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PIPPA NORRIS

CURRICULUM VITAE

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PIPPA NORRIS

MAIN FIELDS OF RESEARCH

Comparative democracy, elections, and public opinion
Comparative political communications
Comparative gender politics

AGE

Date of Birth: 10th July 1953

EDUCATION

1971-74 University of Warwick, UK.
1974-77 London School of Economics and Political Science, UK. (LSE)

QUALIFICATIONS

1974 Bachelor of Arts (B.A.), Warwick University. Joint Honors in Politics & Philosophy.
1975 Masters of Science (M.Sc.). LSE/London University. Politics.
1988 Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.). LSE/London University. Politics.

FULLTIME APPOINTMENTS:

October 1977 - September 1988.
Appointment with tenure. Department of Government, Northumberland University, UK. Lecturer II and Senior Lecturer in Government.

October 1988 - December 1993.
Appointment with tenure.
Department of Politics, Edinburgh University, UK.
Lecturer and Senior Lecturer in Politics. (January 1992 to December 1993 Visiting Lecturer at the Kennedy School)

January 1994 - 2001.
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.
Lecturer in Public Policy and Associate Director (Research) Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.

January 2002-date
McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government. Also teaching in Harvard's Government Department, and Faculty Associate at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, the Ash Institute, and the Joan Shorenstein Center on Press/Politics.

May 2006-Sept 2007
Director, Democratic Governance, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), New York.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY CLASSES:

DPI-403 Democratic Governance
 DPI-413 Challenges of Democratization
 DPI-415 Comparative Politics in Global Perspective
 PAL-235 Women and Politics
 PPP-185 Internet Design for Democracy
 PPP-412 Political Communications in International Perspective
 API-216 Analyzing Elections & Public Opinion
 API-462Y Advanced Research Seminar on Law and Public Policy
 Gov-20 Introduction to Comparative Politics

PREVIOUS TEACHING:

Political Advocacy and Leadership, Comparative Elections and Voting Behavior, British Politics, American Politics and Government, Comparative European Politics, Research Design in Political Science, Political Behavior.

MAJOR PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES:

American Political Science Association

1997-98 Program Committee Women and Politics Research section
 1998-99 President, Women and Politics Research Section
 1997-99 APSA Council Member
 1997-99 APSA Administrative Committee
 1998-99 Chair, Ad-Hoc Committee on Information Technology
 2000-02 Executive, British Politics Group (and also in 1994-98)
 2004-05 Program chair, Elections and Voting Behavior Section
 2005-06 President, Political Communications Section

International Political Science Association (IPSA)

1990-94 Executive Committee
 1992-94 Chair, Organized Sections Committee
 2000-03 Executive Committees RC22 Political Communication and RC34 Comparative Representation and Electoral Systems

Political Studies Association of the UK (PSA)

1986-91 Executive Committee
 1987-91 Responsible for annual Surveys of the Profession
 1990-93 Co-founder, Elections, Parties and Public Opinion Group

EDITORIAL BOARDS:

1993-date *Electoral Studies*
 1992-date *Politics Review*
 1994-date *Party Politics*
 1994-2003 *European Journal of Political Research (EJPR)*
 1994-date *International Political Science Review (IPSR)*
 1995-date *Representation*
 1995-date *Political Communication*
 1995-2002 Co-Editor, *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*
 1998-date *Government and Opposition*
 1996-2003 *Women and Politics*
 2006-date *Political Research Quarterly*
 2005-date *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*
 1999-date *International Journal of Feminist Research*
 2004-date *International Journal of Electronic Government Research*
 2007-date *PS: Political Science & Politics*
 2007-date *Canadian Journal of Political Science*

AUTHORED BOOKS:

- 1) 2010. *Critical Citizens Revisited*. (Under development for publication, Cambridge University Press, fall 2010)
- 2) 2009. *Cosmopolitan Communications: Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World*. (Coauthored with Ronald Inglehart, New York: Cambridge University Press, published Sept '09) Pp429
- 3) 2008. *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp.306.
- 4) 2005. *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp.349. (Spanish version *Derecha Radical: Votantes y partidos políticos en el mercado electoral* published in 2009 Madrid: Akai)
- 5) 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Politics and Religion Worldwide*. Coauthored with Ronald Inglehart. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp.370. Italian version 2007. *Sacre e secolare* Bologna: il Mulino (Croatian and Polish versions *Sveto i svjetovno* (2007 Zagreb: Politicka kultura) have been published). (Winner of the 2005 Virginia A. Hodgkinson prize by the Independent Sector).
- 6) 2004 *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp.360.
- 7) 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality & Cultural Change around the World*. Coauthored with Ronald Inglehart. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp.226. (A Polish edition was published in 2006)
- 8) 2002. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp.290.
- 9) 2001 *Digital Divide? Civic Engagement, Information Poverty and the Internet Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp.303. (An Arabic edition *رقف، ين دمل، قاتيملا: يمقرلا قرافلا* /Al-fariq al-raqmī was published in 2006 and a Korean edition in 2007).
- 10) 2000 *A Virtuous Circle? Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 398. (A Chinese edition *新政府沟通/后工业社会的政治沟通* was published by Shanghai University Press in 2004) (Winner of the 2006 Doris A. Graber Award for the best book published in Political Communications).
- 11) 1999 *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*. Co-authored by Pippa Norris, John Curtice, David Sanders, Maggie Scammell, and Holli Semetko. London: Sage Publications. Pp.218.
- 12) 1997. *Electoral Change since 1945*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Pp.270.
- 13) 1995 *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament*. Co-authored with Joni Lovenduski. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp.317
- 14) 1990. *British By-Elections: The Volatile Electorate*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 263.
- 15) 1986 *Politics and Sexual Equality: The Comparative Position of Women in Western Democracies*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, Sussex; Lynne Reinner, Colorado, USA. Pp. 216.

EDITED BOOKS:

- 1) 2010. *Comparing Democracies 3: Elections and Voting in the 21st Century*. With Lawrence Leduc and Richard Niemi. London: Sage. (Completely revised 3rd edition in press, for publication fall 2010, see below 1996 and 2002)

- 2) 2009. *Public Sentinel: News Media and the Governance Agenda*. Washington DC: The World Bank (For publication in fall '09).
- 3) 2007 *The Politics of News: The News of Politics*. 2nd edition. With Doris Graber and Denis McQuail. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Pp.268.
- 4) 2005. *Britain Votes 2005*. With Christopher Wlezien. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 5) 2003. *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government and the Public*. Edited with Montague Kern and Marion Just. New York: Routledge. Pp. 329.
- 6) 2002. *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*. With Lawrence Leduc and Richard Niemi. London: Sage. Pp269. (Completely revised 2nd edition, see below 1996)
- 7) 2001 *Britain Votes 2001*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 276.
- 8) 1999 *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-term Perspective* With Geoffrey Evans. London: Sage Publications. Pp. 310.
- 9) 1998 *The Politics of News: The News of Politics*. With Doris Graber and Denis McQuail. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Pp.268.
- 10) 1998 *Elections and Voting Behaviour*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publisher. Pp.542.
- 11) 1998 *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.303.
- 12) 1997 *Women, Media, and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp.269.
- 13) 1997 *Politics and the Press: The News Media and Its Influences*. Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Pp.333.
- 14) 1997 *Passages to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp.259.
- 15) 1997 *Britain Votes 1997*. With Neil Gavin. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.249.
- 16) 1996 *Women in Politics*. With Joni Lovenduski. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.239.
- 17) 1996 *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. With Lawrence Leduc and Richard Niemi. Thousand Oaks, CA/London: Sage. Pp.428.
- 18) 1994 *Different Voices, Different Roles: Women and Politics in the United States and Europe*. With Marianne Githens and Joni Lovenduski. New York: Harper Collins/Longmans. Pp.277.
- 19) 1993 *Gender and Party Politics*. With Joni Lovenduski. London: Sage. Pp.358.
- 20) 1993 *British Elections and Parties Yearbook, 1993*. With David Denver, Colin Rallings and David Broughton. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Pp.242.
- 21) 1992 *British Elections and Parties Yearbook, 1992*. With Ivor Crewe, David Denver and David Broughton. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 267.
- 22) 1991 *British Elections and Parties Yearbook, 1991*. With Ivor Crewe, David Denver and David Broughton. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 312.

