

SELİN BENĞİ GÜMRÜKÇÜ

Assistant Teaching Professor

Department of Political Science, Rutgers University –New Brunswick

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<https://www.polisci.rutgers.edu/cb-profile/dgumrukcu>

EDUCATION

- Ph.D. Political Science (*magna cum laude*), University of Zurich, 2014
Dissertation: “Reconstructing a Cycle of Protest: Protest and Politics in Turkey, 1971-1985”
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Hanspeter Kriesi
- 2013 Visiting Student, Centre for International Studies and Research, Sciences Po, Paris/France
- 2013 Visiting Fellow, Graduate School of History and Sociology, University of Bielefeld, Germany
- M.A. Public Administration, Dokuz Eylul University, 2007
- B.A. Public Administration, Dokuz Eylul University, 2005

RESEARCH AREAS

Contentious politics, political parties, democratic backsliding and authoritarianism, regime change, political violence, far-right, Turkish politics

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

- 2025-pres. Assistant Teaching Professor, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, USA.
- 2023-2025 Postdoctoral Associate, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, USA.
- 2022-2023 Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, USA.
- 2020-2022 Postdoctoral Associate, Center for European Studies, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, USA.
- 2018-2020 Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, USA.
- 2018 Visiting Fellow, Social and Political Sciences Department, European University Institute, Florence/Italy.
- 2017 Researcher, Sociology Department, University of Paris 8, Paris/France.
- 2015-2016 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Izmir University, Turkey

2014-2015 Lecturer, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Izmir University, Turkey

PUBLICATIONS

Books

2026

(forthcoming) *Protest and Politics in Turkey in the 1970s: Echoes of Dissent*

Peer Reviewed Articles

2025

“Rule of Law Backsliding and Abusive Constitutionalism in Turkey,” *Review of Middle Eastern Studies*, 58 (1-2): 27-33.

2025

“Unraveling the Cycle of Protest in Turkey’s Gezi Park,” *Review of Middle Eastern Studies*, 57 (2): 264-279.

2023

“Democratic Backsliding and Universities: Between Control and Resilience,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 55(3): 528-536.

2023

“Ideology, Discourse, and Alliance Structures: Explaining Far-Right Political Violence in Turkey in the 1970s,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 35(1): 210-224.

2022

“Populist Discourse, (Counter-) Mobilizations and Democratic Backsliding in Turkey,” *Turkish Studies*, 23(3): 407-429.

2022

“Forming Pre-Electoral Coalitions in Competitive Authoritarian Contexts: The Case of the 2018 Parliamentary Elections in Turkey,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* (with Prof. Dr. Filiz Başkan-Canyaş and Dr. Orkunt Canyaş), 24(2): 323-343.

2017

Yavuz Yıldırım & **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, “Rupture and Continuities in the Waves of Protests in Turkey in the Axis of TEKEL-HES and Gezi Park Protests” (in Turkish), *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 26: 388-405.

2015

Filiz Başkan-Canyaş, Orkunt Canyaş, **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, “Turkey’s 2015 Parliamentary Elections,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 18(1): 77-89.

2012

Filiz Başkan & **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, “Positions of Turkish Political Parties on European Integration,” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 12(1): 25-44.

2010

“The Rise of a Social Movement: Emergence of the Anti-globalization Movements in Turkey,” *Turkish Studies*, 11(2): 163-180.

Book Chapters

2024

Sultan Tepe & **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, “United We Divide: Turkey’s Hyper-Polarized Diaspora in the US.” In Ayca Arkilic, Banu Senay (eds). *Routledge Handbook of Turkey's Diasporas*. New York: Routledge.

2016

Siret Hursoy & **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, “Theorising Social Movements in Democratic Transitions.” In Can Zeyrek (ed.) *Laboratory Western Balkans. Regime Cha(lle)nge*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

- 2015 “Diffusion of Protests: Anti/Alter-globalization Movements and Gezi Park Protests in Turkey.” In Petia Gueorguieva et Anna Krasteva (eds.) *La Rue et L’e-Rue. Nouvelles Manifestations Citoyennes*. Paris: L’Harmattan.
- 2015 Filiz Başkan & **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, “Europeanization and Political Parties in Turkey.” In Aylin Güney and Ali Tekin (eds.) *Europeanization of Turkey: Polity and Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Public Scholarship/Popular Press

