

# Curriculum Vitae

Gábor Tóka

Last update: 1 February 2014

## Current position

December 2008-: Professor, Department of Political Science, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

## Degrees

Ph.D. in Sociology (summa cum laude, ELTE, Budapest)  
University degree (equivalent to an MA) in Sociology (ELTE, Budapest)  
University degree (equivalent to an MA) in History (ELTE, Budapest)

## Previous academic career

October 2006-September 2008: Marie Curie Fellow in the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, United Kingdom  
July-September 1996, May-July 1997: guest researcher at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research, University of Mannheim, Germany  
June 1992-: full-time faculty member in the Department of Political Science, Central European University, Budapest. (1992-1995: lecturer; 1995 till March 2003: assistant professor; March 2003-December 2008: associate professor; 2000-2003: director of doctoral studies; 2003-2006: head of department; 2006-2009: on leave)  
September 1989-August 1993: research staff, TÁRKI (Social Research Informatics Center), Budapest. (Part-time assistant till January 1991 and research fellow thereafter)

## Research interest

Voting behavior and political attitude formation, especially in a comparative perspective and with respect to the impact of national institutions and political knowledge; simulation of information effects on collective preferences

## Awards, scholarships

December 2008: István Bibó Prize for outstanding lifetime achievements by the Hungarian Political Science Association

September 2008-August 2009: Karamanlis Fellowship, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence, Italy

May 2008: Recipient of the Best Paper in Political Communication Prize at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association

March 2007-September 2011: Associate Member of Nuffield College, Oxford, United Kingdom

October 2006-September 2008: Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship under the TMR Program of the European Union at the University of Oxford, contract no. 025384

January-June 2005: International Policy Fellow at the Center for Policy Studies, Central European University, Budapest, hosted by the University of Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, and by the Juan March Institute, Madrid, Spain

July-August 2001: visiting scholar at the British Library of Political and Economic Sciences, London, United Kingdom

March-April 2001: visiting scholar at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto, Ontario

June-September 1999: visiting scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at Washington, D.C.

September-December 1998: visiting fellow at the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana

September 1992-June 1993: Soros/Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholar, Nuffield College, Oxford

March 1992: Young Scholar Award of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for outstanding scholarly contribution

## **Peer reviewer**

*American Political Science Review* in 2007-2008; *British Journal of Political Science* since 1999; the Economic and Social Research Council of the United Kingdom in 2008; *Electoral Studies* since 2000; European Research Council in 2011; the European Science Foundation since 2001; *European Union Politics* in 2003; the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic in 2001-2005; *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* since 2008; *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* in 2007; the Hungarian Accreditation Agency (MAB) in 2006; the Hungarian National Science Foundation (OTKA) since 1998; *Party Politics* in 2001-2005; *Political Behavior* since 2009; *Political Communication* since 2010; *Political Studies* in 2012; *Politikatudományi Szemle* (the scholarly journal of the Hungarian Political Science Association) since 1993; *Public Choice* since 2011; *Social Science Quarterly* in 2000

## **Editorial board memberships**

- 2000-: *Electoral Studies* ([www.elsevier.com/locate/electstud](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/electstud))  
2003-: *European Union Politics* (<http://eup.sagepub.com>)  
2012-: *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*  
(<http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/fbep20/current>)  
2013-: Polish Political Science Review  
(<http://politicalreview.politologia.uni.wroc.pl/index.php/en/>)  
1998-: *Politikatudományi Szemle* (the journal of the Hungarian Political Science Association, <http://www.poltudszemle.hu>)

### **Other current board memberships**

- 2011-: *Acta Politica* (journal of the Dutch Political Science Association, <http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ap/index.html>); member of the International Advisory Board  
2011-: *Swiss Political Science Review* (journal of the Swiss Political Science Association, <http://www.spsr.ch/>); member of the International Advisory Board  
2011-: Hungarian Consortium for Election Studies (<http://www.valasztaskutatas.hu>); co-chair  
2010-: European Election Studies Association; Board member  
2009-: Standing Group on Public Opinion and Voting Behaviour in a Comparative Perspective, European Consortium for Political Research (<http://povb-ecpr.org/>); Steering Committee member  
2009-: Hungarian Political Science Association (<http://mptt.hu/>); member of the Presidium  
2006-: Median Research Centre, Bucharest, Romania; Board member

### **PhD and MPhil supervision**

- PhD successfully defended: Gábor Soós (2005), Tania Gosselin (2006), Andrija Henjak (2009), Aitalina Azarova (2010), Oana Lup (2011), Diana Burlacu (2013)  
PhD research in progress: Sebastian Popa, Daniela Sirinic, Paul Weith, Gergő Závecz  
MPhil successfully defended: Bogdan Nica (1998), Alan Renwick (1998) Aida Paskeviciute (2000)

### **University administration**

- August 2012-July 2014, August 2003-July 2006: Head of the Department of Political Science, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary  
September 2010-July 2012: Academic Director, School of Public Policy and International Affairs, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary  
August 2000-July 2003: Director of the Doctoral Program in Political Science, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

## Past research projects

- 2008-2012: Participant and Steering Committee member in the “Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union” FP7 Integrated Project (<http://www.piredeu.eu>)
- 2009-2012: Senior staff member in the ELECDEM Marie Curie Initial Training Network (<http://huss.exeter.ac.uk/politics/elecDEM/>)
- 2009-2011: Participant in the „A politikai részvétel és a képviselő kutatása a demokrácia-kapacitás növelése érdekében (Political Participation and Representation Research in Support of Democratic Capacity-Building)” project of the Hungarian Foundation for Democracy Research, supported by the Royal Norwegian Foreign Affairs under the Norwegian Financial Mechanism <http://www.valasztaskutatas.hu/participation-and-representation>)
- 2008-2010: Participant in the “EuroPolis: A Deliberate Polity Making Project” FP7 Integrated Project (<http://europolis-project.eu/>)
- 2006-2009: national team leader for Romania and Moldova in the “Social Inequality and Why it Matters for the Economic and Democratic Development of Europe and its Citizens (EUREQUAL)” FP6 Specifically Targeted Research Project (<http://eurequal.politics.ox.ac.uk>)
- 2006: National collaborator in Hungary for the Comparative National Election Study Project (<http://www.cnep.ics.ul.pt>)
- 2005-2009: participant in the “Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion (EQUALSOC)” FP6 Network of Excellence (<http://www.equalsoc.org>)
- 2005-2009: participant and Steering Committee member in the “Integrated and United? A Quest for Citizenship in An 'Ever Closer Europe (INTUNE)” FP6 Integrated Project (<http://www.intune.it>)
- 2004-2006: principal investigator of “The Integration of Hungarian Polity in the Political System of the European Union” project supported by the Bureau for Research Development and Utilization (KPKI, a Hungarian government agency) under registration # 5/079/2004
- 2004-2008: participant in the “Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-Level Europe (CONNEX)” FP6 Network of Excellence (<http://www.connex-network.org>)
- 2004-2008: participant in the “The Determinants of Active Civic Participation at European and National Level (CIVICACTIVE)” FP6 Specifically Targeted Research Project (<http://www.ucd.ie/civicact>)
- 2004: principal investigator for the 2004 European Election Study in Hungary, supported by a grant from the Open Society Institute
- 2003-2007: co-principal investigator of the European Election Study ([www.ees-homepage.net](http://www.ees-homepage.net))
- 2002-2004: participant in the “Hungarian Election Study” project (see <http://valasztaskutatas.hu/index.html>) directed by Prof. Róbert Angelusz (Eötvös University, Budapest), supported through research grants by the Hungarian Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Information Technology and Communication