Bibliographies:

- 23) 1991 *Bibliography of Political Studies, 1990*. Co-edited with Ivor Crewe. Herts: Harvester Wheatsheaf. Pp.356.
- 24) 1991 *Bibliography of Political Studies, 1991*. Co-edited with Ivor Crewe. Herts: Harvester Wheatsheaf. Pp.411.

BOOK CHAPTERS:

1. 2010. 'Global communications and its impact.' *The Sage Handbook of Comparative Communication Research*. Ed. Frank Esser. Sage/ICA.
2. 2010. 'Political communication under authoritarian regimes.' *The Sage Handbook of Political Communications*. Eds. Holli Semetko and Margaret Scammell. London: Sage.
3. 2009. 'Political activism.' *Developments in European Politics* ed. Paul Heywood. London: Palgrave.
4. 2009. Ch 15. 'Measuring Democratic Governance.' *The Sage Handbook of Governance* Ed. Mark Bevir. London: Sage.
5. 2009. 'All elections are not the same: Why power-sharing elections strengthen democratization.' In *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition* Ed. Staffan I. Lindberg. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. Chapter 6 Pp.148-176.
6. 2009. 'Going global: New challenges and opportunities in research on democratic participation and the civic culture.' *The Future of Political Science* Eds. Gary King, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Norman H. Nie. New York: Routledge.
7. 2009. 'The globalization of comparative public opinion research.' In *The Sage Handbook of Comparative Politics* Eds. Neil Robinson and Todd Landman. London: Sage. Chapter 28 pp 522-540.
8. 2009. 'A global perspective: US exceptionalism (again?)' Chapter 3 for *Evangelicals and Democracy in America* Edited by Steven Brint and Jean Reith Schroedel. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Chapter 1 pp25-56.
9. 2009. 'Max Weber and the Protestant Ethic revisited.' With Ronald Inglehart. In *Handbook of Economics and Ethics*. Eds. Jan Peil and Irene van Staveren. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
10. 2009. 'Confidence in the United Nations: Cosmopolitan and nationalistic attitudes.' In *The Global System, Democracy and Values*. Ed. Yilmaz Esmer and Thorleif Pettersson. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press.
11. 2008. 'Islamic Culture and Democracy: Testing the 'Clash of Civilizations' Thesis.' With Ronald Inglehart. In *New Frontiers of Comparative Sociology*. Edited by Masamichi Sasaki. Leiden/Boston: Brill Academic Publishers. Pp221-250.
12. 2008. 'If you build a political web site, will they come? The Internet and Political Activism in Britain. (With John Curtice). *E-Government Research: Policy and Management*. Ed. Donald Norris. Hershey, NY: IGI Publishing.
13. 2008. 'The impact of the Internet on political activism: Evidence from Europe.' Chapter LXXV In *Handbook of Research on Public Information Technology*. Ed. G. David Garson and Mehdi Khosrow-Pour. Hershey, PA: IGI Publications.
14. 2007. 'Uneven secularization in the United States and Western Europe.' (with Ronald Inglehart). In *The New Religious Pluralism and Democracy*. Ed. Thomas Banchoff. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp.31-58.
15. 2007. 'Political activism: New challenges, new opportunities.' *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Edited by Carles Boix and Susan Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.628-652.
16. 2007. 'Opening the door: Women leaders and constitution-building in Iraq and Afghanistan.' In *Women Who Lead* Ed. Barbara Kellerman. New York: Jossey Bass. Pp.197-226.

17. 2007. 'Message or Medium?' David Sanders and Pippa Norris. In *Real Research: Conducting and Evaluating Research in the Social Sciences*. Ed. Loreen Wolfer. New York: Allyn and Bacon.
18. 2007. 'Isolates or Socialites? The social ties of internet users.' John Curtice and Pippa Norris. In *British Social Attitudes* Ed. Alison Park. London: Sage. Pp.59-84.
19. 2007. 'Gender and political behavior: Sex-role socialization or gendered institutions?' In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, eds. Russell Dalton and Hans-Deiter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
20. 2007. 'Continental divide: Social capital in the US and Europe.' Pippa Norris and James Davis. In Roger Jowell, C. Roberts, R. Fitzgerald and G. Eva (eds.) *Measuring attitudes cross-nationally: Lessons from the European Social Survey*. London: Sage. Pp.239-265.
21. 2007. 'A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies.' Reprinted in *Readings in Political Communication*. PA: Strata Publishing, Inc. Pp.137-161.
22. 2007. 'Why religion didn't disappear: Reexamining the secularization thesis.' Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris. In *The Culture and Globalization Series 1: Conflicts and Tensions*. Ed. Helmut Anheier and Yudhishthir Raj Isar. London: Sage Publications. Pp.253-258.
23. 2007. 'Skeptical patients: Performance, Social Capital and Culture.' In *The Trust Crisis in Healthcare; Causes, Consequences and Cures*. Ed. David A. Shore. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp.32-48.
24. 2006. 'The Role of the Free Press in Promoting Democratization, Good Governance and Human Development.' Reprinted in *Media Matters*. Ed. Mark Harvey. Internews Europe/Global Forum for Media Development.
25. 2006. 'Recruitment.' For the *Handbook on Political Parties* edited by Richard S. Katz and William Crotty. London: Sage Publications. Pp. 89-108.
26. 2006. 'Political engagement.' Extract from *Democratic Phoenix* and 'Tabloidization, video malaise and cynicism' from *A Virtuous Circle* reprinted in *Reader in Political Communications* Ed. Ralph Negrine and Jeff Stanyer. Routledge/Taylor and Francis.
27. 2006. 'Kulturelle Barrieren bei der Erlangung gleichberechtigter Repraesentation.' (German version of Cultural Obstacles to Equal Representation.) With Ronald Inglehart). In *Demokratisches Regieren und politische Kultur. Post-staatlich, post-parlamentarisch, post-patriarchal?* Eds. Kathrin Ruhl, Jan Schneider, Jutta Traeger und Claudia Wiesner. Muenster: LIT.
28. 2006. 'Gender and social capital.' In Dario Castiglione, Jan van Deth and Guglielmo Wolleb (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Social Capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
29. 2006. 'Does Protest Signify Disaffection? Demonstrators in a Postindustrial Democracy.' Pippa Norris, Stefaan Walgrave and Peter van Aelst. In Mariano Torcal and Jose Ramón Montero, eds., *Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies. Social Capital, Institutions and Politics*. Pp. 279-307. London: Routledge.
30. 2006. 'Die Überzeugten überzeugen? Pluralismus, Partizipation und Parteien im Internet.' In *Regieren und Kommunikation (Government and Communication)* Edited by Klaus Kamps and Jörg-Uwe Nieland. Koln: Herbert von Halem Verlag. Pp261-284.
31. 2006. 'Ballot structures and legislative behavior' In *Exporting Congress*. Edited by Timothy Powers and Nicol Rae. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Pp.157-184.
32. 2005. 'Gendering social capital: Bowling in women's leagues?' (With Ronald Inglehart). In *Gender and Social Capital* Ed. Brenda O'Neill. New York: Routledge. Pp73-98.

