

Efe Tokdemir
Ph.D.
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ACADEMIC / ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

<i>Associate-Dean</i> Faculty of Economics, Administrative, and Social Sciences, Bilkent University	2025 - Now
<i>Associate Professor</i> Department of International Relations, Bilkent University	2023 - Now
<i>Assistant Professor</i> Department of International Relations, Bilkent University	2018 - 2023
<i>James N. Rosenau Postdoctoral Fellowship</i> International Studies Association	2017 - 2018

AFFILIATIONS

<i>Faculty Fellow</i> AALIMS (Association for Analytic Learning about Islam and Muslim Societies)	2025 - Now
<i>Visiting Fulbright Scholar</i> CPOST (Chicago Project on Security and Threats), The University of Chicago, USA	2024 - 2025
<i>Director of Research</i> Center for Foreign Policy & Peace Research, Bilkent University, Turkiye	2022 - Now
<i>Visiting Fellow</i> Mershon Center for International Security Studies, The Ohio State University, USA	2016 - 2018

EDUCATION

<i>Ph.D. in Political Science</i> M.A. in Political Science Binghamton University (SUNY), Binghamton, USA	2012 - 2017 2015
<i>B.A. in Political Science & International Relations, magna cum laude</i> Bogazici University, Turkiye	2008 - 2012
<i>Erasmus Program Certificate</i> Sciences Po, Paris, France	2011

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Political Violence, Peace & Conflict, Rebel Governance and Counterinsurgency, Identity & Conflict, Public Opinion & Foreign Policy, Soft Power & Public Diplomacy, Domestic Politics & Use of Force, International Politics in the Middle East

PUBLICATIONS

Book

- Akcinaroglu, Seden & **Efe Tokdemir**. 2020. *Battle for the Allegiance: Governments, Terrorist Groups, and Constituencies* University of Michigan Press.

Reviewed in *Terrorism & Political Violence; Critical Studies on Terrorism*.

Journal Articles

- Dal, Aysenur, Seden Akcinaroglu, **Efe Tokdemir**. n.d. ‘The role of exposure to violence in citizens’ relative trust in media types for conflict-related information and news *Media, War & Conflict* (Online First)
- Cilizoglu, Menevis, **Efe Tokdemir**, Omer Zarppli. n.d. “To punish or to reward? The effect of sanction threats on public opinion” *International Interactions* (Online First)
- Akcinaroglu Seden, Jeremy Berkowitz, Carlos Moreno Leon, Hande Ogutcu-Fu, Evgeny Sedashov, and **Efe Tokdemir**. n.d. “Unique Offerings: Ideological Competition and Rebel Governance” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (Online First)

Previously received Best Paper Award in APSA Conflict Processes Section

- Bayram, A.Burcu, Eric Keels, and **Efe Tokdemir**. n.d “Enforcement of International Human Rights Law:A comparative exploration of alternative public opinion channels” *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* (Online First)
- Kinay-Kilic, Latife, Aydinli, Ersel, and **Efe Tokdemir**. n.d “Target state responses to external support of rebel groups: Revealing the impact of support level and interstate strategic interaction” *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Online First
- **Tokdemir, Efe**, I. Kalin, K.G. Cunningham, D. Aksoy, D.B. Carter, S. Akcinaroglu, C.E. Loyle, K.S. Gleditsch. 2025. Forum: Fostering Cooperation in Conflict Research Beyond Borders *All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy And Peace*, 14(2): 295-330
- Duveroglu, Buse and **Efe Tokdemir**. 2025. “To be Experienced or Not? Unpacking the Relationship between Leader Tenure and Counterinsurgency Efforts” *Terrorism & Political Violence*, 37(3): 386-408
- **Tokdemir, Efe**, Metintas, Melike, and Seckin Kostem. 2024. A Multi-Dimensional Evaluation of Turkish Public Opinion towards the United States *All Azimuth: A Journal Of Foreign Policy And Peace*, 14(1): 83-106 (part of a special Issue on Turkiye-US Relations)
- Ozen, H. Ege, Dal, Aysenur, and **Efe Tokdemir**. 2023 “Welcoming Guests: The Role of Ideational and Contextual Factors in Public Perceptions about Refugees and Attitudes about Their Integration” *Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations*, 20(80):5-25
- Dal, Aysenur & **Efe Tokdemir**. 2022 “Social-Psychology of Vaccine Intentions: The Mediating Role of Institutional Trust in the Fight Against Covid-19” *Political Behavior*, 44: 1459-1481
- **Tokdemir, Efe**. 2022 “‘You are not my type’: The Role of Identity in Evaluating Democracy & Human Rights Promotion” *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 24(1): 74-94
- **Tokdemir, Efe** & Graig Klein. 2021. “Strategic Interaction of Governments and Terrorist Groups in Times of Economic Hardship” *Defence and Peace Economics*, 32(6): 742-756.
- **Tokdemir, Efe**. 2021. Feels like home: Effect of transnational identities on attitudes towards foreign countries *Journal of Peace Research* 58(5): 1034-1048

