

Karabekir Akkoyunlu

Department of Politics and International Studies
SOAS University of London

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karabekir.net

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

- 2021-2024 **SOAS University of London, UK**
Lecturer in Middle East Politics, Department of Politics & International Studies
- 2020-2021 **Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), São Paulo, Brazil**
Lecturer in International Development and Middle East Politics, School of International Relations
- 2018-2020 **University of São Paulo (USP), Brazil**
Visiting Scholar, International Relations Institute (IRI)
- 2014-2017 **University of Graz, Austria**
Postdoctoral Research and Teaching Fellow, Centre for Southeast European Studies

EDUCATION

- 2014 **PhD in Government, London School of Economics, UK**
Dissertation: 'The Rise and Fall of the Hybrid Regime: Guardianship and Democracy in Iran and Turkey'. Supervisors: Dominic Lieven & Zhand Shakibi. Passed viva without corrections.
- 2007 **MPhil in International Relations, University of Cambridge, UK**
Dissertation: 'Military Reform and Democratisation: Turkish and Indonesian experiences at the turn of the millennium'. Awarded distinction.
- 2005 **BA in History and International Relations, Brown University, US**

LANGUAGES

Turkish	Native language
English	Native-level understanding, writing and speaking
Portuguese	Fluent understanding, reading, writing and speaking
Persian	Advanced understanding and reading, intermediate writing and speaking
French	Advanced understanding and reading, intermediate writing and speaking
Indonesian	Intermediate understanding and reading, elementary writing and speaking

RESEARCH POSITIONS & MEMBERSHIPS

- 2023-Present IPSA RC51 International Political Economy (Steering Committee), RC24 Armed Forces and Society; RC36 Political Power
- 2017-2020 Research Associate. Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz
- 2017-2018 Visiting Researcher. National School of Public Administration (ENAP), Brasília
- 2011-2012 Lead Researcher. "Turkey, the US and the EU in the New Middle East". Southeast European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX), Oxford, UK

GRANTS & AWARDS

- 2024-2025 **BA/Leverhulme Small Grant.** Project title: "[Strange Bedfellows: Intra-elite rivalries and populist-elite bargaining in tutelary hybrid regimes](#)". With Dr. Yasser Kureshi, Oxford University. Awarded in March 2024. (£9,538)
- In progress **ESRC responsive mode: working with Brazilian researchers.** Project title: "Stealth Militarisation and Democratic Erosion". Lead investigator in a multinational team of experts from the UK, US and Brazil to conduct intra-regional comparative research on militarism and democratic erosion. Application be submitted in Autumn 2024.
- 2022-2024 SOAS Project Lead for **OSUN Threatened Scholars Integration Initiative.** Sponsorship for Dr Ismet Akca from Turkey. Collaborative research on militarism and foreign policy in Turkey. (Total funding \$20,000)
- 2018-2020 International Scholars and Specialists Programme (ISSP), University of São Paulo (BRL 380,000; equivalent to £82,000 in 2018)
- 2017-2018 Latin American Social Sciences Institute (FLACSO) Research Grant (\$6,000)
- 2015- 2019 Four-year funding for Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey (CEST) by Stiftung Mercator (€48,000)
- 2012-2013 LSE Middle East Centre, Emirates PhD Scholarship (£13,000)
- 2012 LSE Department of Government, Departmental Teaching Award (£350)
- 2009-2012 LSE PhD Scholarship (Full tuition + £13,000 maintenance support per annum)

