Kumru F. Toktamış, PhD

Associate Professor,
Department of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies.

Pratt Institute

DeKalb Hall 101 200 Willoughby Avenue Brooklyn NY 11205 <u>kumru@pratt.edu</u> (718) 399 4501 (917) 495 5494

EDUCATION

Ph.D in Sociology

2007

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH - NYC

Dissertation title: From Ethnicity to Nationalism: Kurdish Mobilizations in Turkey Committee: co-chairs Charles Tilly& Jose Casanova; Janet Abu-Lughod, Ariel Salzmann, Vicky Hattam

M.A. in Sociology

1993

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH-NYC Major: Political and Social Theory, Historical and Comparative Studies

B.A. in Political Science and Public

1985

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY-Ankara, TURKEY

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Associate Professor

Present

Department of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies Pratt Institute

COURSES: World Civilizations-Cultural History I-II; Middle East Society and Culture; Methods of Cultural Analysis; **Women in Muslim Worlds**; Urban Diversity and Culture; International Politics; Ethnicity and Nationalism, Global Gender Politics, **Century of Genocides, Violence as Politics**

Adjunct Assistant Professor

2008-2018

Department of Sociology: Brooklyn College, CUNY

Undergraduate Courses: People, Power, Politics; Sociology of Law;

Sociology of Gender; Globalization; Political Sociology; Social Change, Urban Life and Culture, **Women in Muslim Worlds**, Contemporary Sociological Theory

Graduate Courses: Sociology of Power; Sociology of Gender; Social Conflict, Social Change, Sociological Perspectives; Dynamics of Modernization, Qualitative Methods, Development of Sociological Theory

Visiting Scholar at the Institute of Turkish History, ATA, summers 2014-2016

Bosporus University, Summer School, Istanbul, TURKEY

Course: Turkish Society and Culture

PUBLICATIONS

Peer- reviewed Edited Volumes

Toktamis, K., David, I. eds. (under review to be published in 2023) Repression and Resistance during the AKP regime in Turkey, Peter Lang Publishers.

Toktamis, K., David, I. (2018). *Special Issue Repression and Resistance: Fragments of Kurdish Politics under the AKP Regime in Turkey, Turkish Studies*, volume 19 issue 5. Taylor & Francis.

Toktamis, K., David, I. (2018). Democratization Betrayed-Erdogan's New Turkey, *Mediterranean Quarterly, Special Issue: Critical Crossroads- Erdogan and Transformation of Turkey* ed., Volume 29, Number 3. Duke University Press.

David, I., **Toktamis, K**. (2015). *Everywhere Taksim: Sowing the Seeds for a New Turkey at Gezi*, Amsterdam University Press.

Peer Reviewed Journal Articles and Book Chapters

Toktamis, K. (2021) "Shifting Claim-Making, Shifting Trenches: The AKP's Changing Self-Presentation" *Turkish Studies*. Taylor & Francis. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2021.1880901

Toktamis, K. and Isabel David (2021) "The Kurdish Freedom Movement and Gezi: Strategic Reluctance and Tactical Ambiguities" in Ecological *Solidarity and the Kurdish Freedom Movement* ed. by Stephen Hurt, Lexington Books / Rowman & Littlefield.

Toktamis, **K**. (2021) "Neither Peace nor Resolution: Friends and Foes during Oslo and Imrali talks 2005-2015" in *The State of the Kurds in Erdogan's New Turkey: Domestic and International Implications*, ed. by Nikos Christofis, Routledge.

Toktamis, K (2019c) Now There is, Now There is Not: The Disappearing Silent Revolution of AKP as Re-entrenchment" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* vol 46, issue 5, pp.735-751, Taylor and Francis Group. DOI: 10.1080/13530194.2019.1634392

Toktamis, K. (2019b). "(Im)possibility of negotiating peace 2005-2015 peace/reconciliation talks between the Turkish government and Kurdish Politicians" in *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Volume 29, Issue 2. Taylor & Francis Group. https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2018.1497753

Toktamis, K. (2019a). "Yashar Khanum: The Woman for Whom the War Never Ended" in *Intellectuals and the First World War* ed by Tomasz Pudlocki and Kamil Ruszala Jagiellonian, University Press, Krakow, Poland and Columbia University Press, NY.

