

## HUBERT TWORZECKI

Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322  
T: 404-727-2244, [htworze@emory.edu](mailto:htworze@emory.edu)

### APPOINTMENTS

2001-present: Associate Professor of Political Science, Emory University  
2016-2017: Fulbright U.S. Scholar, SWPS University, Warsaw, Poland  
1995-2001: Assistant Professor of Political Science, Emory University  
1994-1995: SSHRC (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada) Research Fellow, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto

### EDUCATION

PhD, Dept. of Political Science, University of Toronto, 1994  
MA, Dept. Political Science, University of British Columbia, 1989  
BA, Dept. of Political Science, University of British Columbia, 1988

### BOOKS

**LEARNING TO CHOOSE: ELECTORAL POLITICS IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE** (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002)

**PARTIES AND POLITICS IN POST-1989 POLAND** (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996)

### CHAPTERS

*Social-structural Foundations of Voting Behaviour* in THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF POLISH POLITICS (Katarzyna Walecka, Simona Guerra, and Fernando Casal Bértoa, eds.) (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

*Parliamentary Elections* in THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF POLISH POLITICS AND SOCIETY (Arkadiusz Żukowski, Maciej Hartliński, Jacek Wojnicki, Łukasz Zamęcki, and Ben Stanley, eds.) (Routledge, forthcoming)

**Poland** in OPENING UP DEMOCRATIC SPACES ORIGINAL RESEARCH (Rachel Beatty Riedl, Paul Friesen, Jennifer McCoy, Ken Roberts, and Murat Somer, eds.) (USAID Center for Democracy, Human Rights and Governance, 2023)

*Campaign Strategies, Media and Voters: The Fourth Era of Political Communication* in THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK ON PUBLIC OPINION AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR (with Holli Semetko) (Marta Cantijoch, Edward Fieldhouse, Mark Franklin, Rachel Gibson, Christopher Wlezien and Justin Fisher, eds.) (Routledge, 2017)

*Content Effects: Political Communication* in THE INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MEDIA EFFECTS (with Holli Semetko) (Patrick Roessler, ed.) (John Wiley and Sons, 2017)

*Political Science* in THE INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF COMMUNICATION THEORY AND PHILOSOPHY (with Holli Semetko) (Wolfgang Donsbach, ed.) (John Wiley and Sons, 2016)

*O problematycznych efektach silnej identyfikacji partyjnej (On the problematic effects of strong partisan identification)*, in DEMOKRACJA, GOSPODARKA, POLITYKA: PERSPEKTYWA POLSKIEGO WYBORCY (with Markowski Radosław, Mikołaj Cześniak, Michał Kotnarowski) (Scholar, 2015)

*Political Communication and Media Effects in the Context of New Democracies of East-Central Europe* in THE SAGE HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS (Holli Semetko and Margaret Scammell, eds.) (Sage, 2012)

*Social-democracy in East-Central Europe: Success by Default?* in THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT IN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES (Erwin C. Hargrove, ed.) (Penn State University Press, 2003)

*European Integration and Voter Alignments in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic* in DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION: THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION (Gerhard Mangott, ed.) (Nomos, 2000)

## ARTICLES

*Poland: A Case of Top-Down Polarization*, THE ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, Vol. 681, No. 1 (2019), pp. 97-119

*Media and Campaign Effects on Vote Choice at National Elections in Europe: A Review of a Multilingual Research Landscape*, STUDIES IN MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2016), pp. 129-172 (with Hajo Boomgaarden, Hajo, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Heinz Brandenburg, Carlos Cunha, David Nicolas Hopmann, Eoin O'Malley, Monica Poletti, Marina Popescu, Eftichia Teperoglou)

*Knowledge and Partisan Bias: An Uneasy Relationship*, EAST EUROPEAN POLITICS AND SOCIETIES (EEPS), Vol. 28, No. 4 (2014), pp. 836-862 (with Radosław Markowski)

*Media Use and Political Engagement in Three New Democracies: Malaise vs. Mobilization in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland*, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS/POLITICS, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Oct. 2012), pp. 407-432 (with Holli Semetko)

The Polish Parliamentary Elections of October 2011, ELECTORAL STUDIES, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Sep. 2012), pp. 617-621

Wiedza a stronniczość partyjna—niełatwy związek (Knowledge and partisan bias—an uneasy relationship), STUDIA POLITYCZNE/POLITICAL STUDIES (Warsaw, Poland), No. 28 (2011), pp. 87-112 (with Radosław Markowski)

Media Uses and Effects in New Democracies: The Case of Poland's 2005 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS/POLITICS, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Apr. 2010), pp. 155-174 (with Holli Semetko)

