

Özlem Kayhan Pusane

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Associate Professor, Işık University, Istanbul, Turkey, 2018-present

Assistant Professor, Işık University, Istanbul, Turkey, 2009-2018

Graduate Assistant, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN, USA, 2002-2009

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science, 2009

Fields of specialization: International Relations and Comparative Politics

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN, USA

Dissertation title and abstract: Insurgencies, Counterinsurgencies, and Civil-Military Relations: When, How, and Why Do Civilians Prevail?

Most scholars of civil-military relations argue that the presence of domestic security threats increases the role of the military in politics. However, domestic security threats do not always increase the political involvement of the armed forces. And when they do, the effects vary across time and space. What are the causes of this variation? Why do comparable experiences with internal security threats have divergent effects on the nature of civil-military relations? In order to provide an answer to this question, I conduct a comparative case study of counterinsurgency policy making in Turkey and Peru, which have fought against the Kurdistan Workers' Party and Shining Path terrorists, respectively, from the 1980s onwards. With this project, I show that structural variables, such as the presence or degree of threat, are not sufficient to explain the military's role in politics. Instead, I suggest a theory of dynamic civil-military interaction. I argue that it is the interaction of strategic choices made by civilian leaders and military organizations in domestic threat environments that lead to different outcomes in civil-military relations. I contend that these choices, which lead to variations in the civil-military balance of power are shaped by the political strength of the head of government, the civilian leadership's legitimacy in the eyes of the military, and the extent of international pressure for democratization.

M.A. in Political Science, 2004

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN, USA

B.Sc. in International Relations, 2002

Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Işık University, İstanbul, Turkey

- ❖ Introduction to International Relations
- ❖ Diplomatic History
- ❖ Theories of International Relations
- ❖ International Organizations
- ❖ Turkish Foreign Policy
- ❖ Social Science Research Methods
- ❖ Current International Issues
- ❖ Civil-Military Relations
- ❖ National Security
- ❖ Politics of Terrorism
- ❖ Society, Science, and Human (Module II: Power)

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN, USA (Teaching Assistant)

- ❖ United States Foreign Policy
- ❖ Building the European Union
- ❖ War and the Nation-State
- ❖ Introduction to Comparative Politics
- ❖ Introduction to International Relations

RESEARCH PROJECTS

- ❖ **“The Role of State Actors in Conflict Contagion: Turkey’s Experience of the Syrian Civil War,”** Işık University Research Fund (BAP), 2022-2023, Budget: 26.909 TL.
- ❖ **“Turkish Foreign Policy toward Northern Iraq in the face of the Independence Referendum,”** Işık University Research Fund (BAP), 2019-2020, Budget: 12.414 TL.
- ❖ **“The Process of Change in Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey’s Northern Iraq Policy,”** TÜBİTAK 3501 Career Grant, 2014-2016, Budget: 46.242,44 TL.
- ❖ **“When Battlefield Success Leads to Effective Counterinsurgency: Searching for a Cross-Regional Theory,”** European Union Marie Curie International Reintegration Grant, 2010-2014, Budget: 100,000 Euros.

JOURNAL PAPERS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- ❖ **“Uluslararası Güvenlik ve Terör”** [“International Security and Terror”], in Seçkin Barış Gülmez ve Didem Buhari (eds.), *Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş* (Ankara: Orion Kitabevi, 2022).