Toktamis, K., David, I. (2018a). "Introduction: Kurdish politics re-entrenched as AKP consolidates power" in *Turkish Studies Special Issue Repression and Resistance: Fragments of Kurdish Politics under the AKP Regime in Turkey*, Volume 19, Issue, 16. Taylor & Francis Group. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2018.1508350.

Toktamis, K. (2018b). A Peace That Wasn't: Friends Foes and Contentious (re-) Entrenchment of Kurdish Politics in Turkey, in *Turkish Studies Special Issue Repression and Resistance: Fragments of Kurdish Politics under the AKP Regime in Turkey,* volume 19 Issue 5. Taylor & Francis Group. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2018.1500139

Toktamis, K., David, I. (2018c). "Introduction: Democratization Betrayed-Erdogan's New Turkey" in *Mediterranean Quarterly, Special Issue: Critical Crossroads-Erdogan and Transformation of Turkey* ed. by Kumru F. Toktamis and Isabel David, Volume 29, Number 3. Duke University Press.

Toktamis, K. (2015). "Book Review: Milada Dönüş: Ulus-Devletten Devlet-UlusaTürk ve Kürt Meselesinin Üç İkilemi" (Return to Point Zero: From Nation-State to State-Nation, The Three Dilemmas of the Turkish and Kurdish Question), *Turkish Studies*, Volume 16, Issue 4.

Toktamis, K. (2015). "Evoking and Invoking Nationhood as Contentious Democratisation" in *Everywhere Taksim: Sowing the Seeds for a New Turkey at Gezi*, Amsterdam University Press.

Toktamis, K. (2014). "Post-Qaddafi Libya and processes of democratization/dedemocratization" in *Democratic Governance Challenges in Developing Countries*, ed. by G. Mudacumura and G. Morçöl, Springer.

Toktamis, K. (2009). "This Part of the Globe is not Flat: The Paradox of the Turkish relationship with Northern Iraq and the Dilemma of Kurdish Politics across Borders" in *The Nation in the Global Era: Conflict and Transformation*, ed. by Jerry Harris, Brill Publications.

International Peer-Reviewed

In Greek, original - **Toktamis, K.** (forthcoming in 2022) ["The Peace that was not: Friends and Foes during Oslo and Imrali talks 2005-2015" in *Kurds of Turkey: History and Politics in 20th and 21st Centuries,* ed by Antonis Deriziotis, Murat Issi, Nikos Christofis, Psifides Publications, Thessaloniki, Greece.] Η ειρήνη που δεν ήρθε: Φίλοι και εχθροί κατά τη διάρκεια των διαπραγματεύσεων του Όσλο και του Ιμραλί, 2005-2015"Οι Κούρδοι της Τουρκίας: Ιστορία και Πολιτική τον 20ο και 21ο Αιώνα (Αντώνης Δεριζιώτης, Μουράτ Ισσί, Νίκος Χριστοφής), Εκδόσεις Ψηφίδες, Θεσσαλονίκη 2021]

In Turkish, original - **Toktamis, K.** (2019) [War Never Ends for Some Women: The Memoir of Yashar Khanum]"Bazı Kadınlar için Savaş Hiç Bitmez: Yaşar Hanım'ın Anıları" *Kürt Tarihi [History of Kurds]*, No: 37, August - September 2019.

In Sorani Kurdish, translated **– Toktamis, K. (2018) [Im)possibility of negotiating peace:** 2005–2015 peace/reconciliation talks between the Turkish government and Kurdish politicians, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies] ئەگەر و نەگەرى دانوستانى ئاشتەوايى ئە نێوان حكومەتى توركىيا و سىياسىيەكانى كورد لە ماوەى 2005 – 2005. http://www.kurdistanc.com/Terror/details.aspx?jimare=3134.

