

Mehmet GURSES
Curriculum Vitae

Contact Information

School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs
University of Central Florida
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Professional Appointment

Najmaldin Karim and Jalal Talabani Endowed Professor and Director of Kurdish Studies Program,
School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs, University of Central Florida, Orlando,
Florida, August 2024-Present.

Chair and Professor, Department of Political Science, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton,
Florida, July 2023-August 2024

Professor, Department of Political Science, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Florida,
2019-2023

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton,
Florida, 2013-2019

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton,
Florida, 2007-2013

Education

Ph.D. 2007. University of North Texas, Denton, Texas, Political Science.

Publications

Books

2025 (forthcoming). *The Kurds of Central Anatolia: The History, Identity and Future of a Forgotten People* (co-edited with Haci Cevik), London, UK: I.B. Tauris.

2020. *Kurds in the Middle East: Enduring Problems and New Dynamics* (co-edited with David Romano and Michael Gunter), London, UK: Lexington Books.

2018. *Anatomy of a Civil War: Sociopolitical Impacts of the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

2014. *Conflict, Democratization and the Kurds in the Middle East: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria* (co-edited with David Romano). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Refereed Journal Articles

2024. "Settling Softly: Ending War and Making Peace in Divided Societies" (with Ayse Betul Celik) *International Interactions* 50 (4): 624-651.

2023. "State and faith: the supply-side theory of religion and the case of Turkey" (with Jonathan Fox and A. Erdi Ozturk) *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 59 (2): 441-463.

2023. "Civil War Outcomes and Egalitarian Democracy in Post-Civil War States: A Cross-National Analysis, 1946-2018" (with T. David Mason) *Defence and Peace Economics* 34 (4): 437-455.

2021. "War and peace in the age of Corona: an analysis of support for repressive state policies in divided societies" (with Evren Balta and Ayse Betul Celik), *Turkish Studies* 23(2): 177-199.

2020. "Women and War: Women's Rights in Post-Civil War Society" (with Aimee Arias and Jeffrey Morton) *Civil Wars* 22 (2-3): 224-242.

2020. "Religion and Armed Conflict: Evidence from the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey" (with Ahmet Erdi Ozturk) *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 59 (2): 327-340.

2020. "The Evolving Kurdish Question in Turkey" *Middle East Critique* 29 (3): 307-318.

2020. "Civil War and Democratization: A Micro-Level Analysis" (with Ayse Betul Celik and Evren Balta) *Social Science Quarterly* 101 (2): 776-791.

2019. "Who Wins, Who Loses, Who Negotiates Peace in Civil Wars: Does Regime Type Matter?" (with Anup Phayal and David Mason) *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4 (4): 482-498.

2017. "Ethnic Exclusion and Mobilization: The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey" (with Gunes Murat Tezcur) *Comparative Politics* 49 (2): 213-230.

2016. "Religion as a Peacemaker? Peace Duration after Ethnic Civil Wars" (with Nicolas Rost) *Politics & Religion* 10 (2): 339-362.

2015. "Islamists and Women's Rights: Lessons from Turkey" *Journal of Middle East and Africa* 61 (3): 33-44.

2015. "Is Islam a Cure for Ethnic Conflict? Evidence from Turkey" *Politics & Religion* 8 (1): 135-154.

2015. "Transnational Ethnic Kin and Civil War Outcomes" *Political Research Quarterly* 68 (1): 142-153.

Awarded Honorable Mention for Best Article in 2015, Political Research Quarterly

2014. "Islamists, Democracy and Turkey: A Test of the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis" *Party Politics* 20 (4): 646-653.

2013. "Sustaining the Peace after Ethnic Civil Wars" (with Nicolas Rost) *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30 (5): 469-491.

2012. "Environmental Consequences of Civil War: Evidence from the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey" *Civil Wars* 14 (2): 254-271.

2012. "The Complexities of Minority Rights in the European Union" (with Aimee Kanner Arias) *The International Journal of Human Rights* 16 (2): 321-336.

2011. "Elites, Oil, and Democratization: A Survival Analysis" *Social Science Quarterly* 92 (1): 164-184.

2011. "When Civil Wars Recur: Conditions for Durable Peace After Civil Wars" (with David Mason, Patrick T. Brandt, and Jason Quinn) *International Studies Perspectives* 12 (2): 171-189.

2010. "Partition, Democracy, and Turkey's Kurdish Minority" *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 16 (3): 337-353.

2010. "Weak States, Regime Types, and Civil War" (with David Mason) *Civil Wars* 12 (1-2): 140-155.

2009. "State-Sponsored Development, Oil, and Democratization" *Democratization* 16 (3): 508-529.

2008. "When and How the Fighting Stops: Explaining the Duration and Outcome of Civil Wars" (with Patrick Brandt, David Mason, Nicolai Petrovsky, and Dagmar Radin) *Defence and Peace Economics* 19 (6): 415-434.

