

**Curriculum Vitae**  
**CIHAN Z. TUĞAL**  
**(Short Version)**

**Education:**

- 2003 Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Michigan.
- 1997 B.A. in Sociology, *Valedictorian*, The Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey.

**Appointments:**

- July 2018-present Professor, University of California at Berkeley.
- July 2010-2018 Associate Professor, University of California at Berkeley.
- Spring 2014 Visiting Associate Professor, Koç University, Istanbul.
- Fall 2014 Visiting Scholar, Koç University.
- Fall 2010 Visiting Assistant Professor, University of California at San Diego.
- July 2005-June 2010 Assistant Professor, University of California at Berkeley.
- 2003-2005 Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow, Northwestern University, Department of Sociology.
- Spring 2002 Lecturer, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

**Publications:**

***Books:***

- 2017 *Caring for the Poor: Islamic and Christian Benevolence in a Liberal World*, Routledge.
- 2016 *The Fall of the Turkish Model: How the Arab Uprisings Brought down Islamic Liberalism*, Verso  
(Translated to German and Turkish)
- 2009 *Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism*, Stanford University Press

(Translated to Turkish, 4<sup>th</sup> edition)

***Edited volume:***

- 2015 *Building Blocs: How Parties Organize Society*, Stanford University Press. (Co-edited with Cedric de Leon and Manali Desai)

***Journal articles:***

- Forthcoming “Urban Symbolic Violence Re-Made: Spatial Struggles in Istanbul,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*
- 2019 “The Counter-Revolution’s Long March: The American Right’s Shift from Primitive to Advanced Leninism.” *Critical Sociology*. Published first online: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920519850258>
- 2017 “The Uneven Neoliberalization of Good Works: Islamic Charitable Fields and Their Impact on Diffusion.” *American Journal of Sociology* 123/2: 426-464.
- 2016 “Faiths with a Heart and Heartless Religions: Devout Alternatives to the Merciless Rationalization of Charity.” *Rethinking Marxism* 28/3-4: 418-437.
- 2015 “Elusive Revolt: The Contradictory Rise of Middle Class Politics,” *Thesis Eleven* 130/1: 74-95
- 2013 “Resistance Everywhere: The Gezi Revolt in Global Perspective,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 49: 157-172.
- 2013 “Contesting Benevolence: Market Orientations among Muslim Aid Providers in Egypt,” *Qualitative Sociology* 36/2: 141-159
- 2012 “Democratic Janissaries? Turkey’s Role in the Arab Spring,” *New Left Review* 76: 5-24 (Translated to Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish and Turkish)
- 2012 “Serbest Meslek Sahibi”: Neoliberal Subjectivity among Istanbul’s Popular Sectors, *New Perspectives on Turkey* 46: 65-93
- 2012 “Fight or Acquiesce? Religion and Political Process in Turkey’s and Egypt’s Neoliberalizations,” *Development and Change* 43/1: 23-51
- 2009 “The Urban Dynamism of Islamic Hegemony: Absorbing Squatter Creativity in Istanbul,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 29(3): 423-437.

- 2009 (with Cedric de Leon and Manali Desai) "Political Articulation: Parties and the Constitution of Cleavages in the U.S., India, and Turkey," *Sociological Theory* 27(3): 193-219. (Lead article)
- 2009 "Transforming Everyday Life: Islamism and Social Movement Theory," *Theory and Society* 38(5): 423-458. (Lead article)
- 2008 "The Greening of Istanbul," *New Left Review* 51: 64-80.  
(Translated to Romanian, Spanish and German)
- 2007 "NATO's Islamists: Hegemony and Americanization in Turkey," *New Left Review* 44: 5-34. (Lead article)  
(Translated to Spanish and Turkish)
- 2006 "The Appeal of Islamic Politics: Ritual and Dialogue in a Poor District of Turkey," *Sociological Quarterly* 47(2): 245-273.
- 2002 "Islamism in Turkey: Beyond Instrument and Meaning," *Economy and Society* 31(1): 85-111.

