

Curriculum Vitae

Assoc. Prof. (ÜAK) Dr. Tuğba Bayar

E-mail: tugba.bayar@bilkent.edu.tr

Phone: (+90) 312 290 14 63

Education:

2014. Ph.D. International Relations. Otto-Friedrich-Universität, Bamberg, Germany.

2005. M.A. Middle East Studies. METU, Ankara.

2003. B.A. Political Science and Public Administration. Bilkent University, Ankara.

Professional Experience:

2023 – now Non-Resident Fellow, Alexander von Humboldt Universität (Berlin),
Anatolia and Caucasus Studies. <https://www.anca-studies.org>

2016 - now Full Time Faculty Member (Instructor, PhD) at Bilkent University,
Department of International Relations.

2015 – 2016 Research Associate. Middle East Technical University, Social Sciences Institute,
Middle East Studies Master's Program.

2014 – 2015 Academic Quality Management, Leibniz Institute, Bamberg.
Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsverläufe e.V. (LIfBi) at Otto-Friedrich- Universität, Bamberg

Publications:

- BOOK: Bayar, T. *The Rise and Relapse of European Human Rights in Turkey: The AKP Era of 2002–2023*, Monograph contracted with the Central European University Press (CEUP) (in progress, to be published in 2025)
- Bayar, T. and Murat Bayar. “Unilateral Withdrawals from Multilateral International Treaties,1945-2024” (Accepted. Journal: Global Governance.)
- Bayar, T. “Testing EU’s Normative Power : Instability and Democratic Backsliding in Candidate States ”, work in progress. Targeted for the Journal of Contemporary European Studies. (work in progress. Presented in EISA PEC2024 Conference on 30 August)
- Bayar, T and Murat Bayar. (2024) “Syria Issue: As A Source of Competition in Turkish-Iranian Relations” in book *The Security Dimensions of the Syrian Civil War: The Case of Türkiye*, Eds. Serhat Erkmen and Mehmet Emin Erendor. Pp.78-91. Routledge, 2024. ISBN: 9781003461111

- Bayar, T. (2023). “Turkey’s withdrawal from Istanbul Convention: International Human Rights Regime vis-à-vis Authoritarian Survival” Vo.25, Issue 1, pp.22-42. (Turkish Studies, SSCI, Q1. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2023.2262721>)
- Bayar, T. (2023). “The sheep that God lost: ‘legally’ circumventing the human rights of undocumented migrants” (Journal of South East European and Black Sea Studies – SSCI, Q1. Published online: 12 Sep 2023. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2023.2255022>)
- Bayar, T. (2023). 2022 Iran Protests: Woman, Life, Freedom. In: World and Turkish Foreign Policy in 2022: Opinions from Women in Foreign Policy. Eds. Zeynep Alemdar, Bezen Balamir Coşkun, Ayşegül Gökalp Kutlu. pp.14-16. ISBN:978-605-5899-64-6
- Bayar, T. (2023). 2022 İran Protestolarının Uluslararası Boyutları. In: ‘Dış Politikada Kadınlar’ nasıl değerlendiriyor? Editörler: Zeynep Alemdar, Bezen Balamir Coşkun, Ayşegül Gökalp Kutlu. ss.13-15. ISBN:978-605-5899-63-9
- Bayar, T. (2022). The Asylum/Migration Regime in Turkey and Non-discrimination. In: Non-Discrimination in Turkey. Ed. Assoc. Prof. Gözde Yılmaz. Pp. 165–187. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-08399-0_9
- Bayar, T. (2021). Civil Liberties. In: Romaniuk, S., Marton, P. (eds) The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74336-3_171-1
- Bayar, T. (2021). Human Rights and Privilege. In: Romaniuk, S., Marton, P. (eds) The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74336-3_226-1
- Bayar, T. (2021). European Arms Embargo. In: Romaniuk, S., Marton, P. (eds) The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74336-3_204-1
- Bayar, T. (2020) “İran – ABD İlişkilerinde Dönemler ve Temel Dinamikler.” In: *İslam Cumhuriyeti’nde 40 Yıl:İran’da Toplum, Siyaset ve Değişim*. Eds. Hakan Güneş and Özüm Sezin Uzun. pp.357-376. (ISBN : 9789753333757)
- Bayar, T. (2020) “Uluslararası Antlaşmalardan Tek Taraflı Çekilme: Uluslararası Antlaşmalar Hukuku Bağlamında Eleştirel Bir İnceleme.” In Uluslararası Hukukta Güncel Sorunlar Kongresi, MEF University, February 21-22 2019, Oniki Levha Yayınevi, İstanbul; pp.45-58. (ISBN: 9786257953313)

