

Academic Resistance and the Diaspora Against Authoritarianism in Erdoğan's Turkey

Manuel Férez¹ 

Abstract— This article examines the process of democratic backsliding in Turkey and the systematic assault on university autonomy as part of an “authoritarian laboratory”. Through the lens of Ece Temelkuran and the mobilization of Academics for Peace, it analyzes how the regime has transformed academia into a space of ideological control through “civil death” and the criminalization of critical knowledge. The text integrates the genealogy of social protest in Turkey, highlighting the connection between the horizontal structure of Gezi and the structures of academic resistance in the diaspora, to propose that the university struggle constitutes a key front against authoritarianism. The analysis focuses on the AKP's hegemony strategies, the impact of the diaspora on the construction of a counternarrative, specifically the Kurdish one and the resistance against the co-optation of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and the double gender discrimination in exile.

Keywords— Academic Resistance; Turkish Diaspora; Authoritarian Turn; Academics for Peace and Ece Temelkuran.

Introduction: Institutional Collapse and the “Excommunication” of Speech

“This the official end of democracy in Turkey. The main opposition party [the CHP] has been taken over by the regime... If European leaders continue their dealings with Erdoğan as if everything were business as usual, they will be complicit in the crime”.

Ece Temelkuran published these words on May 24, 2016, in reaction to the final judicial intervention against the country's political opposition. For the renowned Turkish intellectual, this is not an isolated event, but the culmination of a long process of “excommunication” that she herself experienced in 2012, when her dismissal from the newspaper *Habertürk*, after criticizing the massacre of Kurdish civilians on the Iraqi border committed by the Turkish army, foreshadowed the future of thousands of Turkish intellectuals and academics.

Temelkuran argues that Erdoğan's political and ideological project was not an unexpected shift, but rather an aggressive, constant, and comprehensive reshaping of contemporary Turkish society and national identity, fueled by a deep-seated sense of historical humiliation felt by the conservative provincial middle classes in the face of the secular Kemalist elite. This

democratic backsliding has been facilitated and made possible by European complicity, marked by realpolitik, the 2016 EU-Turkey Agreement allowed Europe to outsource its migration responsibility in exchange for ignoring the erosion of the rule of law in Turkey, enabling the regime to act with impunity justified by European security needs.

Methodology

This article adopts a qualitative approach based on a documentary review of Turkish academic literature and intellectual production published between 2012 and 2026. The analysis is structured around three analytical dimensions:

- 1) **Structural Dimension:** Analysis of the State Emergency Decrees (KHK) and their impact on university governance.
- 2) **Conceptual Dimension:** Application of categories such as “civil death” (*sivil ölüm* in Turkish) to explain the dispossession of rights experienced by purged academics.
- 3) **Genealogical Dimension:** Tracing models of collective action from the Gezi Park protests to transnational solidarity networks within the Turkish academic diaspora.

This design is grounded in a qualitative-interpretive approach, whose epistemological premise is the search for meaning in actions, texts, and historical contexts, prioritizing the understanding of underlying frameworks over quantitative measurement. This approach allows us to address complex phenomena by analyzing independent and specialized academic reflections on Turkish political and cultural development, which is essential to make visible experiences that often remain “in the shadows” within oppressive systems.

In Turkey, reflection and analysis on academic repression are hampered by bureaucratic and political barriers, with authorities frequently denying field research permits or censoring data collection on the grounds that the topics are “inappropriate”. Given this predictable restriction, this analysis draws on academic literature and publicly available documents in English and Turkish.

In addition to academic literature, this analysis incorporates primary sources such as official statements from the *Bariş*

¹Independent Researcher and Professor of the Middle East and Caucasus.

İçin Akademisyenler (Academics for Peace) collective, state emergency decrees (KHK) published in the *Resmî Gazete*, and monitoring reports from international organizations such as *Scholars at Risk* and *Human Rights Watch*.

