

Curriculum Vitae CİHAN TUĞAL

Education:

2003 Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Michigan.

1997 B.A. in Sociology, *Valedictorian* of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey.

Appointments:

July 2024-present Director of Graduate Studies and Vice Chair, Department of Sociology, University of California at Berkeley

July 2018-present Full Professor, University of California at Berkeley.

July 2010-2018 Associate Professor, University of California at Berkeley.

Spring 2015 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, 4th edition)

Edited volume:

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

Journal articles:

2024 "Democratic Autocracy: a Populist Update to Fascism under Neoliberal Conditions." *Historical Materialism* 32/3: 45-82. (Lead article, following the Editorial Perspective)

2023 "Three routes to autocratic rule: Market reforms, politics, and masculinist performance in the making of rightwing regimes" *Journal of Right-Wing Studies* 1/1: 37-71.

2023 "Politicized Megaprojects and Public Sector Interventions: Mass Consent Under Neoliberal Statism." *Critical Sociology* 49/3: 457-473.

2022 "The strengths and limits of neoliberal populism: the statism and mass organisation of contemporary rightwing regimes." *Contemporary Politics* 28/5: 611-634.

2021 "Populism Studies: The Case for Theoretical and Comparative Reconstruction." *Annual Review of Sociology* 47: 327-347

2021 "Urban Symbolic Violence Re-Made: Spatial Struggles in Istanbul," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 45/1: 154-163.

2021 "Turkey at the Crossroads?" *New Left Review* 127: 25-54.

2021 "The spiritual transformation of giving: generosity's constitution of the self and community in post-religious society" *Social Compass* 68/1: 98-114.

2020 "The Counter-Revolution's Long March: The American Right's Shift from Primitive to Advanced Leninism." *Critical Sociology* 46/3: 343-358.

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 Articles:**
- 2024 “South Africa’s passive revolution and informal working-class politics in a global context.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1–11.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2024.2425416>”
- 2024 “Ukraine Needs More Than Rival Elite Projects”
<https://jacobin.com/2024/10/ukraine-elite-soviet-left-review>
 Simultaneously published as:
 “From Soviet to Post-Soviet Ukraine, and Back”
<https://lefteast.org/from-soviet-to-post-soviet-ukraine-and-back/>
- 2023 "After populism?" *New Left Review* 144
 (Translated to Turkish)
- 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
- 2010 "The Subproletariat and the Political," *Critique of Anthropology*
- 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 Rudnycky "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:

- 2024 "Erdoğan's Syria?" *Sidecar*, December 13
- 2024 "Left parties after leaderless revolutions and populism" *LeftEast*, December 16 (written originally in Turkish; translated also to Spanish, Persian, English)
- 2024 "Let's Measure the Far-Right Threat Seriously," *Jacobin*, November 26
- 2024 "Can the Turkish regime absorb the opposition to Israel's war?," *Noria Research*, March 13
- 2023 "From the Gezi Uprising to the 2023 Earthquake: Charting Turkey's Ecological Destruction and Reconstruction," *Jadaliyya*, April 7
- 2023 "Erdoğan's Resilience," *Sidecar*, May 31
- 2022 "Ottoman Revival?" *Sidecar*, October 14

- 2022 “Putin’s Invasion: Imperialism after the epoch of Lenin and Wilson,” *LeftEast*, March 6, 2022
- 2021 “For a 21st Century Bolshevism: Re-Configuring the Relations between the Cadres and the Subject,” *New Politics*, November 7, 2021
- 2021 “To achieve real political change, populism is necessary,” *OpenDemocracy*, October 15, 2021 ([cross-posted in *System Change Not Climate Change*](#))
- 2021 “One World, in Flames, From California to Turkey,” *Jadaliyya*, September 10, 2021 (cross-posted in *System Change Not Climate Change*)
- 2021 “Islamic Movements, Industrialists, and Aid,” *Jadaliyya*, September 7, 2021
- 2021 “Can a Disoriented Storming of the Center Lead to Organizational Maturity?” *New Politics* Vol. XVIII No. 3, Whole Number 71
- 2021 "The Invasion of Capitol Hill: Decaying Institutions, Rightwing Insurrection, and the Need for a Mass Movement," *New Politics*, January 11, 2021
- 2020 “The radical right after Trump,” *New Politics*, November 21, 2020.
- 2020 “[Leninism without the working class? The missing subject in Malm’s ecological revolution](#),” www.opendemocracy.net, October 27, 2020
- 2020 “The Radical Right: Thriving and in Disarray,” Marxist Sociology Blog, July 8, 2020
- 2019 “The Euro-American Left’s abandonment and the Right’s surreptitious adaptation of Leninism,” *Trajectories* (Newsletter for CHS section of the American Sociological Association) Volume 31/Issue 1-2: pp. 20-22
- 2018 9/25/2018 “Democratic Socialism beyond the New Deal” www.opendemocracy.net
- 2017 10/28/2017 “The Rise of the Leninist Right,” *Global Dialogue* Volume 7/Issue 4
- 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

- 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
- 2015 10/31/2015 "Can Total War in the Middle East Be Prevented?" 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
- 2015 01/09/2015 "'I Can't Breathe': Are You Aware of the Uprising?" www.jadaliyya.com (Translated to Turkish)
- 2014 05/17/2014 "Quick Thoughts: Cihan Tugal on the Soma Mining Disaster," www.jadaliyya.com
- 2014 05/15/2014 "Stillbirth: The New Liberal-Conservative Mobilization in Turkey," 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
- 2013 07/10/2013 "The End of the 'Leaderless' Revolution: A Global Fallacy and the Military Intervention in Egypt," 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 (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 (Translated to Turkish)
- 2013 06/04/2013 "Occupy Gezi: The Limits of Turkey's Neoliberal Success," 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
- 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:

- 2023 5/11/2023 “Whatever Happens Next, Turkey is in Trouble,” *New York Times*
- 2022 5/26/2022 “Turkey Shows What NATO Really is,” *New York Times*
- 2021 1/13/2021 “Fascism, Resistance, and the State: A Critique of Spectre’s Antifascist Strategy,” *spectrejournal.com*
- 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*
- 2019 *Sectors* (Newsletter for the Sociology of Development section of the American Sociological Association) Volume 6/Issue 1: p. 6
- 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?”).