- ❖ **“Ontological Insecurity, Anxiety, and Hubris: An Affective Account of Turkey-KRG Relations”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, Vol. 19, No. 73 (2022).
- ❖ **“Kalkışma ve Kalkışmaya Karşı Koyma” [“Insurgency and Counterinsurgency”]**, in Oktay Bingöl and Ali Bilgin Varlık (eds.), *Güvenlik Çalışmaları, Cilt II: Güvenlik Sektörleri ve Sorunları* (İstanbul: Arel Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2022).
- ❖ **“The Role of Context in Desecuritization: Turkish Foreign Policy towards Northern Iraq (2008-2017)”**, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (2020).
- ❖ **“Countering Insurgency: Turkey’s Policy toward the PKK’s Transnational Dynamics in Europe”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), *Defense & Security Analysis*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2018).
- ❖ **“How to Profile PYD/YPG as an Actor in the Syrian Civil War: Policy Implications for the Region and Beyond”**, in Özden Zeynep Oktav, Emel Parlar Dal, Ali Murat Kurşun (eds.), *Violent Non-state Actors and the Syrian Civil War: The ISIS and YPG Cases* (Springer, 2018).
- ❖ **“Çözüm Süreci Sonrası Türkiye’nin PKK ile Mücadelesi” [“Turkey’s Struggle Against the PKK after the Settlement Process”]**, in Fahrettin Altun and Hasan Basri Yalçın (eds.), *Terörün Kökenleri ve Terörle Mücadele Stratejisi* (Ankara: SETA, 2018).
- ❖ **“Türkiye’nin Kuzey Irak Politikasında Değişim Süreçleri: Turgut Özal ve Tayyip Erdoğan Dönemlerine Yönelik Karşılaştırmalı bir Analiz” [Processes of Change in Turkey’s Northern Iraq Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Turgut Özal ve Tayyip Erdoğan’s Tenures]**, *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, Vol. 14, No. 56 (2017).
- ❖ **“La Guerra Civil Siria y El Asunto Kurdo en Turquía: Implicaciones Mutuas” [The Syrian Civil War and Turkey’s Kurdish Question: Mutual Implications]**, in *Un Retrato de la Turquía Contemporánea: Vision General y Perspectivas* (Mexico, Anahuac University Press, 2016).
- ❖ **“Turkey’s Changing Relations with the Iraqi Kurdish Regional Government”**, *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2016).
- ❖ **“Turkey’s Struggle with the PKK and Civilian Control over the Turkish Armed Forces”**, *Conflict, Security, and Development*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2016).
- ❖ **“Technology and Politics: Have the ICTs Turned into a New Domain for Civil-Military Relations in Turkey?”** (With Rabia Karakaya Polat), *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Summer 2016).
- ❖ **“Turkey’s Military Victory over the PKK and Its Failure to end the PKK Insurgency”**, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 5 (September 2015).
- ❖ **“Türkiye’nin Kürt Sorunu: Arap Baharı ile Değişen Yurt içi ve Bölgesel Dinamikler” [Turkey’s Kurdish Question: Changing Domestic and Regional Dynamics through the Arab Spring]**, *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, Vol. 11, No. 42 (Summer 2014).
- ❖ **“Turkey’s Kurdish Opening: Long Awaited Achievements and Failed Expectations.”** *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (April 2014).

- ❖ **“The Iraq War and the Troubled US-Turkish Alliance: Some Conclusions for Europe.”** with Daniel A. Lindley in Joseph S. Joseph, ed., *Turkey and the European Union: Internal Dynamics and External Challenges* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- ❖ **“Turkish Opposition Parties Grapple with the Kurdish Question”**, Middle East Report Online, September 21, 2022, <https://merip.org/2022/09/turkish-opposition-parties-grapple-with-the-kurdish-question/>
- ❖ **“What can Turkey Accomplish with Drones in Its Fight against the PKK? Lessons from the Past and Expectations about the Future”**, Terrorism Analysis Platform, September 29, 2021, <https://www.tap-data.com/article/what-can-turkey-accomplish-with-drones-in-its-fight-against-the-pkk-lessons-from-the-past-and-expectations-about-the-future>
- ❖ **“Pandemi ve Silahlı Çatışmalar: Covid-19 Salgınının İran’ın Suriye İç Savaşındaki Rolüne Etkisi”**, Panorama, Online, Ağustos 20, 2021, <https://www.uikpanorama.com/blog/2021/08/20/pandemi-ve-silahli-catismalar-covid-19-salgininin-iranin-suriye-ic-savasindaki-rolune-etkisi/>
- ❖ **“Turkey as a Middle Power in International Politics: Betwixt and Between a Militarized Foreign Policy and Active diplomacy,”** Panorama, Online, February 18, 2021, <https://www.uikpanorama.com/blog/2021/02/18/turkey-as-a-middle-power-in-international-politics-betwixt-and-between-a-militarized-foreign-policy-and-active-diplomacy/>
- ❖ **“Turkish Public Diplomacy and Operation Peace Spring,”** War on the Rocks, January 13 2020, <https://warontherocks.com/2020/01/turkish-public-diplomacy-and-operation-peace-spring/>
- ❖ **“Two Years After the Independence Referendum: Are Turkey-KRG Relations Normalizing?”** *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, September 9, 2019, <http://turkishpolicy.com/blog/38/two-years-after-the-independence-referendum-are-turkey-krp-relations-normalizing>
- ❖ **“Review—Turkey’s Kurdish Question: Discourse and Politics since 1990 (Yazar: H. Akin Ünver),”** E-International Relations, July 24, 2016, <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/07/24/review-turkeys-kurdish-question-discourse-and-politics-since-1990/>

