Applicant: **Zihnioglu, Ozge**
Organisation: **University of Liverpool**
Funding Sought: **£9,978.00**

SRG1920\100787

Ultranationalist Mobilisation and Pathways to Radicalisation

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of ultra-nationalist mass (re-)mobilisation in Turkey. New ultra-nationalist groups mobilised since 2016, conservative nationalist organisations established in the mid-2000s have recently turned to violence, and older nationalist paramilitary groups have re-mobilised. These groups employ a blend of ultra-nationalist and Islamist narratives, attract large masses and sometimes resort to violence. This project will examine how and the extent to which the ultra-nationalist groups lead to violent extremism by analysing the extremist propaganda produced, discourse and narratives used, mobilisation tactics employed and the role these groups play within their constituencies. Drawing on 55 interviews, one focus group and directed content analysis of social media accounts, this project aims to understand whether this recent ultra-nationalist mass mobilisation is a threat to further violent radicalisation in Turkey and a pathway for Islamist radicalisation. Research findings will also contribute to the efforts to prevent or counter radicalisation.

PRIMARY APPLICANT DETAILS

Title	Dr
Name	Ozge
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Address	Department of Politics
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	L69 7WZ
	United Kingdom

CO-APPLICANT DETAILS

Title	Dr
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Surname	Yesevi
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Address	İstanbul Kültür University Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences Department of International Relations Basın Ekspres Campus Kucukcekmece/ISTANBUL
	ISTANBUL
	34303
	Turkey

CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

Role	**Second Co-Applicant**	**Role**	**Lead Applicant Referee**
Title	Dr	**Title**	Dr
Name	Andrew	**Name**	Markus
Surname	Thomson	**Surname**	Ketola
Organisation	Queen's University Belfast	**Organisation**	University of Edinburgh
Website (Work)	https://pure.qub.ac.uk/portal/en/persons/andrew-thomson(66e61efd-5b98-45ed-8879-6c80096d3982).html	**Tel (Work)**	07747780032
Tel (Work)	+44 (0)28 9097 2526	**Email (Work)**	markus.ketola@ed.ac.uk
Email (Work)	a.f.thomson@qub.ac.uk	**Address**	Old College, South Bridge
Address	School of HAPP, 25 University Square		Edinburgh
	Queen's University Belfast		EH8 9YL
	Belfast		United Kingdom
	BT7 1NN		
	United Kingdom		

Section 1 - Eligibility

Primary Subject

Please indicate the subject most relevant to your research:

Politics

Primary Subject Detail - Politics

Please select the detail(s) of your primary subject:

☑ Comparative Politics

Secondary Subject

If your application is more interdisciplinary, you may choose to indicate a secondary subject to which your application might also be relevant:

No Response

Time Period

Please select your time period(s) from the list below:

☑ Contemporary

Regional Interests

Please select your regional interest(s) from the list below:

☑ Middle East
☑ Southern Europe

Audiences

Please select your audience(s) from the list below:

☑ Other funding bodies in the UK (e.g. AHRC, Leverhulme)
☑ Other funding bodies overseas (e.g. EU, NIH, foreign funding councils)
☑ Policymakers at national level (e.g. working with Government departments, participating in public in
☑ Policymakers at local or institutional level (e.g. membership of Research Ethics Committee)
☑ Journalists, broadcasters and other media
☑ General Public

GMS ORGANISATION

Type	University	Type	University
Name	University of Liverpool	**Name**	Queen's University Belfast
Phone (Work)	**+44 (0)151 794 9985**	**Email (Work)**	**contactus@qub.ac.uk**
Email (Work)	**rbsbaadmin@liverpool.ac.uk**	**Address**	Queen's University Belfast
Address	The Foundations Building, Brownlow Hill		University Road
	Liverpool		Belfast
	L69 7ZX		Co. Antrim
	United Kingdom		BT7 1NN
			United Kingdom

Names of Co-Applicants on this application

Please state the names of any co-applicants on this application:

Dr. Cagla Gul Yesevi
Dr. Andrew Thomson

Section 2 - Lead Applicant Details

PRIMARY APPLICANT DETAILS

Title	Dr
Name	Ozge
Surname	Zihnioglu
Organisation	University of Liverpool
Tel (Mobile)	**+447760581084**
Email (Work)	**ozge.zihnioglu@liverpool.ac.uk**
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	8-11 Abercromby Square
	Liverpool
	L69 7WZ
	United Kingdom

CO-APPLICANT DETAILS

Title	Dr
Name	Cagla Gul
Surname	Yesevi
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Email (Work)	**c.yesevi@iku.edu.tr**
Address	İstanbul Kültür University Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences Department of International Relations Basın Ekspres Campus Kucukcekmece/ISTANBUL
	ISTANBUL
	34303
	Turkey

CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

Role	Second Co-Applicant	Role	Lead Applicant Referee
Title	Dr	**Title**	Dr
Name	Andrew	**Name**	Markus
Surname	Thomson	**Surname**	Ketola
Organisation	Queen's University Belfast	**Organisation**	University of Edinburgh
Website (Work)	https://pure.qub.ac.uk/portal/en/persons/andrew-thomson(66e61efd-5b98-45ed-8879-6c80096d3982).html	**Tel (Work)**	**07747780032**
		Email (Work)	**markus.ketola@ed.ac.uk**
Tel (Work)	**+44 (0)28 9097 2526**	**Address**	Old College, South Bridge
Email (Work)	**a.f.thomson@qub.ac.uk**		Edinburgh
Address	School of HAPP, 25 University Square		EH8 9YL
	Queen's University Belfast		United Kingdom
	Belfast		
	BT7 1NN		
	United Kingdom		

Section 3 - Lead Applicant Career Summary

Statement of Qualifications and Career

Please give details of your academic qualifications and career.