- 2025 “Artificial Intelligence–Based Aesthetics of Dissent in Turkey”, *Public Seminar*, June 18, <https://publicseminar.org/2025/06/turkey-protesters-using-ai/>
- 2025 “Is the Past Ever Truly Past? The 1970s and the Politics of Time in Turkey,” *APSA MENA Newsletter*, 8 (1): 47-51. <https://apsamena.org/mena-politics-newsletter/mena-politics-newsletter-81-spring-2025/>
- 2024 **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, Michael Heaney & Eric Heberlig, “Pro-Gaza and far-left activists dominated the 2024 DNC protests”, **Good Authority**, August 29, <https://goodauthority.org/news/democratic-national-convention-2024-dnc-protests-gaza-ukraine/>
- 2024 **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, Michael Heaney & Eric Heberlig, “The 2024 GOP convention protests, vs. previous years”, **Good Authority**, August 7, <https://goodauthority.org/news/the-2024-gop-convention-protests-vs-previous-years/>
- 2023 “The Protest Is Over—But Its Politics Remain,” *Public Books*, August 3, <https://www.publicbooks.org/the-protest-is-over-but-its-politics-remain/>
- 2023 “The 2023 Turkish Elections – A Roller Coaster Ride between Hope and Despair,” *Public Seminar*, June 14, <https://publicseminar.org/essays/the-2023-turkish-elections/>
- 2022 “Teaching During the Pandemic: From Compassionate Pedagogy to Compassionate Institution,” *APSA MENA Newsletter*, 5 (1): 6-10.
- 2021 “The Aftermath of the Gezi Park Protests: Rising Populism and Mobilization for Autocracy,” *Jadaliyya*, <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/42978>
- 2015 “Reading Manifestos: European Union in Turkey’s June 2015 Elections,” *Reflections Turkey*, <http://www.reflectionsturkey.com/?p=1230>

Book Reviews

- 2025 Review of *Memory, Patriarchy, and Economy in Turkey: Narratives of Political Power* by Meral Ugur Cinar, *Turkish Studies*, online first, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2025.2474847>
- 2023 Review of *Turkish Politics and 'The People': Mass Mobilisation and Populism* by Spyros A. Sofos, *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 10 (1): 103-105.

- 2013 Ayşen Uysal & **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, Review of *Negotiating Political Power in Turkey: Breaking Up the Party*, by Elise Massicard and Nicole Watts, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 19 (1-2).

Books In Progress

Ayşen Uysal & **Gümrükçü, S.B.** (co-editors), *Contentious Politics, Protest and Repression in Turkey* (proposal under review).

Articles In Progress

- Gümrükçü, S.B.**, Heaney, M. & Heberlig, E. “Feeling the Conventions: Emotions and Protests at the Party Conventions in 2024” (revisions submitted to *PS: Political Science & Politics*)
- Unal, B., Korpe, M., & **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, “Parliamentary Polarization in Turkey: Textual Analysis Using Mean Absolute Probability, 2011-2023,” (under review at *Mediterranean Politics*)
- Addy, T., Dutta, S., **Gümrükçü, S.B.**, Harris, K., Murphy-Bowne, M. J., Rauschenbach, I., Tabanlı, S., Vera, L., Wicks, E., Yang, J. “Toward Becoming a More Inclusive Instructor: Reflections from Research to Practice,” (under review at *The Journal of Diversity and Equity in Educational Development*)
- Heberlig, E., Heaney, M. & **Gümrükçü, S.B.** “Assets, Allies, and Influence Sought by Protesters at U.S. Party Conventions,” (presented at APSA 2025, to be submitted soon)
- Altun, E., & **Gümrükçü, S.B.** “Processing the idea of cultivating a pious youth of Turkey’s ruling AKP to the 1970s Islamist movements,” (to be submitted to *Politics and Religion*)
- “Timing of government organized countermobilizations within the framework of populism and social movements literatures,” (to be submitted to *Government & Opposition*)
- “Emergence and activities of parties abroad,” (to be submitted to *Party Politics*)

