

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Richard Gunther  
Born September 8, 1946 in Los Angeles, California  
U.S. Citizen. Married.

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### **Education:**

B.A. University of California at Berkeley, 1968 (Political Science)  
(1966/67 at London School of Economics and Political Science)  
M.A. University of California at Berkeley, 1971 (Political Science)  
Ph.D. University of California at Berkeley, 1977 (Political Science)

### **Employment:**

Lecturer, University of California, Santa Cruz, Winter-Spring, 1976.  
Visiting Instructor, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1976-77.  
Assistant Professor, Ohio State University, 1977-81.  
Associate Professor, Ohio State University, 1982-89.  
Professor of Political Science 1989-2011, and Sociology 2008-2011, Ohio State University.  
Executive Director of International Studies, Ohio State University, 1996-2000.  
Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Wuhan University,  
Hubei Province, People's Republic of China, May-June 1989.  
Visiting Scholar, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, Madrid, 1994-95.  
Faculty Associate, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, 1995-  
Faculty Associate, The John Glenn Institute for Public Service and Public Policy, Ohio State  
University, 1999-2012.  
Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Ohio State University, 2012-.  
Academy Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University, 2016-.

### **Recent Honors and Awards:**

Distinguished Teaching Award, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, 2009.  
University Distinguished Scholar Award, 2006, Ohio State University.  
University Distinguished Faculty Service Award, 2004, Ohio State University.  
Joan N. Huber Fellowship for Outstanding Scholarship, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences,  
Ohio State University, 2004.

### Research Grants:

- Co-Principal Investigator, "A Changing Electoral Politics in Western Democracies: Comparing the 2017 British Election to France, Germany, the United States and Southern Europe within the Comparative National Elections Project," National Science Foundation (SES-1744626), 2017-18, \$54,188 (with Erik Nisbet, Paul Beck, and Anthony Mughan).
- Principal Investigator, "The Comparative National Elections Project," The Mershon Center, \$20,000 2008-2009, \$45,000 2007-2008, \$34,000 2008-2009, \$20,000 2009-2010, \$29,000 2010-2011, \$26,500 2011-2012, \$20,000 2012-13, and \$11,000 2013-14.
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Religion, Ideology, and Voting in Europe," Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (Spain), \$95,000, 2006-2009.
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Democracy and Cultural Change in the New Southern Europe," the Eleni Nakou Foundation, \$8,900, 2006-2007.
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Democracy at the Grassroots: A Comparative Study of Intermediation, Values and Citizen Politics," Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, 2006, \$25,000.
- Principal Investigator, "Values, Identities, Electoral Conflict, and Democratic Support in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas," The Mershon Center, \$48,000, 2006-2007.
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Participación política y capital social en España: un análisis comparado," Comisión Interministerial de Ciencia y Tecnología, 20,000,000 Ptas. (ca. \$106,000), 2001-2003.
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Political Intermediation and Democratic Legitimacy in New Democracies: Eastern Europe, Latin America, Southern Europe and Asia in Comparative Perspective," Volkswagen Stiftung, 1999-2003, 150,000 DM (ca. \$83,300).
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Democratic Consolidation and Electoral Politics in Comparative Perspective: The Hungarian Parliamentary Elections of 1998," National Science Foundation, 1998-99, \$21,900.
- Principal Investigator, "Democratic Consolidation and Electoral Politics in Comparative Perspective: Phase 2," The Mershon Center, 1998-2002, \$22,475.
- Principal Investigator, "Democratic Consolidation and Electoral Politics in Comparative Perspective," The Mershon Center, 1997-98, \$20,451.
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Democratic Consolidation and Electoral Politics in Bulgaria," The Mershon Center, 1996-97, \$28,101.
- Co-Principal Investigator, "La consolidación democrática en España: procesos de intermediación

política y de decisión de voto," Comisión Interministerial de Ciencia y Tecnología, 1995-97 (\$57,400).

Co-Principal Investigator, "Chile, Uruguay and the Comparative National Elections Project," North-South Center, 1994-95 (\$35,000).

Co-Principal Investigator, "Political Intermediation in a Spanish Election," National Science Foundation, 1993-1994 (\$20,000).

Co-Principal Investigator, "Politics in Modern Spain," Program Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States Universities, 1992-1993 (\$4,000).

Co-Principal Investigator, "Four Collaborative Projects," Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano para la Cooperación Cultural y Educativa, 1992-1993 (\$1,600).

Co-Principal Investigator, "Technology and Democratic Change," The Battelle Endowment for Technology and Human Affairs (\$55,000), and The Merson Center, 1991-1993 (\$18,000).

Co-Principal Investigator, "Spain and the Comparative National Election Project," Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano para la Cooperación Cultural y Educativa, 1990-1991 (\$9,685).

Co-Principal Investigator, "The Nature and Consequences of Democracy in the New Southern Europe," Stiftung Volkswagenwerk, 1989-1994, DM 600,000 (ca. \$345,000).

Co-Principal Investigator, "Elites and Democratization in Southern Europe and Latin America," 1989-1990, The Tinker Foundation (\$10,000); and Program of Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States' Universities (\$2,500).

Co-Principal Investigator, "The Development of Party Loyalties in a New Democracy," 1986-1987, Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano para la Cooperación Cultural y Educativa (\$17,525); and 1988-1989, Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano (\$31,227), and Ohio State University: Office of the Vice President for Research and Graduate Studies (\$4,000), The 1992 Committee (\$4,000), College of Social and Behavioral Sciences (\$2,000), and Department of Political Science (\$1,000).

Co-Principal Investigator, "The 1982 Spanish Elections: The Consolidation of a New Democracy?", 1982-1986, Stiftung Volkswagenwerk (ca. \$300,000); and National Science Foundation (\$52,000).

Co-Principal Investigator, "The Development of Competitive Politics in Spain, 1977-1981, National Science Foundation, (\$247,000); and Travel Grant, Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano para la Cooperación Cultural y Educativa, June 1981 (\$2,700).

### **Institutional Grants:**

Tertiary Education Linkage Project (USAID), 2000-2003, \$460,000, for collaboration with faculty and staff of University of North West (South Africa) to improve its academic programs and enhance its administrative capabilities.