Previously received Hofferbert Best Graduate Paper Award, Binghamton University

- **Tokdemir, Efe**, Evgeny Sedashov, Sema Hande Ogutcu-Fu, Carlos Moreno Leon, Jeremy Berkowitz, Seden Akcinaroglu. 2021. Rebel Rivalry and the Strategic Nature of Rebel Group Ideology and Demands *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 65(4): 729-758

- Tokdemir, Efe. 2021. [Reputation Building As A Strategy For Terror Group Survival](#) *All Azimuth: A Journal Of Foreign Policy And Peace*, 10(2): 165-182
 - Tokdemir, Efe, Seden Akcinaroglu, H. Ege Ozen, & Ekrem Karakoc. 2020. [‘Wars of Others’: National cleavages and attitudes toward external conflicts](#) *International Interactions* 46(6):953-986
 - Klein, Graig & Efe Tokdemir. 2019. [Domestic Diversion: Selective Targeting of Minority Out-Groups](#). *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 36(1):20-41
 - Akcinaroglu, Seden & Efe Tokdemir. 2018. [To Instill Fear or Love: Terror Groups and the Strategy of Building Reputation with Internal and External Constituents](#). *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 35(4): 355-377
 - Tokdemir, Efe & Brendan Mark. 2018. [When Killers Become Victims: Diversionary War, Human Rights, and Strategic Target Selection](#). *International Interactions*, 44(2): 337-360
 - Tokdemir, Efe. 2017. [Winning hearts and minds \(!\): The dilemma of foreign aid in anti-Americanism](#). *Journal of Peace Research*, 54(6): 819-832
 - Moral, Mert & Efe Tokdemir. 2017. [Justices ‘en Garde’: Ideological Determinants of the Dissolution of Anti-Establishment Parties](#). *International Political Science Review*, 38(3): 264-280.
- Previously received Hofferbert Best Graduate Paper Award, Binghamton University*
- Tokdemir, Efe & Seden Akcinaroglu. 2016. [Reputation of Terror Groups Dataset: Measuring Popularity of Terror Groups](#). *Journal of Peace Research*, 53(2): 268-277.
 - Moral, Mert, H. Ege Ozen & Efe Tokdemir. 2015. [Bringing the Incumbency Advantage into Question for Proportional Representation](#). *Electoral Studies*, (40): 56-65.