- Bayar, T. (2020). Commission on Human Rights. In: Romaniuk, S., Thapa, M., Marton, P. (eds) The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74336-3_174-1
- Bayar, T. (2019). “Multiple Dualities: Seeking the Patterns in Iran's Foreign Policy”. All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy & Peace, 8(1). (Scopus, Web of Science, ESCI)
- Bayar, T. and Murat Bayar. “Küresel Nükleer Silahları Yasaklama Çabaları: Neo-Popülizmin Etkisi.” Uluslararası Beşeri ve Sosyal Bilimler İnceleme Dergisi (UBSBİD) Vol.2, Issue:1, Year 2018. S.4-18.
- Bayar, Murat and Tuğba Bayar. 2017. The Euphrates-Tigris Conflict in the Post “Arab Spring” Era. Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi-International Journal of Social Sciences 2(4): 17-30. ISSN: 2564-7695. (Asosindex)
- Bayar, Murat and Tuğba Bayar. “A Comparative Analysis of the United States' Trade Frictions with China, Japan, and South Korea, 1985-2017.” Journal of Administrative Sciences, Vol. 15, No. 30, 2017; 197-213. ISSN: 1304-5318 (ULAKBİM)
- Bayar, T. Human Rights and Societal Security: Inter-State Challenges. The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies. (Submitted, under review.)
- Bayar, T. (2019). Assimilation. In: Romaniuk, S., Thapa, M., Marton, P. (eds) The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74336-3_165-1
- Bayar, T. (2020). Internationalism. In: Romaniuk, S., Thapa, M., Marton, P. (eds) The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74336-3_242-1
- Bayar, T. (2019). Surveillance States. In: Romaniuk, S., Thapa, M., Marton, P. (eds) The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74336-3_295-1
- Bayar, T.Ö. (2017). Courts. In The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory, B.S. Turner (Ed.). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118430873.est0073>
- Bayar, T.Ö. (2017). Oligopoly. In The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory, B.S. Turner (Ed.). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118430873.est0267>

- Bayar, T.Ö. (2017). Feudalism. In The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory, B.S. Turner (Ed.). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118430873.est0125>
- Bayar, T.Ö. (2017). Industrial Relations Theory. In The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory, B.S. Turner (Ed.). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118430873.est0180>
- Özden, Tuğba. Institutional Effectiveness in International Regimes: An Analysis of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime Coping with the Political Malignity in the Case of Iran. Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2015. ISBN: 978-3-8325-3883-5.
- Özden, Tuğba. The Effectiveness of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: The Case of Iran. İçinde: V. Uludağ Uluslararası İlişkiler Konferansı: Barış ve Güvenliğin Yeniden İnşası. Bursa: Uludag University Press, 2014. Pp.162-188.
- Özden, Tuğba. İran-ABD Gerginliği: Obama Döneminde Sular Durulacak mı? (USA-Iran Tension: Will the Conflict Finally Calm Down Between USA and Iran?) Ortadoğu Analiz, Cilt 1, Sayı 4, Nisan 2009. Pp.75-82. Issn: 1308-7541.
- Özden, Tuğba. „Dalits and the Dalit Movement: Within the Context of Indian Independence Movement.“ VDM Verlag. 2008.
- Özden, Tuğba. Book review: “Democratizing Global Climate Governance” by Hayley Stevenson and John Dryzek. Journal of International Law and International Relations (JILIR). Vol.12.1
- „Die Schleichwege der Mullahs: Der international Poker um das iranische Atomprogramm” Die Rheinpfalz, 27 November 2012
- “Die Ängst vor dem großen Flächenbrand: Konflikt zwischen Syrien und der Türkei: Bamberger Politikwissenschaftlerin blickt auf den Krisenherd” Haßfurter Tagblatt, (Nr.241), 18 Oktober 2012.
- “Syrien Krise: Angst statt Alltag” Frankenpost, 13 Oktober 2012.
- „Social Issue: Working Muslim Women“ (مهاجرات عربيات في ألمانيا يتحدّين التقاليد ويعملن خارج البيت) Deutsche Welle. 06.07.2012.
- „The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America“ by Kenneth Pollack. Review of International Law and Politics, Vol. 4, No. 14, 2008; 210-212.
- “Annapolis Summit: Peace Hopes and Turkey” Journal of Turkish Weekly, 27.11.2007.

