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EDUCATION

Ph.D. Columbia University. Political Science, 1988. Certificate, Institute on East Central Europe, 1983. M.A. Yale University. Russian and East European Studies, 1981.

B.A. University of Pennsylvania, Magna Cum Laude, International Relations (Honors) and Economics, 1979.

WRITINGS

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Working Papers

Michael Bernhard and Amanda Edgell, "Democracy and Social Forces," https://preprints.apsanet.org/engage/apsa/article-details/5d086ea0ef378600199d3641

Marcus Tannenberg, Michael Bernhard, Johannes Gerschewski, AnnaLührmann and Christian von Soest, "Regime Legitimation Strategies (RLS) 1900 to 2018," University of Gothenburg, Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper No. 86. April 2019, https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/6d/b2/6db2ed44-5d1e-4591-bff8-b3d101697656/v-dem_working_paper_2019_86.pdf

Kyle L. Marquardt, Daniel Pemstein, Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca, Brigitte Seim, Steven Lloyd Wilson, Michael Bernhard, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg. "Experts, Coders, and Crowds: An Analysis of Substitutability." Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper No. 53. October 2017. https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/9e/81/9e81b209-4b20-4188-878b-9ed92781ff56/v-dem_working_paper_2017_53.pdf

Michael Bernhard, Amanda Edgell, and Staffan Lindberg. "Suicide by Competition: Authoritarian Institutional Adaptation and Regime Fragility." Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper No. 37. October 2016. https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/07/e4/07e4aaad-d798-484f-80e8-bda45c95e1c4/v-dem_working_paper_2016_37.pdf

Michael Bernhard, Resat Bayer and Omer Orsun. "Democratization in Conflict Studies: How Conceptualization affects Operationalization and Testing Outcomes?" Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper No. 31. June 2016. https://v-dem.net/media/filer_public/bb/5f/bb5f7f1f-7d81-4798-bdac-cb52fbdb7fa0/v-dem_working_paper_2016_31.pdf

Bernhard, Michael, Dong-Joon Jung, Eitan Tzelgov, Michael Coppedge, Staffan Lindberg. 2015. "The Varieties of Democracy Core Civil Society Index." Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper

- No. 13. https://v-dem.net/media/filer_public/47/2e/472eec11-830f-4578-9a09-d9f8d43cee3a/v-dem_working_paper_2015_13_edited.pdf
- Fernando Bizarro, John Gerring, Allen Hicken, Carl Henrik, Knutson, Michael Bernhard, Michael Coppedge, Svend-Erik Skaaning, and Staffan Lindberg "Party Strength and Economic Growth," Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper No. 10. September 2015. https://v-dem.net/media/filer_public/d3/67/d3673c5a-e206-42cf-94e1-ef0a26b63141/v-dem.working_paper_2015_10.pdf
- Amanda Edgell, Valeriya Mechkova, David Altman, Michael Bernhard and Staffan I. Lindberg. "When and Where do Elections Matter? A Global Test of the Democratization by Elections Hypothesis, 1900-2012." Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper No. 8. August 2015. https://v-dem.net/media/filer_public/fb/de/fbde2cd6-2e6f-49ac-a4f0-6e3e8cd7aee2/v-dem_working_paper_2015_8.pdf
- Michael Bernhard, Allen Hicken, Christopher Reenock and Staffan I. Lindberg. "Institutional Subsystems and the Survival of Democracy: Do Political and Civil Society Matter?" Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper No. 4. April 2015. https://v-dem.net/media/filer_public/62/8e/628e4e08-ffb4-45ee-84c5-a25032d1b0dc/v-dem_working_paper_2015_4.pdf
- Michael Bernhard, "Institutional Choice after Communism: A Critique of Theory-building in an Empirical Wasteland." Minda DeGunzberg Center for European Studies, East European Series, Harvard University, 1999.
- Michael Bernhard, "Charismatic Leadership and Democratization: A Weberian Perspective", Minda DeGunzberg Center for European Studies, East European Series, #43, Harvard University, 1998.

 Michael Bernhard, "Legitimation and Instability: the Fatal Link," Minda DeGunzberg Center for European Studies, East European Series, #2, Harvard University, 1990.

Miscellaneous Translation

Adam Michnik, "An Open Letter to International Public Opinion," *Telos* 54 (1982-3). Marcin Rewera, "Review of Jan Józef Lipski, *Komitet Obrony Robotników*," *Telos* 65 (Fall 1985).

WORK IN PROGRESS

- Michael Bernhard and Amanda Edgell, "Democracy and Social Forces," Popular struggles for representation and incorporation occupy a prominent place in our understanding of regime change. The role of social forces in democratization processes has, until recently, been difficult to study in a large-n framework. In this paper, we present a set of tests drawing on recent data advances at the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Institute and the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (NAVCO) project. While we cannot track and measure social forces like small-n researchers, we draw upon measures of civil society organization and mobilization as proxies. We examine the impact of civil society organizational capacity and anti-system movement activity to gauge the extent to which organized and mobilized social forces are responsible for the stability, backsliding, and deepening of democracy. Under review at a major university press in the projected volume Why Democracies Develop and Decline, Michael Coppedge, Amanda Edgell, Carl-Henrik Knutsen, and Staffan I. Lindberg, eds. https://preprints.apsanet.org/engage/apsa/article-details/5d086ea0ef378600199d3641 (11,200 words, 6 tables, 4 figures).
- Kyle L. Marquardt, Daniel Pemstein, Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca, Brigitte Seim, Steven Lloyd Wilson, Michael Bernhard, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg. "Experts, Coders, and Crowds: An Analysis of Substitutability." Political scientists increasingly rely on crowds to code data. However, successful applications of crowd-coding predominantly use crowdworkers to code researcher curated text or to retrieve simple data from the internet. We introduce a typology of data-producing actors—

experts, coders, and crowds—and hypothesize factors that affect the substitutability of crowd workers for coders and experts. We examine how crowdworkers perform across coding tasks that vary along multiple dimensions of difficulty—information availability, recency, and complexity—and examine how compensation affects crowd performance. Our results suggest scope conditions bounding the substitutability of crowd workers in political science: crowd substitutability for experts is substantially limited in tasks that require both information retrieval and data synthesis. These results indicate that crowds can only replace experts in domains that entail reasonably simple tasks (4000 words, one table, two figure, under review).

Sebastian Hellmeier, Michael Bernhard, and Anna Lührmann. "Regime Transformation From Below: Mobilization for Democracy and Autocracy From 1900 to 2019." Mass mobilization is an important driver of political change. While some citizens organize collective action in favor of more democratic institutions, others take to the streets to support autocratic rulers or non-democratic forms of governance. In this paper, we introduce latent measures of pro-democratic and pro-autocratic mass mobilization using expert assessments for 140 polities from 1900-2019. The data allows us to describe patterns in mass mobilization over time, across regions and regime types. Our analysis looks at both democratic and autocratic mobilization and its relationship with regime change. While we confirm the findings of the large literature on contentious democratic politics, our analysis of autocratic mobilization allows us to help understand the controversy in the literature on "bad" civil society. Our empirical analysis shows that mass mobilization in favor of autocracy significantly increases the likelihood of autocratization and reduces the likelihood of democratization. Our results show that the extant literature's focus on mobilization generally was perhaps too blunt, and disaggregating the intentions of the actors involved in contentious politics helps us to understand how protest affects regime change in a more nuanced fashion (Full Draft, 8500 words, 6 figures, five tables).

Michael Bernhard, Allen Hicken, and Wooseok Kim, "Party System Institutionalization and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." In this paper we explore the question of party system institutionalization in competitive authoritarian regimes. We begin with a discussion of party system institutionalization in democracies and in conventional authoritarian regimes and its central role in the regime stability in both types. We then explore the extent to which standard indicators of institutionalization, namely electoral volatility, are useful and meaningful within authoritarian contexts. We argue that they do have some utility, but that standard summary measures of electoral volatility are often too crude to be able to make confident inferences about the connection between volatility and such things as incumbent survival, policy stability, or regime duration. Instead, we argue that our typical measures of volatility need to be disaggregated and refined. In addition to aggregate electoral volatility, we distinguish between Type-A and B volatility, volatility within the ruling party or opposition, and whether ruling party volatility is driven by gains or losses. We use a unique dataset to examine the association between different types of volatility and two outcomes, regime breakdown, and ruling party replacement (Full Draft, 7500 words, 2 figures, 2 tables).

