

Curriculum Vitae of Zsolt Enyedi

Prof. Dr. Zsolt Enyedi (*14.07.1967)

Political Science Department – Central European University

Quellenstrasse 51, 1100 Vienna, Austria

Phone: + 36327-3078

Email: enyedizs@ceu.edu, Website: <https://politicalscience.ceu.edu/people/zsolt-enyedi>

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8981-6115

Education

PhD, 1998, Political Science, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

MA in Political Science, 1994, State University of New York and Central European University, Budapest

MA in Sociology 1993, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

MA in History 1993, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

MA in Comparative Social Sciences 1992, University of Amsterdam

ACADEMIC CAREER

Professor: since 2013, CEU, Political Science Department

Associate Professor: 2003-2013, CEU, Political Science Department

Assistant Professor: 1998-2003, CEU, Political Science Department

Research Assistant: 1995-1998, CEU, Political Science Department

Assistant Researcher: 1993-1996, Political Science Institute of Hungarian Academy of Sciences

VISITING POSITIONS, FELLOWSHIPS

Leverhulme Visiting Professor, 2020-2021, University of Oxford

Visiting Fellow, 2020-2021, Pembroke College, University of Oxford

Austrian Marshall Fellow, 2014-2015, Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A.

Marie Curie Fellow, 2005-2007, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

Jean Monnet Fellow, 2005-2006, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

Visiting Fellow, 2002–2003, Helen Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, U.S.A.

Visiting Fellow, 2000–2001, Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study (NIAS)

Visiting Fellow, 2000, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington DC, U.S.A.

Visiting Scholar, 1994-1995, University of Leiden, Political Science Department, The Netherlands

TEACHING AND SUPERVISION EXPERIENCE

1996-: MA and PhD courses at Central European University, PhD courses at the Corvinus University, lectures given at Hobart and William Smith College and at the Eötvös Loránd University.

Annual Multinational (ECPR) PhD Summer School on Political Parties, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2015

COMPLETED SUPERVISIONS

About 100 MA theses

15 PhD dissertations (Doctoral students: Gabriela Borz, Hairong Lai, Bojan Todosijevic, Stela Garaz, Ekaterina Sokirianskaia, Natalia Timus, Ivan Vukovic, Istvan Szekely, Dániel Róna, Mihail Chiru, Martin Molder, Ioana-Elena Oana, Balint Mikola, Andrei Macsut, Ozan Utku Cam)

Additionally, I have participated in the supervisory panel of more than 20 doctoral students and I am currently the first supervisor of three doctoral students

AWARDS

2023: CEU Excellence in Research Award

2022: Best Book Award (2019-2022) of the Spanish Political Science Association for the Party System Closure. Party Alliances, Government Alternatives and Democracy in Europe (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021

2020: Hungarian Academy of Science Award

2004: István Bibó Prize

2003: Rudolf Wildenmann Prize

2000: Ferenc Erdei Award

RESEARCH GRANTS

2022-2025 Neo-authoritarianisms in Europe and the liberal democratic response, 3M EUR, Horizon Europe

2018 Political values, populism and party choice in comparative perspective, 5,000 EUR, Friedrich Ebert Foundation

2018 Hungarian Election Study, 5,000 EUR, CEU Research Support Scheme

2014-2019 How citizens try to influence politics and why. International comparisons of movement and party politics, EU/FP7/ERC, 219,000 EUR

2009-2011 The role of political participation and representation in increasing democratic capacity, Norway Grants no. HU0089, 611,531 EUR

1998-2001 Conservative values and identities, OTKA, no. T-25644

COMMUNITY SERVICES AND OTHER ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

Member of Search Committee for the new editorial board of the American Political Science Review, 2023-2024.

Lead Researcher of the De- and Re-Democratization Working Group, CEU's Democracy Institute, 2021-2022

Pro-Rector for Hungarian Affairs, CEU, 2016-2020

Director of the Doctoral School of Political Science, International Relations and Public Policy at CEU, 2010-2012

Head of Political Science Department at CEU, 2008-2010

Member of the Advisory Board of the Centre for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2012-2020

President of the Hungarian Political Science Association, 2009-2012

Member of the International Advisory Board of the EP 2014 Elections Voting Advice Application Project

Member of the Steering Committee of the Comparative Candidate Survey, 2015-2018

Member of the Advisory Board of *Perspectives on Politics*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Political Studies*, *Hungarian Political Science Review*, *Perspectives on Political Research*, *East European Politics*.