- „Democratization Game in Pakistan“, Journal of Turkish Weekly, 04.12.2007.
- „Political Crisis in Pakistan“, Journal of Turkish Weekly, 09.11.2007. Europe at Crossroads, Mehmet Özcan and Tuğba Özden, Journal of Turkish Weekly, 10.11.2007.
- Bayar, Tuğba Özden. The NPT Regime Coping with the Ambiguity Policy of Iran: Additional Protocol and Subsidiary Arrangements. Proceeding book of International Academic Conference on Law, Politics and Management. 2016.

Work in Progress:

- **Book.** Contracted with the Central European University Press (CEUP) entitled The Rise and Relapse of European Human Rights in Turkey: The AKP Era of 2002 – 2023
- **Article.** The impact of EU's less of less approach on Turkey's Candidacy.

Research Interests: International regimes, international human rights, international cooperation, international law, modern MENA.

Teaching:

Bilkent University, Department of International Relations:

Please see: Bilkent University – YouTube Channel: <https://bit.ly/3ch39L4>

- International Law
- International Protection of Human Rights
- International Organizations
- World Politics
- Transdisciplinary Senior Project on Development: Critical Perspectives and New Directions
- Turkish Foreign Policy and the Middle East
- Introduction to Middle Eastern Politics
- International and European Protection of Human Rights (Jean Monnet Module)
- Protection of Human Rights in the European Union and Turkey (Jean Monnet Module)

Middle East Technical University, Social Sciences Institute, Middle East Studies:

- Master's Seminar on Modern Middle East / Nuclear Non-Proliferation
- Interdisciplinary Research Methods

Teaching Interests: International public law, Human Rights, International Organizations, International Regimes, International Protection of Human Rights, Modern Middle East, Iran's Foreign Affairs

Projects – Grants – Awards:

- **TÜBİTAK 3501 Career Program:** Project Coordinator – Unilateral Withdrawal from Multilateral International Treaties – Budget: 150.000TL – Project Duration: 16 Months – 15/03/2021 - 15/07/2022 –Completed.
- **Jean Monnet Module Grant:** Project Coordinator – International and European Protection of Human Rights – Accepted in November 2021 – Budget: €25.500,00– Project Duration: 36 Months – 1 December 2021 - 30 November 2024
- **TÜBİTAK 1001 The Scientific and Technological Research Projects Funding Program:** Project Coordinator –Compliance of Right-Wing Populist Governments with International Treaty Regimes – Budget: 650.000TL – Project Duration: 30 Months – To start by September 2024.
- 2023 - EISA PEC Potsdam Conference Travel Grant, 300 Euros.