CONFERENCE PAPERS

- ❖ **“Turkey’s Resolution Process as a Way to Prevent Conflict Contagion,”** Political Studies Association (PSA) 2023 Annual International Conference, Liverpool, UK (digital participation), April 3-5, 2023.
- ❖ **“Early Republican Turkish Foreign Policy Between Postimperial and Postcolonial Anxieties”** (With Aslı Ilgıt) Political Studies Association (PSA) 2023 Annual

International Conference, Liverpool, Liverpool, UK (digital participation), April 3-5, 2023.

- ❖ **“Emotional Multiplicities and Ontological (In)securities of Liminals: Turkish-Israeli Relations”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), 15th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, European International Studies Association, Athens, Greece, September 1-4, 2022.
- ❖ **“Ontological Insecurity, Anxiety, and Hubris: An Affective Account of Turkey-KRG Relations”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), 15th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, European International Studies Association, Athens, Greece, September 1-4, 2022.
- ❖ **Türkiye-İsrail Yakınlaşması: Bölgesel Düzeni Ontolojik Güvenlik Çerçevesinde Yeniden Şekillendirmek?” [The Turkish-Israeli Rapprochement: Reshaping the Regional Order in an Ontologically-Secure Way?]** (Aslı Ilgıt ile), UİK Uluslararası İlişkiler Çalışmaları ve Eğitimi Kongresi, Mersin, May 27-29, 2022.
- ❖ **“Ontological Security, Emotions, and the Turkish-Israeli Rapprochement”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), Political Studies Association (PSA) 2022 Annual International Conference, April 11-13, 2022.
- ❖ **“The Turkish-Israeli Rapprochement: Reshaping the Regional Order in an Ontologically-Secure Way?”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), International Studies Association (ISA) Northeast 2021 Annual Conference, November 4-6, 2021.
- ❖ **“Emotions and Foreign Policy Change: An Alternative Affective Account of Turkey-KRG Relations”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), Political Studies Association (PSA) 2021 Annual International Conference, March 29-31, 2021.
- ❖ **“Duygular ve Dış Politika: Türkiye’nin IKBY Bağımsızlık Referandumu Tepkisi”** [Emotions and Foreign Policy: Turkey’s Reaction to the KRG Independence Referendum] (With Aslı Ilgıt), Ulusaldan Küresele: Popülizm, Demokrasi, Güvenlik Konferansı, Işık University, Istanbul, December 10-11, 2020.
- ❖ **“The Role of the State in Conflict Contagion: Turkish Experience of the Syrian Civil War”**, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) 2019 General Conference, Wrocław, Poland, September 4-7, 2019.
- ❖ **“State Agency and Conflict Contagion: The Turkish Experience of the Syrian Civil War”**, Political Studies Association (PSA) 2019 Annual International Conference, Nottingham, UK, April 15-17, 2019.
- ❖ **“Turkish Foreign Policy toward the KRG in the face of the Independence Referendum: From Cooperation to Conflict”**, Political Studies Association (PSA) 2019 Annual International Conference, Nottingham, UK, April 15-17, 2019.
- ❖ **“Desecuritization of Turkish Foreign Policy towards Northern Iraq: Actor, Context, Audience”**, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) 2017 General Conference, Oslo, Norway, September 6-9, 2017.
- ❖ **“Türkiye’nin Kuzey Irak Politikası Değişim Süreçleri: Turgut Özal ve Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Dönemlerine Yönelik Karşılaştırmalı bir Analiz”** [Turkey’s Foreign Policy Change Processes towards Northern Iraq: A Comparative Analysis of the Tenures of