In Spanish, original - **Toktamis, K.** (2017). "El espectro de la violencia en forma de un ex aliado gubernamental: La (im)posibilidad de negociar la paz" translated by Agnes Mondragon Celis, *ISTOR:Revista de Historia Internacional,* Año XVIII, Nûmero 70, otoño de 2017.

In Spanish, translated **- Toktamis, K.** (2015). "Reseñas: Ataturk y la imaginación nazi, Stefan Ihrig" translated by Laura Lee Roush, *ISTOR:Revista de Historia Internacional,* Año XV, Nûmero 62, otoño de 2015.

In Turkish, original - **Toktamis, K.** (2015) "Tarih Boyunca Batı'da Değişen Müslüman Kadın Algıları ve Kendilerine Alan Müzakere Eden Müslüman Kadınlar" in *Muhafazakar Düşünce*, [The Shifting Narratives of Women in Islam in the West and Muslim Women as Social Agents Negotiating Their Own Space, *The Journal of Conservative Thought*] Year 11, Issue 44.

Reference Entries

Toktamis, K. and I. David (2020) "Gezi Protests" in *Encyclopedia of Civil War,* Revolutions, and Regime Change in the Middle East, ed by Jonathan Zartman. ABC-CLIO

Toktamis, K. (2020) "AKP-PKK Talks" in *Encyclopedia of Civil War, Revolutions, and Regime Change in the Middle East*, ed by Jonathan Zartman. ABC-CLIO

Toktamis, K. (2020) "Academics for Peace" in *Encyclopedia of Civil War,* Revolutions, and Regime Change in the Middle East, ed by Jonathan Zartman. ABC-CLIO

ACCEPTED CONFERENCE PAPERS AND INVITED PRESENTATIONS

Toktamis, K, (2023) co-organizer of the conference and co-presenter of two papers at the conference on *Turkey at 100: (Dis)Continuities and (Dis)Contents* at University of Lisboa, Portugal. Papers to be presented: with Murat Issi "Dialogical Formation of Turkishness and Kurdishness in Decades" and with Sedat Ulugana "Competing and Collaborating Nationhoods in Post-World War I Ottoman Territories: Xoybun as the Strategic Alliance of the Kurds and Armenians", February 8-10.

Toktamis, K. (2022) presenter, "From State-Formation to (De-) democratization in Chile and Turkey: Diverse Outcomes of Post-Dictatorship anti-Political Mobilizations", at the 2022 Symposium on Turkey Studies, Limits of Authocratisation: Actors and Institutions of Democratic Resilience, Ca'Foscari University of Venice. 11/18-20

Toktamis, K. (2022, June) Discussant and co-conveyer of the panel "Trajectories of the AKP Regime: Continuity and Change" at the *Council of European Studies 28th International Conference*, Lisbon, Portugal

Toktamis, K. (2022, June) "From Chile to Turkey: The Communal Councils and Resistance Committees of 1970s as praxis of Council Democracy" presented at the conference entitled "Council Democracy as an Alternative to Representative Democracy" Aberdeen University, Scotland, UK,

Toktamis, K. (2021, November) "A Young Woman's Perception of Post-Ottoman Territories:1918-1928", presented at the conference entitled "Narrating Exile in/between Europe and Ottoman Empire/Modern Turkey" Amsterdam, Holland.

Toktamis, K. (2020, January) "AKP's Shifting Regional and Global Claims: Evoking Past Glory-Invoking Neo-Liberalism" presented at a Workshop entitled "Identity and Ideology in Peace-Building in the Middle East and the Gulf" Barcelona, Spain

Toktamis, K. (2019, October) "Negotiating sovereignty and territory: unlikely alliance of Kurds and Armenians on the post-Ottoman territories" presented at the Conference entitled "The War That Never Ended: Postwar Continuity and Challenges in the Aftermath of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires 1918-1923", Krakow, Poland

Toktamis, K. (2018, October) "AKP, Kurdish Politics and (de) Democratization in Turkey" presented at XXI ENCUENTRO DEL FIMAM, IESA-CSIC, Cordoba, Spain.

