

**ACADEMIC
CURRICULUM VITAE**

1. Name - Surname: Assel TUTUMLU

2. Title: Associate Professor

3. Educational Background:

Degree	Department/Program	University	Year
Bachelor's	International Relations	Kazakh State National University (Almaty, Kazakhstan)	2001
Master's	International Affairs	American University (Washington DC, USA)	2003
	Politics	New School for Social Research (NY, USA)	2011
PhD	Global Affairs	Rutgers, State University of New Jersey	2012

4. Master's / PhD Thesis

4.1. Master's Thesis Title and Thesis Advisor(s):

- "Third World Security: Lingering Past and Haunted Future" supervised by Dr. Randolph Persaud
- "Economics of National Ideas in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan" supervised by Vicky Hattam

4.2. PhD Thesis /Medical Specialty Thesis Title and Advisor(s):

- "Understanding Authoritarian Liberal Regimes: Governing Rationales, Industrialization Patterns and Resistance" supervised by Dr. Philip Cerny,

5. Academic Titles:

Date of Assistant Professorship: August 2012

Date of Associate Proferssorship: October 2021

Date of Professorship:

6. Supervised Master's and PhD Theses:

6.1. Master's Theses

- **MA Thesis Advisor** at the Department of International Relations, Near East University
 - Hanna Hlynenko 'Narrative Construction and Autocratic Consolidation: The BRI in the Official Discourse of Kazakhstan' National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University, Taiwan, Fall 2025
 - Titilayo Ayoade 'Evaluating Effectiveness of the UNICEF's Cash Transfer Program in Areas of Northern Nigeria Governed by Shari'a Law', Spring 2019
 - Ameer Akewusola 'Bakassi Peninsula and International Court of Justice', Summer 2019
 - Sharon Karinda 'The Precariat: Responses of working international students in the Food/ Catering Industry in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', Spring 2020
 - Anna Marie Baben 'UN Policies on FGM in Gambia: The Paradox of Ontological Security', Fall 2020

6.2. PhD Theses

- Dr. Aminu Idris 'Nigeria and Niger Republic trans-border management against arms trafficking: a whistleblowing model,' Summer 2021
- Dr. Nancy Ngum Achu 'Why do conflicts become intractable: Dissecting the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon and its growing intractability through the lenses of Nancy's Fraser's Tripartite Theory of Social Justice,' Fall 2023
- Gabriel Aza Nyor (ABD) 'Biafra since the 1999: Common Cause vs Divided Interest,' Fall 2025
- Kazadi Kamba (ABD) 'Failure of Peace-building in the DR-Congo: the Case Study in Central Kasai, from 2015-2018' continued

7. Publications

7.1. Articles Published in International Peer-Reviewed Journals (SCI,SSCI, AHCI, ESCI, Scopus)

- (2026) Introduction to the Book Symposium, Central Asian Survey, DOI - 10.1080/02634937.2026.2733618, (forthcoming) **(SSCI)**
- (2026) The Importance of Spaces in Saying 'No' to the Regime, Central Asian Survey, DOI - 10.1080/02634937.2026.2741369, (forthcoming) **(SSCI)**
- (2026) together with Burlyuk, O., Kudaibergen, D., Hendl, T., Rajagopalan, S., Mamadshoeva, D. (2026). Decolonial Thought and the Soviet Legacy, Central Asian Affairs, 13:285-301. Doi:10.30965/22142290-bja10090 **(Scopus)**