Michael Bernhard and Jeffrey Kopstein. Violence and Democracy in the Postcommunist World: How Tyranny Contributed to Democracy. It is widely believed that a communist past is an impediment to democracy. The behavioral legacy of decades of repression and obedience would prevent the emergence of a democratic citizenry. Besides, past attempts at democratization in the region had only led to instrumental mimicry of the West, not durable rule. And if that was not enough the necessity of simultaneous transformations following years of communism – political, economic, social and institutional – surely prejudiced the chances for postcommunist democratic success. We take a more structural approach and focus on the profound economic and social transformations that the violent Leninist political project left in the wake of its failure. Many have minimized the transformational impact of Leninism, seeing it little more than a "detour" from "periphery to periphery." Even if the relative developmental position of the states in Europe did not change, their absolute levels of modernization did, and this is the point of departure for our study. By situating our analysis in the comparative historical literature on political development we present the communist experience in a different light. While the Leninist project was profoundly undemocratic in its intent and its practice, the fundamental

elements and outcomes of the project prepared the ground for democratization at a later date after the system it constructed collapsed. In particular we focus on three sets of conditions identified as necessary for democracy by the comparative historical literature: the construction of a bureaucratic state, the consolidation of a national community, and socio-economic modernization. We emphasize that extreme forms of violence played a central role in all three processes. At the time of the collapse of European communism, we turn our attention to the role of new social actors created under communism, and how different alliances of social forces placed some states on a democratic trajectory and others on the road to more conventional forms of neo-authoritarianism (Under contract, Oxford University Press).

Ryan Whittingham and Michael Bernhard. "Civil Society, Responsiveness, and Political Stability." Political scientists have paid increasing attention to civil society as an important realm of organization in explaining a range of outcomes across political systems. In this paper we address a range of outcomes on the quality of political representation using new resources to study the impact of civil society from the new Varieties of Democracy dataset. Owing to its unprecedented temporal and spatial scope and the richness of its indicators for various dimensions of civil society, the V-Dem dataset allows us to test many hypotheses related to the relation between civil society and various political outcomes in a general way that was previously not possible. We examine the sources of government responsiveness to interests in civil society as a product of the nature of civil society organization and the degree of social activism, and we also explore if such responsiveness helps to increase other forms of representative accountability and if its absence leads to the channeling of unmet social demands through anti-system activism. After assembling a dataset of the countries of the world for the years 1960-2010, we use Bayesian regression models that allow us to account for the measurement uncertainty incorporated in the V-Dem data and test numerous hypotheses about the relationship between civil society and political outcomes. Our results largely confirm the positive effect that a robust and participatory civil society has on government responsiveness and accountability as well as political stability. We also find, contra an older literature on neo-corporatism, that a pluralistic civil society environment with many small organizations performs best in promoting stability, which bolsters the findings of a more recent literature on civil society and participatory democratic institutions (26 pages, 1 figure, 4 tables, 1 appendix).

HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

- 2017-2023. Subvention, American Political Science Association, to serve as Editor of *Perspectives on Politics* (\$1,286,963).
- 2016, Co-recipient of the Lijphart/Przeworski/Verba Dataset Award, American Political Science Association (for the Varieties of Democratization Dataset).
- 2014-19. Co-PI. Varieties of Democracy. Subcontract via University of Gothenburg for a multi-year grant from the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (\$334,551).
- 2014, Council on European Studies. Grant to support 'Graduate Workshop on Comparative Historical Research in Europe," (\$1900 in kind and funds).
- 2013, Council on European Studies. Grant to support the 'Graduate Workshop on Comparative Historical Research on Europe," https://councilforeuropeanstudies.org/research/research-networks/hssr/announcements (\$1944.00 in kind and funds).
- 2013, American Council of Learned Societies. Grant to support the conference "Whither Eastern Europe?" (\$5000).
- 2007, Bronislaw Malinowski Social Sciences Award. Polish Institute of Arts and Science in America (for *Institutions and the Fate of Democracy*).
- 2006-7, Faculty Marshall, Commencement, College of the Liberal Arts, The Pennsylvania State University. 2002-3, Postdoctoral Fellowship, American Council of Learned Societies, Committee on East European Studies, (\$20,000).
- 2002, Best Paper presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting on European Politics, European Politics Section, American Political Science Association.

- 1997, "The Breakdown of Democracy in Interwar Poland, 1918-1926," National Council of Soviet and East European Research, principal investigator (\$9,220).
- 1995-6, Advanced Individual Research, Poland, IREX, 1995-6 (unable to accept due to illness in family).
- 1995 (with Peter Potter, Penn State Press), Funding for the translation of Krytyka: Critical Intellectual Thought in Poland, 1978-1991, Wheatland Foundation, New York, New York (\$1000).
- 1995, Short-term Travel Grant, Poland, IREX, (\$1,100).
- 1995, ACLS, Grant for Travel to International Meetings Abroad (\$500).
- 1993-4 (with Henryk Szlajfer), Funding for the translation of Krytyka: Critical Intellectual Thought in Poland, 1978-1991, Central and East European Publishing Project, St. Anthony's College, Oxford University (\$1500).
- Summer 1993, "Learn German in Germany," Deutscher Akademischer Auftausch Dienst (German Academic Exchange Service), Goethe Haus, Boppard am Rhein (Tuition Remission, Housing, Partial Board, and DM640).
- 1992-93, College of the Liberal Arts, Penn State University, "one-time awards to those untenured faculty members who were among the College's highest achievers during the past year," (\$600).
- 1998-9, Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Russian Research Center, Harvard University (declined).
- 1988-89, Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Center for Russian and East European Studies, Stanford University (declined).
- 1987-88, Dissertation Award from Joint Committee on Eastern Europe of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.
- 1987-88, MacArthur Dissertation Grant, Columbia University.
- 1986-87, Research Stipend from the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.
- 1985-86, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Traveling Fellowship, Columbia University.

PAPERS PRESENTED AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

- Michael Bernhard and Jeffrey Kopstein, "The Fruits of Leninist Violence and Postcommunist Pathways," presented at the 27th International Conference of Europeanists, Virtual Meeting, June 21-24, 2021.
- Michael Bernhard, "What Do We Know about Civil Society and Regime Change Thirty Years after 1989?" presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Virtual Meeting, April 15, 2021.
- Michael Bernhard, Allen Hicken, and Wooseok Kim, "Party System Institutionalization and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes," presented at the 116th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Virtual Meeting, September 9-13, 2020.
- Sebastian Hellmeier, Michael Bernhard, and Anna Lührmann. "Regime Transformation From Below: Mobilization for Democracy and Autocracy From 1900 to 2019," presented at the 116th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Virtual Meeting, September 9-13, 2020.
- Michael Bernhard "How Do We Know a Legacy When See One? A Methodological Consideration with Some Examples." Presentation at the 51st Annual Convention for Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies in San Francisco, November 25, 2019.
- Michael Bernhard, "1989 Inverted: Transformative Authoritarian Memory and the Rise of Populism in Poland and Hungary." Paper presented at the 114th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30, 2019.
- Jeffrey Kopstein and Michael Bernhard, "Leninist Violence and State-Building: Unintended Postcommunist Consequences," Paper presented at 26th International Conference of Europeanists, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, June 20-22, 2019.
- Michael Bernhard and Jeffrey Kopstein, "The Long-term Implications of Leninist Nationalities Policy on Postcommunist Development," Paper presented at the World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, May 2 to May 4, 2019.