***Chapters in Edited Volumes:***

2017. "The Decline of the Legitimate Monopoly of Violence and the Return of Non-State Warriors." Pp. 77–92 in *The Transformation of Citizenship, Volume 3: Struggle, Resistance and Violence*, edited by Jürgen Mackert and Bryan S. Turner. London and New York: Routledge.
- 2015 (with de Leon Desai) "Political Articulation: The Structured Creativity of Parties." Pp. 1-35 in *Building Blocs: How Parties Organize Society*, edited by Cedric de Leon, Manali Desai, and Cihan Tugal. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- 2015 "Religious Politics, Hegemony, and the Market Economy: Parties in the Making of Turkey's Liberal-Conservative Bloc and Egypt's Diffuse Islamization," in *Building Blocs: How Parties Organize Society*, Stanford University Press.
- 2014 "Gülenism: The Middle Way or Official Ideology?" pp. 50-64 in Umut Özkırımlı (ed.) *The Making of a Protest Movement in Turkey: #occupygezi*, Palgrave.
- 2013 "Conservatism, victorious: Islam and the retrenchment of the secular Turkish state," pp. 109-133 in Asef Bayat (ed.) *Post-Islamism at Large*, Oxford University Press
- 2011 "The Islamic Making of a Capitalist Habitus: the Turkish Sub-Proletariat's Turn to the Market," *Economic Sociology of Work: Research in the Sociology of Work*

2007 “Memories of Violence, Memoirs of Nation: 1915 and the Construction of Armenian Identity,” in Esra Özyürek (ed.) *Politics of Public Memory*, Syracuse University Press.

**Review Essays:**

2017 “An unmoving wall or a shifting one? The American right's deep emotional politics and its emaciated counterpart.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 68/1: 137–142.

2016 “Neoliberal populism as a contradictory articulation.” *European Journal of Sociology* 57/3: 466-470.

2012 “Intermittent Revolution: the Road to a Hybrid Socialism,” *Socio-Economic Review* 10/2: 382-386

2005 “State and Society in the Study of Islam: Discontents of a Dichotomy,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 31: 121-134.

**Book Reviews:**

2014 Nancy J. Davis and Robert V. Robinson “Claiming Society for God: Religious Movements and Social Welfare,” *Social Forces* (First published online: March 10, 2014)

2012 Daromir Rudnyckyj “Spiritual Economics: Islam, Globalization, and the Afterlife of Development,” *British Journal of Sociology* 63(4): 777–778.

2004 M. Hakan Yavuz “Islamic Political Identity in Turkey,” *Political Science Quarterly* 119(2): 360-361.

2004 Ayşe Saktanber “Living Islam: Women, Religion and the Politicization of Culture in Turkey,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36(3): 516-517.

**Essays:**

2018 9/25/2018 “Democratic Socialism beyond the New Deal”  
[www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net)

2016 8/6/2016 “Turkish Totalitarianism: A Trendsetter rather than a Cultural Curiosity?” *Global Dialogue* (Newsletter for the International Sociological Association) Volume 6/Issue 3

2016 7/18/2016 “Turkey coup aftermath: between neo-fascism and Bonapartism,”  
[www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net)

- 2016 May/June "A Coup against Scientific Autonomy," *Footnotes* (Newsletter for the American Sociological Association) Volume 44/Issue 4
- 2016 2/17/2016 "In Turkey, the regime slides from soft to hard totalitarianism," [www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net)
- 2015 10/31/2015 "Can Total War in the Middle East Be Prevented?" [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com)
- 2015 04/04/2015 "Those Who Want to Build, Those Who Want to Fight: The World Social Forum with a North African Twist," [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com)
- 2015 01/09/2015 "'I Can't Breathe': Are You Aware of the Uprising?" [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com) (Translated to Turkish)
- 2014 05/17/2014 "Quick Thoughts: Cihan Tugal on the Soma Mining Disaster," [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com)
- 2014 05/15/2014 "Stillbirth: The New Liberal-Conservative Mobilization in Turkey," [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com) (Translated to Turkish)
- 2013 12/22/2013 "Towards the End of a Dream? The Erdogan-Gulen Fallout and Islamic Liberalism's Descent," [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com)
- 2013 07/10/2013 "The End of the 'Leaderless' Revolution: A Global Fallacy and the Military Intervention in Egypt," [www.counterpunch.org](http://www.counterpunch.org)  
Published also in *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 58: 83-87 (annual print issue)
- 2013 07/05/2013 "Gulenism: The Middle Way or Official Ideology?" [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com) (Translated to Turkish)
- 2013 06/11/2013 "Turkey: a Second 1848 ... or 1905? The Cultural and Organizational Legacies From the Global Wave of 2011," [www.counterpunch.org](http://www.counterpunch.org) (Translated to Turkish)
- 2013 06/04/2013 "Occupy Gezi: The Limits of Turkey's Neoliberal Success," [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com) (Translated to Turkish)  
Published also in *JadMag 1.4* Special print issue, "*Resistance Everywhere": The Gezi Protests and Dissident Visions of Turkey*, Edited by Anthony Alessandrini, Nazan Üstündağ, and Emrah Yildiz
- 2012 06/20/2012 "Egypt's Emergent Passive Revolution," [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com)
- 2007 "The Hand of the Market and the Boot of the Army," *ISIM Review* 20: 40-41. (The newsletter of the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World)