Toktamis, K. (2018, July). "Entrenching for Peace, Perpetuating Violence: The Turkish State and Changing Kurdish Politics in the Middle East" Presented at: The 11the Global Studies Conference, University of Granada, Spain.

Toktamis, K. (2018, July). "Women for Whom the War Never End: Women in Kurdish Geographies and Competing Nationalisms" Presented at: Fifth World Congress for Middle East Studies, University of Seville, Spain.

Toktamis, K. (2018, May). "(Re)Entrenchments: Specter of the Former Ally and (Im)possibility of Peace" presented at the Workshop on Authoritarianism, Democracy, and Citizenship in Contemporary Turkey" Presented at: Centre for Citizenship, Social Pluralism and Religious Diversity University of Potsdam, Germany.

Toktamis, K. (2018, April). "Violent Re-entrenchments: The tensions within the Power Bloc" Presented at: The panel entitled the Kurdish Question at AAG 2018 Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.

Toktamis, K. (2018, February). "Violent Re-entrenchments: The tensions within the Power Bloc as revealed in Imrali Minutes" Presented at: The workshop on The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Turkey, University of Marburg, Germany.

Toktamis, K. (2017, September). "The Peace that Wasn't: The Spectra of Violence during Negotiations between the Turkish State and Kurdish Mobilizations, 2013-2015" Presented at the 11th ECPR General Conference, University of Oslo, Norway.

Toktamis, K. (2017, June). "Violent Re-entrenchments: The Tensions within the Power Bloc as Revealed in Imrali Minutes" Presented at: The Conference on Turkey in Transition, Before and After the Attempted Coup, Netherlands Institute at Athens, Greece.

Toktamis, K. (2017, February). "The "Peace Talks" and the Specter of the former Ally" presented at the Conference entitled Turkey at Critical Crossroads: Dynamic Trajectories for Society, Politics and Culture, organized by Isabel David and Kumru F. Toktamis, Presented at: The Institute of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal.

Toktamis, K. (2016, November). "The Peace Process That Was Not: Re-entrenchment of the Kurdish Question and Turkish Nationhood" Presented at: The Conference on Historical Comparative Perspectives on Kurdish Politics, Buffet Institute for Global Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

Toktamis, K. (2016, October). "Reading Yashar Khanum's Memoir: 1920-1930" Presented at: The Conference on Intellectuals and First World War. Presented at: Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland.

Toktamis, K. (2016, July). "Evoking and Invoking Nationhood as Contentious

Democratization" chair and discussant at BRISMES Annual Conference, University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter, United Kingom.

Toktamis, K. (2016, June). "Comparative Politics of (Re-) Entrenchment: Fragmented Kurdish Politics in the Middle East" Presented at: The CEEISA-ISA Annual Conference, Ljubljana, Slovania.

Toktamis, K. (2016, March). "Peace as (Re-) Entrenchment" discussant at the Conference on the Critical Approaches to the Peace Process in Turkey. Presented at: Coventry University, London, United Kingdom.

Toktamis, K. (2016, March). "From PROTESTS to ELECTIONS, the aftermath of 2013 protests in Turkey" Chair and discussant, SeSamo Annual Conference, Catania, Sicily, Italy.

Toktamis, K. (2015, September). "State Violence and Resistance from Below: The case of Gezi Park Protests" Chair and Discussant at: EISA-9th Pan European Conference on International Relations, Giardini, Naxos, Sicily, Italy.

Toktamis, K. (2015, June). "Tribes, State-Formation and Democratization in Libya." Presented at: BRISMES 2015 Conference, London, United Kingdom.

Toktamis, K. (2015, April). "Turkish Nationhood as Political Opportunities for and Protection by the Local Elite" Presented at: Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2015 World Convention, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, NY.

Toktamis, K. (2015, March). "Turkish Nationhood: World War I and Opportunities for Local Elite" Presented at: The Conference on The Great War and its Legacy in Central Europe and the Middle East: (Re-)Drawing and Contesting Borders, Nations, Identities, and Spaces. Humanities Department, Qatar University, Doha, Qatar.