2008. "Mediating Civil War Settlements and the Duration of Peace" (with Nicolas Rost and Patrick McLeod) *International Interactions* 34 (2): 129-155.

2008. "Democracy Out of Anarchy: How Do Features of A Civil War Influence the Likelihood of Post-Civil War Democracy?" (with David Mason) *Social Science Quarterly* 89 (2): 315-336.

2007. "Sustaining the Peace: Determinants of Civil War Recurrence" (with Jason Quinn and David Mason) *International Interactions* 33 (2): 167-193.

Book Chapters

2025 (forthcoming). "The Shifting Ground and Inter-ethnic Relations in Konya" (with Haci Cevik) in *The Kurds of Central Anatolia: The History, Identity and Future of a Forgotten People*. Mehmet Gurses and Haci Cevik (eds.) London, UK: I.B. Tauris.

2023. "The Kurdish Question: A Century Later" in *A Companion to Modern Turkey's Centennial: Political, Sociological, Economic and Institutional Transformations since 1923*. Alpaslan Ozerdem and Ahmet Erdi Ozturk (eds.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 252-263.

2021. "Kurds in the Changing Middle East: Prospects and Challenges" (with David Romano) in *The Cambridge History of Kurds*. Hamit Bozarslan, Cengiz Gunes, and Veli Yadirgi (eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 289-307.

2018. "Islam and the Kurds" in *The Routledge Handbook on the Kurds*. Michael M. Gunter (ed.) Routledge: London and New York, pp. 159-168.

2014. "From War to Democracy: Transborder Kurdish Conflict and Democratization" in *Conflict, Democratization, and the Kurds in the Middle East: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria*, David Romano and Mehmet Gurses (eds.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 249-265.

2009. "La desigualdad, las élites, y la democratización de América Latina." ("Inequality, Elites, and Latin American Democratization"), in *Perspectivas para la democracia en América Latina (Prospects for Democracy in Latin America)*, Leticia Heras Gómez and John A. Booth, (eds., Toluca, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 2009.

2007. "The Lebanese Civil War, 1975-1978" in *Civil Wars of the World Encyclopedia: Major Conflicts since World War II*, Karl DeRouen and Uk Hoe (eds.) Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Invited Reviews

2022. *Kurds in Dark Times: New Perspectives on Violence and Resistance in Turkey*. Ayça Alemdaroğlu and Fatma Müge Göçek (eds.), Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 9 (2): 362-365.

2022. *Return to Point Zero: The Turkish-Kurdish Question and How Politics and Ideas (Re)Make Empires, Nations, and States*. Murat Somer, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, *Turkish Studies* DOI: 10.1080/14683849.2022.2111646

2021. *The Kurds in Erdoğan's Turkey: Balancing Identity, Resistance and Citizenship*. William Gourlay. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review* 12 (1): 60-64.

2019. *The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. Veli Yadirgi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. *Turkish Studies* 21 (2): 329-331.

2017. *Kurdish Issues: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Olson*. Michael M. Gunter (ed.) Mazda Publishers, 2016. *Middle East Policy* XXIV (3): 182-184.

2016. *The Kurds: A Modern History*. Michael M. Gunter. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2016. *Review of Middle East Studies* 50 (2): 1-2.

2011. “Democratization: Process vs. Product?” Alfred Stepan (ed.) *Democracies in Danger* Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009; Staffan I. Lindbger *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition* Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. *International Studies Review* 13: 300-303.

Other Publications

[“Religion, Ethnic Civil Wars, and Peacebuilding”](#) (with Nicolas Rost), February 17, 2017.

[“Religion, Civil War and Peace”](#) January 23, 2017.

[“Changing Civil War”](#) *Mobilizing Ideas*, March 7, 2016.

[“Turkey’s Kurdish Dilemma: Challenges and Opportunities”](#) (with David Romano), *Politica Exterior*, March-April 2016 (in Spanish).

[“Kurds as Peacemakers in the Middle East”](#) (with David Romano) January 5, 2016.

Selected Works in Progress/Under Review

Between Mosque and Mountains: War, Islam, and the Kurds in the Middle East (book manuscript)

“Armed Conflict, Blood Feuds, and Social Peace (with Ayse Betul Celik), under Review at the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

“Palestinians, Kurds, and Muslims Between Them: War, Faith, and the Limits of Cross-National Solidarity” (with Ayse Betul Celik), under Review at the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*.

Conference Papers and Presentations

“Shared Grievances and Intergroup Solidarity” (with Ayse Betul Celik), presented at the Social Science Perspectives on Individuals, Cultures, and Institutions in the Mediterranean Region, April 6-8, 2025 (Rethymno, Crete, Greece).