University as the Epicenter of the AKP's "Cultural Battle"

Under the AKP regime, led by Erdoğan, higher education has ceased to aspire to be a space for critical and independent intellectual development, becoming instead the main front in a cultural battle for the hegemony of the "New Turkey." For decades, universities functioned as bastions of radical secularism that excluded conservative religious identities. As Ayça Alemdaroğlu in "*The University in the Making of Authoritarian Turkey*" and Nihat Çelik in "*The AKP-Era Higher Education Strategies for Establishing Hegemony over Turkish Universities*" point out, Erdoğan's strategy has been to reverse this dynamic, transforming the university into an apparatus of ideological reproduction designed to mold future generations according to nationalist, conservative, intolerant, and religious parameters.

Alemdaroğlu and Çelik dissect this culture war on three levels:

- 1) **Institutional Capture:** Through the elimination of autonomy in the election of authorities and the appointment of party loyalists.
- 2) **Dismantling of the Old Elite:** The use of the post-2016 purges not only sought to punish dissidents but also to empty spaces of intellectual power in order to replace them with a new "organic intelligentsia" linked to and dependent on the AKP
- 3) **Epistemological Hegemony:** The promotion of theoretical frameworks that avoid questioning central power and the marginalization of critical areas such as gender studies or the sociology of conflict.

Thus, as Özdemir (2020) points out, the university becomes the laboratory where the state rehearses the definitive capture of society, reducing critical thinking to a form of treason.

It should be noted that, from the AKP's perspective, these transformations are part of a process of *de-Kemalization* and democratization of higher education. For decades, Turkish universities had functioned as bastions of a secular Kemalist elite that marginalized the conservative and religious middle classes of Anatolia. Erdoğan responded to this historical exclusion by drastically expanding access to higher education, creating dozens of new universities under the motto "one university per province" and promoting national and conservative values

within them that reflect the sensibilities of his electoral base. What his critics consider an ideological capture, his defenders see as a democratic correction that returns the university to the people and breaks with the authoritarian secularism of the Kemalist period.

The Genealogy of Resistance: From the Public Square to Academic Exile

In line with the analysis presented in my article for *Foreign Affairs Latin America*, "*Turkey: The Return of Social Resistance*" (2021), the collective memory of the 2013 Gezi Park protests constitutes the organizational basis of the current social mobilization. Gezi was the moment when citizens reclaimed what Akdoğan (2021) called "*the right to the city in the face of authoritarian gentrification*", establishing a model of resistance based on horizontality, neighborhood forums, and democratic consensus.

There is a direct connection between the horizontality of Gezi and the structures of academic resistance in the diaspora. Faced with mass expulsion from the national university system, exiled researchers have revitalized these self-managed models. The creation of "solidarity academies" and platforms like *Off-University* are not only employment havens but also extensions of the forums that emerged in Gezi. These structures allow critical knowledge to circulate through transnational networks of mutual support, transforming the precariousness of exile into an organized resistance that prioritizes interdisciplinarity and "co-testimony" in the face of ideological persecution.

The *Academics for Peace* collective, whose January 2016 petition ("We will not be part of this crime") initially gathered 1,128 signatures (later exceeding 2,000) became a systematic target of repression. Thousands of its signatories were investigated, dismissed, or forced into exile, directly prompting the creation of platforms like *Off-University*. Thousands of professors, especially those who signed the petition, were dismissed, investigated, or forced into exile. The platform was created by Turkish academics and their German colleagues so that these professors could continue their academic work despite the repression. Although it has expanded its work to other countries, Turkey remains one of its central focuses, both because of its faculty and the issues it addresses, such as the Kurdish question and state violence in the region. The organization, registered in Berlin, Germany, promotes transnational, critical, and solidarity-based education, and has taught more than 80 courses in areas such as Peace Studies, Human Rights, Gender, Memory, and Exile.

Boğaziçi and the Structural Siege: Closed Universities and Trustee Rectors

The resistance at Boğaziçi University against the installation of external authorities imposed by the executive branch is the ultimate symbol of the defense of Turkish academic autonomy, but its depth can only be understood by analyzing the university as a historically contested “state infrastructure”. The current siege, characterized by the appointment of rectors by presidential decree, is part of a chronology of interventions aimed at ensuring the political compliance of academia.

Human Rights Watch documented how peaceful protests at the university were met with nighttime raids on student’s homes, arbitrary arrests, and official discourse that stigmatized them as “terrorists” (Human Rights Watch, 2021). *Scholars at Risk* has recorded these events as direct attacks on academic freedom and university autonomy.