TEACHING

- 2021-2023 **SOAS University of London, Department of Politics & International Studies**
- Introduction to Comparative Politics (UG)
 - Methodology in the Social Sciences (PG)
 - State and Transformation in the Middle East (PG)
 - Government and Politics of the Middle East (UG)
- 2020-2021.1 **Fundação Getúlio Vargas, School of International Relations**
- International Development (UG)
 - The Middle East in Global Politics (UG)
- 2018-2020 **University of São Paulo, International Relations Institute**
- History and Politics of Modern Turkey (UG)
 - Major Themes in Contemporary Middle East (PG)
- Summer 2017 **Olympia Summer Academy, Nafplio, Greece**
- Turkey in the 21st Century: Politics, Society & Economy
- 2014-2017 **University of Graz, Austria**
- Introduction to Interdisciplinary Approaches (PG)
 - Political Systems in the 21st century (UG/PG)
 - The History of Modern Turkey (UG/PG)
- 2010-2012 **London School of Economics, Department of Government**
- Democracy and Democratisation (GTA, UG)
 - The Middle East in Global Politics (GTA, Summer School)
- 2005-2006 **Princeton-in-Asia Fellow, Universitas Atma Jaya, Yogyakarta, Indonesia**
- English language instructor for Political Science students and faculty
 - Designed and implemented new curriculum for the Language Department

SERVICE TO PROFESSION

- 2023-2024 First Year Undergraduate Tutor. SOAS, Dept. of Politics & International Studies
- 2022-2023 Co-convenor. MSc Programme in Politics of the Middle East. SOAS, Dept. of Politics & International Studies
- 2021-2023 Departmental Liaison for Graduate Teaching Assistants & Teaching Fellows. SOAS, Dept. of Politics & International Studies
- 2014-2018 Founding Member. Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey ([CEST](#))
- 2014-2016 Editor. [Working Paper Series](#), Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz
- 2015-2017 Editor. [Globalising Southeast Europe Research Blog](#), Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz
- 2006-2007 Assistant Editor. Cambridge Review of International Affairs (CRIA)

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- 2024 [Guardianship and Democracy in Iran and Turkey: Tutelary Consolidation, Popular Contestation](#). Edinburgh UP.
- 2018 [Exit from Democracy: Illiberal Governance in Turkey and Beyond](#). London: Routledge. Edited volume with K. Öktem.
- 2007 [Military Reform and Democratisation: Turkish and Indonesian Experiences at the Turn of the Millennium](#). IISS Adelphi Series. London: Routledge (Monograph).

Edited Special Issues

- Forthcoming "Limits of Autocratisation: Actors and Institutions of Democratic Resistance and Opposition". *Third World Quarterly*. 2024. With B. Yabancı and K. Öktem.
- 2016 "[Exit from democracy: Illiberal governance in Turkey and beyond](#)". *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 4. With K. Öktem.

Journal Articles

- Forthcoming "Limits of Autocratisation: Actors and Institutions of Democratic Resistance and Opposition". *Third World Quarterly*. 2024. With B. Yabancı and K. Öktem.
- 2024 "[Blood gambit: How populist incumbents fuel conflict to reverse election setbacks – evidence from Turkey and Israel](#)". *Democratization*. With Y. Sarfati.
- 2022 "[Brazil's Stealth Military Intervention](#)". *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 14 (1), pp. 31 – 54. With J. A. Lima.
- 2021 "[The five phases of Turkey's foreign policy under the AKP](#)". *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 88 (2), Summer 2021, pp. 243 – 270.
- 2021 "[Efficiency, Merit and Privilege: Public Administration Reforms in Brazil and Turkey](#)". *Revista do Serviço Público* 72 (1), pp. 243 – 270.
- 2016 "[Exit from democracy: Illiberal governance in Turkey and beyond](#)", *Southeast*

European and Black Sea Studies 16 (4), pp. 469 – 480. With K. Öktem.

2016 “[Existential insecurity and the making of a weak authoritarian regime in Turkey](#)”, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 16 (4), pp. 505 – 527. With K. Öktem.

In progress “Status Seeking Drones: Turkey’s Defence Industry as a Foreign Policy Tool”, with I. Akça. *Alternatives*, 2025.

“How not to Democratisate: Failures of SSR and Rising Militarism in Brazil and Turkey”, presented at IPSA World Congress, Buenos Aires, July 2023.