33. 2005. 'Women as political leaders worldwide: Cultural barriers and opportunities.' (With Ronald Inglehart). In Sue Thomas and Clive Wilcox (Eds) *Women in Elected Office 2nd Ed.* New York: Oxford University Press.
34. 2005. 'It's the women, stupid.' Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. In *Women's Rights*. Ed. Jennifer Curry. New York: H. W. Wilson Co.
35. 2005. 'E-voting as the magic bullet for European parliamentary elections?' In *The European Union and E-voting* Ed. Alexander Trechsel and Fernando Mendez. London: Routledge. Pp.60-91.
36. 2005. 'Elections and Public Opinion.' In *The Blair Effect II 2001-5* Edited by Dennis Kavanagh and Anthony Seldon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.43-67.
37. 2005. 'Digital divide: Civic engagement, information poverty, and the internet worldwide.' Pp77-92. Reprinted in *Intersecting Inequalities: Class, Race, Sex and Sexuality*. Prentice Hall/Pearson Education.
38. 2004. 'Will new technology boost turnout?' In *Electronic Voting and Democracy: A Comparative Analysis*. Edited by Norbert Kersting and Harald Baldersheim. London: Palgrave. Pp.193-225.
39. 2004. 'The Internet and Politics: Emerging Perspectives.' Doris A. Graber, Bruce Bimber, W. Lance Bennett, Richard Davis and Pippa Norris. In *Academy & the Internet*. Eds. Helen Nissenbaum and Monroe E. Price. New York: Peter Lang. pp.90-119.
40. 2004. 'Preaching to the converted? Pluralism, participation and party websites.' In *e-democracia: Retos y Oportunidades para el Fortalecimiento de la Participación Ciudadana y la Democracia en la Sociedad de la Información*. Eds. José I Porras y Rubén Araya. Santiago, Chile: Universidad Bolivariana.
41. 2004. 'Global political communication.' In *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases and Challenges*. Eds. Frank Esser and Barbara Pfetsch. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp115-150.
42. 2004. 'e-politics? The impact of the Internet on political trust and participation.' John Curtice and Pippa Norris. In *British Social Attitudes, The 21st Report*. Ed. Alison Park. London: Sage. Pp99-116.
43. 2003. 'Globale politische Kommunikation: Freie Medien, Gutes Regieren und Wohlstandsentwicklung.' In *Politische Kommunikation Im Internationalen Vergleich*. Hrsg. Frank Esser and Barbara Pfetsch. Germany: Westdeutscher Verlag.
44. 2003. 'The Worldwide Digital Divide: Information Poverty, the Internet and Development.' In *I mercati elettronici hanno reali prospettive?* Ed. Ettore Bolisani. Milan: Franco Angeli.
45. 2003. 'The bridging and bonding role of online communities.' In *Society Online: The Internet in Context* Eds. Philip N. Howard and Steve Jones. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
46. 2003. 'Teoria rozwojowa różnic między płciami: zachowania wyborcze kobiet i mężczyzn w ujęciu globalnym.' (With Ronald Inglehart). In *Aktorzy życia publicznego: Płeć jako czynnik różnicujący* ed. Renata Siemienska. Warsaw: Scholar Press.
47. 2003. 'Still a public service ethos? Work values, experience and job satisfaction among government workers.' In *For the People: Public Service in the 21st Century*. Edited by Joseph S. Nye and John Donahue. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
48. 2003. 'Representation and the democratic deficit.' In *The Democracy Sourcebook*. Ed. Robert A. Dahl, Ian Shapiro and Jose Antonio Cheibub. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
49. 2003. 'Il divario digitale globale: poverta informativa, Internet e sviluppo.' In *Quale Futuro Per Il Commercio Elettronico?* Edited by Giorgio Gottardi and Ettore Bolisani. Milan: Franco Angeli.
50. 2003. 'Global governance and cosmopolitan citizens.' Reprinted in *The Global Transformations Reader*. 2nd Edition. Edited by David Held and Anthony McGrew. Cambridge, Polity Press.

51. 2003. 'Do institutions matter? The consequences of electoral reform for political participation.' In *Rethinking the Vote* Eds. Ann N. Crigler, Marion R. Just, and Edward J. McCaffery. Oxford University Press.
52. 2003. 'Digital divide.' In *The Information Society Reader*. Ed Frank Webster. London: Routledge.
53. 2002. 'Un circolo virtuoso? L'impatto di partiti e mezzi di informazione sulla partecipazione politica nelle campagne postmoderne.' In *Il circuito politico-mediale*. Ed. Angelo Mellone. Rome: Rubbettino editore.
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55. 2002. 'Political Communications.' In *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*. Eds. Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris. London: Sage.
56. 2002. 'La Participacion Ciudadana: Mexico Desde Una Perspectiva Comparativa.' In *Deconstruyendo la ciusasanía: Advances y retos en el desarrollo de la cultura democrática en Mexico*. Mexico: Instituto Federal Electoral.
57. 2002. 'Gender and Contemporary British Politics.' In *British Politics Today*. Edited by Colin Hay. Cambridge: Polity Press Pp38-59.
58. 2002. 'Do Campaigns Matter for Civic Engagement? US Elections 1952-2000.' *Do Political Campaigns Matter?* Eds. David Farrell and Rudiger Schmitt-Beck. London: Routledge.
59. 2002 'Ballots not Bullets: Electoral Systems, Ethnic Minorities and Democratization.' Chapter 8. In *The Architecture of Democracy*. Edited by Andrew Reynolds and Scott Mainwaring. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
60. 2001. 'Women's Power at the Ballot Box.' For *Voter Turnout from 1945 to 2000: A Global Report on Political Participation*. 3rd Edition. International IDEA: Stockholm.
61. 2001. 'Who Surfs? New Technology, Old Voters and Virtual Democracy in US Elections 1992-2000.' Revised edition. *Governance.com* Ed. Elaine Kamarck and Joseph S. Nye Jr. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.
62. 2001. 'The Social Background of MPs.' In *The Contemporary British Society Reader* edited by Nick Abercrombie and Alan Warde. Cambridge: Polity Press. Pp.262-270.
63. 2001. 'The Accidental President: Fuzzy Math, Florida Lawsuits and Campaign 2000' In the *British Elections and Parties Review*. Eds. Jonathan Tonge, Lynn Bennie, David Denver and Lisa Harrison. London: Frank Cass. Pp174-191.
64. 2001. 'Political Communication: Technological Diffusion and Democracy'. *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Oxford: Pergamon /Elsevier Science.
65. 2001. 'Global Governance and Cosmopolitan Citizens.' In *Governance in a Globalizing World*. Eds. Joseph S. Nye and John Donahue. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. Pp.155-177.
66. 2001. 'Echar la culpa al mensajero? Los nuevos medios de comunicacion y la desafeccion politica en las democracias europeas.' In *Construccion de Europa, Democracia y Globalizacion*. Ed Ramon Maiz. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
67. 2001. 'A Virtuous Circle? The Impact of Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies.' In *Challenges to Democracy*. Ed Keith Dowding, James Hughes and Helen Margetts. London: Palgrave Publishers. Pp.100-117.
68. 2001 'The News Media and Democracy.' In *Political Communications Transformed: From Morrison to Mandelson*. Edited by John Bartle and Dylan Griffiths. Basingstoke: Palgrave Publishers. Pp. 163-180.

69. 2001 'New Labour and Public Opinion: The Third Way as Centrism?' Chapter 3. In *New Labour: The Progressive Future?* Edited by Stuart White. London: Macmillan P.32-44.
70. 2001 'Confidence in Australia's Democracy.' In *Elections: Full, Free and Fair*. Edited by Marian Sawer. Sydney: The Federation Press. Pp. 202-215.
71. 2001 'Breaking the Barriers: British Labour Party Quotas for Women' In *Has Liberalism Failed Women? Assuring Equal Representation in Europe and the United States*. Eds. Jyette Klausen and Charles S. Maier. NY: Palgrave. Pp.89-110.
72. 2000. 'Schlussfolgerung: Ein Vergleich parlamentarischer Rekrutierung.' In *Feministische Perspektiven der Politikwissenschaft*. Eds. Kathrun Braun, Gesine Fuchs, Christiane Lemke and Katrin Tons. Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg.
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76. 2000 'Women's Representation and Electoral Systems.' In *The International Encyclopedia of Elections*. Edited By Richard Rose. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Pp. 348-351.
77. 2000 'The Impact of Television on Civic Malaise.' Chapter 10. In *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Edited By Susan J. Pharr and Robert D. Putnam. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pp.231-251.
78. 2000 'Confidence in Public Institutions: Faith, Culture or Performance?' With Kenneth Newton. In *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Edited By Susan Pharr and Robert Putnam. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pp.52-73.
79. 1999. 'Gender: A Gender-Generation Gap?' In *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-term Perspective*. Edited by Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris. London: Sage.
80. 1999 'Who Surfs? New Technology, Old Voters and Virtual Democracy.' In *democracy.com*. Edited by Elaine C. Kamarck and Joseph S. Nye Jr. New Hampshire: Hollis. Pp. 71-94.
81. 1999 'The Political Regime.' In *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*. Edited by Jacques Thomassen and Hermann Schmitt. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4. Pp.74-89.
82. 1999 'Recruitment into the European Parliament.' In *The European Parliament, the National Parliaments, and European Integration*. Edited by Richard Katz and Bernhard Wessels. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.86-104.
83. 1999 'Introduction: Understanding Electoral Change' and 'Conclusion: Was 1997 a Critical Election?' In *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-term Perspective*. Edited by Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris. London: Sage.
84. 1998. 'New Labour, New Tactical Voting?' With Geoffrey Evans and John Curtice. In *British Elections and Parties Review*. Edited by Charles Pattie et al. London: Frank Cass. Pp.65-79.
85. 1998 'Does Negative News Matter? The Effect of TV News on Party Images in the 1997 British Election.' With David Sanders. In *British Elections and Parties Review*. Edited by Charles Pattie et al. London: Frank Cass. Pp.150-170.