- 2000-2001: leader of the “Indicators of Local Governance” project of the Tocqueville Research Center initiated and sponsored by the Local Government Initiative of the Open Society Institute, Budapest
- 1999-2000: participant in the Joint Project on “Measuring Democratic Consolidation Through Inter-Regional Comparisons - Europe and East Asia” of the Japanese Political Science Association and the European Consortium for Political Research
- 1999-2001: participant and Steering Committee member in the "Citnet: Citizens in Transformation" European Science Foundation Network
- 1995-2009: member of the Planning Committee of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems ([www.cses.org](http://www.cses.org))
- 1993-96: participant in the “The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe” project, directed by Herbert Kitschelt (Duke University), and sponsored by IREX
- 1992-97: principal investigator of the project on "The Development of Party Systems and Electoral Alignments in East Central Europe" sponsored by the Central European University Foundation
- 1993-94: principal investigator of “The Development of Political Cleavages in Hungary” project, sponsored by the Hungarian National Science Foundation (OTKA project code F6900)
- 1991-94: participant in “The Problem of Measurement in Social Sciences” project supported by the Hungarian National Science Foundation (OTKA)
- 1991-93: participant in the “Beliefs in Government” project supported by the European Science Foundation
- 1991-92: participant in “The Dismantling of the Social Safety Net and its Political Consequences in East-Central Europe” project sponsored by the Institute of East-West Studies
- 1991-94: participant in the “Material and Cultural Resources as Determinants of Social Attitudes” project supported by the Hungarian National Science Foundation (OTKA)
- 1990: junior researcher in the “Role of Government (ISSP 1990)” project in Hungary

## Publications

### *Books*

- Sanders, David, Pedro Magalhães, and Gábor Tóka, eds. 2012. *Citizens and the European Polity: Mass Attitudes Towards the European and National Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 328 pages. ISBN13: 978-0-19-960233-9, ISBN10: 0-19-960233-6. See <http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/Politics/ComparativePolitics/BritishPolitics/?view=usa&ci=9780199602339>
- Sanders, David, Paolo Bellucci, Gábor Tóka and Mariano Torcal, eds. 2012. *The Europeanization of National Politics? Citizenship and Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 304 pages. ISBN13: 9780199602346, ISBN10: 0199602344. See

<http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/Politics/ComparativePolitics/EuropeanUnion/?view=usa&ci=9780199602346>

- Linek, Lukás, Jan Outly, Gábor Tóka, and Ágnes Bátor. eds. 2007. *Volby do Evropského Parlamentu 2004 (The 2004 Elections to the European Parliament)*. Prague: SOÚ-FHS. (In Czech.)
- Tóka, Gábor, and Ágnes Bátor. eds. 2006. *A 2004. évi európai parlamenti választások: Pártok és szavazói magatartás nemzetközi összehasonlításban (The 2004 Elections to the European Parliament: Parties and Voting Behavior in Cross-National Comparison)*. Budapest: DKMKA, Századvég Kiadó, Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem Politikatudományi Intézet, 312 pages. ISBN 963 7340 20 3. (In Hungarian.) See [http://www.valasztaskutatas.hu/kiadvanyok/2004-evi-eu-parlament/copy\\_of\\_a-2004.-evi-europai-parlamenti-valasztasok](http://www.valasztaskutatas.hu/kiadvanyok/2004-evi-eu-parlament/copy_of_a-2004.-evi-europai-parlamenti-valasztasok)
- Soós, Gábor, Gábor Tóka and Glen Wright. eds. 2002. *State of Local Democracy in Central Europe, 2002*. Budapest: Local Government Initiative, 496 pages. ISBN: 9639419362. See [http://lqi.osi.hu/publications\\_datsheet.php?id=100](http://lqi.osi.hu/publications_datsheet.php?id=100)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2000. *Inventory of Political Attitude and Behaviour Surveys in East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union 1989-97*. Bergisch Gladbach: Edwin Ferger Verlag, 464 pages (Reihe Wissenschaft Band 10, ISBN 3-931219-12-7). See <http://www.e-ferger-verlag.de/allbooks.htm> & [http://www.personal.ceu.hu/departs/personal/Gabor\\_Toka/Papers/Toka00Inventory.pdf](http://www.personal.ceu.hu/departs/personal/Gabor_Toka/Papers/Toka00Inventory.pdf)
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski and Gábor Tóka. 1999. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 472 pages. ISBN: 052165890X. See <http://www.cambridge.org/hu/knowledge/isbn/item1161317> & <http://books.google.com/>
- Tóka, Gábor, and Zsolt Enyedi eds. 1999. *Elections to the Hungarian National Assembly 1994*. Berlin: Sigma, 318 pages. ISBN: ISBN 3-89404-184-6. See [http://www2000.wzb.eu/alt/iw/founding\\_elections.en.htm](http://www2000.wzb.eu/alt/iw/founding_elections.en.htm)
- Tóka, Gábor ed. 1995. *The 1990 Elections to the Hungarian National Assembly*. Berlin: Sigma, 198 pages. ISBN: 3-89404-150-1. See [http://www2000.wzb.eu/alt/iw/founding\\_elections.en.htm](http://www2000.wzb.eu/alt/iw/founding_elections.en.htm)

#### *Refereed international journal articles*

- Sanders, David, and Gábor Tóka, 2013. "Is Anyone Listening? Mass and Elite Opinion Cueing in the EU." *Electoral Studies* 32 (1): 13-25. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S026137941200128X>
- Tóka, Gábor, and Tania Gosselin, 2010. "Persistent Political Divides, Electoral Volatility and Citizen Involvement: The Freezing Hypotheses in the 2004 European Election." *West European Politics* 33 (3): 608-633.
- Brug, Wouter van der, Mark Franklin, and Gábor Tóka, 2008. "One Electorate or Many? Voting Behavior in New and Established Democracies in Europe." *Electoral Studies* 27 (4): 589-600.
- Tóka, Gábor, 2008. "Citizen Information, Election Outcomes and Good Governance." *Electoral Studies* 27 (1): 31-44.

