

## SEBNEM GUMUSCU

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### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Middlebury College	2022-
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Middlebury College	2014-2022
Visiting Assistant Professor, FASS, Sabanci University	2013-2014

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### PUBLICATIONS

#### **Books:**

*Democracy or Authoritarianism: Islamist Governments in Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia*, Cambridge University Press, 2023.

*Democracy, Identity, and Foreign Policy in Turkey: Hegemony through Transformation* (with E. F. Keyman) Palgrave MacMillan, 2014

*Türkiye'de Siyasetin Temel Dinamikleri: Sabri Sayarı'ya Armağan* [Essential Dynamics in Turkish Politics] (ed. with B. Esen) *forthcoming*

*Türkiye'nin Yeni Rejimi: Rekabetçi Otoriterlik* [Turkey's New Regime: Competitive Authoritarianism] (with B. Esen and H. Yavuzylmaz, in Turkish), İletişim Yayınları, 2023.

#### **Articles in peer-reviewed journals:**

Constitution-Making in Polarized Transitions: The Role of Civil Society in the Establishment of Independent Judiciary (with A. Aydın-Cakir) *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, *forthcoming*

How to Fight Turkey's Authoritarian Turn (with B. Esen). *Journal of Democracy*, 36:3, 2025.

The AKP and Stealth Islamization in Turkey *Turkish Studies*, 25:3, 2024.

Competitive yet unfair: 2023 elections and authoritarian resilience in Turkey (with B. Esen and H. Yavuzylmaz). *South European Society and Politics* 28:3, 2023.

How Erdogan's populism won again (with B. Esen) *Journal of Democracy*, 34:3, July 2023.

Why did Turkish democracy collapse? A political economy account of AKP's authoritarianism (with B. Esen) *Party Politics*, 27:6, 2021.

Killing competitive authoritarianism softly: 2019 local elections in Turkey (with B. Esen) *South European Society and Politics*, 24:3, 2019.

Building a Competitive Authoritarian Regime: State-Business Relations in AKP's Turkey (with B. Esen) *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20:4, 2018.

Turkey: How the coup failed (with B. Esen) *Journal of Democracy*, January 2017.

A small yes for presidentialism: The Turkish constitutional referendum of April 2017 (with B. Esen) *South European Society and Politics*, 22:3, 2017.

Rising Competitive Authoritarianism in Turkey (with B. Esen) *Third World Quarterly*, 37:9, 2016.

The Emerging Predominant Party System in Turkey. *Government and Opposition*, 48:2, 2013.

Class, Status, and Party: The Changing Face of Political Islam in Turkey and Egypt *Comparative*

*Political Studies*, 43:7, 2010.

The March 2009 Local Elections and the Inconsistent Democratic Transformation of the AKP in Turkey (with D. Sert) *Middle East Critique*, 19:1, 2010.

The Power of the Devout Bourgeoisie: The Case of Justice and Development Party in Turkey (with D. Sert) *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45:6, 2009.

### **Book Chapters:**

İslamcılık. In T. Bora (Ed.) *Cumhuriyetin Yüzüncü Yılı: Siyasi Düşüncelerin Bir Muhasebesi*, Tarih Vakfı, 2024.

Elections and democratic backsliding in Turkey. In F. Cavatorta and V. Resta (Eds.) *Elections in the Middle East and North Africa*, Routledge, 2023.

Dominance and Democratic Backsliding under the AKP rule in Turkey. In F. Cavatorta, L. Storm, and V. Resta (Eds.) *Political Parties in the Middle East*, Routledge, 2020

Turkey's Peace Initiatives in the Middle East: A Tragic Turn of Events. In U.D. Eralp (Ed.) *Turkey as a Mediator: Stories of Success and Failure*, Lexington, 2016

### **Other publications:**

After Crackdown, Is Turkey an Autocracy? *Journal of Democracy, Online Exclusive* (with B. Esen)

Violence against women in Turkey is political: Here is why. *Wilson Center Middle East Program*.

Local elections in Turkey: How did we get here? And what's next? *Wilson Center Middle East Program*.

How Turkey's opposition won big. *Journal of Democracy Online Exclusive*. April 2024 (with B. Esen)

AKP'nin siyasal iktisadi ve patrimonyal rejimin yükselişi. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 158, 2021.

Tunus'ta demokratik gerileme: Nasıl, neden? *Toplum ve Bilim*, 157, 2021.

Many Turks say the government didn't stop the fires quickly enough. Here's the story. The Monkey Cage, *The Washington Post*, August 10, 2021.

Intra-party conflicts and democratic crises: Lessons from Islamist parties. *APSA Comparative Politics Newsletter*, November 2020.

In Turkey, the latest elections had over 80 percent voter turnout. Here's why. The Monkey Cage, *The Washington Post*, June 30, 2019.

The Clash of Islamists: The crisis of the Turkish state and democracy. Contemporary Turkey, *POMEPS*, November 2016.

Ruling vs. Governing: Pluralism and Democracy in Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia. (with E. Fuat Keyman) *German Marshall Fund on Turkey*, April 2014.

Islamism, Electoral Hegemony, and Democracy: Lessons from Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia. (with E. Fuat Keyman) *German Marshall Fund on Turkey*, December 2013.