86. 1997 'The Battle for the Campaign Agenda.' In *Britain at the Polls, 1997*. Edited by Anthony King. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House. Pp.113-144.
87. 1997 'Political Communications.' In *Developments in British Politics, 5*. Edited by Patrick Dunleavy et al. London: Macmillan. Pp.75-88.
88. 1997 'News of the World' in *Politics and the Press: The News Media and Its Influences*. Edited by Pippa Norris. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Press. Pp.275-290.
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53. 2004. *'God, guns and gays: Religiosity in the United States and Europe.'* Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 3rd Political Communication Section pre-APSA Conference, 'Fun, faith and futuramas', University of Illinois, Chicago, Aug 2004.
54. 2004. *'From the Civic Culture to the Afro-Barometer: The expansion in cross-national public opinion surveys.'* *APSA-Comparative Politics Newsletter Fall 2004.*
55. 2004. *'Explaining the rise of the radical right.'* Elections, Parties and Public Opinion annual conference, Nuffield College, Oxford, 10-12 September 2004.
56. 2004. *'Electoral Engineering and Social Cleavages.'* Nuffield College, Oxford, 4th March 2004.
57. 2004. *'E-campaigning and e-voting.'* Paper for the conference on Political Communications in the 21st Century, St Margaret's College, University of Otago, New Zealand, January 2004.
58. 2004. *'Civic engagement: A response.'* UK Cabinet Office Strategy Unit presentation, London March 3rd 2004.
59. 2003. *'Young people and political activism: From the politics of loyalties to the politics of choice?'* Keynote at the Council of Europe Symposium on young people and activism, 27-28 November 2003, Strasbourg. (Translated into Russian and French).
60. 2003. *'Will new technology boost turnout?'* Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 2003.
61. 2003. *'Who demonstrates? Anti State Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?'* With Stefaan Walgrave and Peter Van Aelst. Mid-West Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago April 2003.
62. 2003. *'Muslims and the West: Testing the 'Clash of Civilizations' Thesis.'* With Ron Inglehart. Harvard symposium on 'Terrorism and the Media' sponsored by the Political Communication Section of the American Political Science Association and the Shorenstein Center, 2003.
63. 2003. *'Institutions Matter: Electoral Rules and Voting Choices'* Mid-West Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago April 2003.

64. 2003. *'Gendering Social Capital: Bowling in Women's Leagues.'* With Ronald Inglehart. Keynote address for the conference on Gender and Social Capital, University of Manitoba, May 2-3 2003.
65. 2003. *'Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior.'* Meeting of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems and International IDEA, Stockholm November 2003.
66. 2003. *'Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior.'* Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 2003.
67. 2003. *'Does ethnicity determine support for the governing party?'* (With Bob Mattes) Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 2003.
68. 2003. *'A continental divide? Social capital in the United States and Europe.'* With James Davis. Keynote presentation at the European Social Survey Launch Conference, Brussels 25-26 November 2003.
69. 2002. *'The legitimacy of the European Union: The role of the media.'* Conference on Democracy and Legitimacy of the European Union and International Organizations.' European Parliament, Brussels October 11-12 2002.
70. 2002. *'The global generation: Cohort support for European governance.'* Conference on 'Democracy and Legitimacy of the European Union and other International Organizations.' Brussels, European Parliament 11-12 October 2002
71. 2002. *'Still a Public Sector Ethos? Work values, experience and job satisfaction among government employees.'* John F. Kennedy School of Government Visions of Governance Conference, Endicott Hall 22-23 July 2002.
72. 2002. *'Skeptical patients: Performance, Social Capital and Culture'* for the conference "The public's health: A matter of trust." Harvard School of Public Health 13-15th November 2002.
73. 2002. *'Mexican Civic Engagement in Comparative Perspective.'* Gobernacion Conference, Mexico City, August 14-16 2002.
74. 2002. *'Making Democracies Work: Social Capital and Civic Engagement in 47 Societies.'* Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 25-28 April 2002.
75. 2002. *'E-voting as the magic ballot?'* Conference on E-voting and European Elections, European University Institute, Fiesole, 10-12th May 2002
76. 2002. *'Electoral Reform and Fragmented Multipartyism: The Mechanical and Psychological Effects of Electoral Systems on Party Systems.'* Conference on Political Reform in Brazil in Comparative Perspective, UCAM, Rio de Janeiro June 27-28 2002.
77. 2002. *'Ballot Structures and Legislative Behavior.'* Conference on Exporting Congress? The Influence of the US Congress on World Legislatures. Florida International University, Miami, 6-7 December 2002.
78. 2002. *'Democratic Phoenix: Political Activism Worldwide.'* American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston 28-31st August 2002.
79. 2001. *'The Iceberg and the Titanic: Policy Moods, Electoral Defeat and Party Change.'* (with Joni Lovenduski) EPOP Annual Conference University of Sussex, 14-16th September 2001.
80. 2001. *'Making democracies work: Social capital and civic engagement in 47 societies.'* ESF/EURESCO Conference on Social Capital, Exeter University 15-20 September 2001.
81. 2001. *'Knows Little, Learns Less?'* (with David Sanders) EPOP Annual Conference University of Sussex, 14-16th September 2001.

82. 2001. *'Knows Little, Learns Less? An Experimental Study of the Impact of the Media on Learning during the 2001 British general election.'* Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco. 1st September 2001.
83. 2001. *'Internet and Democracy.'* Plenary session, IDEA International Forum on the Internet and Democracy, Stockholm 27-29 June 2001.
84. 2001. *'Digital Parties: Civic Engagement and Online Democracy.'* European Consortium of Political Research Joint Workshops, Grenoble, 6-11 April 2001.
85. 2001. *'Digital Divide.'* Global Forum on Democracy, Development and e-Government. Naples. 15-17th March 2001.
86. 2001. *'Blair's Babes: Critical Mass Theory, Gender and Legislative Life.'* With Joni Lovenduski. Paper for the Women and Public Policy Program seminar, John F. Kennedy School of Government, 28 September 2001.
87. 2000. *'The US Campaign 2000: Civic Engagement and American Elections.'* EPOP Annual Conference Edinburgh University, 8-10 September 2000.
88. 2000. *'The Twilight of Westminster: Electoral Reform and Its Consequences.'* British Politics Group Panel on 30 Years of British Politics, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC 31 August-3 September 2000.
89. 2000. *'The Search for Identity in the Internet Age.'* Internet and Society 2000 Conference, Harvard University June 2000.
90. 2000. *'The News Media and Political Disaffection in Europe.'* University of Santiago, Spain, 19-21 October 2000.
91. 2000. *'The Internet and Democracy.'* Conference on Democracy at the Periphery. University of California, Santa Barbara. 10-11 November 2000.
92. 2000. *'The Global Divide: Information Poverty and Internet Access Worldwide.'* International Political Science Association World Congress, Quebec, 1-6 August 2000.
93. 2000. *'The Global Digital Divide.'* The Internet and Governance Conference, John F. Kennedy School of Government, May 2000.
94. 2000. *'The Digital Divide.'* The National Academies Conference on Digital Democracy and Community. NRC, Washington DC, June 2000.
95. 2000. *'Political communication towards the Third Millennium.'* International Political Science Association World Congress, Quebec, 1-6 August 2000.
96. 2000. *'Mapping the News Media and Parties in Europe and the US.'* European Consortium for Political Research Joint Workshops University of Copenhagen, Denmark 14-19th April 2000. Workshop on 'Do Campaigns Matter? The Political Consequences of Modern Electioneering.'
97. 2000. *'Leaders and Laggards: Explaining the Diffusion of the Information Society Worldwide.'* EPOP Annual Conference, Edinburgh University 8-10 September 2000.
98. 2000. *'Internet World: Parties, Governments and Online Democracy.'* International Political Science Association World Congress, Quebec, 1-6 August 2000.
99. 2000. *'Electoral System Design and Ethnic Conflict in 19 New and Old Democracies'.* International Political Science Association World Congress Quebec City, 1-6 August 2000.
100. 2000. *'Democratic Divide: The Impact of the Internet on Parliaments Worldwide.'* Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, 31 August-3rd September 2000.