- Tóka, Gábor, and Marina Popescu, 2007. "Inequalities of Political Influence in New Democracies." *International Journal of Sociology* 37 (4): 67-93.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2004. "Can Voters be Equal? A Cross-National Analysis. Part 2." *The Review of Sociology* 10 (1): 47-65.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2003. "Can Voters be Equal? A Cross-National Analysis. Part 1." *The Review of Sociology* 9 (2): 51-72.
- Tóka, Gábor. 1998. "Party Appeals and Voter Loyalty in New Democracies." *Political Studies* 46: 589-610.
- Tóka, Gábor, and Jaap Dronkers. 1996. "Sibling Resemblance in Education Attainment, Occupation Prestige, and Wealth in Hungary during the Communist Regime." *European Sociological Review* 12 (December 1996): 251-70.

*Other scholarly publications*

- Diana Burlacu and Gábor Tóka. Forthcoming. "Prospective Proximity-based Voting and Type of Democracy." In *Elections and Representative Democracy: Representation and Accountability*, ed. by Jacques Thomassen. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tóka, Gábor. Forthcoming. "Constitutional Principles and Electoral Democracy in Hungary." in *Constitution Building in Consolidated Democracies: A New Beginning or Decay of a Political System?* Ed. by Ellen Bos and Kálmán Pócza. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag.
- Tóka, Gábor, and Sebastian Popa. 2013. "Hungary." in *Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, 3<sup>rd</sup> revised and updated edition, ed. by Sten Berglund, Joakim Ekman, Kevin Deegan-Krause, and Oddbjorn Knutsen. Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar, pp. 291-338.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2013. "Party Positions." in *Comparative Politics: The Problem of Equivalence*, ed. by Jan W. van Deth. ECPR Classics reprint edition. London: ECPR Press, pp. 180-204.
- Csonka, Anna, and Gábor Tóka. 2012. "A koalíciókötések kapcsolatrendszer a '90-es években (The Structure of Coalition-making in the 1990's)." In *Változó képletek, változatos perspektívák – Tanulmánykötet Tardos Róbert 65. születésnapjára (Changing Equations, Varied Perspectives – Festschrift for Robert Tardos)*, ed. by Zoltán Kmetty and Júlia Koltai. Budapest: Háttér Kiadó, pp. 234-250. (In Hungarian.)
- Magalhães, Pedro, David Sanders, and Gábor Tóka. 2012. "Introduction: Citizens and the European Polity." In *Citizens and the European Polity: Mass Attitudes Towards the European and National Politics*, ed. by David Sanders, Pedro Magalhães, and Gábor Tóka. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-9.
- Sanders, David, Pedro Magalhães, and Gábor Tóka. 2012. "Summary and Conclusions: Europe in Equilibrium - Unresponsive Inertia or Vibrant Resilience?" In *Citizens and the European Polity: Mass Attitudes Towards the European and National Politics*, ed. by David Sanders, Pedro Magalhães, and Gábor Tóka. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 245-270.
- Henjak, Andrija, Gábor Tóka and David Sanders. 2012. "Support for European Integration." In *Citizens and the European Polity: Mass Attitudes Towards the*

- European and National Politics*, ed. by David Sanders, Pedro Magalhães, and Gábor Tóka. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 169-212.
- Tóka, Gábor, Andrija Henjak, and Radoslaw Markowski. 2012. "Explaining Support for EU Integration." In *The Europeanization of National Politics? Citizenship and Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*, ed. by David Sanders, Paolo Bellucci, Gábor Tóka and Mariano Torcal. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 137-166.
- Sanders, David, Paolo Bellucci, and Gábor Tóka. 2012. "Towards an Integrated Model of EU Citizenship and Support." In *The Europeanization of National Politics? Citizenship and Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*, ed. by David Sanders, Paolo Bellucci, Gábor Tóka and Mariano Torcal. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 187-216.
- Bellucci, Paolo, David Sanders, Gábor Tóka, and Mariano Torcal. 2012. "Introduction: Antecedents and Consequences of European Citizenship." In *The Europeanization of National Politics? Citizenship and Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*, ed. by David Sanders, Paolo Bellucci, Gábor Tóka and Mariano Torcal. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-16.
- Sanders, David, Paolo Bellucci, Gábor Tóka, and Mariano Torcal. 2012. "Conceptualizing and Measuring European Citizenship and Engagement." In *The Europeanization of National Politics? Citizenship and Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*, ed. by David Sanders, Paolo Bellucci, Gábor Tóka and Mariano Torcal. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 17-38.
- Sanders, David, Paolo Bellucci, Gábor Tóka, and Mariano Torcal. 2012. "Conclusions." In *The Europeanization of National Politics? Citizenship and Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*, ed. by David Sanders, Paolo Bellucci, Gábor Tóka and Mariano Torcal. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 217-234.
- Tóka, Gábor, and Tania Gosselin, 2010. "Freezing? The Impact of Structural vs. Value Cleavages on the Stabilization of Party Systems." In *The Structure of Political Competition in Western Europe*, ed. by Zsolt Enyedi and Kevin Deegan-Krause. London: Routledge.
- Tóka, Gábor, 2010. "The Impact of Everyday Political Talk on Political Knowledge and Voting Correctly." In *The Role of Political Discussion in Modern Democracies in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Ken'ichi Ikeda, Laura Morales and Michael Wolf. London: Routledge, pp. 129-144.
- Tóka, Gábor, and Marina Popescu, 2009. "Public Television, Private Television and Citizens' Political Knowledge." EUI Working paper series, RSCAS 2009/66. Florence: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.
- Brug, Wouter van der, Mark Franklin, Marina Popescu and Gábor Tóka, 2009. "Towards a European Electorate. One Electorate or Many?" in *The Legitimacy of the European Union After Enlargement*, ed. by Jacques Thomassen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 66-93.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2009. "A jó kormányzat, az ismeretgazdag választóközönség, és a tömegtájékoztatói rendszer összefüggései nemzetközi összehasonlításban (Good Governance, Informed Electorate, and the System of Mass