Director of the PhD Program of Political Science Department at CEU, 2007-2008

Individual and group mentor in the International Policy Fellowship program of OSI, several times.

External reviewer for doctoral defenses at the University of Exeter (2011) and at the ETH Zürich (2012), reviewer for major publishing houses including Oxford University Press, evaluator for the Hungarian, Estonian, Polish and Lithuanian Research Councils

President of the Political Behavior Division of the Hungarian Sociological Association, 2007-2010

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

American Political Science Association, Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom, Hungarian Political Science Association, Hungarian Sociological Association, International Society for Political Psychology

INVITED LECTURES

U.C. California, Berkeley; Princeton University, University of Oxford; Johns Hopkins University; George Washington University; Indiana University, Bloomington;

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Nottingham University, University College London, Erfurt University, etc.

Books

Party System Closure. Party Alliances, Government Alternatives and Democracy in Europe (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021

Forthcoming in Spanish as “Cierre del sistema de partidos” by Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales in 2023

Parties and Party Systems (with András Körösényi). Budapest: Osiris, 2001. (Hungarian)

Politics in the Shadow of the Cross. Budapest: Osiris, 1998. (Hungarian)

Edited books

Structures and Futures of Europe (with Krisztina Arato and Agnes Lux). Budapest: Ad Librum, 2011.

Political Participation Representation, and Political Change (with Robert Tardos and Andrea Szabó). Budapest: DKMKA, 2011. (Hungarian)

The New Formula. Elections in Hungary in 2010 (with Robert Tardos and Andrea Szabó) Budapest: DKMKA, 2011. (Hungarian)

The Structure of Political Competition in Western Europe (edited with Kevin Deegan-Krause), London: Routledge, 2011. (The volume was first published as a special issue of the journal *West European Politics*, Vol. 33, No.3, January 2010)

The Dilemmas of the Will of the People. Budapest: DKMKA and Szazadveg, 2009. (Hungarian)

Church and State in Contemporary Europe. The Chimera of Neutrality (with John Madeley) London: Frank Cass. 2003. (The volume has been originally published as a special issue of the journal *West European Politics*, Vol. 26, No.1, January 2003.)

Authoritarianism and Prejudice. Central European Perspectives (with Ferenc Eros). Budapest: Osiris, 1999.

The 1994 Elections to the Hungarian Assembly (with Gabor Toka). Berlin: Sigma. 1999.

Articles and book chapters

In English:

Farewell to the Liberal Consensus: The Intellectualisation of Political Projects in Poland and Hungary (with Benjamin Stanley), *European Political Science*, forthcoming

Concept and Varieties of Illiberalism, *Politics and Governance*, 2024, Volume 12, <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.8521>

They can do it. Positive Authoritarianism in Poland and Hungary (with Franziska Wagner), *Frontiers in Political Science*, 6:1390587. doi: 10.3389/fpos.2024.1390587

Ideological modules of autocratization. In *The Routledge Handbook of Autocratization*, eds by Aurel Croissant and Luca Tomini. Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 2024, 154-165.

Party and Party System Institutionalization: Which Comes First? (Martin Mölder and Fernando Casal Bértoa), *Perspectives on Politics*, 2024, 22(1):194-212.

Illiberal Conservatism, Civilizationalist Ethnocentrism, and Paternalist Populism in Orbán's Hungary, *Contemporary Politics*, 2024, 30(4), 494–511.

Party Systems and Party System Change (with Fernando Casal Bértoa) in: Neil Carter, Dan Keith, Gyda Sindre and Sofia Vasilopoulou (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Political Parties*. Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 2023, 30-41.

Party system closure and the liberal dimension of democracy: A double-edged sword (with Martin Mölder and Fernando Casal Bértoa) *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica*, 2023, 53 (1), 104–20.