Academic Enrichment Grant to Office of International Studies, 1999, \$40,000 (annual rate) for interdisciplinary lectures, seminars and conferences on international themes, and \$100,000 (cash) for seed money and matching funds for writing of grant proposals to external agencies.

Academic Enrichment Grant to Office of International Studies, 1997, \$90,000 (annual rate) for faculty and graduate student international travel, and undergraduate study abroad scholarships, and \$70,000 (cash) for interdisciplinary lectures, seminars and conferences on international themes.

### **Language Ability:**

Spanish - reading, writing and speaking (nearly fluent)

French - reading only (fair to good)

German - reading, writing and speaking (gradually decaying)

Italian, Portuguese and Catalán - reading only (fair)

### **Professional/Service Responsibilities**

#### **Legislative accomplishments in Ohio:**

Issue 1, 2015: Reform of process and criteria for redistricting the Ohio General Assembly.

I was one of the five negotiators who drafted this reform of the Ohio Constitution. It was approved in the Senate by a vote of 28-1, in the House by 81-7, and by Ohio's voters in the November 2015 election by a margin of 71.5 to 28.5 percent. This reform will go into effect following the 2020 census.

Issue 1, 2018: Reform of process and criteria for redistricting Ohio's Congressional districts. I was the principal author of a citizens' initiative to amend the Ohio Constitution that motivated the legislature to enter into tripartite negotiations (among Republican and Democratic General Assembly members and representatives of good-government groups) that culminated in the passage of Issue 1 by a vote of 83-10 in the House, by 31-0 in the Senate and by 75% of the voters in the May 8, 2018 Primary election.

#### **University Service Responsibilities:**

Chair (2010-11) and Member (2009-11), University Senate Steering Committee.

Member, Committee on the Physical Environment, 2011.

Chair, Ad Hoc Committee on the Implementation of Sustainability Policies, 2011-2012.

Member, Governmental Relations Committee, 2009-2011.

Member, President's Council on Culture Transformation, 2009-2011.

Member, Subcommittee on Energy, Transportation and Green Buildings, President's Council on Sustainability, 2010-2011.

Chair of Faculty Council, University Senate, 2008-2009.

Vice Chair and Chair-Elect of Faculty Council, University Senate, 2007-2008  
 Member, University Project and Capital Planning Team, 2008-2010.  
 Member, University Senate Program Committee, 2008-2010.  
 Member, Faculty Leadership Committee, University Senate, 2007-2009, 2010-2011.  
 Member, University Research Committee, 2004-2008.  
 Member (ex officio), Budget System Advisory Committee, 2007-2008.  
 Member, Faculty Council, 1988-91; 1998-2004; 2005-2008; 2009-2012.  
 Member, Ohio Faculty Council (statewide), 2007-2009.  
 Member (ex officio), University Senate Steering Committee, 2007-2009.  
 Member, Faculty Cabinet, 2002-2004, 2007-2009.  
 Member, Executive Advisory Group, Undergraduate International Studies Program, 2006-2009.  
 Member, Advisory Committee, Undergraduate International Studies Program, 1996-2009.  
 Member, Student Evaluation of Instruction Oversight Committee, 2005-2009.  
 Member, Arts and Sciences Senate, 2003-2007.  
 Member, Social and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board, 2006-2007.  
 Member, Advisory Committee on Centers and Institutes, 2007.  
 Member, Search Committee for Director of John Glenn School of Public Affairs, 2006.  
 Member, Council on Academic Affairs, 2005-2007.  
     Member, Subcommittee B, 2005-2007.  
 Member, SBS Budget and Planning Committee, 2005-2007.  
 University Senator, 1988-91; 1998-2001 (alternate); 2001-2004; 2005-2008.  
 University Senate Fiscal Committee, 1988-91; 2001-2004 (chair, 2002-2004).  
     Chair, Subcommittee on Budget Planning and Evaluation, 1988-89.  
     Member, Subcommittee on Long-Range Resource Planning, 1988-89.  
     Member, Subcommittee on Central Distributions, 2002-2004.  
     Member, Subcommittee on Central Services, 2002-2004.  
 Chair, Ad Hoc Budget Restructuring Review Committee, 2003-2004.  
 Member, Colleges of the Arts and Sciences Leadership Committee, 2004-2006.  
     Chair, Policy Subcommittee, 2004-2006.  
 Member, Colleges of the Arts and Sciences International Advisory Committee, 2005-2006.  
 Member, University Senate Evaluation of Central Administrators Committee, 2004-2006.  
 Coordinator, Ad Hoc Working Group on State Support for Higher Education in Ohio, 2003.  
 Member, Ad Hoc Committee on the Evaluation of Teaching, 1983-84.  
 Member, Student Evaluation of Teaching Committee, 1984-86.  
 Chair, Subcommittee on the use of SET in Promotion and Tenure Decisions, 1985-86.  
 Chair, Student Evaluation of Instruction Committee, 1987-94.  
 Chair, Student Evaluation of Instruction Advisory Committee, 1995-98.  
 Member, Ad Hoc Working Group on the Reevaluation of SEI, 1998-99.  
 Member, Research and Graduate Council, 1992-94.  
     Member, Fellowships and Financial Aids Committee, 1992-94.  
 Member, International Coordinating Committee, 1984-86.  
 Member, Search Committee for Director of International Studies, 1986.  
 Member, Study Abroad Committee, 1987-89.  
 Member, Faculty Advisory Committee on a Spanish Studies Chair, 1988-89.  
 Director, Program on Democratization, The Mershon Center, 1994-99.  
 Director, West European Studies Program, 1995-96.

Member, Committee for the review of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, College of the Humanities, 1995-6.

Member, Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures Oversight Committee, College of the Humanities, Ohio State University, 1996-97.

Member, International Directors Committee, 1995-96.

Member, Office of International Education Advisory Committee, 1995-.

Executive Director, Office of International Studies, 1996-2000.

Member, CIC Senior International Officers Council, 1996-2000.

Member, Oversight Committee for International Affairs, Ohio State University, 1996-99.

Member, CIBER Advisory Committee, College of Business, 1997-2000.

Chair, International Studies Council, 1997-2000.

Member, Advisory Committee for International Affairs, Ohio State University, 1999-2000.