Genealogy of Control: From *Darülfünun* to the Creation of YÖK

The assault on autonomy did not begin with the AKP. As early as 1933, the Turkish state closed the *Darülfünun* institution for its refusal to actively support the vision of the new nationalist regime, replacing it with structures designed for the construction of state identity.

Founded in 1900 as *Darülfünun-ı Şahane* (“House of Sciences”), this institution was radically transformed in 1933 within the framework of Kemalist reforms. Following a report prepared by the Swiss professor Albert Malche, the government passed Law 2252, which dissolved *Darülfünun* on July 31, 1933. The next day, the new Istanbul University was established, directly subordinate to the Ministry of Education. Of its approximately 151 professors, only about 59 were retained; the rest were dismissed in a purge aimed at eliminating elements considered conservative or not aligned with the republican project.

The institution was revitalized with young Turkish academics trained abroad and, especially, with German professors exiled from Nazism, which strongly boosted the country’s scientific modernization. Although officially presented as a necessary step toward a secular, research-oriented, and modern university, the episode would become the first ideological purge in the Republic of Turkey and would foreshadow national tensions and debates regarding university autonomy. While it is true that Law 4936, enacted in 1946, granted some institutional autonomy and allowed for the election of rectors, this brief period of openness would be ended by the 1980 military coup.

The military regime of 1980 radically transformed the university landscape with the creation of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) in 1981, enshrined in Article 131 of the 1982 Constitution. The YÖK abolished administrative and

academic autonomy, transferring final decision-making power to the President of the Republic and centralizing the oversight of dissenting academics and students. Under this structure, although some internal voting processes were maintained, the central political power always retained the power of veto or direct appointment.

Boğaziçi: From Robert College to the “*Kayyum*” Siege

Boğaziçi University’s identity is particularly vulnerable to this siege due to its origins. Heir to Robert College, founded in 1863 during the late Ottoman period and transferred to the Turkish state in 1971, the university has maintained a liberal, Western-oriented institutional culture that the Erdoğan regime perceives as an enclave of dissent against its project of identity transformation and state control.

The conflict between the regime and the university escalated dramatically in January 2021 with the appointment of Melih Bulu, an AKP operative and parliamentary candidate in 2015, as rector by presidential decree. This practice was denounced by the academic community as the imposition of a “*kayyum*” (trustee or administrator), a term loaded with political weight because, as Hakan Sandal-Wilson points out in “*Social Justice, Conflict, and Protest in Turkey: The Kurdish Issue and LGBTI+ Activism*”, it replicates the strategy used by the State to replace elected mayors in Kurdish municipalities with state administrators loyal to the government.

Following Çelik (2023), this model of “trustee rectors” rests on an exceptional legal architecture:

- **Abolition of Elections:** Through Decree Law No. 676, issued under the state of emergency following the 2016 coup attempt, Erdoğan formally eliminated the internal election system, granting himself total control over appointments.
- **Purge and Closure:** This control facilitated the dismissal of 3,452 academics from state universities (5.7% of the national total) and the permanent closure of 15 private universities under accusations of terrorist links.
- **Civil Death and Stigmatization:** Critical academics face what Seçkin Sertdemir Özdemir (2020) termed *sivil ölüm* (civil death in Turkish), which includes the cancellation of passports and professional disqualification. According to *Human Rights Watch* (2018), from the 2016 coup attempt until May 2018, more than 5,800 academics were dismissed from public universities through emergency decrees, without due process and under vague accusations of links to terrorist organizations. Of these, at least 378 were signatories of the *Academics for Peace* petition. *Scholars at Risk* documents that the total number of

affected academic staff exceeded 6,000 (SAR, Free to Think, 2018-2020).

In Boğaziçi, this repression has manifested itself in the violent police intervention against the campus and the criminalization of students, particularly from the LGBTIQ+ community, whom Erdoğan himself has labeled as “perverts” and “terrorists” to delegitimize the protest in the eyes of his electoral base.

The response of Boğaziçi’s academics and students, which includes actions such as daily sit-ins and peaceful marches, as well as social media protests, is not merely a challenge to an administrative decision, but a claim to moral authority. By rejecting figures like Melih Bulu and his successor Naci İnci, the faculty and student body demonstrate that academic legitimacy does not stem from state decree, but from the consensus of the scientific community and respect for freedom of research. Resistance on campus thus becomes the last frontier against the complete takeover of institutions by Erdoğan’s “New Turkey”.