Other Peer-Reviewed Publications

- Tokdemir, Efe & Graig Klein. 2023. [“Strategic Interaction of Governments and Terrorist Groups in Times of Economic Hardship”](#) in *On Terrorist Groups: Formation, Interactions, Survivability and Attacks* (Edited by Khusrav Gaibulloev & Todd Sandler) Routledge (Reprint)
- Tokdemir, Efe and Seden Akcinaroglu. 2022. [State and Non-State Actors in World Politics](#) in *Handbook of Research Methods in International Relations*, (Eds. by Joseph Huddleston, Thomas Jamieson, & Patrick James) Edward Elgar Publishing
- Cuhadar, Esra Cerag, and Efe Tokdemir. 2022. [“Catisma Surecleri: ‘Yeni Savaslar’ ve Baris Insasi”](#) in *Uluslararası Iliskiler’de Guvenlik* (Ed. by Basar Baysal). Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari: Istanbul. [in Turkish]
- Dal, Aysenur & Efe Tokdemir 2021. [The Impact of Political Information Gathering Practices on the Perceived Threat about the Syrian Immigrants](#) *Marmara University Journal of Political Science* 9(2): 417-438. [in Turkish]
- Tokdemir, Efe & Emre Hatipoglu. 2021. [Data Collection in Turkey & Global International Relations](#). *Pamukkale University Journal Of Social Sciences Institute*, (42): 75-89. [in Turkish]
- Esen, Berk & Efe Tokdemir. 2021. [Strategic Nexus Between Populism and Foreign Aid](#) *Alternatif Politika*, 13(3): 556-592. [in Turkish]

UNDER REVIEW & WORKING PAPERS

- “Who Gets Punished: Inter-Group Bias and Behavioral Consequences of Conflict” (with Arzu Kibris and Asli Cansunar - under review)
- “Pave the Way to Diversion: Increased Saliency of Foreign Policy at the Times of Economic Hardships” (with Burak Kazim Yilmaz - under review)

GRANT, AWARDS & HONORS

- ERC Consolidator Grant - PI "Countering Insurgency/Terrorism: Severing the Ties between Non-State Armed Actors & Their Constituency" 2026-2031 (1.989.930 Euro)
- The Carnegie Corporation of New York - Co-PI "Understanding the Forces Shaping the Global Order" 2025-2026 (400.500 USD)
- Fulbright Visiting Scholar Program, Turkish Fulbright Commission, 2024
- Young Scientist Incentive Award, International Relations Council of Türkiye (UIK), 2024
- TUBITAK Incentive Award, Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye, 2023 (1,650,000TL)
- TUBITAK 2247D (National Young Leading Researcher Program) - PI "Citizen-Centered Counterterrorism Strategies and Their Effectiveness" 2022-2025 (2,004,400TL)
- University of Chicago International Institute of Research in Paris Faculty Research Grant - Collaborator "Street-level Bureaucrats, Public Attitudes, and Integration of Syrian Refugees in Türkiye" (\$50,000)
- The Sakip Sabanci International Research Award, 2021 (10,000 USD)
- The Young Scientist Award (GEBIP), Turkish Academy of Sciences, 2020
- TUBITAK 1001 - Researcher "Digital Public Diplomacy of Armed Organizations: Syria & Iraq Cases" 2021-2023 (747,700 TL)
- APSA Small Research Grant, 2020 (with Menevis Cilizoglu (2,500 USD))
- Above-Threshold Award for MSCA-IF of TUBITAK, 2020
- Young Scientist Award (BAGEP) of The Science Academy, Turkey, 2019
- Institute for Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention Grant, Binghamton University, 2018 (5,000 USD)
- James N. Rosenau Postdoctoral Fellowship, International Studies Association, 2017 (60,000 USD)
- Binghamton University Dissertation Fellowship, 2016
- Hofferbert Best Graduate Student Paper Award, Binghamton University, 2015, 2017
- GSEU Development Award, Binghamton University, 2015, 2016
- Nominated for Graduate Student Excellence Award in Research, Binghamton University, 2015, 2016
- APSA Annual Meeting Travel Grant, 2015, 2017
- ISA Annual Convention Travel Grant, 2015, 2016
- Graduate Student Funding, Binghamton University, 2012-2017
- Research Assistantship Funding, SUNY Research Foundation, 2013, 2017
- Best Article in NATO Essay Contest by Turkish Atlantic Youth Committee, 2012
- Scholarship for Top 100 Scorers in Central University Entrance Examination of Turkey, 2007-2012
- ERASMUS Exchange Program Scholarship, 2011

INVITED TALKS, LECTURES & WORKSHOPS (LAST 5 YEARS)