- (2025) together with Achu, N. N. Displacement and reification in the anglophone crisis: a framework for analyzing the nationalist discourse of secessionist violence. *Security Journal*, 39(1). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41284-025-00524-x> **(SSCI)**
- (2025) together with Nyor, G. A. Biafra Since 1999: Common Cause Versus a Divided Interest in the Struggle for the Creation of Nationhood. *Nationalities Papers*, 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2025.10068> **(SSCI)**
- (2024) together with Zulfiya Imyarova "Civilian Protective Agency in the Communal Attacks by the External Groups in Kazakhstan," *Frontiers of Political Science*, 6. DOI: 10.3389/fpos.2024.1401714 **(ESCI)**
- (2024) together with M. Burak Önemli and Ilyas Rustemov "Deciphering Dictators' Discourse on Indigenous Democracy: Case of Karimov's Uzbekistan," *Central Asian Survey*. DOI: 10.1080/02634937.2024.2393386 **(SSCI)**
- (2023) together with Nancy Ngum Achu "Why recognition? Deciphering Justice Claims in 2016 Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon," *Social Dynamics*, 49(3): 499-517. DOI: 10.1080/02533952.2023.2267767 **(SSCI)**
- (2023) "Decolonising Actors and Vocabulary in International Relations of Central Asia," *Central Asian Affairs* 10: 333-348. DOI:10.30965/22142290-12340023 **(SCOPUS)**
- (2023) together with Aliya Isiksal, Salih Katircioglu, Muhammad Mohsin, and Muhammad A. Naeem "Editorial:Carbon capture, financial development, and sustainable energy" for the Special Issue of the *Frontiers in Energy Research*, Vol. 11. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fenrg.2023.1189701>**(SSCI)**
- (2022) "Review of the Rentier Capitalism and Its Discontents. Power, Morality and Resistance in Central Asia by B. Sanghera and E. Satybaldieva," *Europe-Asia Studies*. DOI: 10.1080/09668136.2022.2129169 **(SSCI)**
- (2022) with Erica Marat. "Kazakhstan's Protests Aren't a Color Revolution," *Foreign Policy Magazine*, Spring issue, pp. 18-21. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/01/11/kazakhstans-protests-arent-a-color-revolution/>**(SCOPUS)**
- (2021) "Central Asia: From Dark Matter to a Dark Curtain?" *Central Asian Survey*, 40 (4): 504-522. DOI: 10.1080/02634937.2021.1991886 **(SSCI)**
- (2021) with Zulfiya Imyarova. "The Kazakhstani Soviet Not? Reading Nazarbayev's Kazakhstani-ness through Brezhnev's Soviet People", *Central Asian Survey*, 40(3): 400-419. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2021.1926924> **(SSCI)**
- (2021) together with Aminu Idris. "The Nigeria-Niger Republic Border Porosity and Insecurity: From Surveillance to Whistleblowing Model in the Management of Trans-Border Arms Trafficking", *Security Journal*, 35:948-965. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41284-021-00307-0> **(SSCI)**
- (2021) together with Aminu Idris. "Boko Haram's Resilience and the Porosity of Nigerian Border," *IKENGA International Journal of Institute of African Studies*, 22(1): 1-21 **(SCOPUS)**
- (2019) together with Ilyas Rustemov. 'The Paradox of Authoritarian Power: Bureaucratic Games and Information Asymmetry', *Problems of Post-Communism*, 68(2): 124-134 DOI: 10.1080/10758216.2019.1699432**(SSCI)**
- (2012), 'Global Governance: Descriptive Approaches and Normative Connotations', *Alpari: Economic Journal*, Almaty: Alpari Cooperation, 69-70(1-2): 11-15 (ISSN: 1562 5397)

- (2011), 'Political Economy of Central Asia: Initial Reflections on the Need for a New Approach', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 2:30-39(**SCOPUS**)
- (2009) together with Adams, Laura L. 'Mass Spectacle and Styles of Governmentality in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61(7):1249 — 1276 (**SSCI**)