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:

- 2021-2022 Energy and Labor Working Group, Matrix, UC Berkeley, \$5000
- 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
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

Professional Presentations:

August 2022 “New Democratic Autocracy: A national regime type and its world-historical foundations” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Los Angeles (in-person)

March 2022 “Varieties of democratic backsliding: From populism to “new democratic autocracy” Comparative Historical Analysis and Theory panel series (held on Zoom)

February 2021 “Why is classical theory relevant in the 21st century?” ISA, Porto Allegre, Brazil (held on Zoom)

September 2020 “From Jacobinism to New Democratic Autocracy: The Modern History of Authoritarianism through Six Cases,” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, held on Zoom

August 2020 “Politicized Megaprojects: Statist Interventions and the Exit from Neoliberalism,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, held on Zoom

August 2019 “Revolution and Articulation: Two Necessary Elements of Popular Power,” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Washington, DC

August 2019 “The Euro-American Left’s Abandonment and the Right’s Surreptitious Adaptation of Leninism,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, New York

November 13, 2015 “Book Session: Building Blocs: How Parties Organize Society,” Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Baltimore

- August 2011 “Fighting *fitna*: How Islamists Reconfigure the Nation in Turkey, Egypt and Iran,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Las Vegas
- May 2011 “Religious politics and the market economy: lessons from Turkey’s conservative bloc and Egypt’s diffuse Islamization,” Mini-conference on Political Articulation, Chicago
- November 2010 “Islamic charity and market orientations: uneven neoliberalization among charity providers in Egypt,” Middle East Studies Association Annual Meetings, San Diego
- November 2009 “Party-in-Society: the AKP and the Transition to Neoliberal Islam in Turkey,” Middle East Studies Association Annual Meetings, Boston.
- August 2009 “Party and Political Society in the Making of Turkey’s Passive Revolution,” Thematic Session, Political Parties and the Formation of New Communities, American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, San Francisco.
- August 2008 “Islam and the Sub-Proletarian Work Ethic,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Boston.
- September 2006 “The Islamic Making of a Capitalist Habitus,” Practicing Pierre Bourdieu Conference, Ann Arbor.
- November 2005 “ ‘Poor People Don’t Do It’: The Restricted Engagement of Construction Workers in Collective Action,” Middle East Studies Association Annual Meetings, Washington, DC.
- August 2005 “Globalization, Politics and Contingency in Turkey’s Shift to Islamism,” Political Sociology Roundtables, American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Philadelphia.
- October 2004 “Crossing the East/West Boundary: Islamic Politics in Turkey,” Society for the Scientific Study of Religion Annual Meetings, Kansas City.
- August 2004 “The Appeal of Islamist Politics: Ritual and Dialogue in a Poor District of Turkey,” Regular Islam Session, American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, San Francisco.
- November 2003 “Discontinuities in Islamism: From the ‘Milli Outlook’ to ‘Conservative Democracy’,” Tracing Global Circuits of Representation and Practice, Middle East Studies Association Annual Meetings, Anchorage.

- August 2003 “Urban Poor Locations in a Globalizing Metropolis: Migrant Communities and Their Articulation to Religious Politics,” Section on Sociology of Culture, Culture in Extremis: Historical and Comparative Studies, American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Atlanta.
- April 2003 “The Power of Religious Politics: Everyday Religion and Islamism in an Urban Poor District,” Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Identities Movements in Social Movements, Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meetings, Chicago.
- April 2003 “In-between Subjectivities and Fuzzy Communities: Religious Counter-Hegemony in a Poor District,” Communities of Place: The Impact of Immigration and Economic Restructuring, Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meetings, Chicago.
- April 2003 “The Power of Religious Politics: Everyday Religion and Islamism in an Urban Poor District,” Special Session for Graduate Student Paper Competition Award Winners, Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meetings, Chicago.
- June 2000 “The Islamist Movement in Turkey,” Cultural Politics Workshop, organized by the University of Michigan, Boğaziçi University and the European University in Cracow, Poland.

Invited Talks:

- September 2024 “Panel and Open Discussion of the 2024 Election in Sociological Perspective,” Sociology, UC Berkeley
- 2024 Populism Seminar, Columbia University (online)
- July 2023 “How and Why Did Erdogan Win the Turkish Elections?” Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Berlin
- July 2023 “Socialist and Democratic Opposition in Turkey,” Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Berlin
- September 2022 UCB - UNICAMP Workshop: "Contemporary Political Formations of the Far Right: Comparative Perspectives" (in-person)
- April 21, 2021 “Caring for the Poor: Islamic Benevolence and the End of Neoliberalism,” UCLA, Center for Near Eastern Studies (meeting held online due to the Covid-19 pandemic)