- Guest Speaker
 - "Countering Insurgency/Terrorism: Severing the Ties between Non-State Armed Actors & Their Constituency" *Özyeğin University, 2026; Istanbul Policy Center, 2026*
 - "A Triadic Counterinsurgency Framework: Unpacking Government - Non State Armed Actor - Constituency Relations" *University, of Washington, 2025*
 - "Civil Conflict and Inter-group Bias: Evidence from Football Fields" *University of Pittsburgh, 2025; University of Rhode Island, 2025; Binghamton University, 2025; ODTU, 2025; National University of Singapore, 2025*

- “Terrorism Experts Conference & Executive Level Defence Against Terrorism Seminar” *NATO COE-DAT, 2024*
- “Social-Psychological Dynamics in the Fight Against COVID-19 in Societies with “Underlying Conditions” *Bahcesehir University, 2021; Abdullah Gul University, 2022*
- “Double Standards: Multi-Country Evidence on When Publics Demands Punishment of Foreign Perpetrators of Torture” *Sabanci University, 2021*
- “Strategic Interaction of Governments and Terrorist Groups in Times of Economic Crisis” *Koc University,, 2021*
- ““You are not my type:” The Role of Identity in Evaluating Democracy & Human Rights Promotion” *University of Minnesota, 2020*
- Workshops and Roundtables
 - “ISA FPA Distinguished Scholar Award for Benjamin O. Fordham” *ISA, 2026*
 - “What Do We Know About Terrorism Research?” *University of Iowa, 2025*
 - “Who Gets Punished: Inter-Group Bias and Behavioral Consequences of Conflict” *AALIMS, Princeton University, 2025*
 - “Curriculum Development in Security and Terrorism Studies *Bodrum Institute, Turkiye, 2022*
 - “Rebel Governance Data Hackathon” *ISA 2019 Annual Meeting at Toronto, CAN*
- Guest Lecturer
 - “Countering Insurgency/Terrorism: Severing the Ties between Non-State Armed Actors & Their Constituency” *Bilkent University Library Talks, 2026*
 - “State of the IR Discipline” *The Science Academy (Turkey) Summer School of Social Sciences, 2022, 2023*
 - “Rebel Group Strategies and Counterterrorism Responses” *Leiden University, 2022*
 - “Foreign Policy and Public Opinion” *The Science Academy (Turkey) Summer School of Social Sciences, 2021*
- Book Talks “Battle for Allegiance: Governments, Terrorist Groups, and Constituencies,
 - *Rider University, New Jersey, 2020; Carlos III Juan March Institute, 2020; Netherlands Embassy in Ankara, 2021; University of Glasgow, 2022*

SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (LAST 5 YEARS)

- “Economic and social dynamics of rebel behavior: A categorization of natural resources and service sector investments in conflict zones” *Presented at 2024 Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference*
- “Rebel – Constituency Relations and Inter-Rebel Group Dynamics” *Presented at 2024 ISA Annual Convention*
- “Economic and Social Dynamics of Rebel Behavior: Extortion of Contraband Resources and Rebel-Civilian Relations in Conflict Zones” *Presented at 2024 Eurasian Peace Science Conference*
- “Increased Saliency of Foreign Policy at the Times of Economic Hardships” *Presented at 2023 APSA Annual Meeting*
- “The Role of Exposure to Violence in Citizens’ Trust in Media for Conflict-Related Information and News”
Presented at 2023 ISA Annual Convention, 2023 EPSA Annual Meeting
- “Unique Offerings: Ideological Competition and Rebel Governance”
Presented at 2022 Peace Science Society International Conference

- “Demanding Accountability: Multi-Country Evidence on When Public Demands Punishment for Foreign Perpetrators of Torture”
Presented at 2022 ISA Annual Convention, 2023 Eurasian Peace Science Conference
- “Effectiveness of Sanctions Threats: An Experimental Evidence from Turkey”
Presented at 2022 ISA Annual Convention
- “More than Just a Game: Football Games as an Indicator of Social Cohesion in Conflict Contexts”
Presented at 2022 Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference
- “International Law, Foreign Policy, and Public Demands for Punishing Torture”
Presented at 2021 APSA Annual Meeting
- “‘Welcoming’ Guests: The Role of Ideational and Contextual Factors in Public Perceptions About Refugees”
Presented at 2021 ISA Annual Convention