Ece Temelkuran: From Diagnosing Melancholy to a Manifesto of Dignity

I believe that Ece Temelkuran’s work offers a relevant analytical framework for understanding the process of democratic erosion and social fracture in Turkey, as well as its global implications. Her intellectual and journalistic trajectory is articulated in various works that allow us to trace an evolution from the analysis of Turkish national trauma to a proposal for resistance and global reconstruction:

- ***Turkey: The Insane and the Melancholy (2026)*:** In this work, which merges personal memoir with twenty years of journalistic experience, Temelkuran analyzes Turkey’s authoritarian turn and its psychological impact on its citizens. She diagnoses the country’s transformation into a “nation of strangers”, where fear and the “withering of words” have fractured social trust. This state of collective melancholy is the result of a society that has witnessed truth become irrelevant in the face of the regime’s “authoritarian instinct”.
- ***The Time of Mute Swans (2017)*:** This novel establishes a temporal dialogue between the 1980 coup and the 2013 Gezi Park protests. Through fiction, it reconstructs silenced spaces and challenges institutionalized memory, showing that remembering and demanding justice are fundamental acts of resistance against cycles of oppression.
- ***How to Lose a Country (2019)*:** In this non-fiction text, she expands her analysis to the international context, identifying the seven steps that lead from democracy to dictatorship (or fascism, according to later editions),

warning that the Turkish authoritarian model is a precursor to current global trends.

This progression from diagnosing disaster culminates in an ethical proposal that is further developed in her most recent works. In *Together: 10 Choices for a Better Now (2021)*, Temelkuran proposes a shift from analyzing loss to actively building a “politics of dignity” and interdependence. Faced with global authoritarianism that seeks to isolate and subjugate citizens, this manifesto is a call to recover the “moral ground” through mutual support and radical solidarity.

The transition from melancholy to dignity is completed with *Nation of Strangers: Rebuilding Home in the 21st Century (2026)*. Revisiting and expanding the concept of a “nation of strangers” introduced a decade earlier, Temelkuran now offers an urgent reinterpretation of exile, migration, and the notion of “home” in an increasingly alienating world. The book diagnoses how authoritarianism, multiple crises, and the systematic production of “human superfluity” turn us all into potential exiles, “unhomed” from our sense of belonging.

However, far from dwelling on lament, the work moves toward a hopeful and practical vision, the possibility of rebuilding home in the 21st century through relationships of care, compassion, and co-resistance among strangers.

Temelkuran’s entire trajectory, from diagnosing collective melancholy to proposing concrete solutions for dignity and reconstruction, is a profound political statement, a refusal to allow cruelty to define human relationships. This entails building spaces of transnational “co-resistance” that challenge both state alienation and the distortions of a post-truth world where authoritarianism prevails.

The Turkish Academic Diaspora: Between Co-optation and Resistance

In addition to the internal situation, the Turkish diaspora in Europe has become another battleground between the government and civil and academic resistance. As Ayca Arkilic pointed out in an interview conducted in 2023,² the Erdoğan regime employs sophisticated transnational co-optation strategies through organizations that seek to create “partisan citizens” abroad. Expanding on Arkilic’s work, *Turkey’s Diaspora Governance*, edited by Başer, Öztürk, and Taş, focuses on how the state uses diaspora youth, oscillating between empowerment and political instrumentalization, to counter critical voices abroad.

²<https://manuelferez.com/la-diaspora-turca-entre-la-disidencia-y-el-oficialismo/>

In response to this political instrumentalization, a highly active “knowledge diaspora” has emerged, largely led by academics with Kurdish identity and signatories of the aforementioned statement by Academics for Peace. These international networks challenge the mobilization “manufactured” by Ankara, highlighting transnational repression and keeping the demand for social justice alive from cities like Berlin and London. The diaspora, then, is not only a place of refuge, but also a platform for intellectual production that challenges the regime’s singular narrative.