GRANTS

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| 2025 | Rutgers Department of Political Science, Clyde Mitchell Research Fund, \$3,000 USD. |
| 2024 | Institute for International Education, Global Community for Women’s Leadership, Inaugural Cohort, \$2500 USD. |
| 2024 | Rutgers Department of Political Science, Clyde Mitchell Research Fund, \$1,900 USD. |
| 2024 | Mutual Mentoring Grant, Rutgers University Equity & Inclusion, \$3,000 USD. |
| 2023 | American Political Science Association, Travel Grant, \$200 USD. |
| 2023 | Middle East Studies Association, Global Academy Fellowship, \$1,500 USD. |
| 2023 | Mutual Mentoring Grant, Rutgers University Equity & Inclusion, \$5,380 USD. |

2022	First Generation Scholar Travel and Accessibility Grant, American Political Science Association, \$200 USD.
2020- 2022	Global Academy Fellowship, Middle East Studies Association, \$10,000 USD
2020	Artinian Travel Award, Southern Political Science Association Meeting, San Juan/Puerto Rico, \$500 USD.
2019	Travel Grant, Middle East Studies Association Conference, New Orleans, \$500 USD.
2018-2020	Scholar Rescue Fund, Institute of International Education, \$50,000 USD
2014	Travel Grant, International Political Studies Association's World Congress of Political Science, Montreal/Canada
2013	Research Scholarship for, " <i>La rue comme lieu d'expression politique</i> ," Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie, CERI, Sciences Po
2013	Visiting Fellowship, University of Bielefeld, Graduate School of History and Sociology
2012	Accommodation and Fee Grant, Institut Barcelona D'estudis Internacionals Summer School of the Mediterranean
2012	Travel and Accommodation Grant, European Consortium for Political Research Winter School in Methods and Techniques, University of Vienna
2010	Research Grant, Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBİTAK), BİDEB 2214 Program, University of Zurich, Institute of Political Science

INVITED TALKS & PANELS (selected last 3yrs)

2024	"No End of History: Crooked Circle of Democracy and Authoritarianism," New School for Social Research, NYC, April 25.
2023	"Democratic Backsliding: The Case of Türkiye," Rutgers Global, International Scholar Speaker Series, November 8.
2023	"Reflections on a Century: Political Perspectives in Türkiye from Past to Today," University of Pennsylvania, November 3.
2023	"Turkey in the Aftermath of the 2023 Elections," Middle East Studies Association, Global Academy (online), June 6.
2023	"Turkey's Elections in 2023: After the Second Round," American Political Science Association, Middle East & North Africa Politics (online), June 1.
2023	"Turkey's Elections: Local and Global Implications," Middle East Studies Association, Global Academy (online), May 25.
2023	"Reflections on 2023 Elections in Turkey," American Political Science Association, Middle East and North Africa Politics Section (online), May 17.
2023	"Democratic Backsliding and Women's Rights in Turkey," The Present Day Club, Princeton, June 17.

- 2022 “Democratic Backsliding and Universities: The Case of Turkey,” Middle East Studies Association Global Academy, Denver/CO, December 3.

CONFERENCE ACTIVITY (selected 5ys)

Papers

- 2025 “Assets, Allies, and Influence Sought by Protesters at U.S. Party Conventions,” APSA, Vancouver, September (with Heaney, M. & Heberlig, E.)
- 2023 “Mobilize or Not to Mobilize: Opposition Party Tactics under Competitive Authoritarian Regimes,” Association for the Study of Nationalities 24th World Convention, NYC/USA, May 18-20, and APSA, Los Angeles, August 30-September 3.
- 2022 “When do governments organize protests? A case study of Turkey”, 93rd Southern Political Science Association, San Antonio, January 13-15, and Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York (online), May 4-6.
- 2021 “The 2018 Twin Presidential and the Parliamentary Elections of Turkey: Threat to Democratization?” 26th World Congress of Political Science, IPSA, Online, July 10-15 (with Prof. Dr. Filiz Başkan-Canyaş and Dr. Orkunt Canyaş).
- 2021 “‘Respect to the National Will’: Populist Mobilizations in Turkey,” IV ISA Forum of Sociology, Online, February 23-18.
- 2020 “When and How Parties Protest: Insights from Contemporary Turkey,” Middle East Studies Association, Online, October 7-15.
- 2020 “Populism and Protests: Mobilization and Counter-mobilization in Turkey,” 91st Southern Political Science Association, San Juan/Puerto Rico, January 9-11.