“Palestinians, Kurds, and Muslims Between Them: War, Faith, and the Limits of Cross-National Solidarity” (with Ayse Betul Celik), presented at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, March 2-5, 2025 (Chicago, IL).

“Armed Conflict, Blood Feuds, and Social Peace” (with Ayse Betul Celik), presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 5-8, 2024, Philadelphia, PA.

“Settling Softly: Ending the War and Building Peace in Divided Societies” (with Ayse Betul Celik), presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 31-September 3, 2023 (Los Angeles, CA).

Under the Banner of Islam: Turks, Kurds, and the Limits of Religious Unity. Book Panel (discussant), presented at the Association for the Studies of Nationalities, May 4-7, 2022 (Virtual).

“The Centrality of Negotiated Peace Agreements for Post-Civil War Democratization” (with David Mason) presented at the International Studies Association Virtual Convention, April 6-9, 2021 (Virtual).

“Civil War and Democratization: A Micro-Level Analysis” (with Ayse Betul Celik and Evren Balta) presented at the International Studies Association Convention, March 27-30, 2019 (Toronto, Canada).

“The Evolving Kurdish Question in Turkey” presented at the Workshop on New Turkey, April 1, 2019, (Salt Lake City, Utah).

“Trans-border Kurdish Conflict: Challenges and Opportunities” presented at the Middle East Studies Association, November 15-18, 2018 (San Antonio, TX).

“Civil War and Women’s Rights” (with Aimee Arias and Jeffrey Morton) presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30-September 2, 2018 (Boston, MA).

“The Other Side of Civil War: Gender Equity and Activism Out of Violence” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, March 16-19, 2016 (Atlanta, GA).

“Civil War and Secularization: The Effect of Armed Conflict on Religion” presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 7-9, 2016 (San Juan, Puerto Rico).

“The Kurdish Spring?” presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, February 18-21, 2015 (New Orleans, LA).

“Islamists and Women’s Rights: Lessons from Turkey” presented at the Association for the Study of Middle East and Africa, October 30- November 1, 2014 (Washington, D.C.).

“The Impact of Civil War on Political Culture of Democracy” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 2014 (Washington, D.C.).

“Religion and Reconciliation after Civil War” (with Nico Rost) presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 2014 (Washington, D.C.).

“Who Governs? Ethnic and Regional Roots of Political Power in Turkey” (with Gunes Murat Tezcur) presented at the Association for the Studies of Nationalities, April 24-26, 2014 (Columbia University, NY).

“Is Islam a Cure for Ethnic Nationalism? Evidence from the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey” presented at Middle East Studies Association, October 10-13, 2013 (New Orleans, LA).

“Transnational Ethnic Kin: Ending the War, Promoting the Peace” presented at Eurasian Peace Science Conference, May 24-25, 2013 (Koc University, Istanbul, Turkey).

“An Obstacle or Opportunity for Peace: The Case of Kurds in Iraq and Turkey” presented at the Association for the Studies of Nationalities, April 19-21, 2012 (Columbia University, NY).

“Islamists, Democracy and Turkey: A Test of Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis” presented at “Turkey at the Crossroads: Islam, Politics and Democratization in an Emerging Power in the Middle East,” March 24th, 2011 (University of South Florida, Tampa, FL).

“Sustaining the Peace after Ethnic Civil Wars” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, March 16-19, 2011 (Montreal, CA).

“The Hidden Cost of Armed Conflict: Environmental Consequences of Civil War” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, March 16-19, 2011 (Montreal, CA).

“Peace is Possible: Toward a Better Understanding of Ethnic Reconciliation” (with Nicolas Rost) presented at the Eurasian Peace Science Conference, January 7-8, 2011 (Istanbul, Turkey).

“Understanding the Complexities of Minority Rights in the European Union” (with Aimee Kanner) presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 21-25, 2010 (Chicago, IL).

“The Islamist Challenge: Putting Democracy to a Test” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, February 17-20, 2010 (New Orleans, LA).

“Clarifying the Causal Pathways between Ethnic Conflict and Democracy: Evidence from Turkey” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, February 15-18, 2009 (New York, NY).

“Repression, Democracy, and the Duration of Peace after Civil War” (with David Mason) presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 2008 (Boston, MA).

“Wealth and Regime Formation: Social and Economic Origins of the Change toward Democracy” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, March 26-29, 2008 (San Francisco, CA).

“Weak States, Repression, and Civil War” (with David Mason) presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 10-12, 2008 (New Orleans, LA).

“Democratization in the Muslim World: A Cross-Sectional Time Series Analysis, 1970-1999” presented at annual meeting of Southern Political Science Association, January 4-7, 2007 (New Orleans, LA).

“Democracy as a Face-Saving Instrument: Evidence from Latin America” presented at the A Symposium: Prospects for Democracy in Latin America, April 5-6, 2007 (Denton, TX).