***Opinion Pieces:***

- 2016 2/15/2016 “Syrian refugees in Turkey are pawns in a geopolitical game,” *The Guardian*
- 2011 2/21/2011 “Egypt’s Path Could be Distinct from Turkey’s and Iran’s,”  
www.jadaliyya.com
- 2008 “Party of One,” *The National*, August 29, 2008.

***Interviews:***

- 2019 2/12/2019 “Interview with Professor Cihan Tugal,” *Berkeley Economic Review*
- 2016 7/23/2016 “Turkey’s Disaster,” www.jacobinmag.com
- 2016 4/16/2016 “The rise and fall of the 'Turkish model' and Islamic liberalism,”  
*Hürriyet Daily News*
- 2011 02/21/2011 “Expert talks of passive revolution in Turkey, uncertainty in Egypt, Tunisia,” *Today’s Zaman*

***Responses:***

- 2008 “Islamic Movements and Democratization,” *Sociological Forum*, 23/2: 314-315  
(Response to Amitai Etzioni’s “Will the Right Islam Stand Up?”).

**Publications in Turkish (selections):**

***Booklet:***

- 2013 *Gezi’nin Yükselişi, Liberalizmin Düşüşü: Ortak Alanlar, Katılımcı Demokrasi ve Haziran Günleri* [The Rise of Gezi, the Fall of Liberalism: the Commons, Participatory Democracy, and the June Days], Agora Kitaplığı, Istanbul.

***Articles:***

- 2011 “Pasif Devrimlerde Toplum, Siyaset ve Bloklar [Society, State, and Blocs in Passive Revolutions].” *Praksis* 27: 41-54.
- 2007 “Muhafazakar bir Ülkede Emek ve Siyaset [Labor and Politics in a Conservative Country].” *Birikim* 217: 55-64.

- 2004 “İslamcılığın Dini Çoğulluk Alanındaki Krizi: Alevilik Açmazı Hakkında Bazı Açılımlar [The Crisis of Islamism in the Realm of Religious Plurality: Some Considerations on the Alevi Question],” pp. 493-502 in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, cilt 6 (İslamcılık) [Political Thought in Modern Turkey, vol. 6 (Islamism)]*. İstanbul: İletişim.
- 2002 “Sosyalizm ve Din: Alternatif bir Muhayyileye Doğru [Socialism and Religion: Towards an Alternative Imaginary].” *Tezkire* 26: 67-77.
- 2002 “Hakim Kentin Ötekileri: Enformalitenin ve İslamcılığın Kenti Yeniden Kuruşu [The ‘Others’ of the Dominant City: the Reconstitution of the Urban by Informality and Islamism].” *Birikim* 154: 56-67.  
(Translated to German)

***Review Essay:***

- 2001 “Halkçı Siyaset Açısından Alevi-Sünni Ayrılığı ve Sünni Yaklaşım [The Alevi-Sunni Distinction in the Context of Populist Politics].” (Review of *Türk Dininin Sosyolojik İmkani* [The Sociological Possibility of Turkish Religion], Yasin Aktay, İletişim, İstanbul: 2000.) *Birikim* 141: 83-94.