- Communication in Comparative Perspective)." *Politikatudományi Szemle* 18 (2): 7–24. (In Hungarian.)
- Tóka, Gábor, 2009. "Expressive vs. Instrumental Motivation of Turnout, Partisanship and Political Learning." in *The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems*, ed. by Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 269-288.
- Popescu, Marina, and Gábor Tóka, 2008. "Districting in Eastern Europe: Regulations and Practices." in *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Enyedi, Zsolt, and Gábor Tóka. 2007. "The Only Game in Town: Party Politics in Hungary." in *Party Politics in New Democracies*, ed. by Paul Webb and Stephen White. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 147-178.
- Tóka, Gábor, and Andrija Henjak. 2007. "Party Systems and Voting Behaviour in the Visegrad Countries 15 Years After the Transition." in *Visegrad Votes: Parliamentary Elections 2005-2006*, ed. by Pavel Šaradín and Eva Bradová. Olomouc: Palacky University Press, pp. 210-244.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2007. "Information Effects on Vote Choices in European Elections." in *European Elections After Eastern Enlargement*, ed. by Michael Marsh, Slava Mikhaylov and Hermann Schmitt. Mannheim: MZES, pp. 141-179.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2006. "Elections and Representation." in *Developments in European Politics*, ed. by Paul Heywood, Erik Jones, Martin Rhodes and Ulrich Sedelmeier. London: Palgrave-Macmillan, pp. 117-135.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2006. "Vezérek csodálói: a magyar választói magatartás nemzetközi összehasonlításban (Leaders' Admirers: Hungarian Voting Behavior in Cross-national Comparison)." in *Parlamenti választás 2006: Elemzések és adatok (Parliamentary Elections 2006: Analyses and Data)*, ed. by Gergely Karácsony. Budapest: DKMKA. (In Hungarian.)
- Fölsz, Attila, and Gábor Tóka. 2006. "Determinants of Support for EU-membership in Hungary." in *Public Opinion, Party Competition and the European Union in Eastern Europe*, ed. by Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield. London: Palgrave-Macmillan, pp. 145-164.
- Brug, Wouter van der, Mark Franklin, and Gábor Tóka. 2006. "Egységes vagy nemzetekre tagolt választóközönség? Szavazói magatartás Európa új és régebbi demokráciáiban (One Electorate or Many? Voting Behavior in New and Established Democracies in Europe)." in *A 2004. évi európai parlamenti választások: Pártok és szavazói magatartás nemzetközi összehasonlításban (The 2004 Elections to the European Parliament: Parties and Voting Behavior in Cross-National Comparison)*, ed. by Gábor Tóka and Ágnes Bátor. Budapest: DKMKA, Századvég, Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem Politikatudományi Intézet, pp. 273-291. (In Hungarian.)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2005. "East-West Value Differences in the European Union and the Legacy of Communism." Working paper 49/2005. Madrid: Universidad Autonoma Madrid, Dept. of Political Science and International Relations.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2005. "A magyarországi politikai tagoltság nemzetközi összehasonlításban (Electoral Alignments in Hungary in a Cross-National Comparison)." in *Törések, hálók, hidak: Választói magatartás és politikai tagolódás Magyarországon (Cleavages, Nets, and Bridges: Voting Behavior*

- and the Political Process in Hungary*), ed. by Róbert Angelusz and Róbert Tardos. Budapest: DKMKA, pp. 17-64. (In Hungarian.)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2005. "A törésvonalak, a pártok és az intézményrendszer (Cleavages, Parties, and Institutional Design)." in *Törések, hálók, hidak: Választói magatartás és politikai tagolódás Magyarországon (Cleavages, Nets, and Bridges: Voting Behavior and the Political Process in Hungary)*, szerk. Angelusz Róbert és Tardos Róbert. Budapest: DKMKA, pp. 243-322. (In Hungarian.)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2004. "Hungary." in *Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised and updated edition, ed. by Sten Berglund, Joakim Ekman, and Frank H. Aarebrot. Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar, pp. 289-336.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2003. "Pártimázsok Magyarországon, 1992-2002 (Party Images in Hungary, 1992-2002)." in *Magyarország politikai évkönyve - Political Yearbook of Hungary 2003*, ed. by Sándor Kurtán, Péter Sándor, and László Vass. Budapest: DKMKA, pp. 1540-58. (In Hungarian.)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2003. "Szavazói magatartás (Voting Behaviour)." in *Politika és politikatudomány (Politics and Political Science)*, ed. by Sándor Gallai and Gábor Török. Budapest: Aula, pp. 457-77. (In Hungarian.)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2002. "Ekonomické hlasovanie: prehľad literatúry (Economic Voting: A Review)." in Eugen Jurzyca *et al.*, *Verejná mienka a ekonomické reformy (Public Opinion and Economic Reform)*. Bratislava: INEKO, pp. 66-73. (In Slovak.)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2002. "Voter Inequality, Turnout and Information Effects in a Cross-National Perspective." Helen Kellogg Institute Working Paper Series No. 297. Notre Dame, IN: The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.
- Popescu, Marina, and Gábor Tóka. 2002. "Campaign Effects and Media Monopoly: The 1994 and 1998 Parliamentary Elections in Hungary." in *Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign Effects in Elections and Referendums*, ed. by David M. Farrell and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck. London: Routledge, pp. 58-75.
- Tóka, Gábor, and Marina Popescu. 2002. "Befolyásolja-e a szavazókat a Magyar Televízió kormánypárti propagandája? Egy empirikus kutatás 1994-98-ből (Does the Pro-Government Propaganda on the Hungarian Television Influence the Voters? An Empirical Study from 1994-98)." *Médiakutató* 6: 21-38. (In Hungarian.)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2002. "Választási közvélemény-kutatások és előrejelzések 1998-ban (Election Polls and Forecasts in 1998)." *Marketing és Menedzsment* 36 (1): 27-39. (In Hungarian.)
- Tóka, Gábor. 2002. "Issue Voting and Party Systems in Central and Eastern Europe." in *Bürger und Demokratie in Ost und West. Studien zur politischen Kultur und zum politischen Prozess - Citizens and Democracy in East and West. Studies in Political Culture and the Political Process*, ed. by Dieter Fuchs, Edeltraud Roller, and Bernhard Wessels. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, pp. 169-85.
- Tóka, Gábor. 2001. "A szavazói magatartás kutatása (Electoral Behaviour Research)." *Politikatudományi Szemle* 10 (3): 105-30. (In Hungarian.)