Qualification:	Date:
Associate Professorship (in Turkey)	03 April 2017
Ph.D	27 July 2011
Master of Arts	26 June 2004
Bachelor's of Science	03 February 2003

Present Appointment

Please state your present appointment.

Lecturer in Politics

Present Employing Institution

Please state the institution at which you are currently employed.

University of Liverpool

Present Department

Please indicate the Department or Faculty (or equivalent) in which you are based.

Department of Politics

PhD Confirmation

⊙ Yes

Personal Statement

Please enter your personal statement:

I have researched and published extensively on Turkish civil society, post-Gezi activism, and EU civil society support. More recently, I have also been working on Islamic civil society in Turkey and its changing dynamics under the governing Justice and Development Party (AKP) since the 2000s.

I have completed research projects funded through the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey and the British Council. I am currently part of a collaborative international project of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace where a group of scholars, researchers and experts from 10 different countries across the world examine the changing dynamics of civil society in their respective countries. My previous and current research will inform the proposed research.

Publications

Please list your principal and/or relevant publications in reverse chronological order, to a maximum of six:

1. Zihnioğlu, Özge. (2019). EU-Turkey Relations: Civil Society and Depoliticisation. London and New York: Routledge.
2. Zihnioğlu, Özge. (2019). "European Union Civil Society Support and the Depoliticisation Of Turkish Civil Society," Third World Quarterly, 40(3), 503-520.
3. Zihnioğlu, Özge. (2019). "European Union Funds and the Assumed Professionalization of Turkish Civil Society Organizations," Turkish Studies, 20(5), 657-679.
4. Zihnioğlu, Özge. (2019). "The Prospects of Civic Alliance: New Civic Activists Acting Together with Civil Society Organizations," Voluntas, 30(2), 289–299.
5. Zihnioğlu, Özge. (2018). "Islamic Civil Society in Turkey," in Richard Youngs (ed.), Conservative Civil Society. USA: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
6. Zihnioğlu, Özge. (2018). "Navigating Politics and Polarization in Turkey," in Saskia Brechenmacher and Thomas Carothers (eds.), Examining Civil Society Legitimacy. USA: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Unpublished Research

Please list any extant unpublished projects funded by the Academy or any other agency, and their expected publication date (or other explanation):

Zihnioğlu, Özge. (2018). "The Legacy of the Gezi Protests in Turkey," in Richard Youngs (ed.), After Protest: Pathways Beyond Mass Mobilization. USA: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Previous Support Dates

Please give details of any research application submitted to the British Academy within the last five years:

Please note that only one British Academy research grant may be held, or applied for, at any one time.

Application submitted to the Newton International Fellowship 2019 (NIFBA19\190491) titled "Islamic Civil Society and Its Relation to Democracy in Turkey and Tunisia" with the University of Edinburgh. The application was withdrawn due to my appointment at the University of Liverpool.

Application submitted to the Newton Mobility Grants 2018-19 (RD2NMG2R3\100000) titled "Conservative Civil Society in Turkey: New Actors and New Activism". The application was rejected.

Previous Support Description

Please give the title of any previous research application submitted to the British Academy within the last five years, and the amount awarded (if any):

Title	Amount Awarded
Conservative Civil Society in Turkey: New Actors and New Activism	£0.00
Islamic Civil Society and Its Relation to Democracy in Turkey and Tunisia	£0.00
No Response	£0.00
No Response	£0.00
No Response	£0.00

Where did you hear of this scheme?

Please indicate where you heard about this scheme:

No Response

Section 4 - Co-Applicant Career Summary

Co-Applicant Contact Details

Please enter contact details below:

Title:	Dr
Forename(s):	CAGLA GUL
Surname:	YESEVI
Correspondence Address:	Istanbul Kultur University Basin Ekspres Campus Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences Department of International Relations B Block Floor:6 Room No:1 Kucukcekmece-Istanbul TURKEY
Email Address:	c.yesevi@iku.edu.tr
Telephone Number:	+905352333683

Statement of Qualifications and Career

Please give details of your academic qualifications and career.

Qualification:	Date:
Doctor of Philosophy	01 February 2012
Associate Prof. Dr.	13 May 2020

Co-Applicant Present Appointment

Associate Prof. Dr.

Present Employing Institution

Istanbul Kültür University

Co-Applicant Present Department

Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences

Co-Applicant Personal Statement

I have been working as a scientific advisor to 21. Yuzyil Turkiye Enstitutusu.

I have carried out a research project titled "Migration from Turkestan and its impacts on identity formation" at Istanbul Kültür University.