Book Chapters

Forthcoming “After the stealth intervention: Civil-military relations and rule of law in post-Bolsonaro Brazil”. In L. Whitehead and J. Behrend (eds). *Rule and Unrule of Law in Latin America*. Routledge. 2024. With J. A. Lima.

“Politics and Democratisation”. In M. Uyar and E. J. Erickson (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkish History*. Routledge. 2024

“The Sultan’s Army? Remaking of Civil-Military Relations in Turkey”. In R. Brooks and C. Harig (eds). *Politicization of the Military in Contemporary Democracies*. Early 2025.

2023 “One Hundred Years of Kemalism”. In A. Özerdem. and A. E. Öztürk (eds). *A Companion to Modern Turkey’s Centennial: Political, Socioeconomic and Institutional Transformations since 1923*. Edinburgh University Press.

2020 “Sessiz Devrimin Gürültülü Sonu: Brezilya İşçi Partisi’nin Yükselişi ve Düşüşü” [Turbulent End of the Silent Revolution: The Rise and Fall of the Workers’ Party in Brazil], in E. Akgemci, and K. Ates. *Dünya’nın Ters Köşesi: Latin Amerika, Tarih, Toplum, Kültür* [Latin America: History, Society, Culture], Istanbul: Iletisim.

2019 “Kemalism and the Republican People’s Party (CHP)”. With B. Oran. In E. Altındış, E. Özyürek, G. Özpınar (eds), *Authoritarianism and Resistance in Turkey: Conversations on Democratic and Social Challenges*, Cham: Springer.

2018 “Electoral integrity in Turkey: from tutelary democracy to competitive authoritarianism”. In B. Başer and A.E. Öztürk. *Authoritarian Politics in Turkey: Elections, Resistance and the AKP*. London: I.B. Tauris.

2014 “Turkey”, in H. Hänggi and C. G. Hernandez (eds), *Security Sector Reform and Democratization: A Comparative Perspective*. Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces, Geneva: Lit Verlag.

2012 “Turkey’s Iranian Conundrum: A Delicate Balancing Act”, in A. Kadioğlu, M. Karlı and K. Öktem. *Another Empire? Turkey’s foreign policy in a new century*. Istanbul: Bilgi University Press.

Selected Policy Papers

2023 “Turkey 2023 Election Implications”. Report for Oxford Analytica. Commissioned the Austrian Federal Ministry of Defence (BMLV), 14 June 2023.

2020 “Coronavirus in Turkey. Emergency under a Permanent State of Emergency”, *PEX-Network*, 14 May 2020.

2018 “The Civil Service in Brazil and Turkey: A Comparative Study”. *Cadernos Enap*, No. 60, Brasília: Enap: Flacso Brasil.

- 2017 “Erdoğan’s victory and the unravelling of political Islam in Turkey”. *The Middle East in London*, June – July 2017, pp. 7 – 8.
- 2015 “AKP’s Machiavellian Victory: How It Happened and What It Means for Turkey”. Centre for Policy and Research on Turkey, *Research Turkey* 4 (10), pp. 26-33.
- 2013 [Western Condition: Turkey, the US and the EU in the New Middle East](#). Oxford: SEESOX Book Series on Current Affairs. With K. Nicolaïdis and K. Öktem.

Journal Article Reviews

Since 2014 British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies; Contemporary Southeastern Europe, Democratization; Foreign Policy Analysis; Int. Journal of Politics, Culture and Society; Journal of Global Security Studies; Nations and Nationalism; Politics, Religion and Ideology; Soccer and Society; Southeast Europe and Black Sea Studies; South European Society and Politics; Third World Quarterly

SELECTED CONFERENCE ACTIVITY

Conferences Organised

- 2022 *Limits of Autocratisation: Actors and Institutions of Democratic Resilience*. 7th Annual CEST Symposium on Turkey, Ca’ Foscari University of Venice, 18-20 November.
- 2015 *Populism, majoritarianism and crises of liberal democracy: Modes of illiberal governance in Turkey and beyond*. 1st CEST Symposium on Turkey, University of Graz, 1-3 October.
- 2015 *Political Participation in Post-Protest Societies: Bosnia & Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria & Turkey*, Public Conference & Workshop, University of Graz, 24 – 25 March.