Turgut Özal and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan], 8th Uludağ Congress on International Relations, Bursa, Turkey, November 28-29, 2016.

- ❖ **“Türkiye'nin Irak Kürt Bölgesel Yönetimi Politikası: Güvenlik-dışlaştırma mı, yoksa Yeni Bir Güvenlik Tanımlaması mı?”** [Turkey's Policy towards the Iraqi Kurdish Regional Government: A case of Desecuritization or a New Definition of Security?], The New Middle East Conference], Işık University, İstanbul, Turkey, March 24-25, 2016.
- ❖ **“Role of Individual Leaders in Desecuritization: Turkish Foreign Policy Towards Northern Iraq”**, 9th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, European International Studies Association, Giardini Naxos, Sicily, Italy, September 23-26, 2015.
- ❖ **“Role of Leadership in Initiating Foreign Policy Change: Turgut Özal's Northern Iraq Policy”**, 14th METU Conference on International Relations, Ankara, June 17-19, 2015.
- ❖ **“Technology as a Domain for Civil-Military Power Struggle”** (With Rabia Karakaya Polat), Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 16-19, 2015.
- ❖ **“Counterinsurgency as Foreign Policy: Turkey's Struggle with the PKK at the International Front”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), The World Congress on the Middle East 2014, Ankara, Turkey, August 18-22, 2014.
- ❖ **“Counterinsurgency as Foreign Policy: Turkey's Struggle with the PKK at the International Front”** (With Aslı Ilgıt), Global International Studies Congress 2014, Frankfurt, Germany, August 6-9, 2014.
- ❖ **“When Does Battlefield Success Mean Effective Counterinsurgency? Assessing the Effectiveness of Coercive Methods in Fighting Insurgencies”**, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 11-14, 2013.
- ❖ **“Can Ethnic Terrorism End with Coercive/Military Strategies? Turkey's Military Success against the PKK and the Resolution of the Kurdish Question”**, International Interdisciplinary Social Inquiry Conference, Bursa, Turkey, June 17-21, 2012.
- ❖ **“A Longitudinal Analysis of Civil-Military Relations in Turkey”**, International Political Science Association Armed Forces and Society Triennial Conference, Ankara, Turkey, June 17-19, 2011.
- ❖ **“Domestic Security Threats, Civil-Military Relations, and Democracy in Turkey and Peru”**, Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, California, March 26-29, 2008.
- ❖ **“Domestic Security Threats and Civil-Military Relations: Turkish Military's Role in Counterinsurgency Policy Making”**, Middle East and Central Asia: Politics, Economics, and Society Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 6-8, 2007.
- ❖ **“Insurgencies, Counterinsurgencies, and Civil-Military Relations: When, How, and Why Do Civilians Prevail?”** Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 12-15, 2007.