**Fellowships and Grants:**

***National and International:***

- 2014-2015 Sabbatical Grant, Institute of Turkish Studies, \$20,000 (Declined)
- 2014-2015 Tübitak (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey), Fellowship Program for Visiting Scientists and Scientists
- 2002-2003 Dissertation Writing Fellowship, Middle East Research Competition (MERC), Lebanese Center for Policy Studies.
- 2001-2002 International Dissertation Research Fellowship, Social Science Research Council (SSRC).
- 2001-2002 Dissertation Research Grant, Middle East Awards (MEA), Population Council.

***Local:***

- 2014-2015 Mellon Project Grant Program (of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation)

- 2009-1010 Hellman Family Faculty Fund (competitive), University of California at Berkeley.
- 2005-2006 Junior Faculty Research Grant (competitive), University of California at Berkeley.
- 2002-2003 Departmental Dissertation Writing Fellowship, University of Michigan.
- 2000-2001 Departmental Dissertation Research Grant, University of Michigan.
- 1997-1998 Research Fellowship, International Institute, University of Michigan.
- 1997-1998 Graduate Fellowship, Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan.

**Awards and Honors:**

- 2018 Sociology of Development Outstanding Article Award  
Award, Honorable Mention - American Sociological Association  
For “The Uneven Neoliberalization of Good Works”
- 2016 Political Sociology Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award, Honorable  
Mention - American Sociological Association  
For “Political Articulation: The Structured Creativity of Parties”
- 2003 Finalist, Midwest Sociological Society Annual Graduate Student Paper  
Competition.
- 1997 *Valedictorian*, The Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul,  
Turkey.
- 1997 *Valedictorian*, Sociology, Boğaziçi University.

**Keynote speaker:**

- October 2014 “Sectarianism with a salafi veneer: the new balances after liberal-  
conservatism,” International Conference, Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II:  
Turkey Transformed? İstanbul Bilgi University

**Presentations (last 5 years):**

- March 2017 "Why was the Left Unequipped to Address the Global Fall of  
Liberalism?" UC Berkeley Sociology, Teach-in Series



- January 2017 “Combined and Uneven Liberalization: the Universality of “Self-Reliance” Ethics and Its Impending Downfall,” Symposium on Critical Sociology (Joint Event organized by Department of Sociology, Berkeley & Critical Realism Network)
- May 2016 “The Fall of the Turkish Model,” The Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, Stanford University
- April 2016 "Berkeley Sociologists Think about the 2016 Elections,” Berkeley Connect panel
- March 2016 “The Fall of the Turkish Model,” The Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies, New York University
- March 2016 “The Fall of the Turkish Model,” Middle East Social Science Workshop, Yale University
- February 2016 “Turkey’s indecisive shift to neo-fascism,” UCLA Center for Social Theory and Comparative History
- June 2016 “How the Arab Uprisings Brought Down Islamic Liberalism,” AROC: Arab Resource & Organizing Center, San Francisco
- May 2016 “Is Islamic Liberalism Dead in Turkey?” World Affairs Council, San Francisco
- December 2015 “Uneven Neoliberalization of Good Works: Islamic Charitable Fields and Their Impact on Diffusion,” UCLA Political Sociology Global South working group
- November 13, 2015 “Book Session: Building Blocs: How Parties Organize Society,” Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Baltimore
- April 2015 “Variegated neoliberalization of Islamic charities,” Cultural Studies Seminar, Sabancı University
- March 2015 "The Crisis of Neoliberal Governmentality: Notes from Egyptian and Turkish Fields of Benevolence," Atatürk Institute, Boğaziçi University
- September 2014 “The Privileged Defend the Commons! The contradictory rise of middle class politics,” International Conference of Political Economy, Kocaeli University
- April 2014 “The Aporias of Urban Protest in Istanbul: How Middle Class Revolt Undermines Itself,” UC Davis

March 2014 “Consent and Contestation: A Mini-Symposium on Gramsci's Contemporary Relevance,” UC Berkeley Sociology Department

March 2014 “The Revolt of the Petty Bourgeoisie, Revisited,” UCLA Center for Social Theory and Comparative History

**Research Interests:**

Political sociology	Social movements	Islam and the Middle East
Social theory	Religion	Culture
Global and transnational sociology	Economic sociology and development	
Comparative and historical sociology		