Member, University Solid Waste Management Committee, 1991-92.

Chair, Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Recycling, 1992.

Member, University Ad Hoc Committee for the Review of Centers and Institutes, 2002.

Director, OSU/Univ. of North-West (South Africa) Linkage Project (USAID), 2000-03.

#### **Political Science Department Service:**

Member, Awards Committee, 2007-2009.

Coordinator for International Programs, 1987-94, 1995-2009.

Grade-grievance Resolution Coordinator, 2006-2007, 2008-2009.

Member, Semester Conversion Committee, 2009- .

Member, Undergraduate Studies Committee, 1976-86.

Masters Degree Coordinator, 1979-81, 1985-86, 1987-94.

Teaching Evaluation Coordinator, 1977-85.

Member, Guest Lecture and Colloquium Committee, 1981-86.

Advisor, Pi Sigma Alpha, 1978-80.

Member, Ad Hoc Committee on Creation of Graduate Program in Public Policy, 1979-80.

Member, Public Policy Field Implementation Committee, 1980-81.

Member, Graduate Studies Committee, 1985-86, 1987-94, 1995-2001.

Member, Minority Affairs and Affirmative Action Committee, 1987-94, 1995-2000.

Field Coordinator, Comparative Politics, 2000-2005.

Member, Executive Committee, 2000-2005.

Coordinator for departmental course-scheduling, 2005-2006.

#### **Non-OSU Professional Service Responsibilities:**

Member, Executive Committee, Research Committee 17, Comparative Public Opinion, International Political Science Association, 2012-.

Founder and Co-Chair, Subcommittee on Southern Europe, Joint Committee on Western Europe, Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, 1988-2000.

Member, International Advisory Board, *Democratization*, a quarterly journal, 1994-.

Member, Editorial Board, *South European Society and Politics*, a quarterly journal, 1996-.

Member, Consultative Council, *Análise Social* (Portugal), 2006-.

Member, International Scientific Board, *Perspectivas: Portuguese Journal of International Relations and Political Science*, 2010-.

Member, Fulbright-Hays review panel, Institute of International Education, 2008-2011.  
 Program Coordinator, Comparative Politics--First World, American Political Science Association, 1988-1989.  
 Member, Research Support Committee, American Political Science Association, 1996-1998.

## Publications

### Books and Edited Volumes:

Richard Gunther, Paul Beck, Pedro Magalhães and Alejandro Moreno, eds., *Voting in Old and New Democracies* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016).

Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, *The Politics of Spain* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

José Ramón Montero, Richard Gunther, and Juan J. Linz, eds., *Partidos políticos: viejos conceptos y nuevos retos*. [Updated and revised Spanish-language edition of Gunther, Montero, and Linz, *Political Parties: Old Concepts and new Challenges*.] (Madrid: Editorial Trotta/Fundación Alfonso Martín Escudero, 2007).

Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, eds., *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Dimitri Sotiropoulos, eds., *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Joan Botella, *Democracy in Modern Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Spanish-language version of this book is being translated for publication as *Política en España*, by Alianza Editorial, Madrid.

Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Juan J. Linz, eds., *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Richard Gunther, eds., *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Richard Gunther and Anthony Mughan, eds., *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

*Politics, Society and Democracy: The Case of Spain*, ed., (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 273 pages.

John Higley and Richard Gunther, eds., *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe* (New York, Cambridge and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 354 pages.

Richard Gunther, Giacomo Sani and Goldie Shabad, *Spain After Franco: The Making of a Competitive Party System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 516 pages.

Revised paperback edition published by University of California Press in 1988, 509 pages.

Spanish-language edition, *El sistema de partidos en España*, translated by Miguel Jerez, (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1986), 527 pages.

*Public Policy in a No-Party State: Spanish Planning and Budgeting in the Twilight of the Franquist Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 361 pages.

### **General Series Editor:**

Series on The New Southern Europe:

Gunther, Diamandouros and Puhle, eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

Heather Gibson, ed., *Economic Transformation, Democratization and Integration into the European Union: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective* (London: Palgrave, 2001).

Diamandouros and Gunther, eds., *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Gunther, Diamandouros and Sotiropoulos, eds., *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2006).

Series on Politics, Society, and Democracy, Westview Press:

Gunther, *Politics, Society, and Democracy: The Case of Spain*, 1993.

H. E. Chehabi and Alfred Stepan, eds., *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Comparative Studies* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995).

Arturo Valenzuela, ed. *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).

Juan Linz (ed. by H.E. Chehabi), *Robert Michels, Political Sociology, and the Future of Democracy* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2006).

### **Monographs:**

Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, *Democracy, Intermediation and Voting in Spain: Some New Findings from In-Depth and Longitudinal Data*, two volumes. Working Paper #351. Barcelona: Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, 2018.

Belén Barriero, Richard Gunther, Narciso Michavila, José Ramón Montero, Giacomo Sani and



- Julián Santamaría, *Guerra de Irak y elecciones del 14 M: un año después* (Madrid: Fundación Alternativas, 2005).
- Richard Gunther, *Electoral Laws, Party Systems, and the Quality of Democracy.*" Washington, D.C.: U. S. Agency for International Development, November 2004.
- Richard Gunther and H.C. Kuan, "Value Cleavages and Partisan Conflict." Washington, DC: Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University, November, 2004.
- Richard Gunther, *Attitudes toward Democracy in Seven Countries: Dimensional Structure and Behavioral Correlates.* Studies in Public Policy, no. 385, Centre for the Study of Public Policy (University of Strathclyde), March 2004.
- José Ramón Montero and Richard Gunther, *The Literature on Political Parties: A Critical Reassessment.* (Barcelona: Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, Working Paper no. 219). Also published as "Los estudios sobre los partidos políticos: Una revisión crítica." Estudio/Working Paper 12/2003 . Departamento de Ciencia Política y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Mariano Torcal, Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, *Antiparty Sentiments in Southern Europe.* Estudio/Working Paper 2001/ . Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Juan March, Madrid, October 2001. Also published as "Ciudadanos y partidos en el sur de Europa: los sentimientos antipartidistas." Estudio/Working Paper 6/2002. Departamento de Ciencia Política y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, *Legitimacy, Satisfaction and Disaffection in New Democracies,* Studies in Public Policy 0140-8240 (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 2000), 41 pages.  
(Portuguese-language version published in *Opinião Pública* [São Paulo] 8, #2, October 2002.)
- Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and José Ignacio Wert, *The Media and Politics in Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy* (Barcelona: Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, 1999), 87 pages.
- Nancy Chism, Richard Gunther, Terry Childers and Hugh McCulloch. 1998. *Analysis of the Student Evaluation of Instruction (SEI) Instrument at the Ohio State University.* Columbus, OH: Office of Faculty and TA Development, Ohio State University.
- José Ramón Montero, Richard Gunther and Mariano Torcal, *Democracy in Spain: Legitimacy, Discontent and Disaffection,* Working Paper 1997/100 (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, June 1997), 47 pages.
- Public Policy Under Two Regimes,* Working Paper 1996/84 (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, March

1996), 70 pages.