Response to Mihail Chiru's "Review of Party System Closure: Party Alliances, Government Alternatives and Democracy in Europe" (with Fernando Casal Bértoa) *Annals of the University of Bucharest. Political Science series*, 2022, 24, 1: 109-117

The future is not what it used to be: the failure of bipolarization (with Fernando Casal Bértoa), *Irish Political Studies*, 2022, 37:2, 244-265.

Academic solidarity and culture war in Orbán's Hungary. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 2022, 55/3, 582-584.

Who governs Europe? A new historical dataset on governments and party systems since 1848 (with Fernando Casal Bértoa) *European Political Science*, 2022, 21, 150–164.

Who wants technocrats? A comparative study of citizen attitudes in nine young and consolidated democracies (with Mihail Chiru), *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 2022, 24: 1, 95-112.

Total Victory: The 2018 Hungarian Elections in Terms of Economy, Migration and the Media (with Daniel Rona) in: Bernhard Weßels and Harald Schoen (eds) *Wahlen und Wähler: Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagwahl 2017*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2021, 491-518.

Policy representation in Europe (with Andrea Pedrazzani and Paolo Segatti) in *Parliamentary Candidates Between Voters and Parties* (edited by Hermann Schmitt, Lieven de Winter and Rune Karlsen), Abingdon: Routledge, 2021, 164-195

Right-wing authoritarian innovations in Central and Eastern Europe, *East European Politics*, 2020, 36:2, 363-377. DOI: [10.1080/21599165.2020.1787162](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2020.1787162)

Party Systems: Types, Dimensions, and Explanations (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa) In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1754>

Populism and Representation in Illiberal Democracies (with Stephen Whitefield) In *Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, edited by Robert Rohrschneider and Jacques Thomassen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020, 582-598.

The Central European University in the Trenches. In János M. Kovács and Balázs Trencsényi (eds) *Brave New Hungary: Mapping the 'System of National Cooperation'*. Lexington Books, Lanham, MD, Boulder, CO, New York and London, 2020, 243-266.

Origins and Effects of Populism. A comment on Philippe Schmitter's Essay "The Vices and Virtues", *Sociologica*, 2019, 13 (2), 7-8.

In the land of inefficacy: talking about Hungarian approaches to participation (with Gergő Závecz) In Clare Saunders and Bert Klendermans (eds) *When Citizens Talk About Politics*. Milton Park, UK: Routledge, 2019, 153-172.

Democratic Backsliding and Academic Freedom in Hungary, *Perspectives on Politics*, 2018, 16 (4), 1067-1074.

Orbán's Laboratory of Illiberalism (with Peter Kreko), *Journal of Democracy*, 2018, 28 (3), 39-51.

Populisms in Europe: Leftist, Rightist, Centrist and Paternalist-Nationalist Challengers (with Martin Mölder) In Lise Herman and James Muldoon (eds) *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by Far-Right Populism*, London: Routledge, 2018, 54-94.

Institutionalization and de-institutionalization in post-communist party systems (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa), *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, 2018, 32: 3, 422-450.

Governmental and Oppositional Populism: Competition and Division of Labor (with Daniel Róna) In: Stephen Wolinetz and Andrej Zaslove (eds) *Absorbing the Blow: The Impact of Populist Parties on European Party Systems*. Colchester: ECPR Press, 2018, 251-272.

Voters and Parties in Eastern Europe (with Kevin Deegan-Krause) In: Adam Fagan and Petr Kopecky (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of East European Politics*, London: Routledge, 2017, 169-183.

Populist Polarization and Party System Institutionalization: The Role of Party Politics in De-Democratization, *Problems of Post-Communism*, 2016, 63: 4, 210-220.

Party System Closure: Conceptualization, Operationalization, and Validation (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa), *Party Politics*, 2016, 22: 3, 265-277.

Party rules, party resources and the politics of parliamentary democracies: How parties organize in the 21st century (with Poguntke T., Scarrow S., Webb P., Allern E.H., Aylott N., Van Biezen I., Calossi E., Costa Lobo M., Cross W.P., Deschouwer K., Fabre E., Farrell D.M., Gauja A., Pizzimenti E., Kopecky P., Koole R., Kosiara-Pedersen K., Müller W.C., Rahat G., Szczerbiak A., Van Haute, E., Verge T.) *Party Politics*, 2016, vol. 22, no. 6, 661-678.