Co-Applicant Previous Support

Please give the dates and title of any previous research application submitted to the British Academy within the last five years, and the amount awarded (if any):

Title of Research:	Date:	Amount Awarded:
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00

Co-Applicant Publications

Yesevi, C.G. (2018). Turkish Nationalism: Its Emergence, Rise and Political Reflections (in Turkish). Ankara: Kripto Publications. 978-605-4991-76-1

Yesevi, C. G. (2015). Israel Defense Forces and Intelligence Services (in Turkish). Ankara: Kripto Publications. ISBN:978-605-4991-22-8 (2nd edition: May 2018)

Yesevi, C. G. (2015). Turkey's Energy Outlook: Strategies and Relations (in Turkish). Istanbul: Der'in Publications. ISBN: 978-605-4993-40-6 (with Burcu Yavuz Tiftikcigil)

Yesevi, C.G. (2014). Turkish Neo-nationalism. In Edie Lanphar and Phil Fitzsimmons (Ed.) Connectivity Across Borders, Boundaries and Bodies: International and Interdisciplinary Perspective. (p.59-70). Oxford: Inter-disciplinary Press. ISBN: 978-1-84888-266-9

Yesevi, C.G. (2014). Female Terrorism. European Scientific Journal. Vol 10, No. 14. pp. 579-594.

Yesevi, C. G. (2014). What happened in Gezi Park? (in Turkish). İstanbul: İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Yayınları. ISBN:978-605-4763-19-1 (with Mensur Akgün, Burak Cop ve Yunus Emre).

Section 5 - Second Co-Applicant Career Summary

Co-Applicant Contact Details

Please enter contact details below:

Title:	Dr
Forename(s):	Andrew
Surname:	Thomson
Correspondence Address:	School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics Queen's University Belfast, 25 University Square, BT71PB
Email Address:	a.f.thomson@qub.ac.uk
Telephone Number:	(+44) 028 9097 2526

Statement of Qualifications and Career

Please give details of your academic qualifications and career.

Qualification:	Date:
PhD International Relations	01 June 2013
Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education, (PGCHE)	01 November 2012
M.A.: International Relations	01 September 2008
B.A.: Politics and International Relations	01 June 2007

Co-Applicant Present Appointment

Lecturer in Conflict, Terrorism and Security at Queen's University Belfast

Present Employing Institution

Queen's University Belfast

Co-Applicant Present Department

School Of History, Anthropology, Philosophy And Politics

Co-Applicant Personal Statement

No Response

Co-Applicant Previous Support

Please give the dates and title of any previous research application submitted to the British Academy within the last five years, and the amount awarded (if any):

Title of Research:	Date:	Amount Awarded:
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00
No Response	*No Response*	£0.00

Co-Applicant Publications

"The Ties that Bind: Ethnicity, Pro-Government Militia and the Dynamics of Violence in Civil War" with Govinda Clayton and Luke Abbs. Forthcoming in Journal of Conflict Resolution.

"US Support for "Civilian Defence" Paramilitaries in Iraq and Afghanistan" Forthcoming chapter in The Political Violence of Capital: Paramilitary Formations in Global Perspective edited by Jasmin Hristov, Jeb Sprague-Silgado and Aaron Tauss

Outsourced Empire: How Militias, Mercenaries and Contractors Support US Statecraft. London: Pluto Press, June 2018.

"A Precarious Peace? The Threat of Paramilitary Violence to the Peace Process in Colombia" Third World Quarterly, 39:11, 2142-2172, 2018. With David Maher.

"Civilianizing Civil Conflict: Civilian Defense Militias and the Logic of Violence in Intra-State Conflict." International Studies Quarterly February, 2016. With Govinda Clayton

"The Enemy of My Enemy is My Friend… The Dynamics of Self-Defense Forces in Irregular War: The Case of the Sons of Iraq." Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 37 (11), 920-935. 2014. With Govinda Clayton

Section 6 - Research Proposal

Subject Area

Please select the subject most relevant to your research:

Politics

Subject Area Detail - Politics

Please select the detail(s) of your Subject Area:

☑ Comparative Politics

Title of Research Proposal

Please state the title of your proposed research:

Ultranationalist Mobilisation and Pathways to Radicalisation

Abstract

Please provide a short abstract summarising your proposed research in terms suitable for an informed general audience, not one specialised in your field:

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of ultra-nationalist mass (re-)mobilisation in Turkey. New ultra-nationalist groups mobilised since 2016, conservative nationalist organisations established in the mid-2000s have recently turned to violence, and older nationalist paramilitary groups have re-mobilised. These groups employ a blend of ultra-nationalist and Islamist narratives, attract large masses and sometimes resort to violence. This project will examine how and the extent to which the ultra-nationalist groups lead to violent extremism by analysing the extremist propaganda produced, discourse and narratives used, mobilisation tactics employed and the role these groups play within their constituencies. Drawing on 55 interviews, one focus group and directed content analysis of social media accounts, this project aims to understand whether this recent ultra-nationalist mass mobilisation is a threat to further violent radicalisation in Turkey and a pathway for Islamist radicalisation. Research findings will also contribute to the efforts to prevent or counter radicalisation.

Project Start Date

Please state the start date of the proposed research:

01 May 2020

Project End Date

Please state the end date of the proposed research:

30 April 2021

Proposed Programme

Please give a detailed description of the research programme, including methodology:

Applicants should be aware of the importance that assessors place on the viability, specificity and originality of the research programme and of its achievability within the timescale, which should be specified in the Plan of Action.

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of ultra-nationalist mass (re-)mobilisation in Turkey. New ultra-nationalist groups mobilised following the failed coup attempt in 2016. Conservative nationalist organisations established in the mid-2000s have recently turned to violence. At the same time, older nationalist paramilitary groups that had been demobilised in the 2000s have now remobilised.

These organisations employ a blend of pro-government ultra-nationalist and Islamist narratives, attract large masses and sometimes resort to violence. They have attacked the main opposition Republican People's Party's and pro-Kurdish Peoples' Democratic Party's buildings and threatened journalists and politicians. At the same time, they adopt a religious Islamist discourse, reacting against those who conflict with conservative religious way of life. For instance, they harass alcohol consumers and regularly threaten and attack members of the LGBTQ community.