- March 31, 2021 “Politicized Megaprojects and Public Sector Interventions: A Magical Exit from Neoliberalism?” Sociology Department, Koç University (meeting held online due to the Covid-19 pandemic)
- November 30, 2020 “The hegemonic capacity of the new authoritarians: A social critique of individualist accounts,” as a part of the panel “The New Authoritarians,” Matrix, UC Berkeley (meeting held online due to the Covid-19 pandemic)
- October 27, 2020 “Populist and Elitist Boundary Work: Emotions and Dispositions of Trump Era Political Activists,” University of Colorado, Culture, Power, Inequality Workshop (meeting held online due to the Covid-19 pandemic)
- May 31, 2019 “Populism in Turkey: From Revolutionary Nationalism to Islamic Neoliberalism,” Office of Resources for International and Area Studies, UC Berkeley
- 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
- February 2016 “Turkey’s indecisive shift to neo-fascism,” UCLA Center for Social Theory and Comparative History
- 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
- December 2015 “Uneven Neoliberalization of Good Works: Islamic Charitable Fields and Their Impact on Diffusion,” UCLA Political Sociology Global South working group
- 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
- February 2014 "The Experience that Made Me a Professor," Berkeley Connect panel
- September 2013 "The Marketization of Good Works? Rival Dispositions of Caring in Egypt and Turkey," Institute for the Study of Societal Issues, UC Berkeley
- September 2013 "Why Are They so Fearless? Comparative Analysis of Revolts in North Africa, Southern Europe, and Turkey," Colloquium Series, UC Berkeley Sociology Department
- April 2011 "Seeing Midan Tahrir in a Coffee Cup," response to Zeynep Gürsel's documentary "What is in A Coffee Cup? Turkey and the European Union," The Europe Center, Stanford University, Palo Alto.
- April 2011 "Can the Revolution be Managed?" Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley.
- January 2010 "Türkiye'de Siyasal İslam'ın Dönüşümü [The Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey]," Faculty of Political Sciences, Istanbul University.
- October 2009 "Paths of Islamization: Political Society in Turkey, Egypt and Iran," Department of Sociology, Comparative Social Analysis Seminar, UCLA, Los Angeles.
- October 2009 "Political Society and Contesting Islam: Rethinking Political Sociology through Middle Eastern Cases," Ideology and Religion seminar series, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

- September 2009 “Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism,”
Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- March 2009 “Party-in-Society: The AKP and the Transition to Neoliberal Islam in
Turkey,” Centre d’Études et de Recherches Internationales, Paris.
- February 2009 “Party-in-Society: The AKP and the Transition to Neoliberal Islam in
Turkey,” Global Middle East Workshop on Globalization, Islam, and
Capitalism, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- September 2006 “Transforming Everyday Life: Islamism and Social Movement Theory,”
Department of Sociology, Yale University, New Haven.
- May 2006 “The Normalization of an Islamic Fortress: Politics in Sultanbeyli from
Islamism to Conservatism,” Sociology Department, Boğaziçi University,
Istanbul.
- May 2006 “The Normalization of an Islamic Fortress: Politics in Sultanbeyli from
Islamism to Conservatism,” Social Science Seminar, Koç University,
Istanbul.
- December 2005 “The Cultural Dimensions of Radical Islamism’s
Limits in Turkey,” Carnegie Seminar, Berkeley Program in Soviet and
Post-Soviet Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- September 2005 “Challenge and Incorporation: The Transformation of Religious Politics
in Turkey,” The Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of
California, Berkeley.
- May 2005 “The Appeal of Islamic Politics: Ritual and Dialogue in a Poor District of
Turkey,” The Center for International and Comparative Studies,
Northwestern University.
- April 2004 “‘Istanbul is the Mirror of Turkey’: Urban Poor Strategies and Their
Articulation to Islamism,” Departmental Colloquium, Department of
Sociology, Northwestern University.
- January 2004 “The Future of Islamism in Turkey,” (with Andrew Wachtel and Fariba
Zarinebaf), The Center for International and Comparative Studies,
Northwestern University.
- December 2002 “Between Islam and Modernity: Religious Political Activity and the
Urban Poor of Turkey,” Center for Russian and East European Studies,
University of Pittsburgh.

Public Talks:

- March 2020 ““Pioneer Nations”: Leaders of Extermination and Populist “Revolution” in World History” UC Berkeley
- 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
- October 2013 “The Contradictory Dynamics of the Gezi Revolt: From Urban Protests to an Anti-Authoritarian Uprising,” Turkish American Gezi Platform, San Francisco
- September 2013 “The Summer of Urban Protests, 2013: Cairo, Istanbul, São Paulo,” Round table discussion co-sponsored by DCRP and GMS (Global Metropolitan Studies), UC Berkeley.
- September 2009 “Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism,” University Press Books, Berkeley.
- October 2005 “The Transformation of Religious Politics in Turkey,” City Commons Club, Berkeley.
- June 2003 “Transformation of Religious Movements in the Muslim World,” Muslim Student Association, University of Michigan.
- November 2002 “Challenges Confronting Turkey, Confronting Turkey as a Challenge: the Aftermath of the Turkish Election,” (with Andrew Finkel and Atilla Yaprak), Turkish Studies Colloquium, University of Michigan.

Keynote speaker (*in Turkish*):

- June 11, 2021 “Kapitalizm ve Virüs, Ekolojik Çöküş ve Kurtuluş Mücadelesi” KODA

Public Talks (*in Turkish*):

- July 2023 “Gezi’den 2023 Seçimlerine Toplumsal Muhalefet,” Bavul Kültür ve Sanat Merkezi, Berlin
- June 2023 “Gezi’nin bakiyesi,” Maltepe Chamber of Architects, Istanbul