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*Conference papers*

- "Decomposing the Partisan Bias of Constituency Boundaries into Gerrymander, Malapportionment, and Other Components." Annual Meeting of the Hungarian Political Science Association, Cluj, Romania, 31 May-1 June 2013.
- [with Frances Millard and Marina Popescu] "The Impact of Preference Voting Systems on Women's Representation and the Legitimation of Quota-based Nomination Results." Paper presented at the 2013 Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research in Mainz, Germany, 11-16 March 2013.
- [with Marina Popescu] "News Media Partisanship in a Cross-National Perspective." Paper presented at the "Parties and Partisans: Explaining Continuity and Change in Party Systems" conference at the Juan March Institute, Madrid, Spain, 8-9 February 2013.
- [with Alexander Bor] "Az új parlamenti választókerületi beosztás és a politikai semlegesség (The New Districting Plan for Parliamentary Elections and the Principle of Political Neutrality)." Presentation at the 2012 Annual Conference of the Hungarian Political Science Association in Veszprém, Hungary, 21-22 June 2012.
- [with Marina Popescu] "Cross-National Patterns in Political Bias in European News Media." Paper presented at the 2012 Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research in Antwerp, Belgium, 10-15 April 2012.
- [with Marina Popescu] "How Do Media Systems Influence Citizens' Political Knowledge and the Social Inequalities of Knowledge?" Paper presented at the 2012 Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research in Antwerp, Belgium, 10-15 April 2012.
- [with Marina Popescu] "How Do Media Systems Influence Citizens' Political Knowledge and the Social Inequalities of Knowledge?" Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, 1-4 September 2011.
- [with Frances Millard and Marina Popescu] "Should Women Push for Fewer Women Candidates? Preference Voting Systems and Gender Representation." Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, 1-4 September 2011.
- [with Frances Millard and Marina Popescu] "Should Women Push for Fewer Women Candidates? Preference Voting Systems and Gender Representation." Paper presented at the 61<sup>st</sup> Political Studies Association Annual Conference, London, UK, 19-21 April 2011.
- [with Diana Burlacu] "Party-Voter Linkages and the Type of Democracy: Do Majoritarian Institutions Dampen the Ideological Vote?" Paper presented at the 69th Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, March 31-April 3, 2011, Chicago, IL.
- [with Diana Burlacu] "Prospective Proximity-based Voting and the Type of Democracy." Paper presented at the conference on Elections and Representative Democracy: Representation and Accountability at the University of Twente, the Netherlands, 11-14 November 2010.

- [with Diana Burlacu] "Prospective Proximity-based Voting and the Type of Democracy." Paper presented at the 68th Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, April 22 - 25, 2010, Chicago, IL.
- [with Marina Popescu and Sebastian Popa] "The Influence of Democratic Institutions on the Impact of Political Sophistication." Paper presented at the Joint Session of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Munster, Germany, 22-26 March 2010.
- [with Tania Gosselin] "Persistent Political Divides, Electoral Volatility and Citizen Involvement Across EU Member States: Testing the Freezing Hypotheses in the 2004 European Election." Paper presented at the General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, Potsdam, Germany, 10-13 September 2009.
- [with Andrija Henjak] "Institutional Design and Voting Behavior in East Central Europe: A Cross-National Comparison of the Impact of Leaders, Partisanship, Performance Evaluations and Ideology on the Vote." Paper presented at the 21st World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Santiago, Chile, 12-16 July 2009.
- "Socio-economic Divides in the Shadow of Cultural Opposition: Hungary, 1990-2006." Paper presented at the How Social Divisions Explain Political Choices workshop of the EQUALSOC FP6 Network of Excellence, Oxford, UK, 22-23 May 2009.
- [with Marina Popescu] "Public Television, Private Television and Citizens' Political Knowledge." Paper presented at the mini-conference on Party Competition: New Insights and Approaches at the European University Institute, Florence, 15 May 2009.
- [with Marina Popescu] "Public Television, Private Television and Citizens' Political Knowledge." Paper presented at the 2009 EPCR Joint Sessions of Workshops in Lisbon, Portugal, 15-19 April 2009.
- "Electoral Responses to Changes in Choice Alternatives in Hungary, 1990-2006." Presentation at the How Social Divisions Explain Political Choices workshop of the EQUALSOC FP6 Network of Excellence, Oxford, UK, 17-19 September 2008.
- "The Impact of Everyday Political Talk on Involvement, Knowledge and Informed Voting." Paper presented at the EPOP (Elections, Public Opinion and Political Parties) annual conference, Manchester, UK, 12-14 September 2008.
- "The Impact of Equal Turnout on the Policy Position of the Average Electoral Party." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, 28-31 August 2008.
- "The Impact of Everyday Political Talk on Political Knowledge and Voting Correctly." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology at Sciences Po in Paris, France, 9-12 July 2008.
- [with Tania Gosselin] "The Impact of Cleavages on Political Participation and Electoral Volatility." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Vancouver, British Columbia, 4-6 June 2008.
- [with Marina Popescu] "The Impact of Media and Party Systems on the Making of Informed Election Outcomes." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the

- Canadian Political Science Association, Vancouver, British Columbia, 4-6 June 2008. Winner of the Best Paper in Political Communication Award.
- [with Marina Popescu] "The Impact of Media Systems on the Making of Informed Election Outcomes." Paper presented at the 58th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Quebec, 22-26 May 2008.
- [with Andrija Henjak] "EU Policies and Support for European Integration, 1990-2004." Paper presented at the IntUne working group meeting at the University of Granada, Spain, 9-11 May 2008.
- "The Impact of Full Turnout on the Policy Position of the Median Voter and on the Gap between Observed and Fully Informed Election Outcomes." Paper presented at the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems conference at the Warsaw School of Social Psychology, Poland, 24-26 April 2008.
- "Simulating Informed Preferences: Mindgame or Useful Analytical Tool?" Presentation at the workshop on Estimating Fully Informed Behaviour at the Centre for Research Methods in the Social Sciences, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, 14 March 2008.
- [with Patricia Noonan Walsh] "Civic Participation and People with Disabilities." Presentation at the conference on People and Parliament in the European Union in the Context of the 2009 Elections at the European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, 5 March 2008.
- "Policy Outcomes, Voting, and Citizen Knowledge." Paper presented at the 2007 General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, Pisa, Italy, 6-8 September 2007.
- [with Marina Popescu] "The Impact of Media Systems on the Making of Informed Election Outcomes." Paper presented at the 2007 General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, Pisa, Italy, 6-8 September 2007.
- "Citizen Information, Election Outcomes and Good Governance." Paper presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 30 August-2 September.
- "The Impact of Political Discussion on Political Awareness: A New Research Design." Paper presented at the 57th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, San Francisco, CA, 24-28 May 2007. Winner of the Top Ten Interactive Paper Award.
- "Knowledgeable Citizens, Election Outcomes and Good Government." Paper presented at the 57th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, San Francisco, CA, 24-28 May 2007.
- [with Oana Lup] "Political Discussion and Voting Correctly: Evaluating the Impact of Deliberation." Paper presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Helsinki, Finland, 7-12 May 2007.
- [with Tania Gosselin] "The Impact of Cleavages on Political Participation and Volatility." Paper presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Helsinki, Finland, 7-12 May 2007.
- [with Marina Popescu] "Citizen Information, Election Outcomes and Media System." Paper presented at the conference on Communicating Europe in the News