The overall objective of this project is to explore whether this ultra-nationalist mass (re-)mobilisation is a threat to further violent radicalisation in Turkey. Given that there seems to be growing public empathy for jihadism and increased numbers of fighters recruited by ISIS and Al-Qaeda in Turkey (Yayla, 2019), this project also aims to understand whether this ultra-nationalist mobilisation in Turkey is a pathway for Islamist radicalisation. The final objective of this project is to explore the ways to prevent or counter this radicalisation.

More specifically, this project will examine how and the extent to which the ultra-nationalist groups lead to violent extremism in Turkey. To that end, we will analyse the extremist propaganda produced by these groups, discourse and narratives used, how these groups mobilise their constituencies and what role these groups play within the constituencies they are meant to represent. We will also explore what, if any, differences there are between different groups. Therefore, the following groups are selected for this project: older ultra-nationalist paramilitary groups (Grey Wolves, Alperen Hearths), conservative nationalist organisations established in the mid-2000s (Ottoman Hearths, AK Hearths), and new ultra-nationalist groups (National Mobilisation Movement Platform).

METHODOLOGY

The project will last for 12 months and the primary data will rely on face-to-face interviews with 15 local/district leaders of ultra-nationalist groups, 30 of their members, 10 stakeholders; one focus group with the members and directed content analysis of social media accounts. Different ways of data collection will ensure the accuracy and integrity of the data collected.

1.The project will start with a kick-off/capacity building workshop with approximately 15 relevant actors, including representatives of national, European and international organisations, donors working on Turkish civil society, policy analysts, public officials, and civil society representatives. There is often little interaction and capacity building among these actors, although they may work in close collaboration with civic actors. Most actors operate from Istanbul and a few from Ankara. We will invite three participants from Ankara. Their costs will be covered from the project's budget. We will introduce the research and buy-in their support for the project. We will discuss the context, how civic actors can become conduits for radicalisation and how they can moderate radicalisation. This workshop will be important for scoping and mapping ultra-nationalist mass mobilisation in Turkey, in particular within civil society.

2.There will be a second workshop in month 5 on ultra-nationalist mobilisation and paramilitary groups, efforts to prevent or counter radicalisation and de-radicalisation programs in different countries with examples from Latin America and the Middle East. We will invite approximately 30 people including the participants of the first workshop and academics working in this area. The workshop will also include discussion on the history of ultra-nationalist mobilisation and its changing nature in Turkey. The project team will organise and convene the workshop. PI Zihnioglu has extensive research experience on Turkish civil society including conservative actors, Co-I Yesevi on Turkish nationalism, and Co-I Thomson on paramilitary groups. Following the workshop, the project team will make a midterm assessment of the project and discuss ideas for furthering the research.

3.PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi will examine the selected groups' social media accounts. They will collect data on a weekly basis and focus on calls for and reactions to mass mobilisation, material promoting extremist propaganda and explore the constitutive content of the narrative used in written and audio-visual elements (including retweeted materials) such as ideology, culture, myths, religion and other aspects. They will analyse the data qualitatively by directed content analysis based on themes determined prior research and literature relating to radicalisation and extremist propaganda.

4.Semi-structured interviews: PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi will interview approximately 15 local/district leaders of the selected groups, 30 of their members, and 10 different actors (political party members, government and public officials, civil society actors). The interviews with the local/district leaders will explore the narratives and discourse including its constitutive content such as the use of ideology, culture, myths, religion and other aspects, mobilisation strategies employed including the use of material and emotional incentives. The interviews with members of these groups will explore what role the groups play within the consistencies they are meant to serve, whether the groups provide a free space for radical thought and action, how they interpret and consume the extremist propaganda, their reactions to violent

action conducted by some members of their group or other groups, and perceptions of law enforcement.

5.Focus group meeting: The interviews will be followed by a focus group with 10 people, who are members of selected ultra-nationalist groups. PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi will conduct the focus group. The focus group will give us the opportunity to further explore the questions raised in the interviews and make comparisons between different groups studied in this research.

6.Learning exchange/dissemination workshop: After we complete the data analysis, we will organise a workshop to share the findings of our research with different actors. We will unpack causes and the mechanism of radicalisation. Research findings will contribute to efforts to prevent and counter violent radicalisation and better understand Islamic radicalisation. This workshop will also facilitate cross-sectoral engagement amongst political, public and civic actors.

One research assistant will be hired, who will help in collecting social media data, organising the workshops and the focus group, and will conduct some of the interviews.

ORIGINALITY AND CONTRIBUTION

This research is timely and important in three ways. First, this study on specific groups in Turkey provides scope for comparison to other cases and the formulation of policy implications. Ultra-nationalist groups operating within civil society have been gaining traction in several countries over the past decade, such as Ukraine (National Squads), Thailand (Social Sanction), India (Cow Protection Forum). While some earlier attention has been given to "uncivil society" (Kopecky and Mudde, 2003; Youngs, 2017), these civic organisations that employ violent tactics are under-studied. This research contributes to the existing literature on ultra-nationalist groups and violent radicalisation by investigating the recent mobilisations in Turkey and whether this can lead to Islamist radicalisation.