- April 2023 “Gezi’den depreme,” Turkish American Gezi Platform April 18 (Zoom event)
- May 2021 “Komün’ün İkilemleri,” Praksis Dergisi, Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı ortak etkinliği
- May 2021 “Neoliberal dönemin sonlarında siyaset: ABD ve Türkiye’de toplumsal örgütlenme olasılıkları” May 23, 2021, Turkish American Gezi Platform
- November 2020 “Seçimlerin Ardından ABD: Dünya için Olası Sonuçları,” Kadıköy Halkevi (Zoom event)
- April 2015 “Liberalizmin Düşüşü, Şiddetin Tırmanışı Ve Emek Mücadelesi,” Emek ve Adalet, İstanbul.
- March 2015 “Rejim ve Sol,” (with İsmet Akça), Başlangıç Tartışmaları, İstanbul.
- December 2014 "Pasif Devrimin 'İntihar Aşaması' mı?" İDE Konuşmaları, İstanbul.
- October 2013 "Gezi aynasında Marksizm" sempozyumu, Teori ve Politika, İstanbul.
- June 2011 “Türkiye ve Mısır İslamcılarının Ekonomik Modelleri [The Economic Models of Turkey’s and Egypt’s Islamists],” Emek ve Adalet Platformu, İstanbul
- May 2011 “Pasif Devrim,” Küyerel, İstanbul.
- April 2002 “Siyasal İslam [Political Islam],” (with Haldun Gülalp and Ruşen Çakır), Social Sciences Club, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul.

Research Interests:

Political sociology; Social movements and revolutions; Social theory; Economic sociology and development; Religion and spirituality; Global and transnational sociology; Islam and the Middle East; Class, poverty, and culture; Qualitative methods; Comparative and historical sociology; Ecology

Teaching Experience:

Lectures and Seminars at UC Berkeley, 2005-2021:

Graduate seminars: Political Sociology; Modern Social Theory; Sociology of the Middle East; Theories of Hegemony

Large lectures: Politics and Social Change; Classical Sociological Theory; Contemporary Sociological Theory; Sociology of Development and Globalization; Sociology of Religion; Sociology of the Middle East

Undergraduate seminars: “The re-birth of populism across the globe”

Lectures and Seminars at Other Universities:

Spring 2015 Instructor, Koç University, for
“Sociology of Religion”
“Politics and Social Change” (graduate)

Fall 2010 Instructor, University of California at San Diego for
Soc. 158: “Islam in the Modern World”

2003-2005 Instructor, Northwestern University, Department of Sociology for
Soc. 376: “Islam and Democracy” (seminar for junior students)
Soc. 314: “Sociology of Religion and Ideology” (lecture for junior students).
Soc. 376: “Modernization and Globalization in the Middle East” (seminar for junior students)
Soc. 376: “Islam and Social Movements” (seminar for junior students)

Spring 2002 Instructor, Boğaziçi University, Department of Sociology for
Soc.106: “Modernity and Its Adversaries” (lecture for freshman students)
Soc. 341: “Crises in Late Capitalism” (seminar for junior students)

Other Teaching Experience:

2000-2001 Teacher in English, Anafartalar Primary School, Istanbul (undertaken as part of fieldwork).

1998-2000 Graduate Student Instructor, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, for
Soc. 102: “Introduction to Sociology through Social Issues”
Soc. 100: “Introduction to Sociology”

Qualifying exams:

2006 Laleh Behbehanian
2006 Jennifer Johns, Peter Dixon
2007 Jennifer Choo (chair), Nazanin Shohrakni, Gabriel Hetland, Ryan Calder, Daniel Laurison, Mike Levien; Dan Husman
2008 Katy Sullivan; Hiba Bou Akar; Tom Pessah (chair); Drew Dunbrack (chair); Laura Nelson; Fidan Elçioğlu
2009 Maia Sieverding, Edwin Ackerman (chair), Malgorzata Kurjanska (chair), Aaron Shaw (chair), Muna Güvenç, Jennifer Schradie (chair)

2010 Zachary Levenson; Shawhin Roudbari; Nick Kardahji
 2012 Srigowri Vijayakumar; Carter Koppelman; Elisabeth Pearson (chair);
 Seonmin Kim (chair); Rebecca Elliott (chair); Gökhan İrfanoğlu;
 2013 Caitlin Fox-Hodess (chair); Kristin George; Hans Jacob Seilo
 2014 Ayda Taghikhani Melika; Julia Tierney
 2015 Shannon Ikebe
 2016 Michel Estefan (chair); Andrew Jaeger; Elizabeth C. McKenna
 2018 Adam Storer (chair); Michael Kowen
 2019 Joohyun Park
 2019 Antonia Mardones Marshall
 2021 Matthew Grumbach; Dhurata Osmani; Allen Michael Wright (chair)
 In progress Theory: Miranda Smith;
 2024 Eylem Taylan; Justin Germain; Ceyda Elif Çekmeci (External Member);
 Thomas Gepts; Xavier Durham (Chair); Akilah Favors (Chair); Alonzo
 Ackerman

Tutorials:

2009 Manata Hashemi (chair)
 2020 Yueran Zhang

Masters Committees:

Paul Hathazy; Nazanin Shohrakni
 2008 Ryan Calder
 2008 Andy Cohnen
 2009 Tom Pessah (Personal Advisor); Manata Hashemi; Maia Sieverding
 2010 Edwin Ackerman
 2011 Rebecca Elliott; Caitlin Rose Fox-Hodess
 2012 Ayda Taghikhani Melika
 2014 Shannon Ikebe
 2016 Uğur Yıldırım
 2018 Joohyun Park (chair)
 2019 Allison Logan
 2019 Samuel Kieke (chair)
 2020 Matthew Grumbach
 2022 Akilah Favors; Eylem Taylan (chair)

PhD Committees:

2011 Nick Kardahji (History, completed, 2015); Daniel Husman (Anthropology,
 completed, 2008-2011); Malgorzate Kurjanska (completed, 2015); Fareen Parvaz
 (completed, 2007-2011); Silvia Pasquetti (completed)
 2012 Hiba Bou Akar (completed, 2009-2012); Manata Hashemi (completed)
 2013 Nazanin Shahrokni (completed); Jason Morris (Environmental Science, Policy,
 and Management, completed); Tamera Lee Stover (completed, 2015); Kristin George