Double Discrimination: Feminist Praxis in Exile

Turkish women academics face acute intersectional vulnerability, manifested both in the national institutional structure and in the precariousness of displacement. As Akyol and Tanrisevdi demonstrate in *“Academics in Turkey: An Evaluation of Current Status of Academic Staff in Higher Education”*, the “myth of equality” has historically served to obscure a persistent “glass ceiling”. Although women represented 44.42% of the total academic staff in 2018, their distribution by rank reveals a deeply masculinized pyramidal structure: while they constitute 50.41% of research assistants and 50.18% of instructors, their presence drops drastically to 31.23% at the full professor level. This imbalance demonstrates that inclusion in Turkish academia has been conditional, operating under middle-class standards, Turkish ethnic identity, and masculine norms.

Under Erdoğan’s regime, this structural and historical siege has been compounded by direct political persecution. The impact of the purges following the 2016 coup attempt has been devastating, between July 2016 and July 2018, the number of academics dismissed by state decrees reached 4,811, a figure that rises to 7,619 when including professionals from the 15 closed private universities. At state universities, the purge affected 3,452 academics (5.7% of the national total), according to figures provided by Hosoglu and Aktürk (2024) in *“The Aftereffects of Mass Dismissals and Detentions of Academics at Turkish Universities”*. Within this group, women associated with Academics for Peace suffered exemplary criminalization. Cases like those of Esra Mungan and Meral Camcı, arrested and imprisoned on charges of “terrorist propaganda” for their peace activism, illustrate how the state uses punitive violence to punish not only political dissent, but also challenges to the patriarchal and nationalist values of the AKP.

As reflected in the study by Özdemir, Mutluer, and Özyürek, *“Exile and Plurality in Neoliberal Times: Turkey’s Academics for Peace”*, the transition to exile has not eliminated these hierarchies but rather reconfigured them into what is defined as a “feminist praxis in exile”. Displaced researchers denounce a double marginalization: persecution in Turkey and precarious

Table 1. Gender Distribution in Turkish Academy

Rank	Women (%)	Men (%)
Full Professor	31.23%	68.77%
Associate Professor	38.81%	61.19%
Assistant Professor	42.46%	57.54%
Research Assistant	50.41%	49.59%
National Total	44.42%	55.58%

Note. Own elaboration based on data from YÖK. Source: Akyol & Tanrisevdi (2018).

integration in their host countries. In the neoliberal academic environments of the Global North, these scholars often face a “vanishing existence”, where their voices are ignored in professional meetings or treated with “maternalistic tendencies” that displace them from centers of theoretical production. Economic precarity is a constant reality; most integrate into European or North American institutions temporarily and precariously, depending on grants or short-term contracts and on international solidarity networks to avoid complete marginalization from the academic market.

Faced with this dispossession, a resistance has emerged that challenges the neoliberal model of the university as a hierarchical and commodified space. Expelled academics have transformed their “poisonous knowledge”, that which made them state outcasts and forced them into exile, into a tool for creating public education platforms outside traditional frameworks. Many of them have found in initiatives like the aforementioned *Off-University* a safe academic space to continue their work. This feminist praxis integrates the denunciation of political repression with resistance against gender authoritarianism, using exile not only as a refuge, but as a space of plurality where interdependence and collective dignity are theorized in the face of the “civil death” imposed by the State.

Conclusion: Solidarity and Resistance

The sustained resistance on the campuses of Boğaziçi and the tireless work of the Turkish academic diaspora demonstrate that, faced with the “nation of strangers” diagnosed by Ece Temelkuran, the response is not melancholic resignation but the active reconstruction of a shared moral foundation. In a context where state institutions have been largely captured, the university, despite purges, trustee rectors, and criminalization, persists as one of the last spaces where moral authority is contested against the arbitrariness of power.

The evolution of Temelkuran's thought offers precisely the ethical and political framework necessary for this reconstruction. The "politics of dignity" she proposes is neither an abstract concept nor a mere moralizing appeal, it is a concrete practice of interdependence and "co-resistance" that aims to transform the precarity of exile and repression into new forms of radical solidarity. Recovering dignity means refusing to let cruelty and fear define human relationships and committing to building spaces where critical knowledge circulates freely and citizens regain their capacity for collective action.