- ❖ **“Insurgencies, Counterinsurgencies, and Civil-Military Relations: How, When, and Why Does the Military Respond?”** Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, February 28-March 3, 2007.
- ❖ **“How National Security Threats Affect Civil-Military Relations: A Search for Causal Mechanisms”**, Institute for Qualitative Research Methods (IQRM), Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, January 3-13, 2006.
- ❖ **“Democratic Control of the Turkish Armed Forces: Rationality, Culture, and Structure,”** Middle East and Central Asia: Politics, Economics, and Society Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 8-10, 2005.
- ❖ **“The U.S. War in Afghanistan: A Case for Military Innovation,”** Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 1-5, 2005.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- ❖ Member of the Faculty Board, School of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences, Işık University (2021-present).
- ❖ Coordinator, CORE 0401: Society, Science, and Human (2021-present)
- ❖ Member of the Accreditation Committee, School of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Işık University (2019–2021).
- ❖ Member of the Bologna Coordination Committee, Işık University (2019-present)
- ❖ Erasmus+ Coordinator, Department of International Relations, Işık University (2011-present).
- ❖ Participant, Security Academy: International Security in the 21st Century, International Relations Council of Turkey, Ilgaz, Turkey (December 18-22, 2009; December 21-25, 2011, December 18-22, 2013; December 17-21, 2014).
- ❖ Participant, Reform Initiatives for Caucasian Security Institutions Workshop, İstanbul, Turkey (June 24-27, 2012).
- ❖ Participant, Institute for Qualitative Research Methods (IQRM), Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona (January 3-13, 2006).
- ❖ Intern, Center for Strategic Research, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (June 2001).
- ❖ Member, International Relations Council of Turkey.
- ❖ Member, European International Studies Association.
- ❖ Member, Political Studies Association, Turkish Politics Specialist Group.

SUPERVISION EXPERIENCE

M.A. Thesis Supervision

- ❖ Fikret Abdullah İdil, **The Affective Transformation in EU-Turkey Relations: From Resentment to Ressentiment (2002-2020)**, Işık University, Institute of Graduate Studies, 2022.
- ❖ Işın Alyüz, **Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Iraqi and Syrian Kurds: A Comparative Perspective**, Işık University, Institute of Graduate Studies, 2018.
- ❖ Selin Ulus, **Changing Turkish-Israeli Relations After the 2008 Gaza War**, Işık University, Institute of Social Sciences, 2016.

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND HONORS

- ❖ Işık University Research Fund (BAP) (The Role of State Actors in Conflict Contagion: Turkey's Experience of the Syrian Civil War). Awarded by Işık University 2022-2023.
- ❖ Işık University Research Fund (BAP) (Turkish Foreign Policy toward Northern Iraq in the face of the Independence Referendum). Awarded by Işık University (2019-2020).
- ❖ TÜBİTAK 3501 Career Grant (The Process of Change in Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey's Northern Iraq Policy). Awarded by TÜBİTAK (2014-2016).
- ❖ Marie Curie International Reintegration Grant (Project title: When Battlefield Success Leads to Effective Counterinsurgency: Searching for a Cross-Regional Theory). Awarded by the European Commission (2010-2014).
- ❖ TÜBİTAK EU-FP7 Participation Incentive Award (2010).
- ❖ Full tuition scholarship. Awarded by the Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame (Fall 2002-Spring 2009).
- ❖ Dissertation Year Fellowship. Awarded by the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies (2007-2008 Academic Year).
- ❖ Zahm Research Travel Grant (for conducting field research in Peru). Awarded by the University of Notre Dame (Summer 2007).
- ❖ Phillip Moore Dissertation Year Fellowship. Awarded by the Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame (January-May 2007).
- ❖ Graduate Seed Money Grant (for conducting exploratory field research in Turkey). Awarded by the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies (Summer 2006).
- ❖ Research Fellow Stipend. Awarded by the Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame (Summer 2005).
- ❖ Graduate Student Summer Research Grant. Awarded by the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, University of Notre Dame (Summer 2005 - not used due to alternative fellowship support).

- ❖ First rank among all graduates of the bachelors degree programs in the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University (June 2002).

TEACHING-RELATED FELLOWSHIPS, HONORS, AND AWARDS

- ❖ Gil Loescher Teaching Fellowship. Awarded by the Department of Political Science (2007-2008 Academic Year - not used due to alternative fellowship support).
- ❖ Striving for Excellence in Teaching Certificate. Awarded by the John A. Kaneb Center for Teaching and Learning, University of Notre Dame (May 2006).
- ❖ Outstanding Graduate Student Teacher Award for Excellence in Teaching. Awarded by John A. Kaneb Center for Teaching and Learning, University of Notre Dame (March 2005).