José Ramón Montero, Richard Gunther, José Ignacio Wert, Julián Santamaría, and Miguel Ángel Abad, *La reforma del régimen electoral* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1994), 187 pages.

*Cambio cultural y política en España* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1991), 79 pages.

*Models of Electoral Behavior in Spain* (Barcelona: Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1991), 86 pages.

*Politics and Culture in Spain*, Politics and Culture Series, #5 (Ann Arbor: Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1988), 75 pages.

### **Blog Articles:**

Paul Beck, Richard Gunther and Erik Nisbet, “The Ground Game from the Voters’ Perspective,” posted on *Vox*, January 22, 2019.

Richard Gunther, Paul A. Beck and Erik Nisbet, “Trump May Owe his Victory to ‘Fake News,’ New Study reports. *The Conversation*, Feb. 15, 2018. <http://theconversation.com/study-suggests-trump-may-owe-his-2016-victory-to-fake-news-91538>.

### **Journal Articles and Chapters in Books:**

Richard Gunther, Paul A. Beck and Erik Nisbet, “‘Fake News’ and the Defection of 2012 Obama Voters in the 2016 Presidential Election,” *Electoral Studies*, forthcoming 2019. [The findings of this study were covered as news items in two articles in the *Washington Post* and an op-ed piece by Michelle Goldberg in the *The New York Times*.]

Paul Beck, Richard Gunther and Erik Nisbet, “What Happened to the Ground Game in 2016,” in John Green, Daniel Correy and David Cohen (eds.), *The State of the Parties 2018*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018.

Pedro Magalhães, Paul Beck, Richard Gunther and Alejandro Moreno, “Introduction,” in Richard Gunther, Paul Beck, Pedro Magalhães and Alejandro Moreno, eds., *Voting in Old and New Democracies*. New York and London: Routledge, 2016.

Paul Beck and Richard Gunther, “Global Patterns of Political Intermediation,” in Gunther et al., 2016.

Richard Gunther, Marina Costa Lobo, Paolo Bellucci and Marco Lisi, “The Changing Determinants of the Vote,” in Gunther et al., 2016.

Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, “Intermediation, Mobilization, and

Citizen Participation: Findings from In-Depth and Longitudinal Analyses of Spain,” in Gunther et al., 2016.

Alejandro Moreno, Paul Beck, Richard Gunther and Pedro Magalhães, “Conclusion,” in Gunther et al., 2016.

Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, “Generational Patterns of Democratic Support and Political Engagement in Southern Europe,” in David Denemark, Richard Niemi and Robert Mattes, eds., *Generational Change in Attitudes Toward Democracy*, Boulder: Lynne Reinner, forthcoming 2016.

Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, “Le cadre institutionnel national,” “Partis, systems de partis et elections,” in Hubert Peres and Christophe Roux, eds., *Politique d l’Espagne*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016.

Richard Gunther, J.-B Harguindéguy, José Ramón Montero, and R. Pasquier, "L'Etat des autonomies: dynamiques institutionnelles et politiques, in Peres and Roux, eds., 2016

Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Hubert Peres, "Postface: ver une recomposition du système pollitique espagnol?", in Peres and Roux, eds., 2016.

Richard Gunther, Jean-Baptiste Harguindéguy, José Ramón Montero and Romain Pasquier, "L'Etat des autonomies: dynamiques institutionnelles et politiques," in Peres and Roux, eds., *Politique d l’Espagne*, 2016.

Richard Gunther, “Prefacio,” in Alejandro Moreno and Gustavo Meixueiro, eds., *El comportamiento electoral mexicano en las elecciones de 2012*. Mexico DF: Congreso de la Unión, 2014.

Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, “From Consensus Transition to Adversary Democracy,” in *Democràcia, política i societat. Homenatge a Rosa Virós*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2012. Also to be published in Josep Colomer, ed., *Spain in Europe: Not the Same as it Was?*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, forthcoming.

Richard Gunther, “Political Intermediation in Spain,” in José Ramón Montero, Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, Richard Gunther, et al., *Elecciones y votantes en España*, forthcoming.

Richard Gunther, "The Spanish Model Revisited," in Diego Muro and Gregorio Alonso, eds., *Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: The Spanish Model* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Democratic Consolidation: O'Donnell's 'Illusions'" (reprint of October 1996 *Journal of Democracy* article). In Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner and Philip JI Costopoulos, eds., *Debates on Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