This policy of dignity suggests at least three concrete lines of action for the immediate future:

- 1) **Strengthening and scaling up the Off-University model and other solidarity academies.** These initiatives have proven to be living laboratories of horizontal, interdisciplinary, and engaged intellectual production. A key question for future research is precisely whether this model can be scaled beyond the Turkish diaspora. Can it become a transnational architecture of academic resistance applicable to other authoritarian contexts (Hungary, India, Brazil, etc)? What institutional and financial resources are required to guarantee long-term sustainability?
- 2) **Greater involvement of European and Latin American universities.** European higher education institutions have a historic responsibility and opportunity here. Beyond generic declarations of solidarity, they can play an active role through expanded academic refuge programs (such as those existing in Germany, the Netherlands, or Sweden), specific visiting professorships for academics at risk, and the creation of transnational consortia that validate degrees and recognize the credentials of those purged. Are European universities prepared to shift from a logic of "humanitarian welcome" to one of "co-production of critical knowledge" with the Turkish diaspora? This question transcends the Turkish case and tests the coherence of European academic values in the face of global authoritarianism.
- 3) **Systematic integration of a gender perspective into exile resistance networks.** Recognizing the double discrimination faced by Turkish women academics.

In short, as Temelkuran suggests, democratic restoration can no longer depend primarily on captured state institutions, but rather on the capacity to act horizontally, in solidarity, and transnationally. Critical knowledge, labeled "poisonous" by the regime, remains the foundation of a citizenry capable of resisting cycles of oppression and building a pluralistic, humane, and dignified society. In this sense, the Turkish experience not only warns of the mechanisms of democratic erosion but also offers valuable lessons on how to sow, even under the most

adverse conditions, the seeds of a future politics based on shared dignity.

References

- Akdoğan, Ş. (2021). Remembering and writing the cycles of oppression and resistance in Ece Temelkuran's *The time of mute swans*. *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 23(3), 229–245. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00111619.2020.1772191>
- Alemdaroğlu, A. (2022). The university in the making of authoritarian Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 34. <https://doi.org/10.4000/ejts.8114>
- Bal, S. (2023). Reappraising the EU-Turkey refugee statement within the human rights and neoliberalism nexus. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 31(4), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2023.2243539>
- Başer, B., & Öztürk, A. E. (2022). From exit to voice: Reflections on exile through Turkey's intelligentsia. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 21(2), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2022.2132193>
- Biner, Z. Ö. (2019). Precarious solidarities: 'Poisonous knowledge' and the Academics for Peace. *Sociological Review*, 67(6), 1271–1286. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12701>
- Buckner, E. (2023). Moral authority and the academy under attack: #Boğaziçidireniyor. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 21(5), 751–765. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2023.2173150>
- Çelik, N. (2023). The AKP-era higher education strategies for establishing hegemony over Turkish universities. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 55(4), 631–648. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743823001034>
- Hosoglu, S., & Aktürk, Z. (2024). The aftereffects of mass dismissals and detentions of academics at Turkish universities. *International Journal of Management and Social Humanities Research*, 8(6), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.51505/ijmshr.2024.8601>
- Human Rights Watch. (2018). Turkey: Academics on trial for signing petition. *Human Rights Watch*.
- Human Rights Watch. (2021). Turkey: Professors, students detained over Boğaziçi protests. *Human Rights Watch*.

- Kuymulu, M. B. (2013). Reclaiming the right to the city: Reflections on the urban uprisings in Turkey. *City*, 17(3), 274–278. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2013.815450>
- Scholars at Risk. (2018–2020). Free to think: Report of the Scholars at Risk Academic Freedom Monitoring Project. *Scholars at Risk Network*.
- Sertdemir Özdemir, S. (2020). Civic death as a mechanism of retributive punishment: Academic purges in Turkey. *Punishment & Society*, 22(5), 591–610. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1462474520941744>
- Temelkuran, E. (2026). Turkey: The insane and the melancholy. *Zed Books*.
- Temelkuran, E. (2021). A legitimate reason to be a vagabond: The SAIS Review interviews Ece Temelkuran. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 41(1), 111–118. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.2021.0012>
- Yabancı, B. (2021). Home state oriented diaspora organizations and the making of partisan citizens abroad. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 21(2), 132–165. <https://doi.org/10.3138/diaspora.21.2.2021.05.20>