2014 Tom Pessah (completed, 2009-2014); Muna Guvenc (Architecture, 2010-2014);
Emine Fidan Elcioglu (completed, 2016); Julia Tierney (City and Regional Planning);
Ayda Taghikhani Melika (Architecture); Hans Jacob Seilo (completed, 2017)
2015 Nora Barakat (History, completed); Claire Perez (Political Science);
Momen El-Husseiny (Architecture, completed)
2016 Graham Hill (completed); Laleh Behbehanian (completed)
2017 Michel Estefan
2013-2018 Katy Fox (completed)

Yueran Zhang (Chair; completed)

PhD Committees in Progress:

Ghaleb Attrache (Chair); Jonathan Smucker (Chair); Eylem Taylan (Chair); Alonzo
Ackerman (Chair); Justin Germain (Chair); Matt Grumbach; Michael Kowen

External PhD Committees:

2014 Zeynep Özgen (UCLA, external member)
2023 Cem Kurşunoğlu (California Institute of Integral Studies, external
member)

Undergraduate Senior Theses:

2008 Berrin Yılmaz (Center for Middle Eastern Studies)
2009 Krystell Jimenez (Center for Middle Eastern Studies)

Post-doctoral mentoring

2013-2014 Burak Demirer
2013-2014 Zafer Yılmaz
Spring 2019 Sébastien Antoine

Honors Thesis

2020 Yağmur Coşkun (Second Reader)
Highest Honors; Citation Award of the Interdisciplinary Studies Field

Professional Activities:

2023-2024 Chair, Global and Transnational Sociology (GATS) section of the ASA
(American Sociological Association)
2023-present Advisory Board, *Critical Sociology*
2024 Panel Organizer and Presider, “Liberal Decline and Global Labor,”
American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Montréal
2024 Panel Organizer and Presider, “Transnational Ecologism in a Burning
World,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Montréal

- 2024 Panel Co-Organizer, “Critical Sociology of Palestine/Israel,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Montréal
- 2024 Panel Chair, “Voices from the Heartland,” Matrix, UC Berkeley
- 2024 Panel Chair, “The Palestine Exception’: Teaching about Palestine in Repressive Contexts,” Webinar of the Global and Transnational Sociology (GATS) section of the ASA (American Sociological Association)
- 2023 Panel Chair in “Antonio Gramsci and the Current Conjuncture,” December 2, UC Berkeley.
- 2023 Panel Chair in “Conversations with Burawoy: Pedagogy, Power and Practice”
- 2023 Chair, Book Award, Global and Transnational Sociology (GATS) section of the ASA (American Sociological Association)
- 2022-2023 Chair Elect, GATS
- 2022-present Editorial Board, *Critical Sociology*
- 2022 Discussant of Metmet Baki Deniz’s dissertation, “Who rules Erdoğan's Turkey? Business Power and the Rise of Authoritarian Populism,” Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association
- November 2021 Chair and Discussant, “Global Academy Workshop - Capitalism, Islamism, and the State: Turkey’s Shifting Political Economy” Middle East Studies Association Annual Meetings, held on Zoom
- June 2021 Faculty Mentor and Discussant, Keyman Article Workshop, Northwestern University
- August 2020 Discussant, “Comparative Politics Section meeting on Social Movements in Transregional Perspective,” American Political Science Association Annual Meetings
- August 2020 Organizer, “Regular Session. Sociology of Middle East and Muslim Societies,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings
- June 2019 Faculty Mentor and Discussant, Radical Democracy and Subaltern Politics Workshop, London School of Economics
- 2015-present Organizer, Berkeley Sociological Forum

- October 2018 Discussant, "Disenfranchised: The Rise & Fall of Industrial Citizenship in China," Berkeley Sociological Forum
- February 2018 Discussant, "First Class Passengers on a Sinking Ship: Elite politics and the Decline of Great Powers," Berkeley Sociological Forum
- Spring 2016 Chair, Charles Tilly Best Article Award Committee, The Comparative and Historical Sociology Section, American Sociological Association
- 2006-present Board member, *New Perspectives on Turkey*
- 2013-2016 Editor, *Jadaliyya*
- 2013-present Board member, Tadween Publishing
- May 2013 Discussant, "In Search of Individual Ontologies," The Center for Research on Social Change (UC Berkeley)
- August 2012 Organizer, "Regular Session. Sociology of Middle East and Muslim Societies," American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Denver, CO.
- May 2012 Discussant, "International Conference on the Arab Spring," University of Aydın, İstanbul.
- April 2011 Co-Organizer and Discussant, Mini-conference on Political Articulation, Chicago
- April 2011 Discussant, "Envisioning Real Utopias," Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley.
- November 2010 Discussant, "Cooperation, Resistance and Violence in Kurdish Politics," Middle East Studies Association Annual Meetings, San Diego
- August 2009 Convener and Discussant, "Religion in the Middle East and Its Diaspora," Association for the Sociology of Religion Annual Meetings, San Francisco.
- March 2009 Discussant, "Keynote Address by Asef Bayat: The Neoliberal City and its Discontent," Changing Urban Spaces, Berkeley Journal of Sociology Annual Conference, Berkeley.
- October 2008 Discussant, "Decoding Urban Outcasts: The Social Algebra of Urban Relegation," Youth Violence Prevention Book Colloquium, Institute for the Study of Social Change, Berkeley.

September 2008 Discussant, “Architectures of Exclusion,” Orienting Istanbul: An Interdisciplinary Conference, Berkeley.