A Disaffected New Democracy? Identities, Institutions and Civic Engagement in Post-communist Poland, COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST STUDIES, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Mar. 2008), pp. 47-62

Welfare-State Attitudes and Electoral Outcomes in Poland and Hungary, PROBLEMS OF POST-COMMUNISM, Vol. 47, No. 6 (Nov. 2000), pp. 17-28

The Role of Elections and Voting Behavior in Democratic Consolidation in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET REVIEW, Vol. 26, No. 1-2 (Jan. 1999), pp. 43-92

THE POLISH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF 1995, ELECTORAL STUDIES, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Aug. 1996), pp. 403-409

The Polish Parliamentary Elections of 1993, ELECTORAL STUDIES, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Jul. 1994), pp. 180-185

#### BOOK REVIEWS

The New Party Challenge: Changing Cycles of Party Birth and Death in Central Europe and Beyond, by Tim Haughton and Kevin Deegan-Krause. PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS, Vol. 20, No. 1 (March 2022), pp. 338-39

The Left Transformed in Post-Communist Societies. The Cases of East-Central Europe, Russia and Ukraine, edited by Jane Leftwich Curry and Joan Barth Urban. PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS, Vol. 2, No. 2 (June 2004), pp. 398-99

Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East-Central Europe, edited by Geoffrey Pridham and Attila Ágh, SLAVIC REVIEW, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 816-17

Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State, by Valerie Bunce, and Democracy and Its Alternatives: Understanding Post-Communist Societies, by Richard Rose, William

Mishler and Christian Haerpfer, THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS, Vol. 62, No. 2 (May 2000), pp. 627-30

**Instituting Environmental Protection: From Red to Green in Poland**, by Daniel H. Cole, SLAVIC REVIEW, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Spring 1999), pp. 212-13

#### CONFERENCE PAPERS

**Economic Threat or Populist Attitudes? Support for the Radical Right in Poland**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, CA, Aug. 31-Sep. 3, 2023

**Authoritarian Predispositions and Democratic Backsliding**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Apr. 13-16, 2023

**All Politics is Coalition Politics, Even During Democratic Backsliding**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, Sep. 7-10, 2022

**Media Bias and Voting Behavior in Poland**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Apr. 7-10, 2022

**Favoring Democracy, Voting for Authoritarians: The Polish Electorate Since 2015**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, Sep. 28-Oct. 3, 2021

**Bottom-up or Top-down? The Dynamics of Democratic Erosion in Poland**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Apr. 14-18, 2021

**Campaign Strategies, Media & Voters: The Fourth Era of Political Communication**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Edinburgh, United Kingdom, Jun. 29-Jul. 2, 2017 (with Holli Semetko)

**The Legacies of Transition from Authoritarianism and Democratic Deconsolidation in Poland**, paper prepared for the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Nottingham, United Kingdom, Apr. 26-29, 2017

**Cleavages and Intra-Party Coalition Maintenance: The Case of Poland**, paper prepared for the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Warsaw, Poland, Mar. 30-Apr. 2, 2015

**Media Use and Political Engagement in Three New Democracies: Media Malaise vs. Mobilization Effects in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Apr. 21-25, 2010 (with Holli Semetko)

**The Impact of Media Exposure on Electoral Behavior in a New Democracy**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, Sep. 3-6, 2009 (with Holli Semetko)

**Mirror Images? Media Coverage and Electoral Behavior in a New Democracy**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Apr. 2-5, 2009 (with Holli Semetko)

**Economic vs. Identity Cleavages in 2007 Elections in Poland and Turkey**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, Aug. 28-31, 2008 (with Ali Carkoglu)

**Volatile Engagement, Political Participation and Electoral Volatility in East-Central Europe**, paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Rennes, France, Apr. 11-16, 2008

**The 2005 Political Typology of the Polish Electorate**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington, DC Nov. 16-19, 2006

**Media Use and Political Engagement in a New Democracy: The Case of 2005 Elections in Poland**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, Aug. 30-Sep. 3, 2006 (with Holli Semetko)

**National Identity in the Era of European Integration: Civic vs. Ethnic Dimensions and their Political Consequences**, paper prepared for the European Studies Faculty/Graduate Seminar Series, Emory University, Feb. 6, 2006

**Comparing Party System Dynamics in New and Not-so-new Democracies: The Polish Case in a wider European Context**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Salt Lake City, UT, Nov. 3-6, 2005

**Politicization of Latent Cleavages? Poland's Party System after the 2003 Shakeup**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Sep. 1-4, 2005

**National Identity in the Era of European Integration: Cultural vs. Civic Dimensions and their Political Consequences**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, MA, December 4-7, 2004