101. 2000. *'Cultural Barriers to Women's Leadership: A Worldwide Comparison'* With Ronald Inglehart. International Political Science Association World Congress, Quebec, 1-6 August 2000.
102. 2000. *'A Virtuous Circle? The News Media and Civic Malaise.'* Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association of the UK, London 10-13th April 2000.
103. 2000. *'A Virtuous Circle: The News Media and Civic Malaise.'* Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago 27-30th April 2000.
104. 1999. *'Who Surfs Café Europe? Virtual Democracy in the US and Western Europe'* American Political Science Association Annual Meeting Atlanta 2-5th September 1999. Panel on Cybermedia and Voters.
105. 1999. *'Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism and Parochialism: Globalization and Cultural Change.'* John F. Kennedy School of Government Visions of Governance Conference, Bretton Woods, July 1999.
106. 1999. *'Breaking the Barriers: British Labour Party Quotas for Women Candidates.'* Conference on Gender Equality Strategies, Center for European Studies, Harvard, Spring 1999.
107. 1999. *'Blaming the Messenger? Political Communications and Turnout in EU Elections.'* Conference on Citizen Participation in European Politics, organized by the Swedish Commission on Democracy at the Bergendal Hotel, Landsnoravägen, Sollentuna, Stockholm, Sweden, 28-29th October 1999
108. 1999. *'Ballots not Bullets: Testing Consociational Theories of Ethnic Conflict, Electoral Systems and Democratization.'* Conference on Constitutional Design 2000: Institutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy in the late Twentieth Century. December 9-11 1999, University of Notre Dame, Indiana.
109. 1999. *'Electoral Systems and Ethnic Conflict'* Conference on Parliament in Democratic Governance, Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel 14-15th November 1999.
110. 1999. *'Confidence in Public Institutions: Faith, Culture or Performance?'* With Kenneth Newton. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting Atlanta 2-5 September 1999. Panel on What's Troubling the Trilateral Democracies?
111. 1998. *'You've got to ac-cent-tchu-ate the positive': The Effects of Television News on Party Images in the 1997 British Election.'* Annual Meeting of the Mid-West Political Science Association 23-25 April 1998.
112. 1998. *'Who Surfs? New Technology, Old Voters and Virtual Democracy in America'* John F. Kennedy School of Government Visions of Governance Conference, Bretton Woods July 1998.
113. 1998. *'The News Media and Civic Engagement.'* With John Curtice. European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Joint Sessions, University of Warwick 23-28th March 1998.
114. 1998. *'The News Media and Civic Engagement.'* With John Curtice. Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association (PSA) of the UK, Keele University 7-9th April 1998.
115. 1998. *'Television News and Party Balance.'* With David Sanders. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston 3-5th September 1998.
116. 1998. *'Representatives: Leaders or Followers?'* and *'A Gender-Generation Gap?'* Workshop on 'Critical Election' at Nuffield College, Oxford, 14-15th May 1988.
117. 1998. *'New Labour, New Politicians? Changes in the Political Attitudes of MPs: 1992-97'* Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association of the UK, Keele University, 7-9th April 1998.
118. 1998. *'Gender Realignment in Global Perspective.'* With Ronald Inglehart. The American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston 3-5th September 1998.
119. 1998. *'Blaming the Messenger: Television and Civic Malaise.'* Conference on Public Trust and Democratic Confidence in the Trilateral Region. Bellagio, Italy, 29 June-3 July 1998.

120. 1998. '*A Critical Election? The 1997 British General Election in Long-term Perspective.*' With Geoffrey Evans. Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association (PSA) of the UK, Keele University 7-9 April 1998.
121. 1997. '*The Dynamics of the News Framing Process: From Reagan's Gender Gap to Clinton's Soccer Moms.*' With Susan Carroll. Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Norfolk Virginia, November 5-8 1997.
122. 1997. '*New Labour, New Tactical Voting*' American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC August 1997. With John Curtice and Geoffrey Evans.
123. 1997. '*New Labour, New Tactical Voting?*' With John Curtice and Geoffrey Evans. Elections, Parties and Public Opinion (EPOP) Annual Conference, University of Essex 26-28th September 1997.
124. 1997. '*It was the Media, Stupid: Agenda-Setting Effects During the 1997 British Campaign.*' With David Sanders. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 1997.
125. 1997. '*Framing the Gender Gap*' European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Joint Sessions, Bern 27 Feb-4 March 1997.
126. 1997. '*Elites and Constitutional Change.*' Center for Research on Electoral and Social Trends (CREST) Annual Conference, University of Edinburgh, November 21 1997.
127. 1997. '*Does Negative News Matter? The Effect of TV News on Party Images in the 1997 British Election*' Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (EPOP) Annual Conference, University of Essex, September 26-28th 1997.
128. 1997. '*Designing Democracies: Institutional Arrangement and System Support*' Workshop on Confidence in Democratic Institutions, Washington, DC, August 1997.
129. 1996. '*Women Politicians: Transforming Westminster?*' Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 18-20 April 1996.
130. 1996. '*Tuning In and Tuning Out: The Attentive Public in British Election Campaigns.*' Elections, Parties and Public Opinion (EPOP) Annual Conference, Sheffield, 13-15th September 1996.
131. 1996. '*Through a Gendered Lens: Media Framing of International Women Leaders.*' Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 29 August-1 September 1996.
132. 1996. '*There is an Anger in the Land': The Media and Cynicism in American Politics.*' European Consortium of Political Research Joint Workshops, Oslo, 29 March-3 April 1996.
133. 1996. '*Social Representation in the European Parliament.*' Gender and Politics Group, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1996.
134. 1996. '*Representation in England, Scotland and Wales: Boundaries and Identities for Politicians and Voters*' Political Studies Association Annual Conference, Glasgow University, 10-12th April 1996.
135. 1996. '*Lasarsfeld Revisited: The Attentive Public in British Election Campaigns.*' Center for Research on Electoral and Social Trends (CREST) Annual Conference, City University, 31st October 1996.
136. 1996. '*Gender in Political Science: Framing the Issues.*' Political Studies Association of the UK, Annual Conference, Glasgow University 10-12th April 1996.
137. 1996. '*Conservatism in Disarray?*' Political Studies Association Annual Conference, Glasgow University 10-12th April 1996.
138. 1995. '*Women and Politics.*' Booklet for *HarperCollins Political Pamphleteer* New York: Harper Collins. Pp.1-23. 1995.
139. 1995. '*The Restless Searchlight: Network News Framing of the Post Cold-War World.*' International Studies Association annual Meeting, Chicago, February 1995.