7.2. Articles Published in Other International Peer-Reviewed Journals

- (2023) together with Zulfiya Imyarova "Economies of Conflict: Context and Root Causes of Intercommunal Conflicts in Kazakhstan," *Central Asian Economic Review*, 151(4): 66-79. DOI: 10.52821/2789-4401-2023-4-66-79 (**KKSON**)
- (2023) together with Zulfiya Imyarova and Zulfiya Meldibekova "Desovietizing Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Case of 2020 Korday Violence" *Bulletin of Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University*, 78(3): 23-31. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.51889/2959-6017.2023.78.3.003> and <https://bulletin-histsocpolit.kaznpu.kz/index.php/ped/article/view/1547/670> (**KKSON**)

7.3. Papers Presented at International Scientific Conferences and Published in

Conference Proceedings

- *Esimde Foundation*, Presenter "Deimperializing Soviet Imperial Legacy," October 2-4, 2026, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.
- *Orient-Institut Istanbul*, Presenter "Alatau City and the State of Exception: Landscapes of Financialization." Infraempire Conference on "Projects of the Century" Empire, Epochs, and Infrastructure, 25 – 26 June, Istanbul, Turkiye.
- *Tallinn University*, Presenter at the Roundtable "Looking Back, Moving Forward: Decolonial Dialogues on Central Asia and Eastern Europe." Between Peripheries: Critical-Relational Security from CEE and the Global South, 22-25 January 2026, Tallinn, Estonia.
- *Amsterdam University*, Presenter at the Decolonial Dialogue Workshop, October 3-4, 2024. Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- *Sodertorn University*, Presenter of the paper "Turkey in Central Asia: New Regionalism in the Making" at the War, Emerging Tensions and Strategic Stability in Eurasia, June 18-19, 2024. Stockholm, Sweden.
- *Kennan Institute and Oxus Society*, Expert at the Webinar "How is Turkey's Place in the Broader Turkic World Changing?" February 20, 2024.
- *George Washington University*, Presenter at the "Central Asia Security Workshop: Central Asia in a Transformed Geopolitical Environment" March 23, 2023.
- *Third Esimde Conference*, paper "ДеколонизацияЦентрально-Азиатскихисследованийпоавторитаризму" [Decolonizing Central Asian Authoritarianism] Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, March 18, 2023.
- *United States Institute of Peace*, Presenter at the "Where are the Protests and Crackdowns in Central Asia Coming From?" July 21, 2022. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rgEZ5kh-cyo>
- *Yale University*, Presenter at the "Bloody January: Kazakhstan 2022 and the Culture of Protest" Panel Discussion. March 25, 2022. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHaQq18Ix9E>

- *University of Toronto*, Presenter at the “What Happened in Kazakhstan, and Why?” Panel Discussion. January 17, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ntkW68_9-v0

7.4. National/international Books or Book Chapters

- (2026 under contract), together with Zulfiya Imyarova and Oliver Jütersonke eds., *Peacebuilding in the Postcolonial State: New Perspectives on Intercommunal Violence*, in Routledge Series on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding, London: Routledge.
- (2016), together with Gaye Gungor eds., *Multilateralism in Global Governance: Formal and Informal Institutions*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang
- (2022), ‘Avrasya ve Uluslararası İlişkiler,’ ed. by Didem Buhari and Barış Gülmez, *Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş*, Ankara: Orion Kitapevi, pp. 367-382.
- (2022), ‘Introduction to Section 4: Governing and the State,’ ed. by Rico Isaacs, *A Critical Reader in Central Asian Studies*, New York: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781003200338-5
- (2018), ‘Governmentalization of Kazakhstani State: Between Governmentality and Neopatrimonial Capitalism’, ed. by Rico Isaacs and Alessandro Frigerio, *Theorizing Central Asian Politics: The State, Ideology and Power*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 43-64
- (2016), ‘The Rule by Law: Negotiating Stability in Kazakhstan’, ed. by Marlene Laruelle, *Kazakhstan in the Making: Legitimacy, Symbols and Social Changes*, New York: Lexington Books, pp. 3-27
- (2016) together with Gaye Gungor ‘Why Revisit Multilateralism?’, ed. by Assel Tutumlu and Gaye Gungor, *Multilateralism in Global Governance: Formal and Informal Institutions*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 11-24
- (2016), ‘Five Democratization Myths’, ed. by Assel Tutumlu and Gaye Gungor, *Multilateralism in Global Governance: Formal and Informal Institutions*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 27-48