Second, by studying group dynamics, narratives and discourses, and propaganda of ultra-nationalist groups in Turkey, this research will improve our understanding of the causes and processes of radicalisation. Radicalisation is an ambiguous concept (Sedgwick, 2010). This research operationalises radicalisation as advocating, engaging in and supporting illegal and violent political action to further stated objectives. While there is no commonly accepted pathway to radicalisation, research suggests the consumption of extremist propaganda as a major cause for radicalisation (Vergani et.al., 2018). The use of culture (Hamm, 2009) and myths (Githens-Mazer, 2009) are important elements. Group dynamics are also important because radicalisation takes place in a social setting (Vergani et.al., 2018). Different studies (Ingram, 2015, Bartlett and Miller, 2012) show how group-level dynamics matter—how immediate social interactions shape sentiment—in extremist propaganda. In relation to group dynamics, a study on the state of research carried out for the EU's Radicalisation Awareness Network (Pisoui and Ahmed, 2016) underlines the emergent acknowledgement that people are not mere victims of their environment, but agents with their own ideas and objectives. This research will provide further insights into the causes and processes of radicalisation.

Third, recent studies on conservative non-state actors in Turkey have mainly provided broad mappings (Sunar, 2018) or focused on the governing AK Party's social and economic policy (Bilgili and Kraetzschmar, 2018). The ultra-nationalist mass (re-)mobilisation, however, has been largely overlooked. Turkey is no stranger to violent ultra-nationalist mass mobilisation. During the 1970s, violent clashes between the ultra-nationalist paramilitary groups and leftist factions were common. Therefore, the re-mobilisation of some of these ultra-nationalist paramilitaries and the building up of ultra-nationalist mobilisation make this research is highly important. It is also timely to ask whether current ultra-nationalist mobilisation in Turkey is a pathway to Islamist radicalisation.

There is a need for well-designed policies to prevent and counter radicalisation, in particular those arising

from within civil society. This requires a thorough understanding of dynamics of radicalisation within civic actors, what role they play within the constituencies and within civil society. This research addresses this gap by exploring the mobilisation strategies, narratives and discourses as well as other tools and incentives employed by these groups for mobilisation by drawing on a set of interviews, a focus group, and analysing social media accounts.

Other Relevant Information Upload

If necessary, please upload any supplementary documents here:

No Response

Plan of Action

Please indicate here a clear timetable for your research programme:

Try to be as realistic as possible, but keep in mind that research programmes will develop over time and this plan of action is not something that is expected to account for every minute and is not unchangeable. But your chances of award will be affected by the assessors' perception of how viable and realistic this plan is.

Months 1–2 (May–June 2020) – The project team will complete the ethical reviews from their respective institutions, plan the kick-off/capacity building workshop, draft literature review and select themes for the social media content analysis.

Month 3 (July 2020) – Kick-off/capacity building workshop: This workshop will gather approximately 15 relevant actors for scoping and mapping ultra-nationalist mass mobilisation in Turkey, and in particular within civil society. Several organisations, networks, donors at the national, European and international levels support the development of Turkish civil society and investigate its changing dynamics. There is often little interaction and capacity building among these actors, although they may work in close collaboration with civic actors. This workshop will bring together these various actors, introduce the research and buy-in their support for the project. PI Zihnioglu has been working on and with civil society actors in Turkey for almost 15 years and has a strong network with civic actors and donor community in Turkey. Co-I Yesevi has been working on Turkish nationalism for over 10 years and has a strong network with the nationalist parties and think tanks. Their network will be able to mobilise different actors to participate in the workshop.

Months 3–7 (July–November 2020) – Data collection: We will collect data in three ways: interviews, focus group, social media content analysis. First, a total of approximately 55 interviews will be conducted (15 local/district leaders of the selected groups, 30 of their members, and 10 different actors such as political party members, government and public officials, civil society actors). Interviews will be conducted by PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi and some interviews will be conducted by the research assistant under Co-I Yesevi's guidance. PI Zihnioglu has established links with these groups while conducting previous research on Islamic/conservative civil society. Co-I Yesevi has a strong network with the nationalist parties. Their network and previous research experience will ensure access to these groups and research participants. The research assistant will hold a Ph.D. in social sciences and have research experience in a relevant field. S/he will work 8 hours a week for 20 weeks (July-November). Second, a focus group meeting will be held on month 7 (November) with 10 people, who are members of different selected ultra-nationalist groups. Focus group meeting will be conducted by PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi and the research assistant will provide support in logistical matters. Third, we will examine the selected groups' social media accounts to collect written and audio-visual elements according to the themes determined during the first two months of the project. PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi will collect data from the social media accounts with the help of the research assistant.

Month 5 (September 2020) – Workshop: PI Zihnioglu and Co-I's Yesevi and Thomson will organise a one-day

workshop with the participants of the kick-off/capacity building workshop. Academics and post-graduate researchers working in the area will also be invited and there will be approximately 30 participants. The workshop will be in Turkish and the session led by Co-I Thomson will be translated to Turkish. The research assistant will help the project team schedule and organise the workshop.

Months 8-10 (December–February 2021) – Data Analysis: The interviews and focus group meeting will be transcribed and translated into English and the project team will analyse them thematically. PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi will analyse the data collected from the social media accounts qualitatively by directed content analysis based on the themes selected in the first two months of the workshop.

Months 11-12 (March–April 2021) – Dissemination: Project findings will be disseminated to peers and communicated to a wider audience in different ways. First, we will organise a one-day learning exchange/dissemination workshop (approximately 40 participants) to share the findings of our research. Second, the project team will draft a policy brief on the measures to prevent and counter radicalisation. The brief will be shared with the participants of previous workshops and learning exchange/dissemination workshop. Third, the project team will draft research outputs (see Planned Research Outputs for details) during the final two months of the project.