140. 1995. '*The Puzzle of Constituency Service.*' Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 27 August - 1 September 1995.
141. 1995. '*Political Communications in Election Campaigns: Reconsidering Media Effects.*' International Communications Association, Albuquerque, NM, May 1995.
142. 1995. '*Political Communications in Election Campaigns*' Annual Conference of the PSA, York. April 1995.
143. 1995. '*Party Recruitment and the New Institutionalism.*' Conference on Party Politics in the Year 2000, Manchester University, January 1995.
144. 1995. '*Legislative Recruitment.*' Conference on Comparative Democratic Elections, John F. Kennedy School, Harvard University, May 1995.
145. 1995. '*Episodes, Incidents and Eruptions: How the U.S. Network News Covers the Post-Cold War World.*' Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 27 August - 1 September 1995.
146. 1995. '*Comparative Political Recruitment: Theories, Concepts and Data.*' European Consortium of Political Research, Bordeaux, April-May 1995.
147. 1994. '*Women's Power Worldwide.*' Conference organized by the Center for the Study of Women, University of California, Los Angeles, October 1994.
148. 1994. 'Political Science in Britain and America: The Decline of the Special Relationship?' *PSA News* Autumn 1994, pp.15-17.
149. 1994. '*Media Studies in America and Britain: Research Agendas, Methods and Theories.*' Elections, Parties and Public Opinion EPOP Annual Conference, University of Wales, Cardiff, September 1994.
150. 1994. '*Gender Related Influences on Voting Behaviour and Public Opinion*' Conference on Research on Women and American Politics, Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University 1994.
151. 1994. '*Equality Strategies and Political Representation.*' European Consortium of Political Research Joint Sessions, Madrid 1994.
152. 1994. '*Comparative Recruitment.*' Workshop on the Future of the Australian Party System Australian National University, Canberra, Australia 1994.
153. 1993. '*Women and Politics*' Supplementary lecture materials for *The Struggle for Democracy* by Greenberg and Page. New York: Harper Collins. 1993.
154. 1993. '*Through the Eye of the Needle: Comparative Legislative Recruitment in Western Democracies.*' American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC. September 1993.
155. 1993. '*The Social Background of Legislative Elites: Does it Matter?*' Annual Conference on Elections, Parties and Public Opinion (EPOP) Lancaster University September 1993.
156. 1993. '*The Marginals Never Vanished*' PSA Annual Conference, Leicester University, April 1993. With Ivor Crewe.
157. 1993. '*The 1992 US Elections: Continuity or Change?*' ECPR Joint Workshops, Leiden University, The Netherlands, April 1993.
158. 1993. '*Select Bibliography: Environmental Public Opinion.*' Workshop on Global Omnibus Environmental Survey (GOES), Palo Alto, Stanford, June 1993.
159. 1993. '*Has Labour Become a Catch-All Party?*' Conference on the 1992 British Election Study, Nuffield College, Oxford, April 1993.
160. 1993. '*Comparing Environmental Public Opinion: West and East Germany.*' With Peter Mohler. Workshop on the Global Omnibus Environmental Survey, Barcelona, Spain, 1993.

161. 1993. '*Are we All Green Now?*' International Society for Political Psychology Annual Convention, Charles Hotel, Cambridge, MA. July 1993.
162. 1992. '*Party Leaders, Members and Voters: The Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited.*' Elections, Parties and Public Opinion Conference, Essex, September 1992.
163. 1992. '*If only more candidates came forward... Supply side explanation of political representation in Britain.*' Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago Sept 3-6 1992.
164. 1992. '*Are We All Green Now? Public Opinion Towards Environmentalism in Britain.*' IPSA/APSA Symposium, Chicago, September 3-6 1992.
165. 1991. '*Who Decides: Center-Local Relations in Candidate Selection in the British Conservative and Labour Parties.*' With Joni Lovenduski. International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1991.
166. 1991. '*The Reputation of Political Science Journals: Pluralist and Consensus Views.*' With Ivor Crewe. PSA Annual Conference, Lancaster University April 1991.
167. 1991. 'Conservatism and Public Opinion: Thatcher & Reagan', *Public Affairs Report*, University of California, Berkeley 1991.
168. 1991. '*Comparing Women in Political Elites: Problems and Methods.*' American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 1991.
169. 1991. '*Candidate Selection: The Impact of Reform.*' PSA Group on Elections, Parties and Public Opinion, University of Essex, September 1991.
170. 1991. '*British and American Journal Evaluation: Divergence or Convergence?*' With Ivor Crewe. PSA Annual Conference, Lancaster University 1991.
171. 1990. '*Women and Political Participation in Britain.*' UNESCO Meeting of Experts for the Europe Region, Oslo, Norway, 1990.
172. 1990. '*The Volatile Electorate: By-elections since the War.*' Institute of Contemporary History Summer School, LSE, April 1990.
173. 1990. '*The Thatcher Governments and Public Opinion: Has there Been Ideological Change?*' Seventh International Conference of Europeanists, Washington, D.C., March 1990.
174. 1990. '*The Comparative Study of Women in Legislative Elites: Problems, Methods and Approaches.*' ECPR Joint Workshops, University of Bochum, Germany, April 1990.
175. 1990. 'Survey of Political Studies, 1989.' *PSA News* 1990 2(2): 29-31.
176. 1990. 'Survey of Graduates' Careers.' *PSA News* 1990 2(1): 29-31.
177. 1990. '*Reagan, Thatcher and the Conservative Revolutions.*' American Politics Group Conference, Worcester College, Oxford, January 1990.
178. 1990. '*Publications in Political Studies: An Initial Analysis.*' PSA Heads of Department Conference, Swindon, September 1990. With Professor Ivor Crewe.
179. 1990. 'PSA Survey of Staff, 1988.' PSA Heads of Department Conference, Royal Commonwealth Society, February 1990; published in *PSA News* 1(3): 29-31.
180. 1990. '*Politics and Sexual Equality.*' Keynote Speaker. (Published in Korean) Korean Institute for the Study of Women in Politics, Seoul, July 1990.
181. 1990. '*Gender Differences in Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation in Britain.*' ESRC Conference on Participation, University of Manchester, January 1990.

182. 1990. '*Candidacy and Gender in British Parties.*' Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 1990.
183. 1990. 'A Lack of Balance.' *PSA News* 1990 3(1): 29-30.
184. 1990. '*Congressional Elections: Campaign and Results.*' American Politics Group, Colloquium on the 1990 Elections, US Embassy, London, November 1990.
185. 1989. '*Women Parliamentary Candidates and the Selectorate: The British General Election of 1987.*' With Joni Lovenduski. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 1989.
186. 1989. '*The 1988 Presidential Elections: The Reagan Legacy.*' American Politics Group Annual Conference, Keele University, January 1989.
187. 1989. '*Studying Politics.*' With Paul Smart. Published by the Political Studies Association of the UK 1989.
188. 1989. '*Southern Comfort for the Republicans: Dealignment and Realignment in the 1988 Election.*' Political Studies Association Annual Conference, University of Warwick, April 1989.
189. 1989. '*Politics Graduates & Employment.*' PSA Annual Conference, Warwick University, April 1989.
190. 1989. '*Party Selectorates in Australia, Britain and Canada: Legal Context, Party Procedures and Outcome.*' With Ken Carty, Lynda Erickson, Joni Lovenduski and Marion Simms) IPSA Work Group on Elections and Parties, Paris, April 1989.
191. 1989. '*Changing Social Cleavages and Leftwing Support in Britain.*' European Consortium of Political Research Joint Workshops, Paris, April 1989.
192. 1989. '*Candidate Recruitment and Government Popularity in Special and By-elections: The United States, Canada, Britain and Australia.*' With Frank Feigert. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Sept 1989.
193. 1988. '*Women Candidates for Parliament: In a Different Voice?*' With Joni Lovenduski. Women & Politics Group, PSA/BSA, Birkbeck College, London 1988.
194. 1988. '*The 1988 US Campaign: Continuity or Change?*' American Politics Group, United States Embassy Colloquium on the Elections, US Embassy, London, November 1988.
195. 1988. '*Political Trust: Watergate to Irangate.*' American Political Group Annual Conference, Oxford 1988.
196. 1988. '*Government and Third Party Performance in Mid-Term Elections: The British, Canadian and Australian Experience.*' International Political Science Association XIVth World Congress, Washington, DC, August 1988.
197. 1988. '*Elite Transformation in Political Selection: Candidates in the 1987 British General Election.*' With Joni Lovenduski. Political Studies Association Annual Conference, Plymouth, April 1988.
198. 1987. '*Volatility in the British Electorate: The Problem of Identifying Tacticals, Floaters and Abstainers.*' Political Studies Association Annual Conference, University of Aberdeen April 1987.
199. 1987. '*Retrospective Voting in the 1984 US Election: Peace, Prosperity & Patriotism?*' American Politics Group of the PSA, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, January 1987.
200. 1987. '*PSA Survey of the Profession: Staff in Political Studies.*' With Professor Hugh Berrington, Political Studies Association, Aberdeen University, April 1987.
201. 1987. '*PSA Survey of the Profession: Courses in Political Studies.*' With Professor Hugh Berrington. PSA Heads of Department Conference, Liverpool University, September 1987.
202. 1987. '*Marginal Polls: The Role & Record.*' Conference on Political Communication: The Media, the Parties and the Polls in the 1987 Election Campaign, Essex University, October 1987.