“Democracy out of Conflict: Toward Democratic Consolidation in Turkey?” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, April 11-15, 2006 (San Antonio, TX).

“Democracy Out of Anarchy: How Do Features of a Civil War Influence the Likelihood of Post-Civil War Democracy?” (with David Mason) presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 22-25, 2006 (San Diego, CA).

“Durable Peace After Civil Wars? Civil War Outcomes and the Duration of Peace” (with David Mason and Patrick Brandt) presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2005 (Washington D.C.).

“Wealth Source and Regime Type: Economic Origins of Democracy and Authoritarianism” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7 - April 10, 2005 (Chicago, IL).

“Mediating Civil War Settlements and the Duration of Peace” (with Nicolas Rost and Patrick McLeod) presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7-10, 2005 (Chicago, IL).

“Never Lasting Peace: Explaining the Duration of Civil Wars” (with Patrick Brandt, David Mason, Patrick McLeod, Dasha Radin, and Nicolai Petrovsky) presented at the Annual Meeting of International Studies Association, March 2005 (Honolulu, Hawaii).

“Foreign Powers, Civil War, and Rebel Victory” presented at the Southwestern Social Science Association Annual Meeting, March 2004 (Corpus Christi, TX).

Selected Invited Talks

“Diverse Legacies of Political Violence: Comparative Perspectives from the Middle East and North Africa,” American University, Washington, D.C., March 31, 2021.

“Peace Building in Iraq and Beyond” presented at the University of Kurdistan-Hewler (Erbil), Iraq, October 2-3, 2019.

“Turkey and the United States: A Partnership in Peril” presented at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX, October 26, 2018.

“Chaos in Iraq: Implications and Opportunities for the Kurds and the Region” presented at Florida International University, Miami, FL, October 28, 2014.

“International Kurdish Question, Peace and Democratization” presented at International Symposium on Religion, Language and Identity, September 21-22, 2013 (Diyarbakir, Turkey).

“Kurdish Studies & Politics” May 6, 2013, Columbia University, NY.

“From War to Democracy: Transborder Kurdish Conflict and Democratization” presented at Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey, May 22, 2013.

“Who is Winning the Conflict in Syria?” presented at Missouri State University, Springfield, MO, November 16, 2012.

“State Building and the Kurdish Issue in Postwar Iraq and Beyond” presented at the Center for International Policy Studies at the University of Ottawa, Canada, March 7, 2012.

Florida Atlantic University. “The Future of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East: A Roundtable Discussion,” January 18, 2008.

Awards/Grants

External Grants

Mert Family Peace Grant, 2014, \$15,000.

Atas Family Peace Grant, 2014, \$5,000.

Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence Faculty Research Award, 2013, 3,000 Euros.

Florida Society for Middle East Studies Grant, 2008, \$30,000.

Internal Grants

Lifelong Learning Professorship of Current Affairs, 2019-2020, \$5,000.

College of Arts and Letters Seed Grant, 2019, \$6,900.

Chastain-Johnston Middle East Studies Distinguished Professorship, 2016-2018, \$20,000.

Lifelong Learning Society (Jupiter) Faculty Research and Travel Grant, 2012. \$2,000.

Chastain-Johnston New Course Development Grant, 2011, \$3,500.

Asian Studies Grant, 2010, \$4,500.

Research and Teaching Interests

Kurdish Politics, Civil War, Post-Civil War Peacebuilding, Post-Civil War Democratization, Ethnic Conflict, Middle East Politics, Religion and Politics

Quantitative Methodology [Ordinary Least Squares, Maximum Likelihood Estimation (Logit, Probit, Duration Models), Time Series Analysis]

Teaching Experience

Undergraduate level

Kurdish Politics: Identity, Violence, and Democracy
Political Violence and Revolution
Political Science Research Methods
Comparative Islamist Movements
Religion and Politics in the Middle East
Democracy and Democratization in the Middle East

Graduate level

Politics of Civil War
Civil Wars
Women and War
Research Methods and Inquiry
Quantitative Methods in Political Science
Democracy and Democratization

Professional Service

Workload Committee, School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs, UCF, Fall 2024-Present (Chair).

Policy and Procedures Committee, School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs, UCF, Fall 2024-Present (Member).

Search Committee for Assistant Professor in Cyber Security, School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs, UCF, Spring 2025 (Member).

PhD Admission Committee, School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs, UCF, Fall 2024-Present (Member).

Editor, Journal *Politics and Religion*, 2017-2022

Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh Studies on Modern Turkey, International Advisory Board (2019-present).

I.B. Tauris Kurdish Studies Series, Advisory Board (2020-present).

Manuscript Reviewer [American Political Science Review; American Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Conflict Management and Peace Science; Journal of Peace Research; International Studies Quarterly; International Interactions; Political Research Quarterly; Democratization; International Studies Perspectives].