March 2007 Discussant, “Bridging Academia and Activism together,” Globalization and Social Change, Berkeley.

February 2004 Discussant, “Religion: Education and Community,” Chicago Ethnography Conference, Evanston.

November 2003 Organizer, “Tracing Global Circuits of Representation and Practice,” Middle East Studies Association Annual Meetings, Anchorage.

Peer Reviewer, American Journal of Sociology (frequent); American Sociological Review; Sociological Theory; Theory and Society; Mobilization (frequent); International Journal of Middle East Studies; Social Forces; Ethnography; Qualitative Sociology; 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: Economy and Space; Journal of Comparative Politics; Economy and Society; Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association; Historical Materialism; Interventions; International Journal of Comparative Sociology; Political Geography; East European Politics and Societies; Political Studies; Toplum ve Bilim [Science and Society, Turkey]; British Journal of Middle East Studies; Social Psychology Quarterly; Rethinking Marxism; Social Compass; Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East;); Third World Quarterly; Sociological Perspectives

Manuscript reviewer, Columbia University Press; Polity Press; Edward Elgar Publishing; NYU Press; University of California Press

Campus and Departmental Service:

Spring 2021-present Executive Committee, Global Metropolitan Studies (GMS), UC Berkeley

Spring 2023 GMS Summer Research Funding Committee

Spring 2023 Chair, Graduate Admissions Committee

Spring 2023 Misconduct Inquiry Committee

Fall 2022-Spring 2023 Social Science Matrix Faculty Fellows Selection Committee

Spring 2021 Departmental Student Prizes Committee

Spring 2021 Executive Committee, Global Metropolitan Studies, UC Berkeley

Spring 2021 Stevens Scholars Selection Committee, CMES, UC Berkeley

Fall 2019 GSI Training Seminar, Sociology

Spring 2019 Graduate Admissions Committee

Fall 2017 GSI Training Seminar, Sociology

Spring 2017 Awards Committee, Sociology

Fall 2016 GSI Training Seminar, Sociology

Spring 2016 Admissions Committee, Sociology

Fall 2015 Committee for Vice Chair Search, Center for Middle Eastern Studies (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

Media

January 9, January 16, 2025 “Turkey’s Involvement in Syria,” Voices of the Middle East and North Africa, KPFA

April 1, 2024 Interviewed Live on BBC (Television)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=syvO-nxJ1JE>

June 1, 2023 “The outcome of the general election in Turkey,” Voices of the Middle East and North Africa, KPFA

May 29, 2023 Interviewed Live on BBC (Television)

May 28, 2023 KPFA, Interview for Prime Time News

May 15, 2023 Interviewed Live on Novara Media

February 17, 2023 “The political economy of the creative destruction in Turkey”
Voices of the Middle East and North Africa, KPFA

February 13, 2023 Interviewed Live on Novara Media

October 28, 2022 Interviewed Live on BBC (Radio)

June 11, 2021; June 4, 2021 KPFA, Two-part interview on Turkish politics and foreign policy

May 23, 2021 “The Turkish Question,” This is Revolution podcast

May 30, 2016 “Is Islamic Liberalism Dead in Turkey?” KQED

June 21, 2013, “The Latest Wave of Global Revolt: Turkey and Brazil,” KPFA, Suzi Weissman, Beneath the Surface

June 11, 2013 Chinese Radio International “Today” Show

June 04, 2013 KPFA “The Season of Rebellion in Turkey: Interviews with Cihan Tugal and Erdem Yoruk” (archived online: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/12010/the-season-of-rebellion-in-turkey_interviews-with-)

May 10, 2013 Voice of Russia “Peace between PKK and Turkey would be ‘game changer,’ expert says” (archived online: http://voicerussia.com/tag_112993404/)

April 3, 2013 KPFA “The Kurdish Question and Turkish-Israeli Relations” (archived online: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/11062/the-kurdish-question-and-turkish-israeli-relations>)

February 14, 2011 KCBS 740AM & 106.9FM “On likelihood of protests spreading to Iran”

February 14, 2011 KGO Newstalk AM 810

February 10, 2011 KGO Newstalk AM 810 “Egypt: Revolution at Hand” (<http://www.kgoam810.com/FlashPlayer/default.asp?SPID=30365&ID=2106796>)

May 8, 2009 “Islamist Movement in Turkey,” Thinking Allowed, BBC
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00lv5hf>

Oct 29, 2007 “Turkey and the Kurdish Rebels,” KQED (NPR), FORUM

25 July 2007 “Recent Parliamentary Elections in Turkey,” KPFA

11 May 2007 Middle East Panorama, Resonance FM, London, UK
(<http://www.ourmedia.org/node/314551>)

2 May 2007 “The Ruling Party in Turkey,” KPFA

25 April 2007 “The Rise of Right-Wing Nationalism in Turkey,” KPFA

Publications in Turkish:

Booklet:

2013 *Gezi'nin Yükselişi, Liberallerin Düşüşü: Ortak Alanlar, Katılımcı Demokrasi ve Haziran Günleri*, Agora Kitaplığı, Istanbul.

Articles:

- 2021 “Kapitalizm ve Virüs: Ekolojik Çöküş ve Kurtuluş Mücadelesi.” Pp. 109-122 in *Pandemiye Rağmen: 2020-2021 KODA Etkinliklerinden Seçmeler*. Kocaeli: KODA.
- 2011 “Pasif Devrimlerde Toplum, Siyaset ve Bloklar.” *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)
- 2001 “1915 Hatıraları ve Ermeni Kimliğinin İnşası [Memories of 1915 and the Construction of Armenian Identity],” pp. 127-152 in Esra Özyürek (ed.) *Türkiye’nin Toplumsal Hafızası [The Social Memory of Turkey]*. İstanbul: İletişim.