Panels Organised

- 2023 *Militarism, Militarisation and Democracy in an Uncertain Age*. 27th IPSA World Conference, Buenos Aires, 15-19 July.
- 2022 *The Global Nexus of Religion, Politics and Populism: Comparative Lessons from the Middle East*. MESA Annual Conference, Denver, 1-4 December.
- 2018 *Turkey beyond the Nation-State: Exile, Transnationalisation and New Diasporas*. MESA Annual Conference, San Antonio, 15-18 November.

Papers Presented

- 2024 *Militarisation of politics in Turkey*. Book workshop on “Politicisation of the Military in Contemporary Democracies”. Royal Danish Defence College, Denmark. 12-13 September.
- Stealth Militarisation and Democratic Erosion*. IPSA RC 36 and RC 51 Joint Interim Conference in Porto, Portugal, 31 May – 1 June.
- 2023 *How not to Democratise: Failures of SSR and Rising Militarism in Brazil and Turkey*. 27th IPSA World Congress, Buenos Aires, 15 – 19 July.
- End of the Stealth Intervention? Civil-Military Relations in Brazil under the new Lula Administration*. RedGob Conference, Buenos Aires, 13 – 14 July.
- After Erdogan: The Future of Democracy in Turkey*. LSE IDEAS workshop on “Restoring Competitive Politics: Electoral Contestation and the Future in Russia and Iran, and Turkey and India”, London, 6 June.

- Military encroachment on the rule of law: the case of Brazil.* Workshop on “Governability for Development: The Rule/Unrule of Law in Latin America”, Nuffield College, University of Oxford, 6 February.
- 2022 *Blood Gambit: How populist autocrats fuel conflict to reverse election loses – evidence from Turkey and Israel.* MESA Annual Conference, Denver, 1-4 December.
- Status seeking drones: Turkey’s defence industry as a foreign policy tool.* Online workshop on “Ruptures and Continuities in Turkish Foreign Policy”, 9 June.
- 2021 *Blood Gambit: How populist autocrats fuel conflict to reverse election loses – evidence from Turkey and Israel.* Postgraduate Seminar, International Relations Institute, University of São Paulo, 23 November.
- Iranian foreign policy and the limits of soft power projection.* Conference on “Global Politics in the Age of Computational Propaganda”, Istanbul Bilgi University, 6-7 May.
- 2020 *How not to democratise: Timid versus revanchist reform of the military in Brazil and Turkey.* Panel on “Turkey’s Authoritarian Turn: Perspectives on Foreign, National and Local Politics”, Rutgers Center for European Studies, 9 November.
- Emerging Powers, Falling Stars: Brazil and Turkey in the 21st Century.* Blickwechsel: Contemporary Turkey Studies, Online Talks on Turkey, 25 June.
- Turkey: Authoritarianism in the time of Corona.* Workshop on "Rising Democracies, Interrupted", IPSA Research Committee 34 on Quality of Democracy, 1-3 June.
- 2019 *Tutelary democracy and the rising military tutelage in Brazil.* Postgraduate Seminar, International Relations Institute, University of São Paulo, 19 March.
- 2018 *The Perils of Presidentialism in Tutelary Democracies: Popular Challenges to Regime Guardians in Iran and Turkey.* MESA Annual Conference, San Antonio, USA, 15-18 November.
- The rise and fall of the Turkish model: Turkey's foreign policy in a changing world.* Postgraduate Seminar, International Relations Institute, University of São Paulo, 2 October.
- The Civil Service in Brazil and Turkey: A Comparative Analysis.* ENAP Conference on “Profissionalização do Serviço Civil: trajetórias e desafios atuais nas experiências do Brasil, Uruguai, México, Portugal e Turquia”, Brasília, 18 – 19 September.
- 2017 *Existential insecurity and Turkey’s exit from democracy.* Workshop on “Democracies in crisis? European and Latin American experiences”, Institute of Advanced Studies, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, 11 October.
- Return of the Eurasianists and Turkey's alignment with Russia and Iran.* Workshop on “Turkey under Erdogan”, Birkbeck College, London, 4 February.
- Exit from democracy: illiberal governance in Turkey.*, SEESOX Seminar Series on “The rise of illiberalism in South East Europe”, St. Antony’s College, Oxford, 25 January.
- 2016 *From Tutelary Democracy to Competitive Authoritarianism and Beyond: Electoral Integrity in Turkey.* MESA Annual Conference, Boston, 17 – 20 November.
- The Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process.* International Conference on the Kurdish Issue, Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Resolution, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna, 9 – 10 May.