- Michael Bernhard, "Elites, Masses, and the Framing of Authoritarian Postcommunist Memory." Paper presented at the 77th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 4-7, 2019.
- Michael Bernhard and Amanda Edgell, "Democracy and Social Forces." Paper presented at the 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 2, 2018.
- Michael Bernhard and Jeffrey Kopstein, "The Long-term Implications of Leninist Nationalities Policy on Postcommunist Development," Paper presented at the European Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Graz Austria, July 4 to July 6, 2018.
- Michael Bernhard and Jeffrey Kopstein, "The Legacies of Communist Economic Development for Postcommunist Democratization," 25th International Conference of Europeanists, Chicago, Illinois, March 28-30, 2018.
- Ryan Whittingham and Michael Bernhard, "Civil Society, Responsiveness and Political Stability," 76th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois, April 7, 2018.
- Ryan Whittingham and Michael Bernhard "Civil Society, Responsiveness, and Political Stability," Paper presented at the 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2017.
- Constanza Petrarca, Michael Bernhard, Staffan Lindberg, Brigitte Seim, Kyle Marquandt, Stephen Wilson, and Daniel Pemstein. "Can Crowd-Sourced Data Substitute for Expert-Coded Data?" Paper presented at the 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2017.
- Michael Bernhard, Amanda Edgell, and Staffan Lindberg. "Suicide by Competition: Authoritarian Institutional Adaptation and Regime Fragility." Paper presented at the 112th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016.
- Michael Bernhard, "The Varieties of Democracy Core Civil Society Index." Presented at the 23rd International Conference of Europeanists, Philadelphia, April 16, 2016.
- Havard Hegre, Michael Bernhard, and Jan Teorell. "Reassessing the Democratic Peace: A Novel Test Based on the Varieties of Democracy Data." Paper presented at the 57th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 16-19, 2016 and 112th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016.
- Michael Bernhard, Fernando Bizzaro, Michael Coppedge, John Gerring, Allen Hicken, Carl Henrik Knudson, Staffan Lindberg, and Svend-Erik Skanning. "Party Strength and Economic Growth." Presented at the 111th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 3-6, 2015.
- Amanda Edgell, Valeria Mechkova, David Altman, Michael Bernhard, and Staffan Lindberg. "The Democratizing Effect of Elections? Regional and Global Analyses." Presented at the 111th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 3-6, 2015.
- Bernhard, Michael and Jeffrey Kopstein. "Revolutionary Change and the Prospects for Democracy: Appraising the Impact of Leninist Violence on Postcommunist Regime Outcomes." Presented at the Annual International Conference on European Studies, Paris France, July 9, 2015 and the 111th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 3-6, 2015.
- Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, and Allen Hicken, "Institutional Subsystems and Survival of Democracy: Do Political and Civil Society Matter?" presented at 110th meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2014, Washington D.C. and the 73rd Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 16-19, 2015, Chicago IL.
- Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, and Jan Teorell, "Thickening and Making Binary Indicators of Democracy More Transparent and Flexible Using the V-Dem Dataset," Presented at 110th meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2014, Washington D.C.
- Bernhard, Michael and Jan Kubik. "The Politics and Culture of Memory Regimes: A Comparative Analysis." Presented at the 21st International Conference of Europeanist (CES), Washington, DC. March 14-16, 2014 and the 110th meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2014, Washington D.C.

- Kopstein, Jeffrey and Michael Bernhard. "Post-Communism, The Civilizing Process, and the Mixed Impact of Leninist Violence." Presented at the 21st International Conference of Europeanist (CES), Washington, DC. March 14-16, 2014 and the 110th meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2014, Washington D.C.
- Resat Bayer, Michael Bernhard, and Omer Orsun. "Dangerous Democratization or Concept Misformation?" Presented at the 2013 Meeting of the Peace Science Society, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN, October 24-26, 2013 and the 110th meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2014, Washington D.C.
- Bernhard, Michael and Dong-Joon Jung. "Civil Society and Aggregation." Presented at the 109th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2013, Chicago, IL.
- Bernhard, Michael. "Syncretism and the Limits of Path Dependence: A Theory of Regime Instability." Presented at the 20th International Conference of Europeanists, Amsterdam, June 2013 and the 109th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2013, Chicago, IL.
- Bernhard, Michael and Dong-Joon Jung. "The Wages of Extrication: Civil Society Strength at Regime Termination and Inequality in Postcommunist Eurasia." Presented at the 20th International Conference of Europeanists, Amsterdam, June 2013.
- Weghorst, Keith and Michael Bernhard, "From Formlessness to Structure? The Institutionalization of Competitive Party Systems in Africa." Presented at the 71st Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois, April 12, 2013 and the 53rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, April 2012, San Diego, CA.
- Bernhard, Michael and Jan Kubik, "Roundtable Discord: The Contested Legacy of 1989 in Poland." Presented at the 44th Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, New Orleans, November 2012.
- Bernhard, Michael and Jeffrey Kopstein, "Moore as Sovietologist: The Contributions of Revolutionary Violence to Post-Communist Gradualism," Presented at the 19th International Conference of Europeanists, March 2012, Boston, MA.
- Bernhard, Michael and Jan Kubik, "A Theory of Historical Memory," Presented at the 19th International Conference of Europeanists, March 2012, Boston, MA.
- Kaya, Ruchan and Michael Bernhard, "Are Elections Mechanisms of Authoritarian Stability or Democratization? Evidence from Postcommunist Eurasia," Presented at the 106th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, Washington, September 1-4, 2011.
- Bernhard, Michael and Jan Kubik, "The Uses of History: The Contentious Legacy of 1989 Twenty Years After," presented at the 18th International Conference of Europeanists, June 2011, Barcelona, Spain.
- Carter, Jeff, Michael Bernhard, and Glenn Palmer. "Social Revolution, the State and War: How Revolutions affect War-Making Capacity and Interstate War Outcomes," presented at the 82nd Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 2011, New Orleans, LA, and the 50th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 2009, New York, New York.
- Bernhard, Michael and Timothy Nordstrom. "Communist Legacies and Democratic Survival: Liability or Advantage?," presented at the 105th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2010, Washington, DC.
- Bernhard, Michael. "Roundtable Disagreement: The Twenty Year Commemoration of 1989 in Poland," presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, November 2009, and the South Slavic Association Annual Meeting, March 2010, Gainesville, Florida.
- Dietrich, Simone and Michael Bernhard. "State Capacity and Human Development Outcomes," presented at the 104th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2009, Toronto, CA.
- Bernhard, Michael and Ekrem Karakoc. "Going West or Going South: Explaining Weak Party System Institutionalization in Postcommunist Europe," presented at the 39th Annual Meeting of the American

- Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, New Orleans, November 2007 and the 103rd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2008, Boston, MA.
- Bernhard, Michael and Ekrem Karakoc. "Civil Society and the Legacies of Dictatorship," presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, February-March 2007, Chicago, IL and the 102nd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August-September 2007, Chicago, IL.
- Reenock, Christoper, Michael Bernhard, and David Sobek. 2006. "Regressive Socioeconomic Distribution and Democratic Survival," presented at 101st Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August-September 2006, Philadelphia, PA.
- Bayer, Reşat and Michael Bernhard. 2006. "Robust Finding or Measurement Artifact? Reconsidering the Relationship between Democracy and International Conflict," presented at 101st Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August-September 2006, Philadelphia, PA.
- Bernhard, Michael. 2006. "Institutions and the Fate of Democracy," presented at the 15th Conference for European Studies, March-April 2006 Chicago, IL.
- Bernhard, Michael. 2006. "Poland's Dysfunctional Party System," presented at the 15th Conference for European Studies, March-April 2006 Chicago, IL.
- Bayer, Reşat and Michael Bernhard. 2006. "Robust Finding or Measurement Artifact? Reconsidering the Relationship between Democracy and International Conflict," presented at the 46th Conference of the International Studies Association, March 2006, San Diego, CA.
- Bernhard, Michael. 2005. "The Moore Thesis: What's Left after 1989?" presented at 101st Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August-September 2005, Washington, DC.
- Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, and David Sobek. 2004. "Beyond Justice: Gendered Transitions as a Threat to Democratic Survival," presented at 99th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2004, Chicago, IL.
- Bernhard, Michael. 2002. "Institutional Choice in New Democracies in Central Europe," presented at the 97th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August-September 2002, Boston, MA.
- Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock and David Sobek. 2002. "The Effect of Equality on Democratic Survival: A Neglected Dimension," presented at the 97th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August-September 2002, Boston, MA.
- Bernhard, Michael. 2002. "The Polish Presidency: A Retrospective," presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Council for European Studies, March 2002, Chicago IL.
- Bernhard, Michael. 2001. "Democratization in Germany: A Reappraisal," presented at the 96th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August-September 2001, San Francisco, CA.
- Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2000. "The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival," presented at 95th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2000, Washington, DC.
- Bernhard, Michael, Timothy Nordstrom, and Christopher Reenock. 2000. "Are New Democracies More or Less Likely to Fail?" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2000, Chicago, IL.
- Bernhard, Michael, Timothy Nordstrom, and Christopher Reenock. 1999. "Economic Performance, Institutional Intermediation, and Democratic Survival" presented at the 94th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1999, Atlanta GA.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1998. "Institutional Choice and the Failure of Democracy: The Case of Interwar Poland," presented at the 93rd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1998, Boston, MA.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1998. "Comparative Politics and Eastern Europe After Communism," presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Council for European Studies, March 1998, Baltimore.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1997. "How far does Transition Travel: The Problem of Direct Constitution in Weimar Germany and Interwar Poland," Northeast Political Science Association, September 1997, Philadelphia, PA.