Posters

- 2024 “Opposition Parties Abroad: Divergent Tactics of Parties in the Diaspora,” APSA, September 5-8.
- 2022 “Protests and Pandemic in Turkey and Israel,” APSA, September 15-18.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick (USA)

- Introduction to Comparative Politics (Fall 2024, 2025)
- Contemporary Politics of the Middle East (Fall 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025)
- Women and Politics in the Middle East (Spring 2022, 2023, 2026)
- Islam and Democracy in the Middle East (Fall 2021, 2022, 2023)
- Culture and Revolution in the Middle East (Spring 2019, 2020, 2021)
- Topics in Comparative Politics – Social Movements (Spring 2020, 2021, 2022; Fall 2022, 2025)
- Globalization and the Non-Western World (Fall 2019, Spring 2023 and 2026)

European Politics (Fall 2019, 2020, 2021; Spring 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026)
Capitalism: The History (Fall 2020)

Izmir University, Izmir (Turkey)

Political Parties (Fall 2015)
World Politics (Spring 2016)
Ancient and Medieval Political Thought (Fall 2014)
Modern Political Thought (Spring 2015)
Civil Society in Turkey (Spring 2016)
Consolidation of Democracy in Turkey (Fall 2015)
Urbanization and Environmental Problems (Spring 2015, 2016)
Basics of Law (Fall 2014, 2015)
Public Administration (Fall 2014)
Social Responsibility (Spring 2015)

CONTRIBUTION TO DATASETS

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project, Country Expert (Turkey), 2024 & 2025

SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins & Protect Democracy, Expert Survey on Political Violence, 2024

Chapel Hill Expert Survey, Russia's War in Ukraine, Country Expert (Turkey), 2023

Expert Survey on **Social Movements and Protest**, 2023

Chapel Hill Expert Survey, Country Expert (Turkey), 2020 & 2024

SERVICE

Peer Review

Party Politics
Democratization
Social Movement Studies
Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies (x5)
Turkish Studies (x5)
Alternatives
South European Society and Politics
Journal of Political Ideologies
Alternatif Politika
Siyasal: Journal of Political Sciences
Book proposal/manuscript reviews: *Palgrave Macmillan*

To Profession

Editorial Board, APSA Middle East and North Africa Newsletter, September 2024-
Discussant, MPSA, 2024, 2019
Chair and Discussant, APSA, 2020, 2022, 2023
Chair ASN, 2023
Co-chair, IPSA, 2021
Chair, MESA, 2020

To University

Co-leader/Initiator, Faculty Affinity Network for Transnational Scholars, Rutgers, 2024-
Co-leader/Initiator, Female International Scholars Mutual Mentoring Network, Rutgers, 2023
Advisory Board Member, Center for Faculty Success, Rutgers, 2024-
Core-member, U-SOAR Mutual Mentoring Network, Rutgers, 2024-2025

Media Appearances

- 2023 *La Razon* (Newspaper Spain), https://www.larazon.es/internacional/reto-mas-inmediato-erdogan-economia_202305306474f27d573e26000134aa10.html
2023 “Negotiating Ideas Podcast,” hosted by Dr. Omar Sadr,
<https://open.spotify.com/episode/1LESmGDSO2OsrO5aNoMpfN>
2023 “This Moment in Democracy Podcast,” hosted by Dr. Saladdin Ambar,
<https://open.spotify.com/episode/4IrnBMCEwCYdIFw7kjOvaR>

RELEVANT SKILLS

Languages

Turkish: Mother tongue
English (fluent: reading, writing and speaking)
French (intermediate: reading; elementary: writing and speaking)
German (elementary: reading, writing and speaking)

Methods & Software

Protest Event Analysis (PEA), semi-structured and in-depth interviews, expert interviews,
STATA, R

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

American Political Science Association, Middle East Studies Association, International Political
Studies Association

REFERENCES

Prof. Jillian Schwedler
Department of Political Science
CUNY, Hunter College
js1287@hunter.cuny.edu

Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi
Department of Social and Political Sciences
European University Institute
Hanspeter.kriesi@eui.eu

Prof. Asli Bali
Yale Law School
asli.bali@yale.edu

Prof. William Field
Department of Political Science
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey
whfield@polisci.rutgers.edu

Prof. Filiz Başkan
Department of Political Science and International Relations
Izmir University of Economics
Sakarya Cad. No 156 Balçova İzmir, Turkey
filiz.baskan@ieu.edu.tr