IMPACT AND OUTREACH

Interviews & Commentary

- 2024 “Karabekir Akkoyunlu on religion and democracy in Turkey and Iran”, [Turkey Book Talk Podcast](#), 27 August.
- “Morte de Raisi deixa disputa pela sucessão de Khamenei em aberto”, [Estadão](#), 9 June.
- “Why did Turkey suspend trade ties with Israel?”, [BBC Newshour](#), 3 May.
- “Como o Irã se especializou em drones e mísseis e realizou maior ataque de sua história contra Israel”, [Estadão](#), 1 May.
- “En Turquie, l’opposition triomphe aux municipales sur fond de crise économique”, [Libération](#), 1 April.
- “The New Cold War”, Conversation with Prof. Gilbert Achcar for SOAS Development for Transformation Centre (DevTraC) [Podcast Series](#). January.
- 2023 “Monday briefing: Why the earthquake could bring down Turkey’s government”, [Guardian](#), 20 February.
- “Turkey earthquake: Why did so many new buildings collapse?”, [BBC Newshour](#), 13 February.
- “Terremotos na Turquia e na Síria geram medo de guinada ainda mais autoritária”, [Folha S.Paulo](#), 9 February.
- 2022 “Turkey’s Far Right Has Already Won”, [Foreign Policy](#), 12 July.
- “Turkey taking advantage of Nato veto over Finland and Sweden to extract concessions on weapons, experts warn”, [inews](#), 22 May.
- “Suède, Finlande, l’Otan : les vraies raisons du blocage d’Erdogan”, [L’Express](#), 18 May.
- “MENA faces a crisis as the world’s key wheat producers are at war”, [Al Jazeera](#), 1 March.
- “Crise en Ukraine : le président turc Erdogan écartelé entre Moscou et Kiev”, [L’Express](#), 3 February.
- “Turkey: Opposition parties see hope in Erdogan’s lira crisis, but many hurdles remain”, [Middle East Eye](#), 15 January.
- 2021 “The Ottoman Empire”, [Estado do Arte](#) Podcast Series (Brazil’s version of BBC’s *In Our Time*) hosted by Estadão newspaper, 26 August.
- “Guerra na Síria completa 10 anos e destrói perspectivas de uma geração”, [Folha S. Paulo](#), 15 March.
- 2020 França relembra 5 anos do massacre no Bataclan às voltas com novos atos terroristas”, [Folha S. Paulo](#), 12 November.
- “Coronavirus: Brazil sees big increase in cases”, [BBC World News](#), 29 May.
- 2019 “O novo xadrez geopolítico da Guerra da Síria”, [Globo News](#), 17 October.
- “Erdogan loses Istanbul”, [BBC World News](#), 23 June.
- 2018 “Erdogan quer dizer: 'não torturo e nem esquartejo, só prendo", diz especialista”, [O Globo](#), 24 October.
- “Erdogan inaugurates a new political era in Turkey”, [The Economist](#), 28 June.
- “Karabekir Akkoyunlu on the 'exit from democracy' in Turkey and beyond”, [Turkey Book Talk Podcast](#), 6 February.
- 2017 “Referendo na Turquia é retorno à era otomana”, [Estadão](#), 23 April.
- “Presidential powers and democratic decline in Turkey”, [CPAC](#), 2 April.
- “The crisis between Turkey and the Netherlands”, [BBC World News](#), 11 March.