- Bernhard, Michael. 1995. "Problems of Democratic Consolidation: A Comparative Study of Poland and Germany in the Interwar Period," presented at the Vth World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies, August 1995, Warsaw, Poland.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1995. "You Can't Get There from Here: Reflections on Democratic Institution-Building in Poland," presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, April 1995, Chicago, IL.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1992. "Civil Society and Democratic Revolutions in East-Central Europe," presented at the 88th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 3, 1992.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1991. "Charismatic Leadership and Democratic State-Building: The Case of Poland," presented at the 23rd National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Miami, Florida, November 23, 1991.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1990. "Unofficial Workers' Organization in Poland prior to Solidarity," presented at the 22nd National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, October 1990, Washington, D.C.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1990. "Democratization and Charismatic Leadership," presented at the IVth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, July 1990, Harrogate, England.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1990. "Barriers to Further Economic and Political Change in Poland," presented at the IVth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, July 1990, Harrogate, England.

PARTICIPATION IN SEMINARS, WORKSHOPS AND CONFERENCES

- Roundtable Participant, "Poland's Slide to Authoritarianism: Typical or Unique," 27th International Conference of Europeanists, Virtual Meeting, June 21-24, 2021.
- Faculty Mentor, 8th Annual Graduate Workshop on Comparative Historical Research on Europe, 27th International Conference of Europeanists, Virtual Meeting, June 21-24, 2021.
- Invited Speaker, Journal Editor Roundtable, 27th International Conference of Europeanists, Virtual Meeting, June 21-24, 2021.
- Invited Speaker, "Roundtable on Publication," Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) Annual Meeting, June 10-11, 2021 (Virtual).
- Invited Speaker, "Party System Institutionalization and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes," coauthored with Wooseok Kim and Allen Hicken, Politics Colloquium, Oxford University, United Kingdom, February 19, 2021.
- Keynote Speaker, "The Four Faces of Civil Society," Virtual workshop on "Civil Society in Southeast Asia," Forum for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Stockholm, December 11, 2020.
- Roundtable Participant, "Democratic Backsliding in Post-Accession Eastern Europe," 52nd Annual Convention of the Association For Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Virtual Meeting, November 14, 2020.
- Invited Speaker, "Post-Communist Democracy and the Problem of Accountability," presented at *Global Challenges to Democracy*, A Virtual Webinar hosted by the Department of Political Science, Cornell University, Ithaca NY, October 2, 2020.
- Roundtable Participant, "Research Ethics in Political Science: The Role of Journal Editors," 116th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Virtual Meeting, September 9-13, 2020.
- Invited Speaker, "Claiming the Right to Rule, Regime Legitimation Strategies, 1900 to 2019," Virtual Brownbag, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, May 27, 2020.
- Invited Speaker, "Post-Communist Democracy and the Problem of Accountability," at the conference "Resetting Liberalism," November 4, 2019 at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg VA
- Invited Speaker, "Democracy and Social Forces," (Co-author, Amanda Edgell). Department of Political Science, State University of New York at Binghampton, September 27. 2019.
- Invited Participant, "Civil Society, Responsiveness, and Stability" (co-author Ryan Whittingham), Workshop "The Shrinking of Legal Space for Civil Society in the European Union," September 12-13, 2019, University of Exeter, UK.

- Rountable Participant, "The Art and Ethics of Peer Review," 26th International Conference of Europeanists, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, June 20-22, 2019.
- Faculty Mentor, "7th Annual Graduate Workshop for the Historical Study of States and Regimes in Europe," Council for European Studies, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, June 19, 2019.
- Roundtable Participant, "Jan Kubik's Contributions to Polish Studies," Seventh World Congress on Polish Studies, Gdańsk, Poland, June 14-16, 2019.
- Invited Speaker, "Social Forces," V-Dem Academic Research Conference, Hotel Vann, Brastad, Sweden, May 23-24, 2019.
- Invited Discussant, "Tourism, Democratization and Regime Stability" (Presenter: Sebastian Hellmeier), V-Dem Academic Research Conference, Hotel Vann, Brastad, Sweden, May 23-24, 2019.
- Roundtable Speaker, "Getting Published in an International, Peer-Reviewed Journal," World Congress of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, May 2 to May 4, 2019).
- Roundtable Rapporteur, "Was Communist Eastern Europe Totalitarian?" Conference -- Totalitarianism in Communist-Era Europe Reconsidered, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, April 10-11, 2019.
- Roundtable Participant, "The Communist Past and the Future of European Politics," Conference --Totalitarianism in Communist-Era Europe Reconsidered, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, April 10-11, 2019.
- Roundtable Speaker, "Author Meets Critics: *The Zapatista Movement and Mexico's Democratic Transition* by Maria Inclan," 77th Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 4-7, 2019.
- Invited Speaker, "Democracy & Social Forces: Large-n Testing of Comparative Historical Research," (co-author -- Amanda Edgell), Colloquium, Department of Political Science, University of California, Irvine, March 1, 2019.
- Invited Speaker, "Parties, Civil Society, and the Deterrence of Democratic Defection," (co-authors Allen Hicken, Christopher Reenock, and Staffan Lindberg), Warren Miller Junior Faculty Colloquium, School of Politics and Global Studies, Arizona State University, February 27, 2019.
- Invited Speaker, "Paths of Extrication and the Framing of Post-Communist Memory Politics" at the conference *The People and the Power: Dictators, Supporters and Detractors*, Florida State University, February 20-22, 2019.
- Roundtable Participant, "Weasel Words and the Study of Postcommunism" at the 51st Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Eastern Europe and Eurasia on December 7, 2019, Boston Massachusetts.
- Invited Speaker, "Democracy and Social Forces" (co-authored with Amanda Edgell), Varieties of Democracy Seminar, Gothenburg University, Sweden, October 24, 2018.
- Invited Speaker, "Political Science in the Public Sphere," Department of Political Science, Gothenburg University, Sweden, October 25, 2018.
- Invited Participant, "How to Get Published," (with Daniel O'Neill), The Methods Café, 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 3, 2018.
- Invited Discussant, Conference: Circulating across Europe? Transgressive Narratives about the Past, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, August 28-29, 2018.
- Invited Participant, "Roundtable Discussion: How to Get Your Paper Published in an International Journal," presented at the European Conference for the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Graz Austria, July 4 to July 6, 2018.
- Invited Speaker, "The Problem of Citizen Compliance: A Classical View," Workshop on Ordinary Citizens in Autocracies, University of Nottingham, UK, June 7-June 8, 2018.
- Invited Speaker, "Social Forces and Democracy," (co-author Amanda Edgell). Presented at the V-Dem Internal Research Conference, Gothenburg, Sweden, May 28-29, 2018.
- Invited Roundtable Participant, "Meet the Journal Editors," 76th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois, April 7, 2018.