**Political Campaigning in the Enlarged Europe: Party Strategies in the June 2004 European Parliament Elections**, paper prepared for the APSA Political Communication Division Preconference, Chicago, IL, Sep. 1, 2004 (with Sam Cherribi)

**Disaffected New Democracies? Identities, Institutions and Civic Engagement in Post-Communist Europe**, paper prepared for the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Uppsala, Sweden, Apr. 12-18, 2004

**European Integration and Voter Alignments in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, Sep. 2-5, 1999

**European Integration and Voter Alignments in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic**, paper presented at the conference "The Effects of European Integration and Enlargement," sponsored by the University of Gent, the Claus M. Halle Institute, and the European Commission, Brussels and Gent, Belgium, May 17-19, 1999

**The Impact of Presidential Elections on Party System Structuring in Poland**, paper prepared for the 30th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boca Raton, FL, Sep. 24-27, 1998

**The Role of Elections and Voting Behavior in Democratic Consolidation in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic**, paper prepared for the AASCPCS International Conference in Melbourne, Australia, Jul. 7-10, 1998

**The Evolution of Mass Attitudes Toward Social Justice in Post-Communist Poland and Hungary**, paper prepared for the 29th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Seattle, WA, Nov. 20-23, 1997

**The Stabilization of Party Systems in East Central Europe, 1992-1994**, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Aug. 28-31, 1997

**Post-Communism: Opinion Continuity and Change**, paper prepared for the 52nd Annual Conference of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Norfolk, VA, May 15-18, 1997

**The Regional Foundations of East-Central European Party Systems: The Post-Communist Political Geography of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, 1989-1996**, paper prepared for the Eighth Biennial Conference on Central and Eastern Europe, New College, The University of South Florida, Apr. 3-5, 1997

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

**What happened to Poland's May 10 election: We asked what Poles think about voting in a pandemic.** The Monkey Cage, THE WASHINGTON POST, May 10, 2020 (with Radosław Markowski)

**Why is Poland's Law and Justice Party trying to rein in the judiciary?** The Monkey Cage, THE WASHINGTON POST, Jul. 26, 2017 (with Radosław Markowski)

**USA. Podziały są naturalne. Ludzie się od siebie różnią** (USA. Divisions are Natural. People Differ), GAZETA WYBORCZA, Feb. 3, 2017 (with Katarzyna Wężyk)

**Dyskretny urok silnej ręki** (The Discreet Charm of the Strong Arm), POLITYKA, Issue 10, March 2016 (with Radosław Markowski)

**Did Poland just vote in an authoritarian government?** The Monkey Cage, THE WASHINGTON POST, Nov. 3, 2015 (with Radosław Markowski)

**System partyjny USA: trzęsienie ziemi czy wszystko po staremu?** (The U.S. Party System After the 2008 Elections: A Tectonic Shift or More of the Same?) PRZEGLĄD POLITYCZNY, Issue 94, May 2009 (with Radosław Markowski)

## PUBLIC LECTURES

**The War in Ukraine: Six Months after Russia's Invasion**, Emory University, Nov. 17, 2022 (co-delivered with Matthew Payne)

**Campaign Strategies, Media and Voters: The 4th Era of Political Communication**, University of Florida, Gainesville, Nov. 3, 2017

**Polska po wyborach: polityczne, społeczne i psychologiczne konsekwencje elekcji 2015 roku** [Poland after the elections: Political, social and psychological consequences of the 2015 election] Conference inaugural address, Wisła, Poland, Oct. 27, 2016 (co-delivered with Radosław Markowski)

**The Role of elections in American democracy**, inaugural lecture, American Studies Center, University of Warsaw, Sep. 28, 2016

**Doing business in the Czech Republic and Eastern Europe**, Goizueta Business School Executive MBA Program, Mar. 1, 2013

**Psychological foundations of support for democracy and authoritarianism**, Emory University, Oct. 10, 2012

**Knowledge and Partisan Bias – An Uneasy Relationship**, Emory University, Nov. 11, 2011

Tożsamość narodowa w epoce integracji europejskiej: wymiary kulturowe i obywatelskie i ich polityczne konsekwencje (National identity in the era of European integration), Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Jan. 6, 2005

Closing God's Playground: National Identity and European Integration in East-Central Europe, The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Dec. 3, 2001

No Contest: The Polish Presidential Elections of 2000, Emory University, Oct. 31, 2000

#### PANELS, ROUNDTABLES

Post-Communist Economic, Social and Political Transformations, panel discussant, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Apr. 7, 2022

Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and Parties, panel discussant, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sep. 28, 2021

Historical Legacies and Illiberalism, panel discussant, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Apr. 17, 2021

Democratic Backsliding Across Region and Time, panel discussant, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Apr. 16, 2021