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.

Essays and Interviews:

- 2024 “Cihan Tuğal anlattı: Trump seçilirse ne olur, Harris seçilirse ne olur?” www.gazeteduvar.com.tr, October 31
- 2023 “Orman Yangınlarından 6 Şubat Depremi’ne Ekokırım,” *Birikim Güncel*, September 1
- 2023 “Türkiye’de siyaset dar alanda kısa paslaşmalarla yapılmaz,” *BirGün Pazar*, June 4.

- 2023 “Erdoğan rejiminin saldırılarına karşı Kürtlerle birleşmeli,”
<https://politikahaber.com/erdogan-rejiminin-saldirilarina-karsi-kurtlerle-birlesmeli/>
- 2023 “Millet İttifakı'nın seçim stratejisi neden işe yaramadı?” BBC News, Türkçe
- 2022 “Batı hakimiyeti Erdoğancılığın kurmaya çalıştığı hakimiyetten farklı değil,”
<https://artigercek.com/guncel/bati-hakimiyeti-erdoganciligini-kurmaya-calistigi-hakimiyetten-farkli-degil-231424h>
- 2022 “Latin Amerika’da Sol mülkiyet ilişkilerine dokunamadı,”
<https://politikahaber.com/sosyolog-cihan-tugal-latin-amerikada-sol-mulkiyet-iliskilerine-dokunamadi/>
- 2022 “Altılı Masa’nın temel hesabı, 'eski AKP' modelini tekrar yürürlüğe koymak,”
<https://artigercek.com/guncel/altili-masanin-temel-hesabi-eski-akp-modelini-tekrar-yururluge-koymak-231428h>
- 2021 “Yeni bir odak, geniş bir cephe” <https://birartibir.org/yeni-bir-odak-genis-bir-cephe/>
- 2021 “Türkiye'ye sert bir hamlede bulunacaklarını sanmıyorum,”
<https://artigercek.com/guncel/biden-doneminde-s-400-krizi-devam-edecek-mi-150385h>
- 2021 “Cihan Tuğal: Sol seçmen de HDP’yi etnik bir parti olarak algılıyor”
www.gazeteduvar.com.tr, March 26
- 2020 “ABD’de taban örgütlenmeden aşırı sağcı dönem bitmez.” *Evrensel*, November 14, 2020.
- 2020 “ABD’de kriz, radikal sol kadar radikal sağ için de uygun koşullar yarattı.”
Evrensel, September 5, 2020
- 2020 “ABD patlamaya hazırды, Floyd cinayeti son damla oldu,” *Evrensel*, June 3, 2020
- 2019 “Erik Wright: Sınıfa ve Anti-Kapitalizme Adanmış Bir Ömür,” *Emek ve Adalet Platformu*, February 17, 2019
- 2018 ““Çin Tutulması” (2): Metal Fırtına, neoliberalizmden “milli” kapitalizme geçişin bir emaresi,” sendika.org, March 20, 2018
- 2018 ““Çin Tutulması” (I): Neoliberal dönem biterken, rejimin yeni iktisadi model arayışları” sendika.org, March 13, 2018
- 2016 *Evrensel*, 08/08/2016 “Türkiye’yi tehdit eden ana tehlike paramiliterleşme”

- 2015 *Başlangıç*, 05/09/2015 “Bir garip İslamileşme serüveni”
- 2015 *Mesele* 98 “Pasif Devrimin İntihar Aşaması mı?”
- 2015 t24.com.tr, 01/12/2015 “O zaman polis niye var?”
- 2014 *Evrensel*, 12/22/2014; 12/23/2014 “Bu şiddet, sadece Cemaate değil herkese yönelecek”; “Gezi’deki demokrasiyi laikliğe bağlamak solu bitirir” (a 2-day interview)
- 2014 *Tiroj* 70 “Liberalizmin tasfiyesi ve Ortadoğu’da alacakaranlık”
- 2014 *Birgün*, 10/12/2014 “Soma ve Kobane’yi birlikte düşünmek”
- 2014 *sendika.org*, 08/08/2014 “Her seçim bir plebisitken, neden sandığa gitmeli?”
- 2014 *sendika.org*, 05/28/2014 “Yönetenler için başkaldırının önündeki en sağlam bariyer Alevi düşmanlığı (İsyanın yıldönümü söyleşileri III)”
- 2014 t24.com.tr , 04/02/2014 “30 Mart hezimetine inat, Haziran’ı örgütlemek,”
- 2014 t24.com.tr , 03/12/2014 “Beyaz Tebeşir ve Çocuklar,”
- 2014 *Devrimci Gençlik*, 01/2014 “Liberal İslam’ın çok büyük bir kriz yaşıyor olduğu muhakkak”
- 2014 t24.com.tr, 01/13/2014 “İki nehrin arası bir yere dökülebilir mi?”
- 2014 *Mesele* 90 “Sınıf Siyasetinin (Ortadan) Geri Dönüşü: Proletersizleştirilmiş bir Dünyada İsyan”
- 2013 t24.com.tr, 08/28/2013 “Gezi Hareketi ve seçimler,”
- 2013 *Birgün*, 08/2013 “Dipten gelen dalgaya güvenmek”
- 2013 *Birgün*, 07/08/2013 “Taksim ve Tahrir: İki Hegemonya, Bir Yanıltıcı Zafer, Bir İmkan”
- 2013 t24.com.tr, 07/03/2013 “Gezi hareketinin ortak paydaları ve yeni örgütlülük biçimleri”
- 2013 *Sol Gazetesi*, 05/23/2013 “Dışarıda liderlik hayali, içeride İslamileşme”
- 2012 *Yurt*, 12/16/2012 “AKP Pasif Devrim Peşinde”