- Faculty Mentor, 6th Annual Graduate Student Workshop on "Historical Study of States and Regimes," University at Illinois at Chicago, March 27, 2018.
- Invited Speaker, "Civil Society, Party Institutionalization, and Democratic Deterrence," Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, January 11, 2018.
- Featured Participant, Roundtable Discussion, "Mobilization without the Masses by Diana Fu," Institute for Asian Studies, Munck School, University of Toronto, January 11-12.
- Invited Speaker, Workshop on "Measuring Inclusion," Korbel School, University of Denver, December 11, 2017.
- Featured Speaker, Roundtable: "Eastern Europe between Putin and Trump," 50th Annual Meeting of the Association for Slavic and East European Studies, Chicago, November 8-12, 2017.
- Featured Speaker, Author Meets Critics: "Ordinary Jews: Choice and Survival during the Holocaust by Evgeny Finkel," 50th Annual Meeting of the Association for Slavic and East European Studies, Chicago, November 8-12, 2017.
- Invited Speaker. "Social Forces and Democracy" (co-authorAmanda Edgell) at the conference "What Do We Know About Democratization After 227 Years?" University of Notre Dame Rome Global Gateway, Rome, Italy October 18, 2018.
- Invited speaker, "Revolutionary Change and the Prospects for Democracy: Appraising the Impact of Leninist Violence on Postcommunist Regime Outcomes," Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg, September 27, 2017.
- Featured speaker, "Perspectives Editors' Roundtable: How Accute is the Threat to Democracy Globally?" (with Sheri Berman, Simone Chambers, Amaney Jamal, Staffan Lindberg, and Geraldo Munck), at the 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2017.
- Featured Speaker. "Meet the (New) Editors of Perspectives on Politics" (with Michael Bernhard and Daniel O'Neill), at the 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2017.
- Invited Speaker, "Experts versus Crowds: Under What Circumstances Can Crowd-sourced Data Substitute for Expert-coded Data?" (co-authors Adam Glynn, Staffan Lindberg, Kyle Marquardt, Daniel Pemstein, Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca & Brigitte Seim). Presented at the V-Dem Internal Research Conference, Gothenburg, Sweden, May 8-9, 2017.
- Invited Speaker. "Suicide by Competition? Authoritarian Institutional Adaptation and Regime Fragility." (co-authors Amanda B. Edgell and Staffan I. Lindberg). Presented at the V-Dem Internal Research Conference, Gothenburg, Sweden, May 8-9, 2017.
- Invited Speaker. "Democratization in Conflict Research: How Conceptualization Affects Operationalization and Testing Outcomes" (co-authors Omer Faruk Orsun and Resat Bayer), Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, March 2, 2017.
- Invited speaker, "Suicide by Competition? Authoritarian Institutional Adaptation and Regime Fragility" (co-authored with Amanda Edgell and Staffan Lindberg) at the Workshop on State, Regime, and Conflict at Aarhus University in Denmark on February 3, 2017.
- Invited Speaker. "Suicide by Competition? Authoritarian Institutional Adaptation and Regime Fragility" (co-authors Amanda Edgell and Staffan Lindberg) at the Comparative Politics Colloquium at the University of California on January 19, 2017.
- Roundtable Participant. "Is Historia Vitae Magistra? The Lessons of the 1920s and 1930s for Eastern Europe Today." 49th Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies on November 17-20, 2016 in Washington, DC.
- Roundtable Participant. "Democratic Deterioration in Central Europe." 49th Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies on November 17-20, 2016 in Washington, DC.
- Roundtable Participant. "The Nature of Democracy." Conference: Varieties of Democracy: Nature, Causes, and Consequences. Kellogg Center, University of Notre Dame, November 11, 2016.

- Invited Speaker. "Democratization in Conflict Research: How Conceptualization Affects Operationalization and Testing Outcomes" (co-authors Omer Faruk Orsun and Resat Bayer), Conference: Varieties of Democracy: Nature, Causes, and Consequences. Kellogg Center, University of Notre Dame, November 12, 2016.
- Invited Speaker. "Suicide by Competition: Authoritarian Institutional Adaptation and Regime Fragility." (Co-authors: Amanda Edgell and Staffan I. Lindberg). V-Dem Institute, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, October 26, 2016.
- Invited Speaker. "Suicide by Competition: Authoritarian Institutional Adaptation and Regime Fragility." (Co-authors: Amanda Edgell and Staffan I. Lindberg). Department of Political Science, University of Leuphana, Germany, October 20, 2016.
- Conference Keynote, "Revolutionary Change and the Prospects for Democracy: Appraising the Impact of Leninist Violence on Postcommunist Regime Outcomes," (Co-author Jeffrey Kopstein). SCOPE 2016. Contemporary Challenges of Political Research. Faculty of Political Science. University of Bucharest, Romania, May 27, 2016.
- Research Seminar, "Institutional Subsystems and Survival of Democracy: Do Political and Civil Society Matter?" (co-authors: Allen Hicken, Christopher Reenock, and Staffan I. Lindberg). Department of International Relations and Political Science, Koc University, Istanbul, Turkey, May 20, 2016.
- Invited Speaker. "The Varieties of Democracy Core Civil Society Index," (coauthors Dong-Joon Jung, Eitan Tzelgov, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg). V-Dem / ANTICORRP Policy Dialogue Conference, University Gothenburg, Sweden, May 18, 2016.
- Invited Speaker. "Reassessing the Democratic Peace: A Novel Test Based on the Varieties of Democracy Data," (co-authors -- Havard Hegre and Jan Teorell). V-Dem Internal Research Conference, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, May 17, 2016.
- Invited Speaker. "The Varieties of Democracy Core Civil Society Index," (coauthors Dong-Joon Jung, Eitan Tzelgov, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg). V-Dem Internal Research Conference, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, May 17, 2016.
- Research Seminar, "Institutional Subsystems and Survival of Democracy: Do Political and Civil Society Matter?" Department of Political Studies, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico City, April 20, 2016.
- Invited Lecture, Department of Political Studies, "The Varieties of Democracy Core Civil Society Index," (coauthors - Dong-Joon Jung, Eitan Tzelgov, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg). Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico City, April 20, 2016.
- Invited Lecture, "Revolutionary Change and the Prospects for Democracy: Appraising the Impact of Leninist Violence on Postcommunist Regime Outcomes," (Co-author Jeffrey Kopstein). Lehrstuhl für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft (Mittel- und Osteuropa), Regensburg, October 27, 2015.
- Invited Speaker, "The Varieties of Democracy Core Civil Society Index," Varieties of Democracy: The Baltic States in a Regional and Global Perspective, Seminar organized by the V-Dem Regional Center for Eastern Europe and Russia, Tartu University, Estonia, October 23, 2015.
- Invited Lecture, "Revolutionary Change and the Prospects for Democracy: Appraising the Impact of Leninist Violence on Postcommunist Regime Outcomes," (Co-author Jeffrey Kopstein), Program on National and Comparative Governance, Zeppelin University, Friedrichshafen, Germany, October 20, 2015.
- Invited Speaker, "Revolutionary Change and the Prospects for Democracy: Appraising the Impact of Leninist Violence on Postcommunist Regime Outcomes," (Co-author Jeffrey Kopstein), Workshop on State Bureaucracy and Democratic Development, Department of Political Science and Government, Aarhus University, October 15–16, 2015.
- Invited Speaker, "When and Where do Elections Matter? A Global Test of the Democratization by Elections Hypothesis, 1900-2012," Reeves Global Lecture Series, College of William and Mary, Williamburg, VA, September 30, 2015.
- Invited Speaker. "How to Invest in a Democratic Future? Build Party Systems and Civil Society," V-Dem Policy Conference: Supporting Democracy How? University of Gothenburg, Sweden, May 28, 2015.