We are confident that this schedule is realistic and the objectives of this project can be achieved within the proposed timeline. The team will have fortnightly Skype meetings to monitor the progress.

Planned Research Outputs

Please indicate here what the expected output(s) from your research programme might be.

As appropriate, please indicate as follows: monograph, journal article(s), book chapter(s), digital resources, other (please specify).

Please outline your plans for publication under Plans for publication/dissemination below:

The research impact will be maximised by producing a set of academic and non-academic outputs. The academic outputs will include two peer-reviewed international journal articles and one conference paper. The interviews and focus group meeting will also produce a data set (subject to consent). Data will be anonymised, translated and archived in accordance with the GDPR.

In order to contribute to broader scholarly and policy debates on radicalisation, the project team will produce one short article, which will be submitted to Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for online publication.

Beyond these, it is important that the dissemination of the project results target the policy-makers and public officials. To achieve this, first, we will write a policy brief, which will include a contextual strategy for preventing and countering radicalisation and violent extremism in Turkey. We will identify factors and challenges that need to be considered, suggest ways of incorporating these factors into the strategy, and finally differentiate between the measures that should be taken at the local level and those that are the responsibility of the policy-makers at the national level. This will be shared with all participants that attended the workshops. Second, we will prepare workshop reports, which will also feed into the policy brief. Third, this project will strengthen cross-sectoral engagement amongst political, public and civic actors. Such capacity will be important for producing measures for preventing and countering violent extremism in Turkey.

Plans for Publication and Dissemination

Please state in more detail here what plans you have for publication or other dissemination of your research, including potential publishers, journals, conferences etc that are appropriate for your

research subject:

1. Journal articles: Two academic articles will be produced. The first one will focus on the theoretical gap and issues between civic activism and radicalism and submitted to Social Movement Studies. The second one will be on extremist propaganda and violent radicalisation and submitted to Third World Quarterly. The drafting of the papers will be completed within the project's time-frame. Funding for open access will be obtained from the University of Liverpool. This will increase the accessibility of the research findings and also increase visibility.

2. Conference Paper: We will present one paper at the Political Studies Association Annual International Conference in April 2021. The costs of attending this conference will be covered by staff allowance.

3. Short Article: PI Zihnioglu is a member of Carnegie Endowment's Civic Research Network and she regularly publishes short articles on Carnegie's website and contributes to printed publications. The project team will draft a short article based on research findings and submit it for publishing on Carnegie Endowment's website. These publications are useful tools for academics to communicate their work to a wider audience including broader scientific circles, think-tankers, journalists and policy-makers. In addition, research outputs will be shared with members of the Civic Research Network who are scholars and practitioners working on civil society from 10 different countries across the world.

4. Research findings will be disseminated to the non-academic audience through learning exchange/dissemination workshop with stakeholders. The project team will draft a policy brief on the measures to prevent and counter radicalisation. The brief will be shared with the participants of previous workshops and learning exchange/dissemination workshop. The project team will also draft workshop reports and share them with the participants. PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi have strong contacts with local and national actors in Turkey. PI Zihnioglu has conducted several projects on Turkish civil society and has a strong network among Turkish civil society actors and relevant public bodies. Co-I Yesevi has been working on Turkish nationalism and has connections at the nationalist parties. These networks will be useful to disseminate research findings to broader audience and create an impact.

5. The project team will utilise their existing national and international networks to further disseminate the research outputs. PI Zihnioglu is the Management Committee member of European Cooperation in Science and Technology Action titled "Reappraising Intellectual Debates on Civic Rights and Democracy in Europe". This is an interdisciplinary Action which brings together political scientists, historians, and philosophers from all around Europe working on civic rights and democracy. Dissemination of research outputs to this Action will provide an interdisciplinary outreach. Co-I Thomson is a on the Governing Council of the Conflict Research Society, through which he will disseminate research outputs to scholars from different disciplines broadly interested in radicalisation. Finally, although the project team has a strong network in Turkey, we will need the support of the British International Research Institute in Ankara to disseminate the research findings to a wider audience. We will invite them to the learning exchange/dissemination workshop.

Digital Resource

If the primary product of the research will be a digital resource have you obtained guidance on appropriate standards and methods?

◉ Yes

Deposit of Datasets

Please provide details of how and where any electronic or digital data (including datasets) developed during the project will be stored, along with details on the appropriate methods of access:

It is a condition of award that all data be freely accessible during, and beyond, the lifetime of the project.

In line with the Data Protection Act 2018 and the GDPR 2016/679, the data derived from the interviews, focus group meeting and social media content analysis will be used for specifically stated purposes ('purpose limitation'), and they will be adequate, relevant and limited to what is necessary and proportionate to the research objectives ('data minimisation'). The only personal data that will be collected are the names, positions and the email addresses of the interviewees and participants. Respecting the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, personal data (name and position) will be published in the outputs of this project only on the basis of the consent of the person concerned. Otherwise, this project will implement privacy by design as requested by GDPR, meaning that data protection will be included from the onset. Any data collected will be anonymised so it will not be personally identifiable and it will ensure confidentiality. Cryptographic procedures will be established with only secured access to the data.