Paternalist Populism and Illiberal Elitism in Central Europe. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 2016, 21:1, 9-25.

The Influence of Voting Advice Applications on Preferences, Loyalties and Turnout: An Experimental Study, *Political Studies*, 2016, vol. 64, no 4, 1000-1015.

Choosing your own boss: Variations of representation foci in mixed electoral systems. (with Mihail Chiru), *Journal of Legislative Studies*, 2015, vol.21, no. 4, pp. 495-514.

Socio-demographic and psychological determinants of political (in)tolerance: Hungary at the dawn of the 21st century (with Bojan Todosijević), *Psihološka istraživanja*, vol. 18. no 1. 2015, 23-46.

Plebeians, citoyens and aristocrats or where is the bottom of bottom-up? The case of Hungary. In Hanspeter Kriesi and Takis Pappas (eds.) *Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*. Colchester: ECPR Press 2015, 229-244.

The Discreet Charm of Political Parties, *Party Politics*, 2014, vol. 20, no. 2, 194–204.

Patterns of party competition (1990–2009) (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa) in: Paul G. Lewis and Radoslaw Markowski (eds.) *Europeanising party politics? Comparative perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe after Enlargement*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011, 116-142.

The quality of social, partisan and governmental representation (with Radoslaw Markowski) in: Paul G. Lewis and Radoslaw Markowski (eds.) *Europeanising party politics? Comparative perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe after Enlargement*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011, 179-217.

Agency and the Structure of Party Competition (with Kevin Deegan-Krause), *West European Politics*, 2010, 33:3, 686-710.

Adversarial politics, civic virtues and party identification in Eastern and Western Europe (with Bojan Todosijević). In: *Political parties and partisanship: Social identities and individual attitudes*. ed. by John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci. London: Routledge, 2009, 246-284.

Authoritarianism without Dominant Ideology: Political Manifestations of Authoritarian Attitudes in Hungary (with Bojan Todosijević) *Political Psychology*, 2008, vol. 29, issue 5, 767-787.

Searching for the Right Organisation: Ideology and Party Structure in East-Central Europe (with Lukáš Linek) *Party Politics*, 2008, vol. 14, no. 3, vol. 14, no. 4, 457-479.

The Social and Attitudinal Basis of Political Parties: Cleavage Politics Revisited, *European Review*, 2008, vol. 16, no. 3, 287-304.

Parties in Eastern Europe: A Post-Transition Assessment. In: Christian Lequesne and Monika MacDonagh-Pajerová (eds) *La Citoyenneté démocratique dans l'Europe des vingt-sept*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007, 155-171.

The “Europeanization” of Eastern Central European Party Systems, *EPSnet Kiosk Plus*, 2007, 67-74.

Party Funding in Hungary. In: Daniel Smilov and Jurij Toplak (eds.) *Political Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe: The Transition Period*, Ashgate, 2007

Media, Parties and Political Transition: Contrasting Approaches of Sister-Disciplines. In: Robert Stradling (ed.) *Crossroads of European Histories - Multiple Outlooks on Five Key Moments in the History of Europe*. Council of Europe, 2007, 383 -385.

Stability in the Shadow of Chaos. In: *Parliamentary Elections and Party Landscape in the Visegrad Group Countries*, ed. by Vit Housek and Roman Chytilék, Brno: Masaryk University Press, 2007, 116-134

The Only Game in Town: Party Politics in Hungary (with Gábor Tóka) In: Stephen White and Paul Webb (eds.) *Party Politics in New Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 149-178.

The Impact of the European Union on Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (with Paul G. Lewis) In Paul G. Lewis and Zdenka Mansfeldova (eds.): *The European*

Union and Party Politics in East Central Europe. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, 247-268.

Playing with Europe. The Impact of European Integration on the Hungarian Party System. In Paul G. Lewis and Zdenka Mansfeldova (eds.): *The European Union and Party Politics in East Central Europe*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Postmaterialism and authoritarianism in Hungary: Evidence from a two-generations study (with Bojan Todosijević). In Russel Farnen, Henk Dekker, Christ'l De Landtsheer, Heinz Suenker, and Daniel B. German (eds.) *Political Culture, Socialization and Education: Interdisciplinary and Cross National Perspectives for a New Century*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 2006, 77-98.