- Invited Speaker. "The Democratizing Effect of Elections," V-Dem Policy Conference: Supporting Democracy How? University of Gothenburg, Sweden, May 28, 2015.
- Invited Speaker (with Allen Hicken, Staffan Lindberg and Christopher Reenock). "Institutional Subsystems and the Survival of Democracy: Do Political Parties and Civil Society Matter?" V-Dem Internal Research Conference, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, May 26-7, 2015.
- Invited Speaker (with Amanda Edgell, Valeriya Mechkova, David Altman, and Staffan Lindberg). "The Democratizing Effect of Elections? Regional and Global Analyses," V-Dem Internal Research Conference, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, May 26-7, 2015.
- Invited Speaker (with John Gerring, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Allen Hicken, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Fernando Bizzarro Neto, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg). "Party Rule and Economic Growth," V-Dem Internal Research Conference, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, May 26-7, 2015.
- Instructor, "Studying the Politics of the Past in Post-Communist Europe: Current Research Questions and Methodologies," an advanced doctoral training seminar at the University of Tartu, Lithuania (with Jan Kubik, Vello Pettai, and Eva Clarita Pettai), April 13-14, 2015.
- Trainer, Ph.D. Training School, "Understanding Agency in Memory Transmission across Cultural Borders." Vytautus Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania, April 15, 2015.
- Keynote Address (with Jan Kubik). "Embedded Agency and the Formation of Memory Regimes" at the conference, "Agency and Transcultural Memory," Vytautus Magnus University, Kaunas Lithuania, April 17, 2015.
- Invited Speaker. "Civil Society Strength at Regime Termination and Inequality in Postcommunist Eurasia," School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London, November 20, 2014.
- Invited Speaker. "Reflections on the Revolutions in Europe," Center for Russian, European, and Eurasian Studies, University of Birmingham, England, November 19, 2014.
- Keynote Address (with Jan Jubik). "The Politics of Memory and Commemoration," International Conference "Collective vs. Collected Memories. 1989-91 from an Oral History Perspective," sponsored by the European Network "Remembrance and Solidarity" at Warsaw University, Poland, November 6-8, 2014.
- Invited Speaker. "The Origins of Democratization in Poland," Seminar on "New Approaches to the Solidarity Movement," Collegium Civitas. Warsaw. Poland, November 5, 2014.
- Invited Speaker. "The Wages of Extrication: Civil Society Strength at Regime Termination and Inequality in Postcommunist Eurasia," (co-author Dong-Joon Jung). Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto, September 19, 2014.
- Invited Conference Speaker. "New Results from the V-Dem Civil Society Index," coauthor Dong-Joon Jung. V-Dem Research Program Conference, Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg, May 12, 2014, Gothenburg, Sweden.
- Workshop Participant. "Reflections on the Uses of Area in a Methodological Age," Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, January 9-11, 2014.
- Keynote Address. "The Wages of Extrication: Civil Society Strength at Regime Termination and Inequality in Postcommunist Eurasia," The Hungarian Sociological Association, Budapest, October 26, 9013
- Keynote Address (by co-author Jan Kubik). "Twenty Years After: The Commemoration of the End of Communism." Presented at "Beyond Transition: New Directions in Eastern and Central European Studies," Center for European Studies, Lund University, Sweden, October 2013.
- Workshop Participant, "Civil Society and Aggregation," (coauthor Dong-Joon Jung). Presented at the "Varieties of Democracy Workshop," Gothenburg, Sweden, June 2013.
- Invited Speaker, "Moore's Thesis: What's Left of Revolutionary Violence Since 1989?" Polish Studies Center, Indiana University, March 5, 2013 and Center for American Studies, University of Warsaw, June 2013.
- Workshop participant, "The Wages of Extrication: Civil Society Strength at Regime Termination and Inequality in Postcommunist Eurasia," (co-author Dong-Joon Jung). Presented at "Inequality, Civil

- Society and Democracy: Cross-Regional Comparisons, 1970s-2000s," Luso-American Foundation for Development (FLAD), Lisbon, June 2013. Also presented at the Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburg, December 2013.
- Seminar Speaker, "Twenty Years Later. The Politics of Memory in the Public Commemoration of the Fall of Communism in Seventeen East European Countries," (presented by Jan Kubik) at the seminar "Local, Regional, National, and Supra-national: Four Views on Social Change and Social Order," Program on Theoretical Sociology and Program on the Sociology and Anthropology of Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, June 10, 2013.
- Invited Roundtable Participant, "Concluding Roundtable Discussion: Lessons Learned and Future Directions," at the conference *Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*, Watson Center, Brown University, May 2013.
- Invited Discussant, Panel "Uneven Governance: Subnational Political Regimes and Institutions," at the conference *Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*, Watson Center, Brown University, May 2013.
- Invited Conference Participant, "Twenty Years After: Commemorations of the Fall of State Socialism. A Theory of Postcommunist Memory Politics." Presented by co-author Jan Kubik at the conference "Still Postsocialism? Cultural Memory and Social Transformations." Center for Cultural Studies of Postsocialism and Institute for the Comparative Studies of Modernity, Kazan Federal University, Kazan Russia, 19-20 April 2013.
- Seminar Speaker, "Are Non-Democratic Elections Mechanisms of Authoritarian Stability or Democratization? Evidence from Postcommunist Eurasia," Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington Indiana, March 6, 2013 and at the Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy, 2011-2012. Speaker Series "Technologies of Democracy and Power," Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, October 18, 2011.
- Roundtable Participant, "The Struggle for Democracy in Comparative Perspective (Dedicated to Guillermo O'Donnell)," Southeastern Conference of Latin American Studies, Gainesville, FL, March 30 2012.
- Invited Instructor, "Measuring Civil Society," at a Graduate Training Program on "Civil Society and Grassroots Politics," sponsored by the Harvard-Yencheng Institute and the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies, on January 7, 2012 at Korea University, Seoul.
- Invited Speaker, "Civil Society and Regime Type in European Postcommunist Countries: The Perspective Two Decades after 1989-1991," at the conference "A Liberal Challenge? Civil Society and Grassroots Politics in New Democracies, Authoritarian and Hybrid Regimes," Korea University, Seoul, January 6, 2019
- Symposium Speaker, "Perspectives on the EU Polish Presidency," Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence, Florida International University, Miami, Florida, October 24, 2011.
- Featured Speaker, "A Conversation about the State of Postcommunist Studies," Center for European Studies, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, October 17, 2011.
- Featured Speaker, "Measuring Civil Society," V-Dem Varieties of Democracy, End of Pilot Phase Conference, Gothenberg University, Gothenberg Sweden, September 30, 2011.
- Paper presenter, "The Moore Thesis: What's Left after 1989?" International Conference Post-Soviet Space: Twenty Years after Collapse of Communism, The European Forum, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, May 16-17, 2011.
- Seminar Speaker, "Communist Legacies and Democratic Survival: Liability or Advantage?" The Kellogg Center, University of Notre Dame, April 12, 2011.
- Roundtable Participant, "Contemporary Society and Politics: the Legacies of Nonconformism and Dissent," Conference Nonconformism and Dissent in the Soviet Bloc: Guiding Legacy or Passing Memory? Harriman Institute, Columbia University, March 30th April 1st, 2011.
- Invited speaker, "A Theory of the Politics of Memory" (Co-author, Jan Kubik), Presented at the Conference: "Twenty Years After: 1989 and the Politics of Memory," February 4-6, 2011, University of Florida.