After the data have been anonymised, it will be translated into English. All data will be stored in PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi's computers, which are encrypted. The recorders will also be encrypted. Automatic backups of the data will be made to reduce the risk of data loss. Data security will be maintained by having research material accessible only to the research team. All hardware used for access to research material will be protected by passwords. The interviews and recordings will be seen by a transcriber and a translator but confidentiality agreement will be in place with them. The project team will complete a data management plan before we start to conduct the interviews. Data management plan will make sure that data is collected and stored correctly and safely. Following UK Data Protection Act and GDPR, a Data Protection Officer is appointed at the University of Liverpool. Data Protection Officer's contact details will be made available to all subjects taking part in this research.

PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi will provide support and mentorship to the research assistant in ethical data collection and storage. They will also conduct periodic cross-checks such as compliance with data management protocols or whether interview transcripts and the coding processes ensure quality.

Primary qualitative data will be translated, transcribed, and anonymised by Turkish transcribers, and a copy of the anonymised data will be deposited in the University of Liverpool's institutional data repository. All archived data on the institutional repository will be linked to peer-reviewed publications arising from this project.

Overseas Travel - Country

If your research involves travel abroad, please select the relevant country/countries:

Turkey

Overseas Travel - Country

If your research involves travel abroad, please select the relevant country/countries:

No Response

Overseas Travel - Country

If your research involves travel abroad, please select the relevant country/countries:

No Response

Overseas Travel Institution

Please indicate if your research involves working in a particular overseas institution, and/or add other countries to which you will travel in connection with this application:

PI Zihnioglu and the Co-I Thomson will be travelling to Turkey to supervise and contribute to the fieldwork. However, they will not be based in a particular institution in Turkey.

Research Leave Granted/Permission Obtained

Please indicate if you will need to be absent from your employing institution in order to undertake the proposed research, and if so, whether the necessary permission has been obtained:

PI Zihnioglu and the Co-I's will need to be absent from their respective employing institutions to undertake the proposed research and they all have obtained the necessary permission.

Support of British International Research Institute Required/Granted

Will you require the (non-cash) support of a British International Research Institute abroad?

If your research will take you to a country or region in which one of the British International Research Institutes operates, you are strongly encouraged to make contact with it before completing this form so that you can take account of any relevant expertise, facilities and logistical advice: Details can be found on the Academy's website at https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/international/research-institutes.

◉ Yes

Language Competence

Please indicate here, if relevant, your level of language competence, or otherwise explain how the objectives of the research will be met:

The research will be conducted in Turkey. The interviews, focus group meeting and the workshops except for Co-I Thomson's session will be in Turkish. PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi are native speakers of and fluent in Turkish. Co-I Thomson's session in the second workshop will be translated to Turkish. A local research assistant will be hired to provide support in data collection and logistical matters. The research assistant will be fluent in Turkish. Therefore, we do not expect any issues or problems in collecting data or conducting the workshops.

Other Participants

Please give the names, appointments and institutional affiliation of any other participants in the proposed research. If detail is not known yet, please indicate numbers and status of people who might be involved:

No Response

Role of Other Participants

Please describe the contribution to the project to be made by other participants, citing any particular specialisms and expertise:

No Response

Added Value of Collaboration

Please provide any comments you wish to make on the particular relevance, timeliness or other aspects of the collaboration, and the benefits envisaged:

This will be timely research as ultra-nationalist mass mobilisation has recently been building up in Turkey. Exploring the relation between this mobilisation and violent radicalisation, and whether it is a pathway for Islamic radicalisation is important given the ongoing Islamic radicalisation in the region continues to be a threat not only in Turkey but also for European countries. In addition, ultranationalist groups are on the rise in several countries across the world. Some of these groups also resort to violence to achieve their objectives. Several national organisations (including the UK's Department for International Development) as well as the European Union explore, discuss and evaluate different ways to prevent and counter violent extremism. The research findings will be relevant for these efforts as well.

This is a collaborative project that draws on the distinct research expertise of three scholars: PI Zihnioglu on civil society and social movements, Co-I Yesevi on nationalism and Co-I Thomson on pro-government paramilitary groups. The project team's diverse research expertise will contribute to the success of the research. At the same time, this collaboration will provide the members of the project team with a unique experience to learn from one another and complement their understanding of the problem.

Endangered or Emerging Subject Area

Applicants should be intending to pursue original, independent research in any field of study within the humanities or social sciences. There are no quotas for individual subject areas and no thematic priorities. The primary factor in assessing applications will remain the excellence of the proposal. The Academy will, however, where appropriate, take into account the aim of providing particular support for certain important fields, either emerging areas of scholarship or areas of research that are endangered or under threat.

Ultra-nationalist mass mobilisation is an emerging area with special relevance to growing far-right politics across the world. Ultra-nationalist groups have been gaining traction in several countries and more recently they operate within civil society. The complex challenge of preventing and countering radicalisation has become more urgent with these new actors. Therefore, this project tackles one of the most pressing and emerging issues of our time: the building up of ultra-nationalist mass mobilisation within civil society.

Ethical Issues

Are there any special ethical issues arising from your proposal that are not covered by the relevant professional Code of Practice? You must answer yes or no:

⦿ No

Have you obtained, or will you obtain ethical approval from your employing institution or other relevant authority? You must answer yes or no:

⦿ Yes

If the answers are yes to special ethical issues and no to having obtained prior approval, please describe here the non-standard ethical issues arising from your research and how you will address them:

If the answer is no to special ethical issues please enter N/A

N/A

Source of Funding

Have you/any co-applicants made any other applications in connection with this project? If so, with what results?

No other applications in connection with this project has been made.