**Teaching Experience:**

Instructor, University of California at Berkeley for  
Soc. 102: “Sociological Theory II”  
Soc. 190: “The re-birth of populism across the globe”  
Soc. 140: “Political Sociology: Politics and Social Change”  
Soc C112/Religst C182: “Sociology of Religion”  
Soc. 170: “Social Change”  
Soc. 189: “Sociology of the Middle East”

Soc 201B: “Modern Social Theory”  
Soc. 202B: “Theories of Hegemony”  
Soc. 202B: “Theories of Hegemony, Practice and Discourse”  
Soc. 280C: “Political Sociology”  
Soc. 280P: “Sociology of the Middle East”

Instructor, Koç University, for  
“Sociology of Religion”  
“Politics and Social Change” (graduate)

Instructor, University of California at San Diego for  
Soc. 158: “Islam in the Modern World”

Instructor, Northwestern University, Department of Sociology for  
Soc. 376: “Islam and Democracy”  
Soc. 314: “Sociology of Religion and Ideology”  
Soc. 376: “Modernization and Globalization in the Middle East”  
Soc. 376: “Islam and Social Movements”

Instructor, Boğaziçi University, Department of Sociology for  
Soc.106: “Modernity and Its Adversaries”  
Soc. 341: “Crises in Late Capitalism”

Teacher in English and the Social Sciences, Anafartalar Primary School, Istanbul  
(undertaken as part of fieldwork).

Graduate Student Instructor, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, for  
Soc. 102: “Introduction to Sociology through Social Issues”  
Soc. 100: “Introduction to Sociology”

**Professional Activities (selections from the last 5 years):**

2015-present Organizer, Berkeley Sociological Forum

Spring 2016 Chair, Charles Tilly Best Article Award Committee, The Comparative and  
Historical Sociology Section, American Sociological Association

2013-present Board member, Tadween Publishing

2013-2016 Editor, *Jadaliyya*

2006-present Board member, *New Perspectives on Turkey*

Reviewer, American Journal of Sociology (frequent); American Sociological Review;  
Sociological Theory; Theory and Society; Mobilization (frequent);  
International Journal of Middle East Studies; Ethnography; New  
Perspectives on Turkey (frequent); The Sociological Quarterly; Journal for  
the Scientific Study of Religion; International Journal of Urban and  
Regional Research; Development and Change; Environment and Planning  
A; Journal of Comparative Politics; International Journal of Comparative  
Sociology; Political Geography; East European Politics and Societies;  
Political Studies; Toplum ve Bilim [Science and Society, Turkey];  
Ethnography; British Journal of Middle East Studies; Comparative Studies  
of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East

Manuscript reviewer: Columbia University Press; Polity Press; Edward Elgar Publishing

**Service:**

Spring 2019 Graduate Admissions Committee

Fall 2017 GSI Training Seminar, Sociology

Spring 2017 Awards Committee, Sociology

Fall 2016 GSI Training Seminar, Sociology

February-June 2016 Chair, Charles Tilly Best Article Award Committee, The Comparative and Historical Sociology Section, American Sociological Association

Spring 2016 Admissions Committee, Sociology

Fall 2015 Committee for Vice Chair Search, CMES, Berkeley

Spring-Summer 2014 ad hoc personnel committee for cross-campus search for a scholar of religion

Spring 2014 Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships (FLAS) Committee, Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES)

Fall 2013 Sociology Undergraduate Pro-seminar

Spring 2013 Admissions Committee, Sociology

Fall 2011 Personnel Committee, Sociology

Fall 2011 Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES) Advisory Board

Spring 2011 Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships (FLAS) Committee, Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES)

Fall 2009 Faculty Mentor, Caucasus Research Resource Centers (CRRC), Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies

Spring 2009 Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships (FLAS) Committee, Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES)

Fall 2008 Sociology 100, Undergraduate Pro-seminar

Spring 2008 Graduate Admissions, Department of Sociology

Spring 2008 Mellon fellowships, Department of Sociology (Reviewer)

Spring 2007 FLAS Fellowship Committee, CMES

Spring 2007 Committee on Academic Progress, Department of Sociology

Fall 2005 Sociology 100, Undergraduate Pro-seminar

**Languages:**

Turkish (native); English (fluent); French (reading proficiency; other skills advanced); modern standard Arabic (advanced); Egyptian colloquial Arabic (advanced); German (intermediate)