Identity Politics, Populism and the European Union, panel discussant, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Apr. 14, 2021

Dismantling Democracy in Poland, roundtable participant, 50th Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Boston, Dec. 8, 2018

Uberized economy and democracy, roundtable participant, EFNI: European Forum for New Ideas, Sopot, Poland, Sep. 30, 2016

Ukraine on the Brink, roundtable participant, The World Affairs Council of Atlanta's Young Leaders, Georgia State University Buckhead Center, Oct. 28, 2014

Integrating Content Analysis with Survey Data: Opportunities and Issues in Political Communication Data Analysis, roundtable participant, The 8th International Conference on Social Science Methodology, Sydney, Australia, Jul. 9-13, 2012



**Mobilization and Influence in Election Campaigns in Comparative Perspective**, roundtable participant, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Apr. 12, 2012

**Comparative Perspectives: Workshop on the 2007 Turkish Elections**, Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey, Nov. 30-Dec. 1, 2007

**The 2007 Early Elections in Poland: Implications for the Constitutional Order and Party System**, roundtable participant, Annual Meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, New Orleans, LA, Nov. 15-18, 2007

**The Pit and the Pendulum: Polish Politics after the 2005 Elections**, roundtable participant, The Council for European Studies Annual Meeting: Chicago, IL, Mar. 30, 2006

**Media and Elections in a Comparative Context**, roundtable participant, The Halle Institute Conference on European Governance, Emory University, Feb. 16, 2006

**Polish Party Scene before the 2005 Elections: A Major Realignment or Business as Usual**, roundtable participant, Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, MA, Dec. 4-7, 2004

**Comparative Approaches to the Study of Political Party Organization in the Post-Communist World**, roundtable participant, Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Arlington, VA, Nov. 16, 2001

**Policy Pressures and Party Responses in East-Central Europe**, roundtable participant, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, Sep. 2-5, 1999

**The Russian Crash: Implications for Russia and the World**, roundtable participant, Center for Russian and East European Studies, Emory University, Oct. 6, 1998

**Party systems in post-communist Eastern Europe**, panel discussant, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, Sep. 3-6, 1998

**Polish Politics Since 1989**, roundtable participant, the AASCPCS International Conference, Melbourne, Australia, Jul. 7-10, 1998

**Social Support in Transitional Economies: The Shifting Balance of Public and Private Responsibilities**, roundtable participant, Emory University, Mar. 21, 1997

## COURSES TAUGHT

POLS 120: Introduction to Comparative Politics  
POLS 190: Freshman Seminar: Post-communism Through Film  
POLS 309: Survey Research and Political Analysis  
POLS 325: East European Politics  
POLS 385: Media and Politics in Comparative Perspective  
POLS 490: Post-communist Political Transitions  
POLS 490: Post-communist Eastern Europe  
POLS 490: Identities, Organizations and Political Action  
POLS 490: Comparative Political Participation  
POLS 494: Comparative Political Parties  
POLS 494: Comparative Mass Behavior  
POLS 520: Comparative Politics Field Seminar  
POLS 585: Parties and Elections in New Democracies

## SERVICE (COLLEGE/UNIV)

Committee on Curriculum, Assessment and Educational Policy (member 2019-22, co-chair 2021-22)  
Campus Development Committee (2008-22)  
Education Abroad Committee (2013-14)  
European Studies Program Steering Committee (2005-2006)  
Scholarly Inquiry and Research at Emory Independent Research Grants Committee (Fall 2006)  
The Claus M. Halle Institute Program on Governance Steering Committee (Spring 2006)  
Institute for Comparative and International Studies Executive Committee (2005-2006)  
Statistics Support Initiative Planning Committee (Fall 2005)  
Institute for Comparative and International Studies (2003-2004)  
Russian and European Studies Program (interim director, 2002-03)  
Academic Standards Committee (2000-01)

## SERVICE (DEPARTMENT)

Director of Undergraduate Studies (2017-2021, 2023-present)  
Undergraduate Studies Committee (2005-present)  
International Studies Major Committee (2002-present)  
Undergraduate Honors Committee (2017-21)  
Director of internships (2010-21)  
Professional Relations Committee (2009, 2011-13)  
Data Lab Faculty Liaison (2005-6)  
Graduate Studies Committee (2001-5)

## SERVICE (PROFESSION)

Manuscript reviewer for the American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Perspectives on Politics, Comparative Politics, Democratization, British Journal of Political Science, Political Communication, Canadian Journal of Political Science, East European Politics and Societies – EEPS, Party Politics, Political Behavior, Problems of Post-communism, Slavic Review, Longman Publishers, Macmillan Press, Palgrave Press and Westview Press