Toktamis, K. (2015, February). "Shifting Images of Muslim Women in the West", *ISIK DOGUDAN GELIR* [the light comes from the east]. **Invited Speaker** at: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Cemal Resit Rey Concert Hall, Istanbul, Turkey.

Toktamis, K. (2015, January). "The Arab 'Spring' and Changing Images of Muslim Women in the West" Presented at: SeSamo Annual Conference, Co'foscari University, Venice, Italy.

Toktamis, K. (2014, April). "From Invoking Nationhood to Evoking Nationhood" Presented at: Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2014 World Convention, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, NY.

Toktamis, K. (2014, April). "Gezi Protests in Istanbul (2103) and the future of Turkish Democracy and Politics" **Keynote speaker** at: Student Peace Conference at Loyola University, New Orleans, LA.

Toktamis, K. (2014, April). "Orientalism in Action: Changing Images of Muslim Women." **Invited speaker** at: III Student Peace Conference at Loyolo University New Orleans, LA.

Toktamis, K. (2014, February). "Gezi and contested definitions of nationhood and democratic citizenship" Presented at: The Conference on Gezi Protests and Beyond at the Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas of Lisbon, Portugal.

Toktamis, K. (2013, November). "Understanding the Gezi Park Protests" invited speaker at: The Wolfe Institute for the Humanities, Brooklyn College, CUNY, NY.

Toktamis, K. (2013, April). "What are the chances? Tribes and Democratization in Post-Qaddafi Libya" Presented at: The Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2013 World Convention, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, NY.

Toktamis, K. (2012, August). "What are the chances? Post-Qaddafi Libya and processes of democratization/de-democratization" Presented at: The International Conference on Democratic Governance: Challenges in Africa and Asia, Association of Middle Eastern Public Policy and Administration, UPenn, Philadelphia, PA.

Toktamis, K. (2010, April). "Entrenchments Beyond Essentialism: Space and Shifting Identities in Kurdish Mobilizations and Regional Nationhoods" Presented at: The Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2010 World Convention, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, NY.

Toktamis, K. (2010, March). "Changing Images of Muslim Women" Presented at: The Brooklyn College Women's Studies Program Spring Conference on Gender and Islam, Brooklyn, NY.

Toktamis, K. (2008, April). "In Memory of Hrant Dink." **Invited speaker** at: AASSSG Symposium on Transforming Roots of Evil: Continued Challenges for Denial of Mass Human Rights Violations, Armenian-American Society for Studies on Stress and Genocide, Fordham University, Bronx, NY.

Toktamis, K. (1996, August). NGO Forum, "Identities and Rights of Women in Turkey" **Invited Speaker** at the panel at Young Women Leaders Program, Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China.

Toktamis, K. (1993, June) "A Contextual Analysis of Turkish Feminism" Presented at: The panel on "Middle East and Social Movements", at the "Ninth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women" Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY.

PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY

Forthcoming book

Sedat Ulugana and **Toktamis**, **K**. (2023) Ağrı İsyanında İstanbul lu bir Kadın [A Woman from Istanbul at the Ararat Rebellion", Dipnot Publications, Istanbul.

Selected Online Publications (in English)

Toktamis, K. and Abby Scher "Building Power Beyond and with the #MeToo Movement" *Abstrakt*, April 7 2019. http://www.abstraktdergi.net/building-power-with-and-beyond-the-metoo-movement/?fbclid=lwAR133X7xrcodM7JpF-Xro3wnXT-VC2hFG0sY_eYE93YdKnzeCBYtfzOLIM

Toktamis, K. (2015). "Reflections on the Recent Elections in Turkey" *Public Seminar http://www.publicseminar.org/2015/06/reflections-on-the-recent-elections-in-turkey/#.VfTZs5fkQu0*, June 15, 2015.

Toktamis, K. (2014). Book Review: Ataturk in Nazi Imagination, by Stefan Ihrig, *Public Seminar*, http://www.publicseminar.org/2014/12/review-ataturk-in-the-nazi-imagination/#.VMWTKy6fJdw, December 10, 2014.