- Richard Gunther, "Democratic Transitions in Southern Europe, in Christian W. Haerpfer, Ronald Inglehart, Chris Welzel and Patrick Bernhagen, eds., *Democratization in a Globalized World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Richard Gunther, "The Long- and Short-Term Determinants of Partisan Polarization." In Guido Legnante, Renato Mannheimer and Paolo Segatti, eds., *Il cittadino/elettore tra Europa e America*. (Bologna: Il Mulino, forthcoming 2009).
- José Ramón Montero and Richard Gunther, "Introducción: los estudios sobre los partidos políticos." In José Ramón Montero, Richard Gunther, and Juan J. Linz, eds., *Partidos políticos: perspectivas teóricas y empíricas* (Madrid: Editorial Trotta/Fundación Alfonso Martín Escudero, forthcoming 2007).
- Richard Gunther and Jonathan Hopkin, "Una crisis de institucionalización: el colapso de UCD." In Montero, Gunther, and Linz, 2007.
- Mariano Torcal, José Ramón Montero, and Richard Gunther. "Los sentimientos antipartidistas en el Sur de Europa." In Montero, Gunther, and Linz, 2007.
- Richard Gunther, "Portuguese Elections in Comparative Perspective," in André Freire, Marina Costa Lobo, and Pedro Magalhães, eds., *Portugal at the Polls* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007).
- Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Introduction," in Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, eds., *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 1-28.
- Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero, and Mariano Torcal, "Democracy and Intermediation: Some Attitudinal and Behavioral Dimensions," in Gunther, Montero and Puhle, eds., *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting*, pp. 29-75.
- Richard Gunther and H.C. Kuan, "Values Cleavages and Partisan Conflict," in Gunther, Montero and Puhle, eds., *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting*, pp. 255-320.
- Hans-Jürgen Puhle, Richard Gunther, and José Ramón Montero, "Conclusion," in Gunther, Montero and Puhle, eds., *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting*, pp. 321-345.
- P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, Richard Gunther, Dimitri Sotiropoulos, and Edward Malefakis, "Introduction," in Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Dimitri Sotiropoulos, eds., *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 1-42.
- Richard Gunther and P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, "Conclusion," in Gunther, Diamandouros and Sotiropoulos, *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe*, pp. 338-363.

- Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, "The Multidimensionality of Attitudinal support for New Democracies: Conceptual Redefinition and Empirical Refinement," in Mariano Torcal and José Ramón Montero, eds., *Political Disaffection in Europe* (London: Routledge, 2006).
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- Miguel Jerez Mir, "Juan Linz's Contribution to Political Science in Spain," in Gunther, ed., *Politics, Society and Democracy*.
- José Cazorla, "The Theory and Reality of the Authoritarian Regime, Thirty Years Later," in Gunther, ed., *Politics, Society and Democracy*.
- José Ramón Montero, "Revisiting Democratic Success: Legitimacy and the Meanings of Democracy in Spain," in Gunther, ed., *Politics, Society and Democracy*.
- Francisco J. Llera, "*Conflicto en Euskadi* Revisited," in Gunther, ed., *Politics, Society and Democracy*.
- Miguel Beltrán, "The Seventeen Spains," in Gunther, ed., *Politics, Society and Democracy*.
- Carlota Solé, "The Integration of Immigrants in an Industrialized Society," in Gunther, ed., *Politics, Society and Democracy*.
- Jesús de Miguel and Josep A. Rodríguez, "The Politics of Health Policy Reform in Spain," in Gunther, ed., *Politics, Society and Democracy*.
- Pedro González Blasco and Juan de Dios González-Anleo, "Socioeconomic Issues and the Catholic Church in Spain," in Gunther, ed., *Politics, Society and Democracy*.

#### **Professional Conference Presentations and Guest Lectures:**

- Paper presenter, chair and co-convener, Comparative National Elections Project Workshop and Conference, Nusa Dua, Indonesia, August 8-9, 2019.
- Paper presenter, Seminar on *Problems of Democratic De-consolidation in the World*, Warmadewa University, Denpasar, Indonesia, August 7, 2019.
- Paper presenter and co-organizer, Big Ten Academic Alliance Redistricting Conference: Strategic Partnership for Applied Redistricting Knowledge, University of Maryland, March 4-5, 2019.
- Paper presenter, chair and co-convener, Comparative National Elections Project Workshop and Conference, Universidad Externado de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia, Sept. 21-22, 2019.
- Paper presenter and discussant, College of Humanities and Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Symposium on the Catalan Crisis, Ohio State University, Nov. 3, 2017.
- Panel chair and paper presenter, International Political Science Association, Poznan, Poland, July 24-29, 2016.
- Conference Convener, Chair and Discussant, Annual Meeting of the Comparative National Elections Project, Oaxaca, Mexico, July 4-5, 2015.
- Participant, Roundtable Discussion on the Quality of Democracy, Instituto Estatal Electoral y de Participación Ciudadana, Oaxaca, Mexico, July 3, 2015.
- Paper Presenter, Conference on Voters, Elections and Political Intermediation, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Mexico City, July 2, 2015.
- Guest Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil, March 24-27, 2015.

- Convener, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Workshop/Conference on the Comparative National Elections project, The Mershon Center, October 17, 2014.
- Paper Presenter (two papers), International Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, July 21-23, 2014.
- Paper Presenter, American Association of Public Opinion Research, Anaheim, CA, May 16, 2014.
- Conference Organizer, Chair, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Workshop/Conference of the Comparative National Elections Project, Marrakech, Morocco, March 14-15, 2014.
- Convener, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Workshop/Conference on the Comparative National Elections project, The Mershon Center, October 18, 2013.
- Conference Organizer, Chair, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference/Workshop on Values, Identities, Electoral conflict, and Democratic support in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, Comparative National Elections Project, Humboldt University, Berlin, July 13-16, 2012.
- Paper Presenter, International Political Science Association conference, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain, July 7-11, 2012.
- Conference Organizer, Chair, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference/Workshop on Values, Identities, Electoral conflict, and Democratic support in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, Comparative National Elections Project, Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study and University of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, South Africa, August 11-14, 2011.
- Paper Presenter, International Conference on China-Africa Relations and Public Diplomacy, Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study, ZTE Corporation and the Embassy of the People's Republic of China to South Africa, Stellenbosch, South Africa, August 15, 2011.
- Paper presenter, Conference on Elecciones en España, Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Juan March, Madrid, June 16-17, 2011.
- Paper Presenter, Conference on Spain in Europe: Not the Same as it Was?, Georgetown University, Washington DC, March 24-25, 2011.
- Paper Presenter and Conference Organizer, Comparative National Elections Project conference and workshop, Jiaotong University, Shanghai, China, July 22-24, 2010.
- Guest lecturer, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon, June 14-22, 2010.
- Paper Presenter, Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago, April 22-24, 2010.
- Paper Presenter, Seminar Series on Modern Democracies, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid February 17, 2010.
- Guest Lecturer, Graduate course on Southern European Politics, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, February 17-19, 2010.
- Discussant, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Ontario, September 3-5, 2009.
- Paper Presenter and Conference Organizer, Comparative National Elections Project conference and workshop, Rio de Janeiro, July 20-22, 2009.
- Paper Presenter, Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago, April 2-4, 2009.
- Paper Presenter, Center for European Studies, King's College, London, Feb. 27, 2008.
- Guest lecturer, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon, June 16-24, 2008.
- Conference Organizer, Chair, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference/Workshop on Values, Identities, Electoral conflict, and Democratic support in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, Comparative National Elections Project and the Mershon Center, Maputo, Mozambique, July 17-19, 2008.