- 2012 *sendika.org*, 06/02/2012; 06/06/2012; 06/28/2012 “AKP eskisi gibi olamayacak”; “Artık insanlar “illallah” demiş durumda”; “AKP kendi yoluna dinamit döşeyerek ilerliyor” (a 3-day interview)
- 2012 *Birgün*, 06/11/2012, “Mısır’da Taksiciler Devrimden Bahsedince” [“When Egyptian Cabdrivers Talk about a Revolution”]
- 2012 *Akşam*, 06/09/2012-06/10/2012, “Tahrir Ruhuna Yeniden Kavuşuyor” and “Abdestli kapitalizmin Mısır'daki savunucuları” [“Tahrir Square is Re-Gaining its Spirit” and “The Muslim Brotherhood: the Egyptian Defenders of Capitalism with Ablution”] (a 2-day observational report from Cairo)
- 2012 *Akşam*, 05/10/2012-05/11/2012, “Hakim olan para ve güç İslam ikincil konumda” and “İslami hareket sokağa inebilir” [“Within Turkey’s Islamic Government, Money and Power Have the Upper Hand, Islam is Secondary” and “The Islamic Movement Might Go to the Streets”] (a 2-day interview)
- 2011 *Taraf*, 5/23/2011, “Türkiye bölünmeye doğru gidiyor” [Turkey is Heading towards Partition] (Interview)
- 2011 *Türkiye*, 2/11/2011, “ ‘Pasif Devrim’ Model Oldu” [The Passive Revolution has Become a Model]
- 2007 *Radikal*, 8/27/2007, “Liberal Sivil Toplumculuğun Zafer ve İflası” [“The Victory and the Collapse of the Liberal Civil Society Discourse”]
- 2007 *Yeni Şafak*, 3/27/2007, “İrkçiliğin İlacı Birlikte İş Yapma” [“The Antidote of Racism: Associating Together”]
- 2007 *Birgün*, 3/2007, “Sosyalist Siyaset ve Dindarlar” [“Socialist Politics and Pious Communities”]
- 2006 *Birgün*, 8/9/2006, “Ortadoğu'da Sol için Hangi Yol?” [“Which Path for the Left in the Middle East?”]
- 2006 *Yeni Şafak*, 6/7/2006, “TÜSİAD Nerede Duruyor, Nereden Vuruyor?” [“Where does TÜSİAD (the main business organization in Turkey) Stand and Where Is It Attacking from?”]
- 2006 “AKP İktidarı: Sermayenin Pasif Devrimi” [“The AKP Government: The Passive Revolution of Capital”] *Birikim* 204: 26-30.
- 2005 *radikal iki*, 4/3/2005, “Sağcı Anti-Emperyalizmin Açmazları” [“The Deadends of Right-Wing Anti-Imperialism”]

- 2004 *radikal iki*, 6/6/2004, “İmam-Hatip Liseleri Sendromu” [“Imam-Preacher High Schools Syndrome”]
- 2004 *Birgün*, 5/13/2004, “Sol Projelerde Aleviler ve Sünniler” [“Alevi and Sunnis in Leftist Projects”]
- 2002 “Globalleşme Ekseninde STKlar bir Alternatif Olabilir mi?: Çağlar Keyder ile Söyleşi” [“Can NGOs be an Alternative Organizational Mode in Globalization?: Interview with Çağlar Keyder”] *Istanbul* 42: 50-55.
- 2002 “90’lı Yıllarda Öğrenci Hareketi” [“The (Turkish) Student Movement in the 1990s”] *Birikim* 155: 38-40.
- 2001 “Küresel Savaşın Ayrıcalıklı Coğrafyasında Toplumsal Muhalefet” [“Social Opposition in the Privileged Geography of the Global War”] *Birikim* 151: 29-35.

Media (In Turkish)

November 6, 2024 Interviewed Live on Flash Haber TV on the American elections

April 3, 2024 Interviewed Live on T24, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-bZWnUQaCw>

June 18, 2023 Interviewed Live on KRT, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aM0GDutx9i4>

2023 “Seçim sonuçları, iktidar ve muhalefet,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nYjnqsYQHBU>

2023 “Solun sağcılışması otantik sağda karşılık bulmuyor,” <https://t24.com.tr/video/canli-muhalefet-beklenen-farki-neden-atamadi,54095>

2023 “Ekonomik krize ve depremin sonuçlarına rağmen AKP neden hâlâ güçlü?” <https://t24.com.tr/video/ekonomik-krize-ve-depremin-sonuclarina-ragmen-akp-neden-hala-guclu,53417>

2022 “ABD Kongre ara seçimlerinin olası sonuçları ne olacak?” *Gazete Duvar*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MOJQtPLyQv4>

2021 “Biden yeni Roosevelt mi? Prof. Dr. Cihan Tuğal ile ABD’de yeni ekonomi paketi” *Medyascope*, Streamed live on Apr 26, 2021

2020 “SosyoPolitik - Bir Başkadır: Esas meselemiz Meryem-Peri gerilimi mi?” *Medyascope*, Streamed live on December 6, 2020

June 8, 2020 “ABD'deki polis şiddeti, ırkçılık ve ırkçılık karşıtı protestolar,” Artı TV, Haber Bülteni

June 4, 2020 “Safları Sıklaştıırken: Sınıf, Kriz, Devrim,” Emek ve Adalet Platformu

May 26, 2020 “Devlet kapitalizmi ve toplumsallığın yeniden inşası,” Karşı Mahalle

December 2014 “Türkiye IŞİD’le stratejik yakınlık kuruyor,” İMC TV [Turkey]

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Languages:

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