OTHER ACADEMIC WORKS & PUBLICATIONS

- Trump Gambles on American Racial Tension
07.09.2020 @Political Violence at a Glance (with Graig R. Klein & Carla Martinez Machain)
- Yumusak guc: ‘Kalpler ve akillar’ kazanilabilir mi?
02.17.2020 @Sarkac
- An Alternative Explanation of the US-Iran Escalation: A War for Public Approval?
02.05.2020 @The Quantitative Peace Science (with Brendan Mark)
- It’s the Economy, Stupid (But Blame Minority Groups)
10.27.16 @Political Violence at a Glance (with Graig R. Klein & Carla Martinez Machain)
- Constitutional Courts and the Dissolution of Political Parties
05.24.16 @The Quantitative Peace Science (with Mert Moral)
- Terrorist Groups and Reputation Building
03.28.16 @The Quantitative Peace Science (with Seden Akcinaroglu)
- Incumbency Advantage is not restricted to Established Majoritarian Systems
03.03.16 @Democratic Audit (with Ege Ozen & Mert Moral)
- Terrorism vs. Terrorist Organizations: Violence Is Not The Only Tool
02.24.16 @The Quantitative Peace Science (with Seden Akcinaroglu)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES & ACTIVITIES

Student Advising

- PhD advisors of Buse Düveroğlu (PhD, 2024), Latife Kınay-Kılıç (PhD, 2024 - co-advisor), Gizem Kaya (PhD Candidate)
- MA Advisors of Burak Kazim Yilmaz (2021, PhD Student - Emory University), Seray Yalaz (2022, PhD Student - American University), Isil Idrisoglu (2022, co-advisor, PhD Student - University of Pittsburgh), Ali Arslan (2023, PhD Student - Rice University)

Administrative Roles

- *Director of Graduate Studies* in the Department of International Relations, 2020 - 2024
- *Co-Host and Organization Committee Member* of Eurasian Peace Science Conference 2024
- *Member* of Committee on the James N. Rosenau Post-Doc Fellowship, 2018-2019
- *President* of Political Science Graduate Student Organization, Binghamton University, 2013-2014

Service to the Academic Community

- *Editorial Board Member* of

- Foreign Policy Analysis (2026-)
- International Studies Review (2023-),
- All-Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy & Peace (2024-)
- *Reviewer for* American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Science Research and Methods, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Peace Research, International Studies Quarterly, Review of International Organizations, International Studies Review, Comparative Political Studies, Review of International Political Economy, Conflict Management and Peace Science, Foreign Policy Analysis, Political Research Quarterly, Journal of Global Security Studies, Nature: Humanities, Social Sciences, and Communications, Defence and Peace Economics, International Interactions, British Journal of Politics & International Relations, Plos ONE, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Journal of Computational Social Sciences, Politics & Religion, Party Politics, Civil Wars, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties, All-Azimuth, International Relations (Uluslararası İlişkiler)
- *Member of* APSA, ISA, Peace Science Society International, Network of European Peace Scientists, Eurasian Peace Science

PREVIOUSLY TAUGHT CLASSES

- Quantitative Data Analysis - Graduate (Elective)
- Fundamentals of Social Research Design - Graduate (Must)
- Research Methods in International Relations - Undergraduate (Must)
- Foreign Policy Analysis - Undergraduate (Must)
- Foreign Policy and Public Opinion - Undergraduate / Graduate (Elective)
- Political Violence & Conflict - Graduate (Elective)
- Introduction to the Middle Eastern Politics - Undergraduate (Elective)
- International Politics in the Middle East - Undergraduate (Elective)
- Political Violence in the Middle East - Undergraduate (Elective)

LANGUAGES

Turkish (*native*), English and French (*proficient*)