Brotherhood's Monopolization of Power Pushes Egypt to the Brink. (with N. Fisher Onar) *German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Take*, February 6, 2013.

Egypt cannot replicate the Turkish model, but it can learn from it. *Sada Journal of Carnegie Endowment for Peace*, January 12, 2012.

Turkey's Reactions to the Arab Spring. *Yale Journal of International Affairs*, May 2012.

### **UNDER REVIEW**

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Fragmenting Faith: The Splintered Landscape of Turkish Political Islam in the 2023 Elections

Teaching the Middle East Across the Atlantic

## WORKING PAPERS

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Theorizing desecularization: Lessons from the case of Islamization in Turkey (with Z. Sarigil)

Party Capture and Democratic Backsliding

Defending Islam at the ballot box: Islamization through electoral mobilization in Turkey

## RECENT INVITED TALKS

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Building Coalitions to Subvert Democracy, Sabanci University, November 2024

Democracy or Authoritarianism: Islamist Governments in Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia, UConn, September 2024; Stanford University, April 2024; Istanbul Policy Center, May 2023

Democratic backsliding in Turkey, Dartmouth College, January 2024

Why Spring Turned to Winter: Islamist Parties and Democratic Transitions in Egypt and Tunisia, Ozyegin University, Istanbul, 2021 [online]

Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen, The Red Crescent, New England Chapter, November 2020 [online]

The Middle East, Vermont Council on World Affairs, October 2019

The Islamist Pendulum: Democracy and Authoritarianism in Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia, Bilkent University, Ankara, May 2019; Bogazici University, March 2019

Why did Turkish democracy die? Bilkent University, Ankara, May 2019

Hybrid Regimes and Human Rights, Inaugural Panel, Sakıp Sabancı Center for Turkish Studies at Columbia University, May 2018

## RECENT CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

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Empowering autocrats: The EU's migrant deals with Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia, ISA Annual Meeting 2024, EU Values Conference 2025

Democratic backsliding and intra-party politics: Lessons from Turkey, APSA Annual Meeting, 2022

Democratic backsliding in the EU's neighborhood and illiberal contestations against the EU, EUSA Biannual Meeting, 2022

The decline of Islamist parties, MPSA Annual Conference [online] (with Sultan Tepe), 2022

Why do democracies collapse? A comparative study of Turkey and South Africa, APSA Annual Meeting 2020 [online], ISA Annual Meeting 2021 [online]

The Islamist Pendulum: Democracy and Authoritarianism in Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia, Mid-West Political Science Association Meeting, April 2019

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

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Introduction to Comparative Politics, Politics of the Middle East and North Africa, Political Economy of the Middle East, International Politics of the Middle East, Political Islam, How Democracies Die, Contemporary Conflicts in the Middle East, Qualitative Methods in Political Science

## FELLOWSHIP, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

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Conflict Transformation Research Grant, 2025

Conflict Transformation Research Grant, 2024

RCGA Faculty Fellow in Global Trends in Autocracy and Democracy, 2020-2024

MiddData Grant 2022

POMEPS TRE Summer Research Grant, 2017, 2021

Whiting Foundation Fellowship, 2017

Istanbul Policy Center Grant for the Project titled "Clientelism in Turkish Politics" 2011

Research Fellow, CMES, Yale University, September 2010-February 2011

Teaching Award, Sabancı University Spring 2010  
 Dean's Foreign Language Fellowship, University of Virginia Summer 2006, 2007  
 Dupont Graduate Fellowship, University of Virginia 2003-2007  
 Fulbright Fellowship, Fulbright Commission 2001-2003

#### SERVICE TO THE COLLEGE

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Cluster Head, Conflict Transformation, 2025-2026  
 Undergraduate Program Head, KW Conflict Transformation Collaborative, 2022-2024  
 CDEI member 2022-2024

#### SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

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APSA Presidential Task Force, The University in An Era of Democratic Erosion  
 Co-Editor, APSA MENA Newsletter, 2024-2027  
 Editorial board member, *Turkish Studies*  
 Editorial board member, *South European Society and Politics*  
 Editorial board member, APSA MENA Newsletter, 2023-2024  
 APSA Division Program co-Chair, Religion and Politics, 2023  
 Member of the American Political Science Association, International Studies Association  
 Referee for *Oxford University Press*, *University of Michigan Press*, *American Political Science Review*,  
*American Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*,  
*Democratization*, *Government and Opposition*, *Political Studies*, *Review of International Political*  
*Economy*, *Religion and Politics*, *Party Politics*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Turkish Studies*

#### OTHER EMPLOYMENT

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ISTANBUL POLICY CENTER 2012-2014	Istanbul TURKEY
Research Coordinator	
SABANCI UNIVERSITY	Istanbul TURKEY
Post-Doctoral Fellow 2011-2012	

#### EDUCATION

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UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA	Charlottesville VA
Ph.D. in Foreign Affairs, May 2010	
M.A. in Foreign Affairs, May 2003	
KOC UNIVERSITY	Istanbul TURKEY
B.A. International Relations, June 2000	

#### LANGUAGES

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Turkish (Native), English (Fluent), Arabic (Intermediate), French (Intermediate), Italian (Intermediate)