- and in Public Opinion: European Integration and the Future of European Political Institutions at the University of Exeter, UK, 15-16 March 2007.
- “Citizen Information, Election Outcomes and Good Governance.” Paper tabled at the Conference on Contextual Effects in Electoral Research, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, 30 November-1 December 2006.
- [with Wouter van der Brug, Mark Franklin, and Marina Popescu] “Towards a European Electorate. One Electorate or Many?” Paper presented at the conference on the The Legitimacy of the European Union After Enlargement at Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, 23-25 November 2006.
- “Values and the Legacy of Communism: Comparisons between Eastern and Western Mass Publics.” Paper presented at the 38th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington, DC, 16-19 November 2006.
- “Citizen Information, Election Outcomes and Good Governance.” Paper presented at the Conference on the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems at Bangalore, India, 2-3 November 2006.
- “The 2006 Hungarian Election.” Presentation at the Comparative National Elections Project conference at Kunming, China, 20-21 July 2006.
- [with Marina Popescu] “East Meets West. On the Compatibility of Value Orientations in Western vs. Eastern and Central Europe.” Presentation at the meeting of Group 3 Connex FP6 Network of Excellence funded by the European Commission at the University of Twente, Enschede, the Netherlands, 16-17 June 2006.
- “The Functions of Political Discussion and its Impact on Political Awareness: A Research Note.” Paper presented at the workshop on “The Role of Political Discussion in Modern Democracies in a Comparative Perspective” at the 2006 Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research in Nicosia, Cyprus, 25-30 April 2006.
- “Information Effects on Vote Choices in European Elections.” Paper presented at the European Election Study meeting on the 2004 European Parliament Elections at the Instituto Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal, 12-13 April 2006.
- “Citizen Information, Party Systems and Good Governance: Preliminary Findings.” Presentation at the Conference on the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems organized by the Centro de Estudios Andaluces (CEA) and the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS), Seville, Spain, 28-29 March 2006.
- “Information Effects on Vote Choices in European Elections.” Paper presented at the European Election Study 2004 conference at the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 20-23 May 2005.
- “Representation: Parties and Voting.” Paper presented at the conference on Developments in European Politics at the SAIS Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins University, Bologna, Italy, 4-5 March 2005.
- “East-West Value Differences and Vote Choices in EP Elections.” Paper presented at the annual conference of the Hungarian Sociological Association, Budapest, Hungary, 19-20 November 2004.

- “East-West Value Differences, Voting Behavior and the European Parliament.” Paper presented at the 9<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Italian Election Studies Association on Europe 2004: The Institutions and the Citizens, Milan, Italy, 28-29 October 2004.
- “East-West Value Differences in the European Union and the Legacy of Communism.” Paper presented at the World Values Study Association conference at Budapest, Hungary, 2-5 September 2004.
- [with Attila Fölsz] “The Dynamics of Public Opinion about the European Union in Hungary.” Paper presented at the conference on “Public Opinion About the European Union in Central Europe” in Bloomington, Indiana, 2-4 April 2004.
- “The Impact of Turnout on Election Outcomes in a Cross-national Perspective.” Paper presented at the panel on “Comparative European Political Behavior” at the 14th International Conference of Europeanists organized by the Council for European Studies in Chicago, IL, 11-13 March 2004.
- [with Marina Popescu] “Media Effects in Campaigns in Elections in East Central Europe.” Paper presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Italian Election Studies Association, Venice International University, Italy, 18-20 December 2003.
- “Can Voters Be Equal? A Cross-National Analysis.” Paper presented at the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Plenary Conference at the Aronsborg Conference Center, Stockholm, Sweden, 2-4 October 2003.
- “The Impact of Cross-Cutting Cleavages on Citizens’ Political Involvement.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, 27-31 August 2003.
- [with Marina Popescu] “Campaign Effects in East Central Europe: Examples from Recent Elections.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, 27-31 August 2003.
- “The Impact of Cleavage Mobilization on Citizens’ Political Involvement.” Paper presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Edinburgh, UK, 28 March - 2 April 2003.
- “Negative Information and Citizens’ Political Involvement.” Paper presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Turin, Italy, 22-27 March 2002.
- “Expressive vs. Instrumental Voting and Institutional Design.” Paper presented at the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems conference at the Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung, Berlin, Germany, 21-24 February 2002.
- [with Marina Popescu] “Districting and Redistricting in Eastern and Central Europe: Regulations and Practices.” Paper presented at the conference on Redistricting from a Comparative Perspective at the University of California at Irvine, 6-8 December 2001.
- “Political Representation and Political Information Level.” Paper presented at the 2001 General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK, 6-8 September 2001.
- “Turnout: What Moves It and Does It Really Matter?” Paper presented at the 2001 General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK, 6-8 September 2001.

- "Turnout and Information Effects on Election Outcomes in a Comparative Perspective." Paper presented at the conference on Political Participation: Building a Research Agenda, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, New Jersey, 12-14 October 2000.
- "Expressive vs. Instrumental Voting and the Number of Parties." Paper presented at the Special Session on the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems at the 18th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Quebec City, Canada, 1-5 August 2000.
- [with Marina Popescu] "Campaign Effects in the 1994 and 1998 Parliamentary Elections in Hungary." Paper presented at the 28th Joint Sessions and Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Copenhagen, Denmark, 14-19 April 2000.
- "Do Some Party Systems Make Equal Votes Unequal? A Comparison of Old and New Democracies." Paper presented at the conference on Re-Thinking Democracy in the New Millennium, organized by the University of Houston, Texas, 16-19 February 2000.
- "Some Neglected Links between Democratic Consolidation and the Quality of Democracy." Paper presented at the Conference on Institutional Design, JPSA/ECPR Joint Project on Measuring Democratic Consolidation Through Inter-Regional Comparisons - Europe and East Asia, Tokyo, Japan, 26-27 October 1999.
- "The Hierarchy of Issue Domains in Inter-Party Relations in East Central Europe with a Directional Model of Coalition Formation." Paper presented at the 94th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, 3-6 September 1998.
- "Hungary." Paper presented at the ECPR Working Group conference on the Electoral Handbook of Eastern Europe, Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin, Germany, 22-25 January 1998.
- "The Impact of Various Policy Domains on Politicians' Coalition Preferences in East Central Europe." Paper presented at the Fourth Conference of the Central European Political Science Associations, Rijeka, Croatia, 10-11 January 1998.
- "Electoral Studies in Hungary." Paper presented at the Third Berlin Conference on Elections and Democratic Consolidation: East European Research Networks, Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin, Germany, 19-21 December 1997.
- "The Mobilization of Social Cleavages in Hungary in a Comparative Perspective." Paper presented at the international seminar on the Evolution of Political Orientations in Post-communist Societies, Samara, Russia, 7-9 November 1997.
- "Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in East Central Europe." Paper presented at the symposium organized by the Department of Political Science, Wroclaw University, and the International Centre of the University of Tübingen, Dusniki Zdroj, Poland, 28 September - 1 October 1997.
- "Stability of Party Support and Modes of Party Appeal." Paper presented at the 25th Joint Sessions and Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Bern, Switzerland, 27 February - 4 March 1997.