- Invited speaker, "The Politics of Memory in Postcommunist Poland: The Twentieth Anniversary Commemorations of the Roundtable Agreement and the Elections of June 1989" (co-author Jan Kubik), presented at the Conference: "Twenty Years After: 1989 and the Politics of Memory," February 4-6, 2011, University of Florida.
- Invited participant, "Measuring Democracy," a workshop sponsored by the Kellogg Center, University of Notre Dame, January 9-10, 2011.
- Seminar Speaker, "The Revolutions of 1989: Twenty Years Later," Munk Center, University of Toronto (October 2009), and Muhlenberg College (November 2009).
- Paper presenter, "Civil Society and Democratization in the Postcommunist Context," International Conference, The Logic of Civil Society in New Democracies: East Asia and East Europe, Academia Sinica, Taipei Taiwan, June 2009.
- Invited discussant, Workshop Sessions, The Logic of Civil Society in New Democracies: East Asia and East Europe, Academia Sinica, Taipei Taiwan, June 2009.
- Invited discussant, "The Challenges of European Democratization," Center for European Studies, Harvard University, (October 2008).
- Seminar Speaker, "Communist Legacies and Democratic Survival: Liability or Advantage?," Weiser Center, University Michigan (October 2008).
- Invited discussant, "Workshop: The Logic of Civil Society in New Democracies (Hungary, Poland, South Korea and Taiwan)," Center for European Studies, Harvard University, (May 2008).
- Speaker and discussant, "Colonialism and Its Legacies: Creating a Historical Dataset," Conference, Chicago, IL (August 2007).
- Seminar speaker, "Civil Society and the Legacies of Dictatorship," Department of Political Science and International Relations, Koc University, Istanbul, Turkey (June 2007).
- Seminar speaker, "Civil Society and the Legacies of Dictatorship," Seminar on Social Theory and Postcommunism, The Havighurst Center, Miami University of Ohio, (April 2007).
- Seminar speaker, "Poland's Dysfunctional Party System," Polish Studies Speaker Series. The East Central European Center, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York, New York (October 2006).
- Featured speaker, "The Polish Opposition and the Technology of Resistance," Conference Solidarity: 25 Years Later. Center for Russian and East European Studies, Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada (January 2006).
- Featured speaker, "Beyond Justice: Gendered Transitions as a Threat to Democratic Survival," 47th Academy Assembly, United States Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, CO (February 2005).
- Discussion Group Leader. 47th Academy Assembly, United States Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, CO (February 2005).
- Roundtable participant, "Teaching about Extreme Regimes," 36th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, MA (December 7, 2004).
- Featured speaker, "The Social Legacies of Communism and the Sustainability of Democracy in East Central Europe," Conference Russian and Slavic Studies at Yale: Retrospects and Prospects, Yale Alumni Association, Yale University, New Haven, CT (November 5-7, 2004).
- Seminar speaker, "The Moore Thesis: What's Left after 1989?," The Speaker Series on the Quality of Democracy, Center for Democracy and the Third Sector, Georgetown University, Washington, DC (October 1, 2004).
- Roundtable participant, *Rereading The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power.* 35th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Toronto, Canada (November 20, 2003).
- Keynote symposium speaker, "The Polish Presidency: A Retrospective," Annual Summer Symposium Reassessing Post-Communist Presidencies in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, IL (June 23, 2001).

- Invited Discussant, Conference "State-Building in Communist States: Toward Comparative Analyses," Yale Consortium on International and Area Studies, Yale University, New Haven, CT (April 27-28, 2001).
- Roundtable participant, "Solidarity Twenty Years After," 32nd National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Denver, CO (November 19, 2000).
- Seminar Speaker, "Charismatic Leadership and Democratization: A Weberian Perspective," Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (October 1997).
- Roundtable participant, "Poland: Six Years After 1989," 27th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington, D.C. (October 26-29, 1995).
- Roundtable participant, "Solidarity in Perspective: When Victory Means Defeat," Vth World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies, Warsaw, Poland (August 6-11, 1995).
- Featured speaker, "Charismatic Presidential Leadership and Democratic State-Building in Poland," Conference Presidential Institutions and Democratic Politics, Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, (October 24-5, 1992).
- Featured speaker, "Civil Society's Role in the Democratic Breakthroughs in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany," Symposium Upheaval in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, The Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, NY (March 9, 1991).
- Featured speaker, "The Collapse of Party-state Coercive Capacities during the Revolutions of 1989-90 in Eastern Europe," National Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, The Albert Einstein Institution, Cambridge, MA (February 8-11, 1990).
- Seminar speaker, "Barriers to Economic and Political Change in Poland," Seminar on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (October 20, 1989).
- Seminar speaker, "From Dissidence to Opposition: Remarks on the Rebirth of Civil Society in Eastern Europe," The Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (October 19, 1989).
- Featured speaker, "Legitimation and Instability: The Fatal Link," Conference Instability in Poland: Its Sources and Ramifications, Slavic-Soviet Area and Language Center, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA (April 6-8, 1989).
- Participant, "Report on Doctoral Research," Junior Scholars' Training Seminar, East European Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Joint Committee on Eastern Europe of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, The Aspen Institute, Wye Plantation, Maryland (August 21, 1988).
- Participant, "Thinking About Nonviolent Struggle: Trends, Research and Analysis," Workshop, The Albert Einstein Institution, Rockport, Massachusetts (October 1987).
- Seminar speaker, "The Strikes of June 1976 in Poland," Seminar on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (Fall 1986).
- Seminar speaker, "The Strikes of June 1976 in Poland," Institute on East-Central Europe, Columbia University, New York, NY (Fall 1986).
- Featured speaker, "KOR and the Rebirth of Public Politics in Poland, 1976-1977," Symposium "KOR: Intellectuals in Democratic Movements The Polish Experience. Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (February 1985).
- Invited presenter, "The Hungarian Revolution of 1919," Hungarian Graduate Studies Conference, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN (Spring 1984).
- Seminar speaker, "KOR and Democratic Politics in Poland," Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia University (Spring 1984).

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Editor, *Perspective on Politics*, American Political Science Association, 2017 to the present.

Raymond and Miriam Ehrlich Eminent Scholar Chair, Department of Political Science, University of Florida, January 2009 to the present.

Professor of Political Science, The Pennsylvania State University, July 2008 to December 2008. Undergraduate Officer, Department of Political Science, The Pennsylvania State University, July 1997 to June 2000.

Associate Professor of Political Science, The Pennsylvania State University, July 1994 to July 2008. Assistant Professor of Political Science, The Pennsylvania State University, August 1988 to July 1994. Associate, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, Center for International Affairs,

Harvard University, Fall 1986 to Summer 1988.

Instructor, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, Summer 1986 and Summer 1985. Visiting Researcher, Institute of Sociology and Philosophy, Warsaw University, Poland, Academic Year 1985-6.

SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Services to Government Agencies

Instructor, Leader Development and Education for Sustained Peace, Seminar on the Baltic and East Central Europe Region, Fort Carson, Colorado, December 2-4, 2014.

Invited speaker, "Political Dimensions of the Transition to Democracy in Poland," Symposium – Poland: Transition in Trouble? The Foreign Service Institute (Course: Advanced Area Studies, East Central Europe/Poland), Department of State, Washington, D.C. April 29, 1992.

Testimony before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, Foreign Affairs Committee, United States House of Representatives, June 5, 1990.

Editorial Boards

Member, Slavic Review Committee, Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, 2020-22.

Member, Editorial Board, East European Politics, 2016 to the present.

Member, Editorial Board, *Perspectives on Politics*, 2013 to 2017.

Member, Editorial Board, East European Politics and Society, 2013 to the present.

Member, Editorial Board, Newsletter of the Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, 2012 to the 2014.

Chair, Editorial Board, Newsletter of the Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, 2010 to 2012.

Member of the Editorial Board, Penn State Press, 1998-2002, 2003-2006.

Member, Editorial Circle, Central European Review, http://www.ce-review.org/_about.html 1999-2002.

Editorial Service

Editor-in-Chief, Perspective on Politics, June 2017 to the present.

Editor, CD-APSA (Newsletter of the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association), 2011 to 2012.

Peer Review (Journals): American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review,
Canadian Slavic Papers, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Comparative Studies in
Society and History, Conflict Management and Peace Science, East European Politics, East European
Politics and Societies, Economics and Politics, European Journal of International Relations, European
Journal of Political Science, European Journal of Political Research, German Politics and Society,
Governance, International Political Science Review, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Cold
War Studies, Journal of Historical Sociology, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Politics, Journal of
World Systems Theory, New Political Science, Oral History Review, Perspectives on Politics, Political
Research Quarterly, Politics and Economics, Polity, Problems of Postcommunism, Review of Politics,
Romanian Journal of Political Science, Scandinavian Political Studies, Slavic Review, Social Science
History, Social Science Quarterly, Socio-Economic Review, Southeastern Political Review, Studies in
Comparative International Development, World Development, World Politics.