203. 1986. '*The Impact of Parties on Sexual Equality.*' European Consortium of Political Research Joint Workshops, University of Gothenburg, Sweden. 2-6 April 1986.
204. 1986. '*The Impact of Parties on Sex Equality Policies.*' American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 1986.
205. 1986. '*Retrospective Voting in the 1983 British General Election: Delivering Bread and Circuses.*' Political Studies Association Annual Conference, University of Nottingham, April 1986.
206. 1985. '*The Post-Feminist Generation: A Comparative Study of Ireland, Britain and America.*' With Joanne Clarey and Albie Smyth; National Women's Studies Association, Seattle, May 1985.
207. 1985. '*A Gender Gap in the European Community*' Women & Europe Conference, University of Edinburgh, May 1985.
208. 1985. '*A Decade of Change? Developing Social Indicators on the Position of Women.*' Association of Mediterranean Women (KEGME), Athens 1985.
209. 1984. '*Women's Equality in Employment: An International Comparison.*' Second International Congress on Women, Groningen, the Netherlands, 1984.
210. 1984. '*Women in Congress: A Policy Difference?*' Women and Politics Group of the PSA, Birkbeck College, November 1984.
211. 1984. '*The Gender Gap in the 1980 American Election.*' American Political Science Association Conference, Washington, DC, August 1984.
212. 1984. '*The Gender Gap in Britain: Convergence or Divergence?*' PSA Annual Conference, University of Southampton, April 1984.
213. 1984. '*The Gender Gap in American Political Behaviour: Issues, Images or Partisan Realignment?*' American Politics Group of the PSA, University of Durham 1984.
214. 1984. '*The Effects of Education, Employment and the Electoral System on Women in Political Elites: A Crossnational Comparison.*' National Women's Studies Association, Rutgers University, June 1984.
215. 1984. '*Female Candidates in the 1979 Elections to the European Parliament.*' The University Association for Contemporary European Studies 1984.
216. 1979. '*John Stuart Mill versus Bigotry, Bribery and Beer*', Political Studies Association Annual Conference, University of Sheffield, April 1979.

PUBLIC SERVICE CONSULTANCIES, ARTICLES, & PAPERS

2008. *Making Democracy Deliver: Governance and Human Development.* New York: United Nation Development Programme.

2006. '*Opening the door: Women leaders and constitution building in Iraq and Afghanistan.*' Presentation at the parliamentary event at the United Nations on the occasion of the 50th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women, organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the UN Division for the Advancement of Women. New York, March 2006.

2005. *Election 2005.* Election night commentator on the May 5th 2005 UK General Election, Sky Television.

2005. *Financial Times* Series of op ed columns about the 2005 British general election:

- 'Tories best hopes is that the pollsters have got it wrong.' 6th April 2005

- 'Immigration is one of the few key policies left for the right.' 14th April 2005
- 'Parties back ethnic minority candidates in the race for seats.' 21th April 2005
- 'Stirring up apathy?' 25th April 2005
- 'Did the campaign matter?' 5th May 2005
- 'Everyone leaves with a balloon from the party with few losers.' 7th May 2005

2005. 'Women in Parliament: A review of the current situation.' Presentation for '*Beyond Beijing: Towards gender equality in politics*.' Parliamentary event at the United Nations on the occasion of the 49th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women, organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the UN Division for the Advancement of Women. New York, 3 March 2005.

2005. 'Developments in party communications.' Report for the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) handbook on *The present and future role of political parties in democratic institutions*. http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1950_polpart_norris_110105.pdf

2004. 'Building Political Parties: Reforming Legal Regulations and Internal Rules.' Report for *International IDEA*.

2004. 'It's the women stupid.' Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. *Ms*. Spring 47-49.

2004. 'Women's representation in Iraq: Strategies and options.' Report for National Endowment for Democracy *International Forum for Democratic Development*.

2004. 'Voter turnout and e-voting.' *International IDEA Handbook*.

2004. 'Ties that Bind: Representation, Accountability and Democracy' Briefing paper for the *Australian Democratic Audit*, ANU, Canberra.

2004. 'Closing the activism gap: Gender perspectives and political participation.' With Joni Lovenduski and Rosie Campbell. Report published by the *UK Electoral Commission*.

2004. 'Civic engagement and the knowledge society.' Report for *UNESCO World Report 'Building Knowledge Societies'*.

2004. 'Implementing Women's Representation in Afghanistan Electoral Law: Options for reserved seats.' Prepared for the *Afghanistan Reconstruction Project* Center on International Cooperation, New York University.

2003. 'Increasing women's representation in government: What options would work best for Afghanistan?' Prepared for the *Afghanistan Reconstruction Project* Center on International Cooperation, New York University.

2003. 'E-Governance and democracy' *World Public Sector Report*, United Nations.

2003. 'Gendering Social Capital.' Distinguished Professor keynote address, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 2nd April 2003.

2003. BBC Television. *Elections 2003*. Election night commentator, local, Welsh Assembly, and Scottish parliamentary elections, 1st May.

2003. '*Digital divide*' Frederic Ozanam Lecture, DePaul University, 2nd April.
- 2003 '*Social capital and ITCs*' International forum on social capital for economic revival, Cabinet Office, Tokyo, Japan, 24-25th March 2003.
2003. '*Strategies for women's leadership.*' The White House Project, Press Club, Washington DC 3rd March 2003.
2002. '*Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change.*' Northeastern University, 25 October 2002.
2002. '*Muslims and the West.*' Antwerp University, Department of Political Science, 14th October 2002.
2002. Distinguished Visiting Professor, University of Lancaster '*Islam and the West: Testing the Clash of Civilizations Thesis.*' 12-18 May.
2002. Plenary speaker University of Leuvan/Royal Academy '*Political Communication – The Appearance of Life Style Politics and its Consequences.*' Politeia Conference, Paleis der Academiën, Brussels, 3 May.
2002. '*Islam and the West: Testing the Clash of Civilizations Thesis*' Center for Population and Developmental Studies, Harvard University 18 April 2002.
2002. '*Giving Voice to the Voiceless: Good Governance, Human Development & Mass Communications.*' Background paper for the UNDP *Human Development Report*, NY: UNDP.
2001. Plenary Speaker on *The Digital Divide*, Burda Foundation, Berlin, September.
2001. Consultant on the advisory board of the DemocriT project and presentation on the *Digital Divide*. Orebro University, Sweden.
2001. Presentation on '*El auge de las campanas postmodernas y sus consecuencias*'. Universidad Internacional Menendez Pelayo, Santander, Spain.
2001. Presentation on the *Freedom of the Press Worldwide*. World Bank, Washington DC 12th April.
2001. Lecturer on *Democracy and Democratization* in the Oslo Summer School in Comparative Social Science Studies (6-10th August).
2001. The Charles Francis Adams Lecture on *The Digital Divide*. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. 1st March.
- 2000 The Olin Lecture on *The 2000 Presidential Elections* University of Toronto, 16-17 November.
- 2000 Presentation. *A Virtuous Circle*. University of Michigan. 1st December.
- 2000 Presentation *A Virtuous Circle* at the conference on The News Media and Democracy in Budapest, Hungary October 6-7th 2000.
- 2000 Presentation on *Women and Political Representation* at a meeting of the UN Division of Women on Beijing+5, UN, NY 22 September 2000.

2000 Presentation on *Pathways to Power* at the UN Global Forum of Women Political Leaders, Manila, Philippines January 17-19 2000.

2000 Council on Foreign Relations meeting on *Women's Human Rights and US Interests*, January 7th 2000, New York.

1999 Presentation on *The News Media and Civic Engagement* for the Consortium of Social Science Associations, Rayburn Office Building, Washington DC, 16 July.

1999 Presentation on *Women and the News Media* for the News Media and Democracy Summer Institute for Educators, Longfellow Hall, Cambridge, 10 August.

1999 Presentation on *Mass Media Intervention in Electoral Processes* at the Federal Electoral Institute of Mexico, February 4th.