Accounting for Organisation and Financing. A Contrast of Four Hungarian Parties. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 2006, vol. 58, 7, 1101-1117

The Survival of the Fittest: Party System Concentration in Hungary. In: Susanne Jungerstan-Mulders (ed.) *Post-Communist EU Member States: Parties and Party Systems*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 177- 202.

Party Politics in Post-Communist Transition. In: William Crotty and Richard Katz (eds.) *Handbook of Political Parties*. London: Sage, 2006. 228-238.

Hungary. In: Thomas D. Grant (ed.) *Lobbying, Government Relations, and Campaign Finance Worldwide: Navigating the Laws, Regulations, and Practices of National Regimes*. Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana, 2005, 141-152.

The Role of Agency in Cleavage Formation, *European Journal of Political Research*, 2005, vol. 44, no. 5, 697-720.

Is prejudice growing in Hungary? Changes in anti-Semitism, anti-Roma feeling and xenophobia over the last decade (with Zoltán Fábíán and Endre Sik). In: Tamás Kolosi, István György Tóth, György Vukovich (eds.) *Social Report 2004*. Budapest: Táarki, 2005, 363-385.

Understanding Authoritarianism. Psychological Antecedents and Ideological Consequences (with Bojan Todosijević) *Central European Political Science Review*, 2005, vol. 4., no. 15, 35-51.

Churches and the Consolidation of Democratic Culture: Difference and Convergence in the Czech Republic and Hungary (with Joan O'Mahony), *Democratization*, 2004, vol. 11, no 4, 171-191. (The journal issue has been published as a separate volume by Routledge, 2005 entitled "*Religion, Democracy and Democratization*", edited by John Anderson, and the article has been reprinted by the journal *Religion in Eastern Europe*, November 2005, 21-42, and by the Armenian Journal *Religion and Society*, Bekor-Hrant Publishing House, 2008, no. 4).

How core concepts travel? Teaching party politics in Eastern Europe. *epsNet Kiosk Plus*, 2003, vol. 1, no. 2, 87-90.

Structure versus Culture Again: Corporatism and the 'New Politics' in 16 Countries of Western Europe (with Bojan Todosijević), *European Journal of Political Research*, 2003, vol. 42, no. 5, 629-642.

The Contested Politics of Positive Neutrality in Hungary In: John Madeley and Zsolt Enyedi (eds.) *Church and State in Contemporary Europe. The Chimera of Neutrality*.

London: Frank Cass, 2003, 157-176. (First published as article in *West European Politics*, Vol. 26, No.1, January 2003)

Emerging issues in the study of church and state relations In: John Madeley and Zsolt Enyedi (eds.) *Church and State in Contemporary Europe. The Chimera of Neutrality*. London: Frank Cass, 2003, 218-232. (First published as article in *West European Politics*, Vol. 26, No.1, January 2003)

Authoritarianism vs. Cultural Pressure (with Bojan Todosijević), *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology*, 2002, vol. 40, no. 5, 31-54.

Authoritarianism and Prejudice in Present-Day Hungary (co-authored with Ferenc Erős and Zoltán Fábrián) In: Karen Phalet and Antal Örkény (eds.) *Ethnic Minority and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Context: A Dutch Hungarian Comparison*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002, 201-215.

Anti-Jewish Prejudice in Contemporary Hungary: A Socio-Psychological Causal Model (co-authored with Bojan Todosijević), *Social Thought and Research*, 2002, vol. 24, 1-2, 313-342

Organization of Mass Political Attitudes in Hungary (with Bojan Todosijević), *Polish Psychological Bulletin*, 2002. vol. 33, No. 1, 15-26.

Clerical and religious polarization in Hungary. In: David Broughton and Hans-Martin Ten Napel (eds.) *Religion and Mass Electoral Behaviour*. London: Routledge. 2000, 157-176.

Causal Models of Antisemitism: Two Hungarian Studies. In: Enyedi-Erős (eds.) *Authoritarianism and Prejudice*. Budapest: Osiris.1999, 125-155.