Section 7 - Financial Details

Period	Item Type	Item	Field	£
Year 1	Travel Costs	Travel Costs	Proposed Cost	£3,310.00
	Other Costs	Other Costs	Proposed Cost	£3,038.00
	Accommodation	Accomodation	Proposed Cost	£2,030.00
	Consumables	Consumables	Proposed Cost	£0.00

	Research/Clerical Assistance	Research/Clerical Assistance	Proposed Cost	£1,600.00
Year 1 Total			**Proposed Cost**	**£9,978.00**

Year 2	Travel Costs	Travel Costs	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Other Costs	Other Costs	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Accommodation	Accomodation	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Consumables	Consumables	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Research/Clerical Assistance	Research/Clerical Assistance	Proposed Cost	£0.00
Year 2 Total			**Proposed Cost**	**£0.00**

Year 3	Travel Costs	Travel Costs	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Other Costs	Other Costs	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Accommodation	Accomodation	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Consumables	Consumables	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Research/Clerical Assistance	Research/Clerical Assistance	Proposed Cost	£0.00
Year 3 Total			**Proposed Cost**	**£0.00**

Total	Travel Costs	Travel Costs	Proposed Cost	£3,310.00
	Other Costs	Other Costs	Proposed Cost	£3,038.00
	Accommodation	Accomodation	Proposed Cost	£2,030.00
	Consumables	Consumables	Proposed Cost	£0.00
	Research/Clerical Assistance	Research/Clerical Assistance	Proposed Cost	£1,600.00
Total			**Proposed Cost**	**£9,978.00**

Justification

Please refer to the scheme guidance notes for full details of eligible costs.

Please provide details of funding related to the relevant fields set out in the financial details table above.

Applicants should prepare accurate costings for the proposed research expenses, and should be particularly careful not to overestimate the resources required. Costs should be clearly itemised and justified in terms of the research programme for this application.

We request £3310 for Travel Costs:
£1740 for flights of PI Zihnioglu: She will make four visits to Istanbul (£420 for each visit) and one visit to Ankara while in Turkey (domestic flight, £60). The four events are kick-off/capacity building workshop, the second workshop, focus group meeting and learning exchange/dissemination meeting. The first, third and fourth visit will last two days. The second visit (workshop) will be 12 days because she will do some interviews in Istanbul and in Ankara. We request £360 for 18 days of subsistence for the PI's four visits (£20 per day). We request £420 for flight costs of Co-I Thomson. He will make one visit to Istanbul for the workshop. We request £40 of subsistence for his two day stay (£20 per day). We request £120 airport transfer cost for the PI's 4 visits to Turkey (including the transfer between Liverpool and Manchester Airport and domestic airport transfer costs in Istanbul and Ankara), Co-I Thomson's one visit to Turkey. We request £540 for flights of three workshop participants from Ankara. Three participants will come from Ankara to Istanbul three times (domestic flight, £60). We also request £90 for their airport transfer (£10 per each transfer of each participant).

We request £2030 for Accommodation Costs:
£1260 for 18 nights of accommodation for 4 trips of PI Zihnioglu: (£70 per night)
£140 for 2 nights of accommodation for 1 trip of Co-I Thomson: (£70 per night)
£630 for 9 nights of accommodation of workshop participants from Ankara. Three participants will be staying for one night for each of the three workshops: (£70 per night)

We request £3038 for Other Costs:
£1505 for four events. We will organise four events as explained in the research proposal (three workshops and one focus group). We request a total of £610 to hire a venue for the events (£180 for each of the one day-long kick-off/capacity building workshop, second workshop and learning exchange/dissemination workshop, and £70 for 2-hours long focus group). The cost also includes the technical assistance, the use of internet and equipment in the venue. £850 to provide lunch and refreshments for 3 events (except for the focus group). 15 people will be invited to kick-off/capacity building workshop, 30 people to the second workshop, and 40 to learning exchange/dissemination workshop (£10 per person). Co-I Thomson will convene a three-hour session during the workshop. We request £45 for the translation of his session (£15 per hour).

£513 for transcription of interviews: We plan to conduct 55 interviews and one focus group interview. We expect to have 57 hours of transcription (approximately one hour for each interview and two hours for the focus group): £513 for 57 hours of transcription (£9 per hour).

The interviews will need to get translated to English to submit to the UK Data Archive. We expect to get translated around 170 pages of data and we request £1020 for translation of Turkish transcripts into English (£6 per page).

We request £1600 for Research Assistance:
We will hire one research assistant for 20 weeks (from mid-July until the end of November). We will need a research assistant based in Istanbul to help in organising the workshops and the focus group, and in collecting social media data. S/he will also conduct some of the interviews under the Co-I Yesevi's guidance. PI Zihnioglu and Co-I Yesevi will mentor the researcher. The research assistant will hold a PhD in social science. The researcher will work 8 hours a week for a duration of 20 weeks and will get paid £10 per hour.

Name of Special Fund

If the scheme includes funding from more than one source, please indicate if your application is relevant to a particular special fund - details in scheme guidance notes

No Response

Section 8 - Equal Opportunities

Gender

Please indicate your gender:

Female

Age

Please indicate which age group you are in:

30-39

Date of Birth

Please state your date of birth:

23 July 1981

Ethnic Origin

Please state your ethnic origin:

Other white background

Disabilities

The Equality Act defines disability as "A physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term negative effect on the person's ability to carry out normal daily activities". If this applies, please specify the nature of the disability:

Not applicable