1998 Advisory consultancy to IDEA, Stockholm, Sweden for published handbook on *Women and Elected Office*.

1998 Presentation on *Women and the News Media* for the News Media and Democracy Summer Institute for Educators, Longfellow Hall, Cambridge, August.

1998 Presentation on *The News Media and Democracy* for the East Asia Foundation, Santiago, Chile, May.

1996 Keynote speaker at the summer school on *Women and Politics* organized by the Autonomous University, San Sebastian, Spain, July.

1993 Keynote Speaker, Israeli Democracy Institute, *Workshop on Gender Equity Strategies* in the Knesset, Knesset, Jerusalem.

1993 Advisory briefings and presentation of evidence to the Elections Sub-Committee of the Scottish Convention on strategies for promoting gender equity in elections to the Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, November.

1991 Advisory briefings on the processes of candidate selection to the Shadow Spokesperson on Women's Affairs, the British Labour Party, London.

1990 Consultancy on *Equality Strategies for Women's Representation* for the Division of Women, UNESCO at the Meeting of Experts for the Europe Region, Oslo, Norway.

1989 Korean Institute for the Study of Women and Politics, Seoul. Keynote speaker for a conference on *Women in Leadership in Asia*. Transcription published in Korean.

1985-87 Survey Consultancy. Designed surveys, organized fieldwork and analyzed results for a series of 15 opinion polls for BBC *Night* in constituency surveys and the 3-wave survey in the 1987 British general election campaign.

AWARDS FOR RESEARCH PROJECTS:

- 1) 2008. *The news media and the governance reform agenda*. \$105,000. World Bank/CommGAP program.
- 2) 2005. *The impact of electoral systems on women and ethnic minority representation: Similarities and contrasts*. Grant for \$9,787 awarded by the Women and Public Policy Program.

- 3) 2004. *Does consensus democracy generate political stability in plural societies?* Grant for \$30,000 awarded by the Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation.
- 4) 2004. *Radical Right: Parties and electoral competition.* Grant from the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. \$5000.
- 5) 2004. *Women's representation in the Middle East: Evaluating positive action strategies.* Grant for \$21,500 from the Kuwait Program Research Fund Middle East Initiative.
- 6) 2004. *The British Parliamentary Constituency Database 1992-2005.* Grant from the Hansard Society for updating this database with the 2001 census data and the 2005 general election results. (\$1,800).
- 7) 2003-2006. *'Good Net or Bad Net: The Social and Political Consequences of New ICTs.'* Co-directed with John Curtice, National Center for Social Research. Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of the UK **£189,948 (\$284,922)**.
- 8) 2001. *Campaign Learning and Persuasion: An Experimental Study.* With David Sanders. Economic and Social Research Council of the UK. **£135,000 (\$208,000)**.
- 9) 2001. *The British Representation Study 2001.* The Center for Public Leadership, John F. Kennedy School of Government. \$14,500.
- 10) 1997. *Confidence in Democratic Institutions: America in Comparative Perspective.* The Pew Charitable Foundation \$76,076.
- 11) 1997 *Confidence in Democratic Institutions: America in Comparative Perspective.* \$15,000 Program for the Study of Germany and Europe, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University.
- 12) 1996-97 *The British Election Study, 1997.* [Directed with Anthony Heath, Roger Jowell and John Curtice] Economic and Social Research Council of the UK, **£372,559. (\$596,000)**
- 13) 1996-97 *The Effects of Television News in British General Elections.* [Directed with David Sanders] Economic and Social Research Council of the UK, **£44,902 (\$72,000)**
- 14) 1995-97 *The British Representation Study, 1997.* The Nuffield Foundation **£5,000 (\$8,000)**.
- 15) 1994-95 *Comparing Democratic Elections.* National Science Foundation award for \$60,000. [Directed with Lawrence LeDuc and Richard Niemi]
- 16) 1992-93 *The American Candidate Study.* National Science Foundation award of \$23,000 [Directed with Robert Darcy].
- 17) 1990-92 *The Candidate Selection Process in British Politics.* Economic and Social Research Council of the UK, award of **£78,000 (\$125,000)**. [Directed with Joni Lovenduski].
- 18) 1986-87 *British By-election Surveys.* **£50,000 (\$80,000)** British Broadcasting Corporation BBC **Newsnight**.

HONORS, VISITING FELLOWSHIPS, AND RESEARCH AFFILIATIONS

2008. Member of the World Economic Forum Global Agenda Councils on Global Governance and on Gender Equality
- 2007-8. International member of the Social Science Board J, the Economic and Social Research Council 2008 Research Assessment Exercise (RAE).
- 2007-8. Member of the European Science Foundation Evaluation Board for the European Social Survey.
2007. Member of the Economic and Social Research Council international benchmarking review of UK Politics and International Studies (IS) research. Report is available:
http://www.esrc.ac.uk/ESRCInfoCentre/Images/P_IBR-Final_Report_tcm6-23426.pdf
2006. Winner of the 2006 Doris A. Graber Award for the best book published in political communications, awarded for *A Virtuous Circle*.
2005. Winner of the Virginia A. Hodgkinson research prize by the Independent Sector for *Sacred and Secular* (with Ronald Inglehart)
2004. Outstanding Professional Achievement Award, MPSA Women's Caucus.
2004. Visiting Fellow, Research School of the Social Sciences, Australian National University (mid-December-mid January) and consultant on the Australian Democratic Audit.
- 2003-date. Faculty Associate, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.
2003. Visiting Research Fellow. Center for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town (January).
2001. Visiting Research Fellow. Research School of the Social Sciences, Australian National University. (January).
2001. Visiting Professor, University of Oslo teaching in the Graduate Summer School in the Social Sciences (July).
2002. Faculty Associate, National Center for Digital Research, Harvard University.
- 1996 Visiting Professor, Dept. of Politics, University of East Anglia (Summer).
- 1996-date Research Fellow, Center for Research on Elections and Social Trends, SCPR London/Oxford (CREST).
- 1994-2002 Associate Director (Research) for the Joan Shorenstein Center.
- 1994-2002 Established the *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* published by MIT Press and then Sage Publications, and co-edited the journal.
- 1991 Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley (Summer).
- 1992-94 Visiting Lecturer, John F. Kennedy School of Government.
- 1990 Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley (Summer).

1988 Visiting Research Fellow, Columbia University (Spring Semester).

1988-date Faculty Affiliate, Minda de Gunzburg, Center for European Studies, Harvard University.

ACTIVE PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:

American Political Science Association (APSA)
 Political Communications Section, APSA/IPSA
 British Politics Group, (BPG), APSA
 Women and Politics Research Section, APSA
 Elections & Public Opinion Section, APSA
 Comparative Politics Section, APSA
 Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA)
 International Political Science Association (IPSA)
 International Communications Association (ICA)
 Political Studies Association of the UK (PSA)
 Elections, Parties & Public Opinion Group of the PSA (EPOP)
 Women and Politics Group (PSA/BSA)
 European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR)
 Institutional representative for Harvard (since 2000)

CURRENT FUNDED RESEARCH PROJECTS

1. *Descriptive representation and mobilization effects.* Arguments advocating social representation emphasize that more inclusive and diverse legislatures are important for multiple reasons. When parliaments better reflect the population from which they are drawn, this diversity can be regarded as symbolically important for the democratic legitimacy of elected bodies. Social representation can also be viewed as substantively important, with an impact on policy priorities, proposals, and outcomes. A less considered possibility, however, is that social representation is important for mass civic engagement. More specifically, the perception that leaders look more like 'one of us' may mobilize members of these groups who feel that elected bodies are thereby more responsive to their concerns and interests. This study uses multilevel models to explore the relationship between social representation (defined by gender, age and ethnicity) in the lower or single houses of national parliaments and patterns of civic engagement among citizens. The first paper from the research, coauthored with Mona Krook, was presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Toronto, September 2009.
2. *Critical Citizens revisited.* This book-length study revisits many of the issues concerning confidence and trust in government which were first raised a decade ago in my edited volume, *Critical Citizens* (Oxford University Press 1999). The issues remain of perennial interest, as the earlier book continues to be widely cited, but there remains a need to pursue more satisfactory, innovative, and comprehensive explanations of this phenomenon. The book remains under development, for publication with Cambridge University Press in Fall 2010.

For all details see www.pippanorris.com

-Pippa Norris- September 16, 2009