Languages:

- English Proficient
- German Proficient
- Persian Upper Intermediate
- Ottoman Good (Transcription skills)
- French Intermediate

References Upon Request:

Prof. Dr. Thomas Gehring (Doktorvater)

Otto-Friedrich-Universität, Bamberg, Department of International Relations

E-mail: thomas.gehring@uni-bamberg.de

Tel: +49 (0)951 863 2720

Prof. Dr. Pınar Bilgin

Bilkent University, Department of International Relations

E-mail: pbilgin@bilkent.edu.tr

Tel: +90 (0)312 290 2164

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık

Middle East Technical University, Department of International Relations

E-mail: maltunis@metu.edu.tr

Tel: +90 (0)312 210 3096

Conference Participations and Invited Talks:

I am a member of the European International Studies Association (EISA).

- 2025. (March 16) SDG5 Network. Seminar: Uluslararası İnsan Hakları Rejimi ve İstanbul Sözleşmesi (International Human. Rights Regime and Istanbul Convention)
- 2025. (March 12) Kadir Has University, Istanbul. Seminar topic: International Humanitarian Law.
- 2025. (February 24) Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Ankara. (Invited By: Ellinor Zeino) Topic: *Germany 2025 Elections: Implications for Türkiye-Germany Relations and Future Scenarios*
- 2024. (November 12) Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg (Invited by: Prof. Barbara Henning) Seminar: *Das Montreux Abkommen: Türkische Meerengen*
- 2024. (November 13) Leibniz-Institut für Globale und Regionale Studien, Hamburg (GIGA-Institut für Nah-Ost Studien), (Invited by: Prof. Eckart Woertz) *Das Syrien Problem: Eine Quelle der Konkurrenz in den türkisch-iranischen Beziehungen*
- 2024. (October 17-18) 8th Mülkiye Congress of Ankara University. Author on Paper: “Compliance of Rights-Wing Populist Governments by International Treaty Regimes.”
- 2024. (August 27-31) EISA – The European International Studies Association’s 17th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, held at Université Catholique de Lille, France. Author on Paper: “Testing EU's Normative Power: Instability and Democratic Backsliding in Candidate States.”
- 2024. (January 8-9) APSA – The American Political Science Association’s 2024 Virtual Research Meeting. Author on Paper: “Predicting Unilateral Withdrawals from Multilateral International Treaties, 1945-2022 on the virtual panel “Law and Institutions.”
- 2024. (January 7-8). UN Türkiye Country Team, Retreat. Bolu. Invitation of Dr Babatunde Ahonsi, UN Resident Coordinator to Ankara. Panelist on Global Political Trends and Turkey’s Role in Multilateralism.
- 2023. (September 5-9) The 16th Pan-European Conference on International Relations (Potsdam, Germany) Author on Paper: The sheep that God lost: ‘legally’ circumventing the human rights of undocumented migrants.
- 2022. (November 28) Keynote Speaker – 2022 ODC-T Legal Conference. (The Office of Defense Cooperation – Türkiye)
- 2022. (June 28) Workshop by the NGO “Kız Başına” Talk on: International Criminal Law & Women as targeted victims.