- "Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in East Central Europe." Paper presented at the 2nd symposium of the International Political Science Association on The Challenge of Regime Transformation: New Politics in Central and Eastern Europe, organized by the Department of International Relations and Political Science at the University of Vilnius, Vilnius, Lithuania, 10-15 December 1996.
- "The Impact of Various Policy Domains on Politicians' Coalition Preferences in East Central Europe." Paper presented at the European Science Foundation conference on Transition and Political Power Structures, Cambridge, UK, 19-21 April 1996.
- "Political Parties and the Bases of Party Support in East Central Europe." Paper presented at the conference on Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Trends and Challenges, organized by the Institute for National Policy Research and the International Forum for Democratic Studies - National Endowment for Democracy, Taipei, ROC, 27-30 August 1995.
- "The Programmatic Structuring of Party Competition in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland in Spring 1994: Which Contexts Facilitate Policy Representation?" Paper presented at the conference on Political Representation: Parties and Parliamentary Democracy at the Central European University, Budapest, 16-17 June 1995.
- "The Programmatic Structuring of Party Competition in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland in Spring 1994." Paper presented at the workshop on Public Opinion and Party Formation in Post-Communist and Authoritarian Democracies at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 24-25 March 1995.
- "Ideological Constraints on the Political Attitudes of the 1956 Hungarian Refugees." Paper presented at the 25<sup>th</sup> National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 1993.
- "Parties and Electoral Choices in East Central Europe." Paper presented at the Conference of the Centre for Mediterranean Studies, University of Bristol, Bristol, UK, 17-19 September 1993.
- "Regime Support and the Economy." Paper presented at the conference on "Democratic Legitimacy in Post-Socialist Societies: The Impact of the Past and the Challenges of the Present", Visegrád, Hungary, 28 August - 1 September 1993.
- "Changing Dimensions of Party Competition: Hungary 1991-1992." Paper presented at the IREX conference on "Elections and Political Stability in East Central Europe", Princeton, New Jersey, 1-5 June 1992.
- "The Impact of the Religion Issue on Electoral Preferences in Hungary 1990-1991." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the German Political Science Association, Hamburg, Germany, November 1991.
- "Beginnings of Pluralism." Paper presented at the conference on Elections and Political Stability in Eastern Europe, sponsored by IREX in cooperation with the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Science, Madralin, Poland, 6-10 June 1991.
- "Voting Behaviour in Hungary." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Working Group on Election and Attitude Research of the German Political Science Association, Koblenz, Germany, 11-13 March 1991.

"Determinants of Election Results and Party Preferences in Hungary." Paper presented at the seminar on Overcoming Obstacles to Democracy and Institution Building in Eastern Europe organized by the Institute of East-West Security Studies and the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', The Hague, The Netherlands, 9-11 November 1990.

### **Invited talks**

- [with Alexander Bor] "Az új parlamenti választókerületi beosztás és a politikai semlegesség (The New Districting Plan for Parliamentary Elections and the Principle of Political Neutrality)." Presentation at the Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, Budapest, 14 November 2012.
- "Cross-National Patterns in Political Bias in European News Media." Presentation at the Institute of Political Science and International Relations, Vilnius University, Lithuania, 19 October 2012.
- "Cross-National Patterns in Political Bias in European News Media." Presentation at the Department of Political Science, Tartu University, Estonia, 21 September 2012.
- "The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems: Major findings over the last ten years." Presentation at the Eesti valimisuuritud: hetkeseis ja tulevikuväljavaated conference in the Estonian Parliament, Tallin, 20 September 2012.
- "A pártos média milyen hatást gyakorol az állampolgárok politikai ismeretszintjére és érdeklődésére." Presentation at the Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, Budapest, 27 September 2011.
- "Hogyan befolyásolja a nők parlamenti képviselők közötti arányát a nyílt listás választási rendszerek alkalmazása." Presentation at the Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, Budapest, 27 September 2011.
- "Impatient for Gender Parity in Parliaments but Bothered by Mandatory Quotas? Consider Preference Voting." Presentation at the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary conference of the Association of European Election Officials, 15-18 June 2011, Budapest, Hungary.
- "Media Systems, Citizen Knowledge, and the Quality of Preference Aggregation in Elections." Presentation at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research at the University of Mannheim, Germany, 2 May 2011.
- "Media Systems, Election Outcomes, and Quality of Governance." Presentation at the Institute for Democracy and Conflict Resolution at the University of Essex, United Kingdom, 24 November 2010.
- "Research design." Workshop for PhD students in Political Science at the Conférence Universitaire de Suisse Occidentale, Vevey, Switzerland, 19-20 November 2010.
- [with Ildikó Laki] "A fogyatékossgal élő emberek politikai részvétele Európában és Magyarországon (The Political Participation of People Living with Disabilities)." Presentation at the conference on Fogyatékossg és Politikai Jogok Magyarországon (Disabilities and Political Rights in Hungary) organized by the Társaság a Szabadságjogokért (Society for Civic Liberties), Budapest, 22 October 2010.

- [with Marina Popescu] "Public Television, Private Television and Citizens' Political Knowledge." Presentation at the Transnational Connections Symposium organized by the Instituto de Empresa University and the Annenberg School for Communication, Segovia, Spain, 24-25 March 2010.
- "What More Could We Learn from Comparative Surveys on Voting Behavior/Public Opinion." Presentation at the Graduate Network Conference Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, Spain, 18-20 March 2010.
- "The East-West Comparative Perspective on the 2009 Election." Contribution to the symposium on the 2009 European Parliament Elections at the General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, Potsdam, Germany, 10-13 September 2009.
- "Party Systems: Is There a Tendency Towards Integration or Fragmentation?" Presentation at the symposia series on "Did grow together what belonged together? 20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall. German and European experiences" at the General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, Potsdam, Germany, 10-13 September 2009.
- "First Inferences from a Deliberative Polling Experiment on the Eve of 2009 EP Election." Contribution to a roundtable on the 2009 European Parliament elections at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence, Italy, 10 June 2009.
- "The Impact of Media Systems on the Making of Informed Election Outcomes." Presentation at the Center for the Study of Political Change (CIRCaP), University of Siena, Italy, 7 April 2009.
- "A jó kormányzat, az ismeretgazdag választóközönség, és a tömegtájékoztatási rendszer összefüggései nemzetközi összehasonlításban (The Interrelationships between Good Government, Knowledgeable Electorates, and Systems of Mass Communication in a Comparative Perspective)." The annual István Bibó Lecture at the conference of the Hungarian Political Science Association, 11 December 2008, Budapest, Hungary.
- "Cleavage Structures and Democratic Processes." Presentation at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence, Italy, 18 November 2009.
- "Media Systems, Informed Election Outcomes, and Good Government." Presentation at Nuffield College, Oxford, UK, 19 February 2008.
- "What More We Could Learn from Comparative Surveys?" Presentation at the Workshop on Turkish Elections 2007 at Sabancı University, Karaköy Communication Center, Istanbul, Turkey, 30 November – 1 December 2007.
- "The Causes and Impact of Informed Election Outcomes." Presentation at the Survey Research Center, University of California at Berkeley, CA, 23 May 2007.
- "Political Knowledge and Voter Inequality." Paper presented at the Department of Political Science, New York University, NY, 13 November 2006.
- [with Gábor Király] "Részvételi demokrácia (Participatory Democracy)." Presentation at the 'Fenntartható Magyarország' lecture series, Millenáris Park, Budapest, 28 May 2006. URL: [http://www.kotok.hu/reszdem\\_060521\\_kg.pdf](http://www.kotok.hu/reszdem_060521_kg.pdf)
- [with Zsolt Enyedi] "Political Parties in Decline?" Paper prepared for the international symposium on Political Parties and Democracy organized by the Ankara Bar Association, Ankara, Turkey, 26-27 May 2005.

