Over the last 10, research on the nationalization of electoral politics has become a growing, innovative and complex field. Cutting-edge contributions have covered new regions, developed increasingly precise indicators capturing the variety of dimensions that this electoral phenomenon entails, and led to new databases and levels of analysis in parliamentary and presidential elections. Similarly, theoretical approaches of nationalization have progressed to an amazing extent inserting it, both as independent and dependent variable, in multivariate research designs, in particular designs addressing the impact on and of institutions, party organization ethnic fragmentation and economic factors. Furthermore, nationalization theories and indicators are now being applied to supranational forming electorates and party systems and merged with geographical information systems as is the case of the Constituency-Level Data Archive (CLEA). Finally, normative links between nationalization and the quality of representation have been made.

The goal of the workshop – generously sponsored by the University of Zurich – is to gather most of the leading international researchers in the field to take stock of the progress of the last decade and to identify the most promising avenues of research for the coming decade. However, rather than simply indicating directions of future research the papers presented at the workshop take concrete steps in those directions based on original empirical analysis in papers that have not been published or presented so far. All papers address new theoretical questions with novel approaches and data based on current research.

Following both an internal and external anonymous peer-review process, the papers will be gathered as a special issue of one of the leading journals in the field of electoral politics.
PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

Arrival of participants

19.30 Dinner at Wirtschaft Neumarkt

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

9.00−10.00 Welcome and introduction

10.00−11.00 Imke Harbers: *District-Specific and Diffusion Effects in Party Development*

11.00−11.30 Coffee break


12.30−14.00 Lunch: Restaurant UniTurm

14.00−15.00 Ignacio Jurado: *Economic Crises and the Nationalization of Politics*

15.00−16.00 Ignacio Lago and Santiago Lago: *An Economic Explanation of the Nationalization of Electoral Politics*

16.00−16.30 Coffee break

16.30−17.30 Scott J. Morgenstern: *Party Nationalization and Retrospective Voting*

19.30 Dinner at Zeughaus Keller

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18

9.00−10.00 Daniel Bochsler: *Cleavages or Agency? Territorial Variation in Vote Shares in Plurality Systems*

10.00−11.00 David Lublin: *Electoral Systems, Ethnic Diversity and Party Systems in Developing Democracies*

11.00−11.30 Coffee break
11.30−12.30 Allen Hicken and Heather Stoll: Going National: Horizontal Centralization and Party System Nationalization

12.30−14.00 Lunch: Restaurant ETH Terrasse

14.00−15.00 Ken Kollman: Regional Interests, Political Parties, and Decentralization

15.00−16.00 Eduardo Alemán and Marisa Kellam: The Nationalization of Presidential Elections in Latin America

16.00−16.30 Coffee break

16.30−17.30 Daniele Caramani: From Nationalization to Europeanization

17.30−18.00 Conclusion and further steps (preparation of submission for special issue of Electoral Studies)

19.30 Dinner at Restaurant Rosso

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

Departure of participants
Daniel Bochsler (University of Zurich)

Cleavages or Agency? Territorial Variation in Vote Shares in Plurality Systems

**Abstract:** Under plurality the concept and measure of party nationalisation conflates two aspects, cleavages and agency. First, the support of political parties varies across territory, which is explained by the socio-economic structures with institutions either amplifying or reducing territorial cleavages. Second, territorial differences might be the consequence of agency as small parties tend to lose votes in constituencies where they have no reasonable chances to win a mandate. Hence, small parties only present candidates in constituencies where their chances are highest. This paper aims to distinguish the role of cleavages and of agency on party nationalisation. The suggested method estimates the effect of agency (strategic voting and strategic candidacy) on the vote shares of individual parties, using an indirect approach. The paper theorises in which constituencies an agency effect should be at play. This allows for the distinction of electoral constituencies, where small parties do not suffer from the agency effect, from electoral constituencies, where such an agency effect is expected to be at play. Empirical estimations are conducted for the elections in Canada, 1945-2011, and on a worldwide sample of elections under the plurality vote.

Daniele Caramani (University of Zurich)

From the Nationalization to Europeanization of Electoral Politics

**Abstract:** With European integration models of nation-state formation and democratization are increasingly applied to the supra-national European political system. This paper extends this approach to electorates and party systems and applies the concepts and indicators of the nationalization of electoral politics to the “Europeanization” of electoral politics. To explore Europeanization before and beyond European integration proper, the paper analyzes 30 West and Central-East European countries since the mid-19th century according to two dimensions: first, static/distributional Europeanization (territorial homogeneity of party families across countries); second, dynamic Europeanization (uniform and simultaneous swings of votes between elections). The paper is based on a collection of historical electoral data and a new classification of all parties into 24 party families.