- 2022. (April 11-13, York) PSA 72nd Annual International Conference. Politics from the Margins. Author on Paper: “Uncooperation” for Women’s Rights: Turkey’s Withdrawal from Council of Europe’s Istanbul Convention”
- 2022. (March 28 – April 2, Nashville). ISA 63rd Annual Convention: A Wider Discipline For A Smaller World. Author on Paper : “Unilateral Withdrawal from International Multilateral Treaties.” Author on paper: “Turkey's Withdrawal from Istanbul Convention.” Chair on panel: “International Activists and Organizations against Domestic Politics” Discussant on the Panel: “International Activists and Organizations against Domestic Politics”
- 2022. (February 24) Kapalı Çalıştay: Savaş Suçlarının Hukuki Değerlendirilmesi ve alınan Dersler “Hocalı’dan 44 Günlük Savaşa”. Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti – Türkiye Büyükelçiliği ve TADİV Hocalı Soykırımı’nın 30. Yıldönümü münasebetiyle düzenlediği kapalı çalıştay.
- 2021. (April 6-9) ISA 62nd Annual Convention: Globalization, Regionalism and Nationalism: Contending Forces in World Politics. Author on Paper: "Withdrawal from Multilateral International Agreements: A Multidisciplinary Approach" for Panel "International Law and Multilateral Treaties" (Wednesday, April 7, 2021); Chair on Panel: "Violent Circulations: Politics of Asylum and Deportation"; Discussant on Panel: "Cyber-security, Cyber Diplomacy and Internet Sovereignty " (Thursday, April 8, 2021)
- 2021. (June 14-16 June) ISA Joint Human Rights Conference “Human Rights and Foreign Policy” Author on Paper: “International Human Rights Protection for Irregular Migrants ”
- 2021. (September 13-17) EISA-PEC. 14th Pan-European Conference Of International Relations. Author on Paper: “The Sheep that God Lost: International Protection of Human Rights for Undocumented Migrants.”
- 2020. (September 7-11) UACES Virtual Conference (University Association for Contemporary European Studies) with the presentation “The EU – Turkey Statement: The Rights of Asylum Seekers and Irregular Migrants.”
- 2020. (August 13) invited talk (per Zoom) at the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey the Directorate of Communications (Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Başkanlığı) with the title “Uluslararası Hukuk Işığında Doğu Akdeniz’de Hidrokarbon Faaliyetlerimiz.”
- 2019. (February 21-22) “Uluslararası Hukukta Güncel Sorunlar Kongresi” (Conference on Contemporary Questions in International Law) MEF University, Istanbul. Presented theme: “Unilateral Withdrawal from Intergovernmental Organizations.”
- 2018. (November 2) “Amerikan Yaptırımları Gölgesinde İran.” (Iran under the Shadow of Sanctions.) ODTÜ Dış Politika ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Topluluğu. (Middle East Technical University)
- 2018. (April 27-29) “The Dynamics of Iran’s Foreign Policy.” International EMI Entrepreneurship & social sciences congress EMISSC. (Lefkoşa/KIBRIS)

- 2018. (April 5) “Turkish-Iranian Relations through security perspective” Bilkent International Relations and European Union Policies Society. (Ankara)
- 2018. (April 16-20) “Küresel Nükleer Silahları Yasaklama Çabaları: Neo-Popülizmin Etkisi” (Efforts to ban nuclear weapons: the influence of neo-populism) Tuğba Bayar, Murat Bayar. International Conference on Social Sciences (ICOSS.) (Kapadokya, Nevşehir.)
- 2018. (March 9-11) “The Domestic Dynamics of the Changing Turkish-American Relations” Tuğba Bayar, Murat Bayar. İKSAD 1. International Social Sciences Congress (İksad 1.Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi,) (Mardin)
- 2017. (December 13) “Rücktritt von einem völkerrechtlichen Vertrag: technische Normen vs. politische Ausreden” (Withdrawing from a Binding Treaty: Technical norms vs. political excuses.) Türkisch-Deutsche Universität. (Istanbul)
- 2016. (September 8-9) International Academic Conference on Law, Politics and Management (IACLPM 2016) Budapest.
- 2016. Seminar on Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime and Iran’s Nuclear Program. Middle East Technical University (METU). April 14
- 2015. The Effectiveness of the NPT: The Case of Iran. Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi, Çarşamba Seminerleri. December 30.
- 2015. Determinants of the Alliance: Turkish-American Relations within the Changing MENA (Will be presented on the VII. Uludağ Conference on International Relations: *In Search of a New Order in International System*.)
- 2014. The Dynamics of the Changing Strategic Partnership between Turkey and America: The Implementations of the Strategic Depth Doctrine on the Developments in the Middle East Region (2014 Transatlantic Studies Association Annual Conference - University of Ghent, Belgium.
- 2013. The Effectiveness of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime - V. Uludag Conference on International Relations: *Rebuilding Peace and Security*.

Trainings: The Summer Institutes in Computational Social Science (SICSS) 2021, Bologna.