- 2016 “Crise na Turquia expõe velhas disputas”, [Estadão](#), 31 July 2016.
2015 “Turkey and religious minorities: Less of a monolith”, [The Economist](#), 8 June.

Selected Opinion Pieces

- 2020 “The defeat of the ‘real’ neo-Ottomanists”, [Open Democracy](#), 5 August.
2018 “O que a Turquia de Erdogan ensina sobre um Brasil de Bolsonaro”, [Época](#), 26 October.
“Crise turca é mistura de imprudência econômica e autoritarismo populista”, [Estadão](#), 23 August 2018.
2017 “Friedman’s Burden: 21st Century Kipling’s Civilizing Mission In The Middle East”, [Huffington Post](#), 28 November.
“As Turkey’s academia faces desolation, a call for solidarity with imperilled scholars”, [Huffington Post](#), 17 March.
“Contending with authoritarian Turkey: a measured realist perspective”, [Open Democracy](#), 29 May.
2016 “A Trumped up version of Turkey’s failed coup”, [Huffington Post](#), 26 July.
“Carnage in Istanbul and the point of no return”, [Open Democracy](#), 1 July.
2015 “Prelude to the next big conflict?”, [The Hindu](#), 2 December.
“A crise russo-turca: globalização da guerra civil na Síria?”, [Estadão](#), 27 November.
“From Athens to Kobane, winds fill Kurdish sails”, [Open Democracy](#), 29 January.
2014 “Turkey’s Teflon politician targets top post”, [CNN Int](#), 6 August.
“Soma disaster threatens Turkey’s fragile social contract”, [CNN Int](#), 16 May.
2015 “Hikayeni Kim Yazıyor?” [Who is writing your story?], [TedxReset](#), Istanbul, 18 April.
2013 “Iran deal may encourage more humble Turkish foreign policy”, [Al Monitor](#), 25 Nov.
“Turkey at a suffocating intersection”, with Y. Nuhrat, [Open Democracy](#), 16 October.
“Turkey’s Kurds Find Common Ground With Protesters”, [Al Monitor](#), 1 July.
“Erdogan and the Battle For the Memory of Gezi Park”, [Al Monitor](#), 20 June.
“From victim to villain: Erdogan’s unfinished transformation”, [CNN Int](#), 9 June.
“Turkey, Syria and the dynamics of ‘cold war redux’”, [Open Democracy](#), 17 February.
2012 “The ‘Turkish model’ isn’t good for Turkey”, [Hürriyet Daily News](#), 8 February.
2011 “The Middle East on the brink: an urgent appeal for common sense”, [Open Democracy](#), 12 December.
2010 “Turkey: the country of contrasts”, [The Hindu](#), 5 October.
2007 “A Plea to the Next French President”, [International Herald Tribune](#), 2 May.

POLITICAL RISK CONSULTANCY

- 2020- Present **Oxford Analytica**, Oxford, UK
2008-2009 **AKE Group Ltd.**, London, UK

REFERENCES

Laurence Whitehead. Senior Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford,
laurence.whitehead@nuffield.ox.ac.uk.

Felix Berenskoetter. Reader, KCL, Former HoD at SOAS, felix.berenskotter@kcl.ac.uk.

Dominic Lieven. PhD Supervisor, Former HoD Government, LSE, dl449@cam.ac.uk.