Imke Harbers (University of Amsterdam)

District-Specific and Diffusion Effects in Party Development

**Abstract:** Party and party system nationalization capture the degree to which party competition is national, and major parties receive similar vote shares across the national territory. Nationalization is therefore explicitly interested in the spatial dimension of party competition. In light of this, it is striking that nationalization has rarely been studied with the tools of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and spatial
econometrics. This paper highlights the contributions that GIS and spatial analysis can make to research on party development. It asks to what extent district-specific or neighbourhood factors shape party support. In addition to district-specific factors, diffusion and spill-over are also likely to play an important role. The early literature on party building explicitly acknowledged challenges of territorial penetration. Following this logic, it is much easier to build a local party organization in a district adjacent to one with a pre-existing local chapter, than in one without co-partisans nearby. Drawing on geo-referenced data of party vote shares in Mexico, this paper employs spatial analysis to disentangle district-specific from diffusion effects. It therefore sheds light on an important aspect of party development, that is, the question of how parties develop into “catch-all-over parties”.

Allen Hicken (University of Michigan) and Heather Stoll (University of California, Santa Barbara)

**Going National: Horizontal Centralization and Party System Nationalization**

**Abstract:** This paper reviews theories about the relationship between the institutional centralization of power and party system nationalization. Building on existing work we develop and theory of nationalization and present new evidence about the way in which horizontal centralization shapes party systems.

Ken Kollman (University of Michigan)

**Regional Interests, Political Parties, and Decentralization**

**Abstract:** In this paper I provide insight into the way that decentralization in modern democracies has been driven by the interaction of the emergence of newly defined political interests and the presence of representational inequality. I use a comprehensive dataset to show evidence that increasing regionalization of party systems precedes more political decentralization. The evidence is consistent with the notion that for the past 65 years, emerging, geographically-oriented political interests in democratic countries have become represented through the political party systems. More regionalized party systems borne of perceived representational inequalities across regions have been causing more political decentralization.

Ignacio Lago (Universitat Pompeu Fabra) and Santiago Lago (REDE, IEB, and University of Vigo)

**An Economic Explanation of the Nationalization of Electoral Politics**

**Abstract:** The literature on the nationalization of electoral politics is focused on the institutional characteristics of political regimes and the structure and organization of social cleavages. In this article we argue that nationalization is also driven by economic performance. Abrupt short-term economic perturbations (i.e, economic crises) increase vote transfers between existing (and highly nationalized) parties and new (and weakly nationalized) parties. PR electoral systems exacerbate the influence of economic performance of nationalization. Pooled cross-sectional time-series
regression analysis is conducted on data from about 80 countries and about 1,000 elections since the II World War.

David Lublin (American University)

**Electoral Systems, Ethnic Diversity and Party Systems in Developing Democracies**

**Abstract:** Most studies of the impact of ethnic diversity and electoral systems on party systems focus on economically developed countries and free democracies. As pluralism and nationalization of the party system are often viewed as critical to democratic success, this paper examines whether electoral rules and ethnicity have the same impact in countries with lower levels of economic development and varying levels of political freedom.

Carolina De Miguel (University of Toronto)

**Geographically Concentrated Diversity, Party Organization and Party System Nationalization**

**Abstract:** This paper argues that party organization moderates the relationship between geographically concentrated diversity and party system nationalization. The first part of the paper explores the claim that the geographic concentration of diversity poses a challenge to the development of nation-wide parties, and explicitly evaluates the relative importance of geographically concentrated economic and ethno-cultural diversity. The second part of the paper tests the argument that parties with higher levels of candidate autonomy are better able to spread nationally in the context of geographically concentrated diversity. The paper uses a dataset of party system nationalization across 67 democracies between 1970 and 2012 to evaluate these two claims.