Peer Review (Presses): Cambridge University Press, Columbia University Press, Congressional Quarterly Press, Harcourt, Lynne Reiner, McGraw Hill, Ohio University Press, Oxford University Press, Palgrave,

Penn State Press, Princeton University Press, Roxbury Publishing, University of California Press, University of Pittsburgh Press, Westview Press, Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Consulting

Open Government Partnership, Report on Diagonal Accountability and Development Outcomes, with Valeriya Mechkova, and Anna Luhrmann, V-Dem Institute, Gothenburg, Sweden, December 2018-February 2019.

International Institute for Democracy and Elections (Stockholm Sweden), Expert Advisory Board, Global Index of Democracy, August 2016 to July 2017.

United States Agency for International Development (July 1991), Poland Specialist, Eastern European Democratic Pluralism Program Assessment.

National Endowment for Democracy (December 1994), NED-Sponsored Programs in Poland, Program Assessment.

Naval Postgraduate School, Center for Civil Military Relations (December 2013), Leadership Development and Education Project.

Peer Review of Grants

National Science Center, Poland, Individual Grants 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016.

Czech Science Foundation, Individual Grant, 2013, 2016.

Review Committee, Dissertation Grants, Council for European Studies, 2008-9, 2009-10.

Multiple Proposal Reviewer, American Council of Learned Societies, 2005-6, 2006-7, 2007-8, 2009-2010.

Peer Review Committee Member, Fulbright Awards (Central Europe), CIES, 2005-2007.

Peer Review Committee Member, Higher Education for Development, "New Ideas and Partnerships Program," Spring 2006.

Peer Review Committee Member, Association Liaison Office for University Cooperation in Development, "Cross-National Research on the Effectiveness of USAID Democracy and Governance Programs," Fall 2005.

Individual Proposal Reviewer, Guggenheim Foundation, 2005-6.

Individual Proposal Reviewer, National Science Foundation, 2004-5, 2005-6, 2006-7.

Individual Proposal Reviewer, Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2003-4, 2006-7. Multiple Proposal Reviewer, SSRC/ACLS International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship, 1999-2000, 2000-01, 2001-02.

Multiple Proposal Reviewer, Governance in Post-Communist Societies Program, National Academy of Sciences 1999-2000.

Participation in Professional Organizations

Governance and Committee Service

Member of the Board of Directors, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 2019 to the Present.

Member of the Board of Directors, Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, 2020-22.

Chair, Bronislaw Malinowski Prize Committee, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 2020.

Chair, Liphart/Przeworski/Verba Dataset Award, Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2017.

Council of European Studies, Proposal Reviewer for the Conference of European Studies, Edinburgh, Scotland, July 2017.

Member, Nominating Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 2012-3.

Founder and Convener, Research Network on Democratization in Europe in a Comparative Historical Perspective, Council for European Studies, 2011-2015.

Chair, Section on European Politics and Society, American Political Science Association, 2011-12.

Editor, CD-APSA (Newsletter of the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association), 2011 to 2012.

Program Committee, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2011.

Program Committee, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2011.

Member, Advisory Board, Center for Research on Globalization and Democratic Governance (GLODEM), Koc University, Istanbul, Turkey, 2010 to the present.

Program Committee, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2009.

Linz Dissertation Prize Committee, Section on Comparative Democratization, American Political Science Association, 2006.

Best Paper Prize Committee, Section on Qualitative and Multiple Methods, American Political Science Association, 2006.

Member, Education Committee, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 2003 to 2005.

Webmaster, Polish Studies Association. 2005-2009.

Member, Program Committee, Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Pittsburgh, 2002 (responsible for political science).

Committee Chair, Fourth Biennial Prize in Polish Studies, Polish Studies Association, 1999-2000.

Committee Chair, Third Biennial Prize in Polish Studies, Polish Studies Association, 1998-9.

Member, Prize Committee, Second Biennial Prize in Polish Studies, Polish Studies Association, 1997-8. Treasurer, Polish Studies Association, 1994-96.

Memberships

American Political Science Association

Association for the Study of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

Council on European Studies

International Studies Association

Midwest Political Science Association

Phi Beta Kappa

Pi Sigma Alpha

Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America (invited)

Polish Studies Association

Southern Political Science Association

Other Service

Workshop Organizer (with Marla Stone). 3rd Annual Graduate Workshop on Comparative Historical Research on Europe, co-sponsored by The Network on the Historical Study of States and Regimes, Council for European Studies and Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, April 13, 2016.

Workshop Organizer (with Jan Rovny). 2nd Annual Graduate Workshop on Comparative Historical Research on Europe, co-Sponsored by The Network on the Historical Study of States and Regimes, Council for European Studies and Sciences Po, Paris, France, July 7, 2015.

Workshop Organizer (with Evgeny Finkel), Graduate Workshop on Comparative Historical Research on Europe, Co-Sponsored by The Network on the Historical Study of States and Regimes, Council for European Studies and the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C. March 13, 2014.

Conference Organizer (with Krzysztof Jasiewicz), Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, January 9-11, 2014. http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/bernhard/schedulewhitherEE.htm

Conference Organizer, Twenty Years After: 1989 and the Politics of Memory, February 4-6, 2011, University of Florida.

Academic Coordinator, Maastricht Summer Exchange Program on European Integration, Penn State University, 1998 to 2008.

Faculty Senator, Penn State University, AY 2001-2, 2003-4, 2004-5.

Title VI, External Review Committee, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, Spring 2002.

Chapter Advisor, Penn State Pi Sigma Alpha, AY 2000-1.

Co-founder, Colloquium on Transitions, The Pennsylvania State University, September 1996 to 1999.

Conference Co-Coordinator, "Instability in Poland: Its Sources and Ramifications," The Pennsylvania State University, April 6-8, 1989.

TEACHING

Courses Offered

Undergraduate
Politics and Government of the Soviet Union
Politics and Government of Eastern Europe
Understanding Tyranny
Introduction to Comparative Politics
Introduction to Comparative Politics (Honors)
Viewing Film Politically

Graduate
Theories of the State
Regimes and Transitions
Qualitative and Mixed Methods
Postcommunist Politics
Politics of Development
Proseminar in Comparative Politics
Comparative Historical Analysis

Ph.D. Committees

- As Director: Jean Mayer (1998), Heather Gollmar Casey (2000), Mohsin Hashim (2000), Claudiu Tufis (2007), Ekrem Karakoc (2010), Ruchan Kaya (2014), Victor Olivieri (2015, co-chair Ido Oren), Keith Weghorst (2015, co-chair Staffan Lindberg), Dong-Joon Jung (2015), Adam Bilinski (2015), Scott Feinstein (2016, co-chair with Ben Smith), Jennifer Boylan (2016, co-chair Ben Smith), Buket Oztas (2016), Chesny MacOmber (co-chair 2018), Amanda Edgell (2019), Ryan Whittingham (2019), Dragana Svraka (2020), Graham Gallagher (co-chair, in progress).
- As Member: Ching-Hsin Yu (1995), Marc Bower (1998), Jin-Hyung Lee (1998), Timothy Nordstrom (2000), Nancy Wiefek (2000), Andrew Essig (2001), Christopher Reenock (2001), Jaime Warner (2001), Charles Boehmer (2002), David Sobek (2003), Resat Bayer (2004), Cristina Bradatan (Sociology, 2004), Peter Doerschler (2004), Dennis Foster (2004), Andrei Rudoi (Economics, 2005), Asma Abbas (2005), Nicole Morford (2007), Paula Tufis (Sociology, 2007), Young Hung Kim (2008), Edit Toth (Art History, 2009), Simone Dietrich (2011), Ann Witulski (2013), Claudio Baldaracci (2014), Tristan Vellinga (2014), Nick Knowlton (2015), Victor Gomez (2014 external, Toronto), Teflah Alajmi (2015 external, Rutgers), Ionnis Ziogas (2017), Daniel Eizinga (2018), Emily Hauser (2017), Mamadou Bodian (2016), Rachel Rothstein (History 2015), Sokol Lleshi (2015 external, CEU), David Andersen (2017, external Aarhus), Sebastian Sclofsky (2018), Alexandria Wilson (2021) Karla Mundim (in progress), Helen Jang (2021), Jeeye Song (in progress), Qingming Huang (in progress), Alec Dinnen (2020), Cemen Rahmi (in progress), Elena Shatilova (in-progress).

References available on request