Research on Authoritarianism: East and West compared. (with Ferenc Erős) In Enyedi and Erős (eds.) *Authoritarianism and Prejudice*. Budapest: Osiris.1999, 9-29.

Relationships between Authoritarianism and Political Affiliations. In: Zsolt Speder (ed.) *Hungary in Flux: Society, Politics and Transformation*. Hamburg: Krämer, 1999, 183-207. (Based on the 1996 *Századvég* article.)

Organizing a subcultural party in Eastern Europe. The case of the Hungarian Christian Democrats. *Party Politics* 1996/3, 377-396.

Hungarian Case Studies: The Alliance of Free Democrats and the Alliance of Young Democrats (with Magdolna Balázs). In: Paul Lewis (ed.) *Party Structure and Organization in East-Central Europe*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996, 43-65.

In German

“Erklärungsmodell des Antisemitismus: Zwei ungarische Meinungsumfragen”
Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung, 8, 1999, 228-247,

In Croatian

The Power of the Weak: Political Parties in Hungary (with Gabor Toka), *Politicka Misao*, 2001, vol. 38, 2., p. 68–90.

In Romanian

Christian Democracy. In: Alina Mungiu-Pippidi (ed.) *Political Doctrines*. Iasi: Polirom, 1998, 145-165.

In Serbian

The meaning of authoritarianism: the role of aggressiveness, alienation, and anxiety. [Znacenje autoritarnosti: Uloga agresivnosti, alijenacije i anksioznosti.] (With Bojan Todosijević) *Pedagoška stvarnost*, 2002., Vol. 49, No. 3-4, pp. 252-271.

In Chinese

Party Transformation in Post-SU Sphere [Hou Sulian Shidai de Zhengdang Zhuanxing], *Journal of Comparative Economic and Social Systems*, 2006, issue 1, 83-87.

In Czech

Political Parties in Central and Eastern Europe: Critical Reflections on Democratic Transition. [Politické strany ve střední a východní Evropě: Kritické zhodnocení přechodu k demokracii] In: *Democracy in Europe [Demokracie v Evropě]*, Edited by Monika MacDonagh-Pajerova and Christian Lequesne. Prague: Prostor, 2006, 127-142.

In French

Médias, parties et transition politique: approches contrastées de disciplines jumelles. In: Robert Stradling (ed.) *Carrefours d'histoires européennes*. Council of Europe, 2007, 401-404.

In Armenian

Churches and the Consolidation of Democratic Culture: Difference and Convergence in the Czech Republic and Hungary (with Joan O'Mahony), *Religion and Society*, Bekor-Hrant Publishing House, 2008, no. 4.

In Hungarian

The social embeddedness and ideological affiliation of Hungarian voters (A magyar választók társadalmi beágyazottsága és ideológiai tagoltsága (with Róbert Tardos) In Balázs Böcskei and Andrea Szabó (eds) *Expectations and Realities: Parliamentary Elections 2018 (Várakozások és Valóságok: Parlamenti Választás 2018)*, Budapest: Napvilág and MTA PTI, 2018, 43-77.

Winners and losers in the game of representation (with István Gergő Székely) (Győztesek és vesztesek a képviseleti játszmában) In Gabriella Ilonszki (ed.) *Parties, candidates, representatives (Pártok, jelöltek, képviselők)*. Budapest: Szabad Kéz, 2016, 8-44.

Paternalist Populism in the Ideology of Fidesz and Jobbik (Paternalista populizmus a Jobbik és a Fidesz ideológiájában), *Fundamentum*, 2015, vol. 19, no. 2-3, 50-61.

Parties and voters, 2002-2014. (with Zoltán Fábrián and Róbert Tardos) In Tamás Kolosi and István György Tóth (eds) *Social Report 2014*. TÁRKI: Budapest, 2014, 540-566.

Political and scientific promises, *Politikatudományi Szemle* (Hungarian Political Science Review) 2014, vol. 23, no. 3, 127-135.

Smart Voting and Provoked Participation (Okos szavazás és provokált részvétel). *Politikatudományi Szemle* (Hungarian Political Science Review) 2012, vol. 21, no. 3, 36-60.