Scott J. Morgenstern (University of Pittsburgh)

**Party Nationalization and Retrospective Voting**

**Abstract:** This paper argues and shows that the two dimensions of party nationalization – static and dynamic nationalization – have a necessary impact on how closely voting behaviour and economic conditions are tied. Most studies of retrospective voting analyze national results and fail to consider regional variation. However, economic changes do not affect all corners of a country equally, and voters’ responses to economic changes vary according to (1) the incumbent party's initial support levels (static nationalization) in a particular district and (2) the consistency with which support changes across electoral districts (dynamic nationalization). Further, because nationalization is a party-level variable, there may be different impacts on incumbent and challenger parties, such that retrospective voting is nationalized, but prospective voting is not.
Eduardo Alemán (University of Houston) and Marisa Kellam (Waseda University)

The Nationalization of Presidential Elections in Latin America

Abstract: This paper examines the nationalization of electoral change in Latin America, extending prior work to the study of presidential elections in ten countries over the last 25 years. Once characterized by high electoral volatility, the region has more recently seen the consolidation of dominant political parties in several countries. To understand this trend, we assess the extent to which inter-election shifts in support for presidential parties can be attributed to national waves of change, as opposed to distinctive fluctuations in voting behaviour at the local level. Our method of analyzing disaggregated electoral data allows us to measure the relative magnitudes of national and sub-national shifts in electoral support for individual parties in the context of compositional multiparty data. The measures that we provide of nationalized electoral change for major candidates and presidential parties highlight differences in the degree of nationalization across parties within countries. We examine the association between common electoral swings for incumbent parties at the national level and a series of indicators that capture party system characteristics, executive powers, economic performance, and electoral rules. In light of our findings, we discuss how the dynamics of presidential electoral competition influences opposition party strength, as well as implications for representation in the context of separation of powers systems.

Ignacio Jurado (University of York)

Economic Crises and the Nationalization of Politics

Abstract: This paper explores the impact of national economic outcomes on the nationalization of electoral politics. Two hypotheses are tested. On the one hand, economic downturns may increase the nationalization of electoral politics as a result of increased pressures for vertical redistribution, as well as the effect of crises in framing the political debate around national-level issues. On the other hand, the asymmetric geographical impact of economic crises may activate the role of regional political actors and, in turn, increase the regionalisation of politics. Using data from 1980 to 2012, the paper explores these hypotheses taking into account that the impact of national economic outcomes upon the level of nationalization of the vote can be mediated by institutional settings that prime regional conflicts -such as the level and type of decentralization – as well as by the level of regional economic inequalities.
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PRACTICAL INFORMATION

ARRIVAL

Upon arrival at Zurich International Airport participants follow the signs for “Trains”, buy a ticket at the counter (all cards are accepted) for Zürich Hauptbahnhof (or HB as the cool kids say) which is the main train station. The transfer is 15 minutes and trains run very frequently. If you like someone to pick you up, let us know.

HOTEL

The hotel is within walking distance from Zurich HB (app. 15 minutes). If you prefer to take a cab/taxi, please keep the receipt. Most accept card payments.

Hotel Florhof
Florhofgasse, 4
8001 Zürich
Phone: 0041 44 250 26 26
http://www.hotelflorhof.ch/en/
info@hotelflorhof.ch
RESTAURANT ON SEPTEMBER 16

Reservation has been made for 19.30. The restaurant is within walking distance from the hotel (less than 5 minutes). We can meet at the hotel a bit before and go together.

Wirtschaft Neumarkt
Neumarkt, 5
8001 Zürich
Phone: 044 252 79 39
http://wirtschaft-neumarkt.ch/lageplan

VENUE WORKSHOP

The venue of the workshop is in the main building of the university. This is within walking distance from the hotel (app. 5 minutes).

Rämistrasse, 71
8001 Zürich
Main Building KOL (Hauptgebäude)
Floor N, Room KOL-N-1

RESTAURANT ON SEPTEMBER 17

Reservation has been made for 19.30. The restaurant is within walking distance from the hotel (app. 15 minutes). We will walk together from the hotel.

Restaurant Zeughauskeller
Bahnhofstrasse, 28a
8001 Zürich
Phone: 0041 44 220 15 15
http://www.zeughauskeller.ch/en/home
RESTAURANT ON SEPTEMBER 18

Reservation has been made for 19.30. The restaurant is not within walking distance. We will go together by public transport from the hotel. We can decide how long before we meet and go for a drink before dinner.

Restaurant Rosso
Geroldstrasse, 31
8005 Zürich
Phone: 0041 43 818 22 54
http://www.restaurant-rosso.ch/

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