7.5. Articles Published in National Peer-Reviewed Journals

8. Art and Design Activities

- *Selected Exhibit* (together with Ilyas Rustemov) ‘Pellets and Industrial Monotowns (Kazakhstan)’ in the Soviet Central Asia in 100 Objects at Oxford University, January 2022

9. Projects

- *Utrecht University*, 2025-28 Research Associate in INFRAEMPIRE: Infrastructural Imperialism: Global “Big Brothers” and Geopolitical Futures ERC Advanced Grant with Rebecca Bryant.
- *University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign*, 2024 Research Associate at the Open Research Laboratory, Spring Semester
- *Co-Investigator* in the research project 2022-24 ‘Problems of interaction of interethnic communities at local levels in Kazakhstani society (2014-2021): Dynamics of intercommunal violence and preventive methods.’ Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan worth KZT54 381 754 (USD116000).
- *British Academy* award for the “Empowering and Strengthening the Central Asian Academic Community (ESCAAC Project)” 30000GBP for 2023-25. <https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/projects/empowering-and-strengthening-the-central-asian-academic-community-escaac-project/>

10. Administrative Responsibilities

Geneva Graduate Institute, *Academic Coordinator of the Executive Programme*

11. Memberships in Scientific and Professional Organizations

- American Political Science Association 2009-Present
- Association of Nationality Studies 2006-Present
- RUTA Association 2024-Present

12. Awards

- *Kreisky Forum* ‘Central Asia – A “Continent Forgotten?” Vienna, Austria, November 2022
- *Kreisky Forum* ‘Hegemonies and Alliances: Eurasia aflame – Between the Ukraine war and the fall of Kabul,’ Vienna, Austria, June 2022
- *Selected Exhibit* (together with Ilyas Rustemov) ‘Pellets and Industrial Monotowns (Kazakhstan)’ in the Soviet Central Asia in 100 Objects at Oxford University, January 2022
- *US Institute of Peace and Oxus Society Grant* for fieldwork in the program ‘Nationalism and Violence’ 2021-2022
- *Short-term Fellowship* at the Open Research Laboratory program at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, January 25-May 5, 2021
- *Short-term Visiting Researcher*, China and Central Asian Studies Center, KIMEP University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, July 2019
- *Initiation Grant of 25 000 euro for Project* ‘What is New in Neo-Authoritarianism’ from the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond), December 2018
- *Award for participation* in the *Power in Central Asia* Workshop by the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond), October 2018

13. Undergraduate and Graduate Courses Taught in the Last Two Years

Academic Year	Semester	Course Name	Weekly Hours		Number of Students
			Theoretical	Practical	
2024– 2025	FALL 2024	EAS105 History of Civilizations	3		25
		GCC603 Research Methods	2		20
		INR203 Diplomatic History	2		14
		INR480 Third World Politics	3		5
		PUB421 Politics and Development	3		0
	SPRING 2025	EAS208 Research Methods	3		20
		GCC603 Research Methods	2		20
		HIST205 Political History	3		15
		INR314 International Political Economy	3		15
		PUB421 Politics and Development			1
2025 - 2026	FALL 2025	GCC630 Research Methods	2		20
		EAS105 History of Civilizations	3		25
		INR203 Diplomatic History	2		20
		INR480 Third World Politics	3		15
		PUB421 Politics and Development	3		15
	SPRING 2026	EAS208 Research Methods	3		20
		GCC603 Research Methods	2		20
		HIST205 Political History	3		15
		INR314 International Political Economy	3		15
		PUB421 Politics and Development			1