Political Representation and Institutional Alternatives. Attitudes among Politicians and Citizens. In: Robert Tardos, Zsolt Enyedi and Andrea Szabo (eds.) *Political Participation Representation, and Political Change*. Budapest: DKMKA, 2011, 243-265.

Critical Election 2010. The Realignment of the Hungarian Party System in Left-Right Dimension. (with Kenneth Benoit) (Kritikus választás 2010. A magyar pártrendszer átrendeződése a bal–jobb dimenzióban) In: Zsolt Enyedi, Robert Tardos and Andrea Szabo (eds.) *The New Formula. Elections in Hungary in 2010*, Budapest: DKMKA, 2011, 17-42.

Proportional Models to the Runway (Arányos modelleket a kifutóra), valasztasirendszer.hu, 18 October 2011

Party System Configurations and Bloc Politics in Eastern-Central Europe (with Fernando Casal-Bertoa), (Pártverseny-mintázatok és blokk-politika Kelet-Közép-Európában, 1990–2009) *Politikatudományi Szemle* (Hungarian Political Science Review) 2010, vol. 19, no. 1, 7-30.

Noble and Less-Than-Noble Motives. (Nemes és nemtelen motívumok), *Századvég*, 2010, vol. 16, no 58, 25-30.

Referendum Democracy. In Zsolt Enyedi (ed.) *The Dilemmas of the Will of the People. Referendums in Hungary and Around the World*. Budapest: DKMKA and Századvég, 2009, 17-36.

The Logic of the Electoral Choice as Reflected by Online Research. In Zsolt Enyedi (ed.) *The Dilemmas of the Will of the People. Referendums in Hungary and Around the World*. Budapest: DKMKA and Századvég, 2009, 227-252.

The Limits of Manipulations and the Preconditions for a Sensible Debate. In Zsolt Enyedi (ed.) *The Dilemmas of the Will of the People. Referendums in Hungary and Around the World*. Budapest: DKMKA and Századvég, 2009, 269-292.

Measurable and Unmeasurable Prejudice. *BUKSZ*, 2007, vol. 19, no. 2, 124-129.

The Impact of European Integration on the Eastern European and Hungarian Party Strategies. In István Hegedűs (ed.) *The Entry of Hungarians. Being a Member State in the Enlarged European Union*. (A Magyarok bemenetele. Tagállamként a bővülő Európai Unióban), Budapest: DKMKA, 2006, 155-180.

The Frozen Surface and What Lies Behind It. The 2006 Election and the Hungarian Party System. In: Gergely Karácsony (ed.) *The 2006 Parliamentary Election. Data and Analyses*. (A 2006-os parlamenti A 2006-os parlamenti választások. Adatok és elemzések. Budapest: DKMKA, 2006, 205-228.

Cultural Pressure and/or Personality (with Bojan Todosijević) *Educatio*, 2004. vol. 13, no. 4, 567-582.

Values, rationality and emotions. Political psychology à la Bibó. *Politikatudományi Szemle* 2004, vol. 13, no. 4, 5-18.

Party politics in the post-Communist world and in Western Europe. *Politikatudományi Szemle* 2004, vol. 13, no.3, 121-142.

(Another version of this article was published as: Parallel and Diverging Tendencies. Turn of the century party politics in the post-Communist world and in Western Europe. In: *The Enlarged European Union: Power, Elections, Foreign Policy*. 2005. Edited by Ferenc Gazdag. Székesfehérvár: Kodolányi College, 22-33.

Room for Voluntarism. The Role of Parties in the Development of Cleavages. *Századvég*, 2004, vol. 9, no. 3, 3-27.

Is prejudice growing in Hungary? Changes in anti-Semitism, anti-Roma feeling and xenophobia over the last decade. (with Zoltán Fábián and Endre Sik). In Tamás Kolosi, István György Tóth, György Vukovich (eds.) *Social Report 2004*. Budapest: Társi, 375-399.

Conservatism From Below (with Bojan Todosijević), *Századvég*, 2002, 21, 1-35.

Presidentialization in Britain and in Hungary, *Századvég*, 2002, 22, 127-134.

The Purple Coalition in the Postmodern Kingdom. In: Janos Johancsik (ed.) *Changing Role of Parties. Western European Experiences*. Budapest: Villányi Úti Konferenciaközpont, 2002, 145-177.