- Paper Presenter and Discussant, International Conference on After the Third Wave: Problems and Challenges for the New Democracies. Taiwan Thinktank and Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Taipei, Taiwan, August 13-14, 2007.
- Conference Organizer, Chair, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference/Workshop on Values, Identities, Electoral conflict, and Democratic support in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, Comparative National Elections Project and the Merston Center, Trieste, Italy, July 19-21, 2007.
- Keynote Speaker, conference on New Perspectives on the Spanish Transition to Democracy, King's College, London, May 18-19, 2007.
- Guest lecturer, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon, May 7, 8, 14 and 15, 2007.
- Conference Organizer, Chair, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Comparative National Institutions Conference, Yunnan Institute of Chinese Culture, Kunming, People's Republic of China, July 24-28, 2006.
- Guest lecturer, Departamento de Ciencias Políticas, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, March 30-31, 2006.
- Guest lecturer, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon, March 27-April 4, 2006.
- Paper presenter and discussant, Conference on Prospects for Political Transition in the Middle East, Directorate of Intelligence, Office of Transnational Issues, and Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis, Washington, D.C., January 18, 2006.
- Keynote Speaker, Conference of Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, Taipei, November 12-13, 2005.
- Guest Lecturer, Department of Political Science and Election Study Center, National Cheng-chi University, Taipei, Nov. 11, 2005.
- Paper Presenter and Co-Author (two papers), Annual meeting, American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-3, 2005
- Paper Presenter, Conference Organizer, Discussant, conference on Intermediation and Electoral Politics in Contemporary Democracies, Mateus Foundation, Vila Real, Portugal, June 22-25, 2005.
- Participant, Workshop on Politics and Cultural Change in Contemporary Democracies, Research Directorate General, European Union, Strasbourg, France, June 16-18, 2005.
- Guest Lecturer, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal, April 8-12, 2005.
- Guest Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, April 4-7, 2005.
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, conference on the 2004 Spanish general election, Fundación Alternativas and Observatorio Política Exterior Española, Madrid, April 1, 2005.
- Guest Lecturer and Discussant, symposium on Democracy, the Economy and the Middle Class, The Strassler Center, Clark University, Worcester, MA, November 12-14, 2004.
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, roundtable on Change in Political Parties, United States Agency for International Development, Washington, DC, October 1, 2004.
- Paper Presenter, colloquium series on European political studies, Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, Sept. 20, 2004.
- Paper Presenter, Conference Organizer, Panel Chair, Discussant, conference on Electoral Mobilization, Political Participation and Attitudes Toward Democracy in Thirteen Countries, University of Cape Town, South Africa, July 26-30, 2004.
- Guest Lecturer, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal, April

20-29, 2004.

- Panel Chair and discussant, panel on Nationalism in Historical Perspective, conference on Memory and Identity: Borders and Nation in the Cultures of Spain, Ohio State University, April 2, 2004.
- Guest Lecturer, Chinese Association of Political Science and the Center for Election Studies, National Chengchi University, Taipei, December 11, 2003.
- Paper Presenter, conference on How East Asians View Democracy: The Region in Global Perspective, The Comparative Study of Democratization and Value Changes in East Asia Project, College of Social Sciences, National Taiwan University, Taipei, December 8-9, 2003.
- Discussant, Conference on The Quality of Democracy: Improvement or Subversion?, Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, October 10-11, 2003.
- Paper Presenter, discussant, chair and conference organizer, Conference on Democratic Consolidation and Electoral Politics in Comparative Perspective (CNEP II), The Mershon Center, Ohio State University, September 4-6, 2003.
- Paper Presenter, Forum de Reserca de Ciència Política i Social, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, April 28, 2003.
- Paper Presenter and discussant, Conference on Portugal a Votos: Eleições Legislativas de 2002, Fundação Luso-Americana and Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Lisbon, Portugal, February 27-28, 2003.
- Guest speaker and discussant, Working Session of Project on Constitution-Making, Peace Building and National Reconciliation, United States Institute for Peace, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, February 6, 2003.
- Guest speaker and discussion leader, United States Agency for International Development, Democracy and Governance Officer's Training Workshop, Washington, DC, December 9-10, 2002.
- Conference organizer, paper presenter and discussant, Conference/Workshop, The Comparative National Elections Project, Mannheim, Germany, June 30-July 2, 2002.
- Conference organizer, paper presenter and discussant, Conference/workshop of the Comparative National Elections Project, Santiago, Chile, December 10-14, 2001.
- Paper Co-Author, V Congreso Español de Ciencia Política, La Laguna, Tenerife, Spain, September 26-28, 2001.
- Paper Presenter, Annual meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2001.
- Paper Discussant, Conference on Consolidating Indonesian Democracy, The Mershon Center, Ohio State University, May 11-13, 2001.
- Guest Speaker, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, April 20, 2001.
- Paper Presenter, Conference A desafección política nas democracias europeas, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, October 19-21, 2000.
- Organizer, Chair, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference/Workshop of the Comparative National Elections Project, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, July 14-18, 2000.
- Opening Speaker, Closing Speaker and Paper Presenter, Workshop on The Modernization of Southern European Society and Politics, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, February 4, 2000.
- Paper Presenter, Seminar Series on Comparative Politics, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, October 5, 1999.

