Türk(İye) Kültürleri (Tetragon, Istanbul, 2005).

"Sivil Toplum, Kamuoyu ve Dış Politika: Türk-Yunan İlişkileri" (co-authored with Ali Çarkoğlu) in

T. Belge (ed.) in Geleceğin Sesi: Türk-Yunan Yurttaş Diyalogu (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2004).

“ABD, Ana Taşıyıcı Kolonları Yıktı” NPQ Türkiye, Vol. 5, No. 3, 2003.

Günümüzde Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası, edited with Barry Rubin, (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2002).

“Zorunlu Göç ve Türkiye” in Sığınmacı, Mülteci ve Göç Konularına İlişkin Türkiye'deki Yargı Kararları (Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliği, Ankara, 2000).

“İki Bloklü Sistemde Türkiye'nin İzlediği Politika ve Sonuçları” in 21 nci Yüzyılın ilk Çeyreğinde Türkiye'nin Genel Vizyonu Politikası ve Stratejisi, 07-08 Aralık 1999: Bildiriler, Soru – Cevaplar, Katkılar ve Konuşma Metinleri (Harp Akademileri Basım Evi, İstanbul, 2000).

“Türkiye'ye Yönelik Göç Hareketlerinin Değerlendirilmesi”, in Z. Bora (ed.) Bilanço 1923-1998: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75 Yılına Toplu Bakış (Volume 1) (Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999).

"Orta Doğu'da Siyasi İşbirliği ve Ekonomik Bütünleşme: Türkiye'nin Bölgesel Orta ve Uzun Dönem Politika Analizi" co-authored with A. Carkoğlu and M. Eder (Report in Turkish prepared for the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation, Istanbul, 1998)

Kürt Sorunu: Kökeni ve Gelişimi (co-authored with G. Winrow) (Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1997).

“Sivil Toplum ve Birey: Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği'nin ‘Yerel Yönetimlerde Yurttaş Katılımı’ Projesi Üstüne Düşünceler” in Yurttaş Katılımı: Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve Yerel Yönetimler Arasında Ortaklık ve İşbirliği (Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği, 1997, İstanbul).

"Türkiye ve Kuzey Irak'taki Kürt Güvenli Bölgesi" Avrasya Dosyası Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 1996.

"Huzur mu Huzursuzluk mu: Cekiç Güç ve Türk Dış Politikası" in F. Sönmezoğlu (ed.) Türk Dış Politikası'nın Analizi (Der Yayınları, 1994, İstanbul).

"Uluslararası Sistemdeki Değişmeler ve Türk Dış Politikasının Yeni Yönelimleri" in F. Sönmezoğlu (ed.) (1994).

## RESEARCH AWARDS

4th Annual Crime and Punishment Film Festival Award, for contribution to Migration Studies  
Istanbul, Turkey, November 7, 2014

Sakıp Sabancı International Research Award, First Prize, June 2011

Open Society Institute, "Immigration Issues in EU-Turkish Relations" June 2003 – June 2005 (Group Project)

Boğaziçi University Outstanding Achievement in Research Award 2002

Boğaziçi University Research Foundation, "Public Opinion Survey on Turkish Foreign Policy", October 2001-October 2002 (Group project).

United States Institute of Peace – "The Role of Public Opinion in Greek-Turkish Relations" August 2001-September 2002 (Group project).

Boğaziçi University Research Foundation, "Identities in Question: Greek-Turkish Relations in a Period of Transformation?", February 2001-February 2002 (Group project director).

Fulbright grant "U.S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights: the Case of Turkey" - April - July 1998.

International Organization for Migration - "Migration and Security in the Black Sea Region" (Grant to organize an international workshop) – 1996.

Boğaziçi University Research Foundation - "Forced Migration and Turkey" - (1995-96).

The Turkish Social and Economic Studies Foundation - "Political Cooperation and Economic Integration in the Middle East" - 1995-96 (Group project).

United States Institute of Peace - "Turkey and the Kurds: An Example of a Trans-State Ethnic Conflict" - 1993-95 (Group project).

NATO Group Research Grants - "Turkish Foreign Policy and the 'Out of Area' Issue: Implications for NATO" - 1991-92 (Group project)

Boğaziçi University Alumni Association - "Changing Patterns of Turkish Foreign Policy Behaviour" - 1991-92