Authoritarianism and Prejudice: New Hungarian Investigations (with Ferenc Erős and Zoltán Fábián). In: György Hunyadi and Nguyen Luu Lan Anh (eds.) *Stereotype Research. Traditions and Orientations*, Budapest: ELTE Eötvös, 2001, 391-402.

The Benelux Party System. *Rubicon*, 2002, Vol. 13, No. 4-5, 86-87.

Political Correlates of Authoritarianism. In: Janos Simon (ed.) *Millennial Interpretations of Democracy, Political Culture, and Left and Right*. Budapest: Villányi Úti Konferenciaközpont, 2001, 495-500.

Prejudice and authoritarianism among the youth. (Co-authored with Ferenc Erős and Zoltan Fabian) In: Kalman Gabor (ed.) *Social Change and the Youth. Freedom as Opportunity*. Szeged: Belvedere, 2000, 161-171. Re-published in Béla Bauer (ed.) *Süsü in Society. A Social Science Reader*. Új Mandátum - ELTE TÖFK, Bp. 2000, 197-202.

Parties and Party Systems in Political Science. In: Kalman Kulcsar, Jozsef Bayer and Andras Gergely (eds.) *Faces of Political Science*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 2000, 181-223.

Party System Institutionalization and Regime Consolidation. *Politikatudományi Szemle*, 1998/3, 5-33.

The Hungarian Political System - From a Short Distance, *Politikatudományi Szemle*, 1998/4, 149-155.

Authoritarianism and political-ideological affiliations. *Századvég*. 1996, 2, 135-155. Reprinted in: Ferenc Erős (ed.) *Learning, prejudice and identity*. Budapest: Új Mandátum, 1998.

Introduction to Political Science. *Politikatudományi Szemle*, 1997/4, 143-148.

The rationality of non-rational parties. *Politikatudományi Szemle* 1995/3, 139-155.

War of numbers? (with Zoltán Fleck) *Beszélő*, 1995/9, 23-26.

The development of the Catholic-Christian subculture. *Politikatudományi Szemle*, 1995/4, 27-50.

Pillar and subculture. A possible conceptual framework for cultural-political divisions. *Politikatudományi Szemle* 1993/4, 31-50.

Book reviews

André Krouwel, Party Transformations in European Democracies. *Party Politics*, 2015, 21(5) 829–835.

The Resistant Church. A book review of Hanna Diskin's "The Seeds of Triumph. Church and State in Gomulka's Poland." *Religion in Eastern Europe*, 2003, vol. XXIII, no. 5, 59-63.

Working papers

Illiberal Conservatism, Civilizationalist Ethnocentrism, and Paternalist Populism in Orbán's Hungary, *DI Working Papers* 2023/03.

Ideologies of autocratization. *AUTHLIB Working Papers* 2023/01.

Party System Closure: Conceptualization, Operationalization, and Validation (with F. Casal Bértoa), *DISC Working Paper Series*, 2010/11.

Agency and the Structure of Party Competition: Alignment, Stability and the Role of Political Elites (with Kevin Deegan-Krause), *EUI Working Papers*, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2010/09, 1-21.

Political Tolerance in Hungary (co-authored with Bojan Todosijević), *CEU Working Papers*, 13, 2001, 41 p. (English)

Political Tolerance Codebook (co-authored with Bojan Todosijević), *CEU Working Papers*, 14, 2001, 77 p. (English)

Hungarian Conservatism 2000 (co-authored with Bojan Todosijević), *Institute for Political Science Working Papers*, 21, 2001, p. 75. (English)

Parties in Political Science. *Working Papers*. Budapest: MTA PTI, 1997. (Hungarian)
Authoritarianism and the Ideological Spectrum in Hungary (with Ferenc Erős and Zoltán Fábrián) *Discussion Papers*. Budapest: Collegium Budapest/Institute for Advanced Study. 1997. (English)

Prejudices Against Gypsies, Jews and Authoritarianism: Documentation of a Survey. (with Ferenc Erős, Zoltán Fábrián, Zoltán Fleck and Fruzsina Albert) *Institute for Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Arts and Sciences*. 1997. (English)