- Keynote Speaker, Conference on *A Democracia Portuguesa: Problemas e Desafios*, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisbon, May 7, 1999.
- Organizer, Chair and Discussant, Conference/Workshop of the Comparative National Elections Project, Budapest, Hungary, June 24-26, 1999.
- Guest Lecturer, Center for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, Fundación Juan March, Madrid, May 4-6, 1998.
- Conference Organizer and Discussant, Subcommittee on Southern Europe, Social Science Research Council, Bologna, Italy, June 29, 1998.
- Paper Presenter, International Conference on Democrazie Transizione Politica Scelte Elettorali, Istituto Cattaneo, Bologna, July 1, 1998.
- Paper Presenter, Conference on Political Change in Indonesia, Jakarta, August 12-14, 1998.
- Discussant, conference on Managing Pluralism: Twenty Years of Spanish Democracy, National Endowment for Democracy and Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset, Washington, DC, September 17, 1998.
- Guest Speaker, Center for West European Studies, University of California at Berkeley, April 24-25, 1997.
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, International Roundtable on Constitution Choice, Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, May 31, 1997.
- Guest Lecturer, Wuhan University, Hubei Province, People's Republic of China, June 3-10, 1997.
- Paper Presenter, SSRC follow-up conference on Culture Change in the New Southern Europe, Palma de Mallorca, Spain, June 28-29, 1996.
- Paper Presenter, Comparative National Elections Project Conference, Fundación Juan March, Madrid, July 4-6, 1996.
- Discussant, Conference on Dilemmas of Transition: The Hungarian Experience, Hungarian Research Institute of Canada, Trinity College, University of Toronto, Canada, September 27-28, 1996.
- Co-Organizer, Panel Chair and Report Presenter, Conference on International Activities in Changing Global and Regional Contexts: The CIC Agenda, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, September 29-October 1, 1996.
- Paper Co-Author, Conference on The Erosion of Confidence in Advanced Democracies, Society for Comparative Research and L'Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, November 7-10, 1996.
- Co-Organizer, Panel Chair and Discussant, Conference on Political Parties and Democracy, National Endowment for Democracy's International Forum for Democratic Studies, Washington, D.C., November 18-19, 1996.
- Guest Speaker, Universidad del País Vasco, February 1, 1995.
- Paper Presenter, Comparative National Elections Project Conference, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, March 12-14, 1995.
- Keynote Speaker, Conference on Mass Response to the Transformation of Post-Communist Societies, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, March 16-19, 1995.
- Guest Speaker, The Goethe Institute and the United States Information Agency, Athens, Greece, April 6, 1995.
- Paper Presenter, Seminar series of the Greek Political Science Association and the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens, Greece, April 7, 1995.
- Paper Presenter, Conference Co-Organizer and Co-Chair, SSRC Conference on Culture Change in the New Southern Europe, Agios Nikolaus, Crete, Greece, July 7-9, 1995.



- Paper Co-Author, Conference on El Sistema Electoral en España, Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, Madrid, Jan. 31, 1994.
- Guest Lecturer, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, April 25, 1994.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Chair, Conference on Electoral Reform and Democratization, Institute on Western Europe, Columbia University, April 29-30, 1994.
- Conference Co-Organizer, Co-Chair and Discussant, Follow-up conference on The Changing Functions of the State in the New Southern Europe, University of the Bosphorus, Istanbul, Turkey, July 1-2, 1994.
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference/Workshop of the Comparative National Elections Project, Nuffield College, Oxford, England, July 12-13, 1994.
- Paper Presenter, International Political Science Association, Sixteenth World Congress, Berlin, Germany, August 19-24, 1994.
- Paper Co-Author, Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, New York City, September 1, 1994.
- Guest Speaker, Conference Series on Nuevas Democracias y Partidos en el Sur de Europa, Fundación Juan March, Madrid, October 25 and November 4, 1994.
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, International Symposium on Political Parties: Changing Roles in Contemporary Democracies, Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Juan March, Madrid, December 15-17, 1994.
- Paper Presenter, Panel Chair and Discussant, Tokyo Symposium on the Comparative National Elections Project, Tokyo, December 19-21, 1994.
- Guest Lecturer, Electoral Change in Southern Europe, Fundación CLAEH, Montevideo, Uruguay, April 3, 1993.
- Conference Co-Organizer, Co-Chair and Discussant, follow-up Conference on Economic Change in the New Southern Europe, Fondazione Levi, Venice, Italy, April 29-30, 1993.
- Conference Co-Organizer, Co-Chair and Discussant, Conference on The Changing Functions of the State in the New Southern Europe, Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Forschung, Universität Bielefeld, Germany, July 8-10, 1993.
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference on The Emergence of Party Systems in New Democracies, University of Bristol, United Kingdom, Sept. 17-19, 1993.
- Paper Co-Author, International Conference on Comportamiento Político y Electoral, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, February 26-28, 1992.
- Conference Co-Organizer, Co-Chair and Paper Presenter, follow-up Conference on Democratic Politics in the New Southern Europe, Institute Clingendael, The Hague, Netherlands, March 26-27, 1992.
- Guest Lecturer, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, Berlin, March 30, 1992.
- Conference Co-Organizer, Co-Chair and Discussant, Conference on Economic Change in the New Southern Europe, Sintra, Portugal, July 10-12, 1992.
- Conference Co-Organizer, Co-Chair and Discussant, Battelle-Mershon Conference on Mass Media Technologies and Democracy, Ohio State University, October 8-11, 1992.
- Guest Lecturer, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, May 16, 1991.
- Guest Lecturer, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, May 16, 1991.
- Paper Presenter, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, May 22, 1991.
- Paper Presenter, Conference Co-organizer, Co-chair and Discussant, Conference on Democratic Politics in the New Southern Europe, European Culture Centre, Delphi, Greece, July 6-8, 1991.