Selected Televised and Online Interviews

- Democracy and Despotism in Turkey, December 4, 2021.
 https://www.peaceinkurdistancampaign.com/video-democracy-and-despotism-in-the-turkish-republic-an-interview-with-dr-kumru-toktamis/
- In Turkish ["The elections in the USA and the Republican Convention: GOP is a one-man party now"] August 30, 2020, Bianet, http://bianet.org/bianet/dunya/229916-doc-dr-toktamis-cumhuriyetci-parti-tek-adam-partisi-oldu
- In Turkish ["The elections in the USA and the Democratic Party Convention:
 Democrats' Need To Form an anti-fascist Front"] August 21, 2020, Bianet,
 http://bianet.org/bianet/dunya/229389-doc-dr-toktamis-demokratlar-antifasist-cephe-olusturmali
- In Turkish ["The Upraising in the USA, Black Lives Matter"] June 15,2020.
 Interview with Can Dundar at Ozguruz Radio.
 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jEcYG_DnehA

 In Turkish "War and Frontiers in Memoirs", January 13, 2019, In Pursuit of History, Arti TV, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FUiQY kG2iU

SERVICE at the PRATT Institute

- Member of the Social Sciences and Cultural Studies Department Curriculum Review Committee since 2021-present,
- Member of the Campus Safety Advisory Committee since October 2020-present,
- Senator representing the Full-Time faculty of the Social Sciences and Cultural Studies, since 2019-present,
- Chair, SLAS Curriculum Committee, 2018-2020
- Coordinator, Cultural Studies Minor, 2017-2021
- Co-Organizer of the two-days May Day event: Spaces of Repression and Resistance Movie Screening and discussion of RE-GENERATION with the director Emir Kapetanovic and producer Zana Marjanovic and SEVEN DOORS with the director Mehmet Mim Kurt, April 24 and May 1, 2019.
- Co-Organizer of the May Day event: Spaces of Repression and Resistance:
 Movie Screening and discussion with the director- ZER by Kazim Oz, supported
 by the Global South Center, Pratt Union and Pratt Senate. April 24, 2018.
- Co-Organizer of the May Day event: Spaces of Repression and Resistance: Fragments of Global Crises, May 1, 2017
- Member: 2016-2017, 2017-2018 SLAS Curriculum Committee
- Member: 2013-14 and 2014-2015 Social Science and Cultural Studies Department Curriculum Committee
- Faculty Observer: 2013-2104 Board of Trustees Student Affairs Committee
- Member: Spring-Fall 2008 member of World History Curriculum Review Committee
- Senator and Senate Secretary: 2007-2009 representing Part Time SLAS faculty
- Speaker: April 5th 2010 "Muslim Women as Shifting Bodies" AIC panel on "Performativity/Body"
- Speaker: April 4th 2006 "Anti-Semite Cartoons in 19th century European Media"
 AIC panel on "When Cartoons Kill"

- Speaker: October 24th, 2001 "Muslims in Action: Fundamentalism vs Activism" school-wide 9/11 community teach-in
- Speaker: September 13th, 2001, "Beyond Retribution" school-wide 9/11 community meeting.

Awards

- 2019 [Scientific Merit Award] Prémio de Mérito Científico Unidades de Coordenação, Institute of Social and Political Sciences, University of Portugal.
- 2018-19 Nomination for the Inaugural Faculty Research Recognition Award, Pratt Institute
- 2017-18 Faculty Development Fund, Pratt Institute
- 2010 Fall Sabbatical Leave Pratt Institute
- 2009 Mellon Funds for Travel and Research, Pratt Institute

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Faculty Liaison, College Now 2001-2003

Lehman College CUNY, Bronx, New York, USA Co-coordinator of Institute of Collaborative Learning; Curriculum Development; Academic Advisement; Student Recruitment And Database Management

Human Rights Research Consultant, Human Rights Watch

1992-2001

Europe and Central Asia Division, New York, USA worked and credited on several projects on Turkey including: Torture in Detention, Freedom of Expression, Conflict in Southeast Turkey, Juvenile Detention, Virginity Exams, Democracy and Higher Education