- “How Does Public Deliberation Contribute to Citizenship Learning?” Invited contribution to a public seminar at the Maison de l’Europe, organized by Notre Europe in Paris, France, 5 April 2006.
- “Diferencias de valores entre la Europa del Este y del Oeste y el legado del comunismo.” Lecture at the summer course on ‘El cambio de valores en las sociedades industriales: Convergencias y divergencias’ organized by the Universidad Complutense Madrid, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain, 4 August 2005.
- “The Hungarian Electoral System: Its Origin and Survival.” Presentation at the conference on ‘Electoral Reform – A 15 year Old Topic’, organized by the Pro Democratia Association and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Bucharest, Romania, 17 June 2005.
- “East-West Value Differences in the European Union and the Legacy of Communism.” Paper presented at the Instituto Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal, 3 June 2005.
- “East-West Value Differences in the European Union and the Legacy of Communism.” Paper presented at the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, Spain, 10 May 2005.
- “Voting Behaviour, Information Level and the Paradoxes of Democracy.” Lecture series at the Department of Political Science at the Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, Spain, January 2005.
- “East-West Value Differences, Voting Behavior and the European Parliament.” Lecture at the Department of Government at the London School of Economics, United Kingdom, 11 January 2005.
- “Politikai kultúra Magyarországon és Közép-Európában.” Lecture at the ‘Folyamatok a Változásban’ conference organized by the Teleki László Intézet Közép-Európai Tanulmányok Központja, Budapest, 30 September-1 October 2004.
- “Media Effects on Voting Behavior” and “Electoral System Effects.” Lectures in the Invisible College in Chisinau, Moldova, November 2002.
- “Democratic Institutions.” Lecture series at the Open Society Institute Summer School organized by the Albanian Political Science Association, Tirana, Albania, July 2002.
- “Voting Behavior, Political Preferences and Policy Evaluations.” Lecture series at the Open Society Institute Summer School organized by the Romanian Society of Political Science, Tescani, Romania, June 2002.
- “Deliberative Polls.” Presentation at the Government-Citizen Communication Workshop organized by the Open Society Institute at Budapest, 8-9 March 2002. URL: [http://www.osi.hu/infoprogram/commworkshop/Presentations/Deliberative\\_Polls.htm](http://www.osi.hu/infoprogram/commworkshop/Presentations/Deliberative_Polls.htm)
- “Economic Voting: A Review.” Presentation at the workshop on Public Opinion and Economic Reforms organized by the Institute for Economic and Social Reforms (Bratislava) and the Institute for Public Affairs (Bratislava), Bratislava, Slovakia, 11 March 2002.
- “Party Positions and the Quality of Democracy,” and “Party Institutionalization and Democratic Consolidation.” Lectures at the 10<sup>th</sup> PhD Summer School on

European Parties and Party Systems 'Party-Political Elites in the New Europe: Governance and Legitimacy' at the School of Politics, International Relations and the Environment, Keele University, United Kingdom, 10-21 September 2001.

"The Hungarian Electoral System." Presentation at the roundtable on the Romanian Electoral System Reform organized by the Romanian Society of Political Science with the Department of Government, University of Essex, at the American Cultural Center in Bucharest, Romania, 25 June 2001.

"Electoral Laws and Party Systems in East Central Europe." Lecture at the St. Kliment Ohridski University, Sofia, Bulgaria, 3 May 2001.

"The Impact of Economic Conditions on Electoral Outcomes." Lecture at the New Bulgarian University, Sofia, Bulgaria, 4 May 2001.

"Introduction to Comparative Politics." Lecture series at the Open Society Institute Summer School organized by the Albanian Political Science Association, Tirana, Albania, July 2000.

"Institutional Design and Electoral Behaviour." Lecture series at the OSI Summer School organized by the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Vilnius University, Lithuania, July 2000.

"Kampányhatások az 1994-es és 1998-as magyar országgyűlési választásokon (Campaign Effects in the 1994 and 1998 Parliamentary Elections in Hungary)." Presentation at the 'Félidőben - Két választás között (Half Time - Between Two Elections)' conference organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, 7-8 June 2000, Budapest.

"A választási rendszer hatása a pártválasztás motivumaira – Magyarország nemzetközi összehasonlításban (The Impact of the Electoral System on Motives of Party Choice – Hungary in a Cross-National Comparison)." Presentation at the Conference of the Year 1998, Budapest University of Economics, 13 November 1999.

"Institutional and Socio-Economic Determinants of Electoral Behaviour." Lecture at the Helen Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, October 1998.

"Media Effects on Election Outcomes." Lecture at the European University, St. Petersburg, Russia, April 1998.

"Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation." Lecture at the Sociological Association, St. Petersburg, Russia, April 1998.

"A magyar pártrendszer és választói magatartás nemzetközi összehasonlításban (The Hungarian Party System and Electoral Behaviour in Comparative Perspective)." Presentation at the 'Félidőben (Half Time)' conference organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, 29-30 November 1996, Budapest.

"Electoral Behaviour in East Central Europe." Lecture at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, April 1996.

"Theories of Coalition Government." Lecture at the Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, April 1996.

"Törésvonalelmélet és választói magatartás (The Concept of Cleavages and Electoral Behaviour)." Presentation at the conference on 'Tíz év a magyar gazdaságban, társadalomban és politikában' on the 10th anniversary of the



founding of the Social Research Informatics Centre (TÁRKI), 16-17 February 1995, Budapest.

"How Can We Recognize A Cleavage When It Is (Re-)Born? Puzzles in East Central European Electoral Behaviour." Presentation at the conference on Party Politics in the Year 2000, 13-15 January 1995, Manchester, UK.

"A magyar választási rendszerről (On the Hungarian Electoral System)." Presentation at the 'Választások után (After the Elections)' conference organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, October 1994, Budapest.