- Discussant, Panel on Issues in Democratization, National Research Council, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, Washington, D.C., October 1-2, 1991.
- Panel Discussant, Conference on Political Institutions and their Consequences, The Brookings Institution, Washington, February 2-3, 1990.
- Conference Organizer, Co-Chair, Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference III on Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe, Panajachel, Guatemala, March 16-18, 1990.
- Paper Presenter, Colloquium Series on Iberian Studies, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, April 6, 1990.
- Guest Lecturer, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, June 12, 1990.
- Paper Presenter, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, July 2, 1990.
- Conference Organizer, Co-Chair and Discussant, Conference on Problems of Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe, Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, Madrid, July 6-8, 1990.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant (three panels), Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 29-September 2, 1990.
- Guest Lecturer, Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, Madrid, December 10-12, 1990.
- Conference Co-Organizer, Co-Chair and Discussant, Conference on The Politics of Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe, Dipartimento di Sociologia, Università di Roma, December 13-15, 1990.
- Paper Presenter, Seminar Series on Politics and Culture, The Hoover Institution, Stanford University, March 13, 1989.
- Discussant, Conference on Problems of Democratic Consolidation: Spain and the New Southern Europe, Werner Reimers Stiftung, Bad Homburg, West Germany, July 10-12, 1989.
- Chair and Participant, Roundtable Panel on The New Democratic Politics, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, Sept. 2, 1989.
- Guest Lecturer, Seminar Series on Democratization in Southern Europe, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, April 21, 1988.
- Paper Presenter, International Political Science Association convention, Washington, D.C., August 29-30, 1988.
- Paper Presenter, Colloquium Series on Recent Research on Mass Politics, Survey Research Center, University of California at Berkeley, January 23, 1987.
- Paper Presenter, Conference Series on Politics and Culture, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. March 19, 1987.
- Participant, Meeting on Issues in the Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, April 24-25, 1987.
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, Conference on Elites and Democratization in Latin America, Institute for Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, May 1-2, 1987.
- Participant, Roundtable on The Utility of the Concept of Culture in Empirical Research on Politics, Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, San Francisco, July 4-7, 1987.
- Co-Chair, Working Group on the Consolidation of Democracy in Southern Europe, European University Institute, Badia Fiesolana, Florence, Italy, September 15-18, 1987.
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, Panel on Southern Europe in the 1980s, Conference of

- Europeanists, Council for European Studies, Washington, D.C., October 30-31, 1987.
- Co-Chair and Paper Presenter, Conference II on Elites and Democratization in Latin America, Institute for Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, December 11-12, 1987.
- Panel Discussant, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 11, 1986.
- Guest Lecturer and Panel Discussant, Roundtable Conference on Spain and Europe, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, April 30, 1986.
- Paper Presenter, Conference on Elecciones 1986, Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, Madrid, Spain, June 25, 1986.
- Guest Lecturer and Consultant, Briefing Session for Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., July 10, 1986.
- Roundtable Participant, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 28, 1986.
- Paper Presenter, Political Analysis Seminar Series, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, October 22, 1986.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, conference on Perspectives on History and Society, 1936-1986: From the Civil War to Contemporary Spain, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, November 14-16, 1986.
- Guest Lecturer, The Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., January, 1985.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Interdepartmental Conference on Spain, U.S. government, Washington, D.C., March, 1985.
- Panel Discussant and Rapporteur, Executive Seminar on Spain's Prospects, The Spanish Institute, New York, June 14 and 15, 1985.
- Panel Discussant, American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 29, 1985.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, La., August 31, 1985.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Conference on Spain in the 1980s, The Woodrow Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., September 26, 1985.
- Paper Presenter, Seminar on the Democratization of Spain and Portugal, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, November 15 and 16, 1985.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Symposium on Contemporary Spain, University of California at Santa Barbara, April 13, 1984.
- Co-organizer, Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, International Colloquium on Spain, 1984, The Ohio State University, May 10-11, 1984.
- Participant, Workshop/Conference on the Transition to Democracy in Spain, Fundación José Ortega y Gasset, Toledo, Spain, May 13, 1984.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Conference on Budgetary Theory and Practice, Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences, University of Manchester, Manchester, England, May 18-19, 1984.
- Panel Discussant, Conference on Spain and Portugal: Internal Developments and External Significance, Aspen Institute, Berlin, West Germany, October 23-31, 1984.
- Co-organizer and Panel Chairman, International Conference on Contemporary Sociological Theory, The Ohio State University, November 2-3, 1984.
- Paper Presenter and Panel discussant, Seminar on The Democratization of Spain and Portugal:

- Recent Transformations and Implications for the Future, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, Illinois, November 15, 1984.
- Discussant and Chair, *After Autonomy: The Dynamics of Regionalism in Spain*, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, Illinois, December 6, 1984.
- Panel Discussant, Symposium on Europe's Southern Tier, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, March 24-25, 1983.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, International Studies Association Convention, Mexico, D.F., Mexico, April 5-9, 1983.
- Guest Lecturer and Panel Discussant, Conference on Spain on the Eve of the González Visit, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, April, 1983.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Workshop/Conference on Continuities and Discontinuities in the Process of Democratization in Spain, 1977-1982, Werner Reimers Stiftung, Bad Homburg, West Germany, June 30-July 2, 1983.
- Paper presenter and Panel Discussant, International Symposium on Spain and the United States: Present and Future Relations, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, December 8-10, 1983.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Conference on Problemas de Consolidación de la Monarquía Parlamentaria en España, Werner Reimers Stiftung, Bad Homburg, West Germany, May 1982.
- Paper Presenter and Panel discussant, Conference of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, April 1981.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Symposium on Cambio Social y Poder en la España de Franco, Arbeitskreis Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung über Spanien und Portugal, Werner Reimers Foundation, Bad Homburg, West Germany, June 1981.
- Paper Presenter, Panel Discussant and Guest Lecturer, Conference on Mediterranean Democracies, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, Nov. 1981.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Conference of Association of Centres for the Study of Federalism, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Nov. 1981.
- Guest Lecturer, The Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, May 1980.
- Paper co-author, American Political Science Association Convention, Washington DC, August 1980.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Conference for Europeanists, Council on European Studies, Washington, DC, October 1980.
- Guest Lecturer, The Spanish Institute, New York University, New York City, March 1980.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, International Symposium on Spain 1975- 1980: The Conflicts and Achievements of Democracy, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, March 1980.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, International Symposium on Spain and the United States, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, December 1979.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Council for European Studies, conference of Europeanists, Washington, DC, March, 1979.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Conference on Political Parties in Modern Societies, Northwestern University, September, 1978.
- Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, American Political Science Association Convention, Washington, D.C., September, 1977.

Participant, Weekend Workshop Conference on Legislatures, Institute of International Studies, Berkeley, California, April 1-3, 1977.

Participant, Workshop/Conference, Committee on Southern Europe, Columbia University, New York, March 21-23, 1977.

Paper Presenter and Panel Discussant, Intensive Panel on Liberalization in Spain, International Studies Association Convention, St. Louis, Missouri, March 19, 1977.