Columbia University

Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Quantitative Methods in the Social Sciences

**Explaining Party Nationalization in
New Democracies:**
Central America
(1980-2010)

a final paper
by

Ronald Alfaro-Redondo

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

August, 2010

Acknowledgments

To my lovely wife Anne Letendre, and our first baby on the way…

Explaining Party Nationalization in
New Democracies:
Central America
(1980-2010)

Abstract

Increasing the homogeneity of a party's support across the nation -party nationalization- is a key concern to new democracies. This thesis tests the impact of intra-party, socio-political and institutional variables in explaining party nationalization in Central America. During the early 1990s, five Central American countries experienced transitions to democracy. Although there are similarities in the democratization trends, my data covering the years 1980-2010 show remarkable, inter- and intra-country differences in terms of geographic distribution of the parties' vote. An important focus of the document is to distinguish among factors that explain differences between parties, among countries, and across time.

Introduction

Party nationalization has implications in democracies. It affects partisan behavior, government priorities, and democratic consolidation[1]. When political party's electoral returns are homogeneous across the country these parties are considered *nationalized*, otherwise party's support is much more *localized* or *regionalized*. In terms of its implications, nationalized parties are more capable of aggregating social demands and implementing a broad spectrum of policies. Conversely, local parties are prisoners of parochial initiatives for attracting voters. Using electoral results for six countries and

nineteen parties, this study examines the impact of political and institutional variables in explaining party nationalization in Central America over the last thirty years (1980-2010). An important focus of the document is to distinguish among factors that explain differences between parties, among countries, and across elections and time. My research questions are as follow: To what extent are the Central American political parties nationalized? What factors affect variations in the nationalization of the party vote?

Central America is a good laboratory to study party nationalization not only because in the region cohabits the oldest and most stable democracy with the newest ones in Latin America, but also because despite being a small geographical region with relatively few countries there is a great variability. Regardless of the fact that study cases share similar electoral systems -all countries are unicameral and proportional representation predominates as the method to elect representatives-, some countries have single member and multi-member districts combinations, as well as different formulas to distribute seats. Additionally, there are bipartisan and multiparty systems although political parties systems differ from each other radically. Guatemala has the least stable political parties in the whole region. On the contrary, Honduras is a typical two-party system whereas in El Salvador and Nicaragua former rebels groups decided to compete in elections as parties in a polarized political context (Martí i Puig and Figueroa Ibarra 2006; Greentree 2008; Kruijt 2008). In Panama's case, after suffering from military invasion, party system is dominated by several forces that run frequently as coalitions. Finally in Costa Rica, political party system is in transition after being bipartisan during the last twenty years. Moreover, electoral results in the region reveal

significant variations in terms of the penetration of political parties into the territory (Ishiyama 2002).

Regardless of significant democratic progress over the last three decades in Central American countries, party nationalization has been neglected in most of the literature about political performance and democratization in the region[2]. Also, scholars have given special attention to party's electoral performance using aggregated data. This oversimplification has ignored essential elements, particularly the influence of local and regional issues in politics. In striking contrast to most of the previous research on Central America political parties, this contribution seeks to overcome these limitations.

Here, I examine the factors that determine to what extent political parties in Central America get more electoral support in some regions than others. The empirical data in this paper include exhaustive and systematic comparisons of party nationalization level across the entire region. Data show interesting inter- and intra-country differences in terms of geographic distribution of the parties' vote.

This document assumes that party nationalization is a prominent issue because the way in which democracy will be shaped in the region depends on the nature of the political system of each country. Additionally, the evolution of the major institutions of these systems -principally among them political parties- will be crucial to the ultimate form of democratic consolidation in the region (Goodman, LeoGrande et al. 1992).

The structure of the document is as follow: the second section is dedicated to summarize the main historical backgrounds of Central America. Then, I portrait the core characteristics of literature about party nationalization and my hypotheses for understanding electoral returns patterns in the region. Likewise, I provide

methodological details about my data for all Central American countries, my research hypotheses, units of analysis, and case selection in the third section. Descriptive statistics and multivariate analysis results are fully depicted in the fourth section. Lastly, fifth part presents my conclusions.

Brief background of the region

At the end of the 1970s and during all 1980s five Central American countries were involved in cruel armed conflicts. Those conflicts were the result of the incubation of unattended demands. Rapid economic growth in the 1960s followed by severe reversals in the 1970s impoverished people and generated widespread mobilization and demands for political and economic reform. Grave economic problems and mass unrest also undermined authoritarian coalitions. Violent resistance to and repression of those demanding reform by some governments drove opposition unification, radicalization, and revolutionary insurrection (Booth, Wade et al. 2010).

In those countries, internal fights between radical political forces unleashed a wave of violence and provoked enormous negative impacts in their political systems[3]. In Nicaragua's case, insurrection culminated in a rebel victory and eleven years of social revolution under the Sandinistas. In El Salvador and Guatemala civil war resulted in protracted deadlock eventually followed by negotiated peace and a significant alteration of the status quo (with quite different outcomes in both countries). In opposition, stability prevailed in Honduras and Costa Rica, whose regimes undertook modest economic and political reforms and kept repression at moderate levels (Booth and Walker 1999; Booth, Wade et al. 2006). During the wars' periods themselves, the failure of the armed

6

forces to defeat the insurgents added impetus to calls from international actors (neighboring Latin American states, Europe, and the Catholic Church) to accept negotiated regime change (Booth, Wade et al. 2010).

In the late 1980's literature depicts the region in a gloomy way: with the important exception of Costa Rica, the region has suffered an almost unbroken chain of dictatorial rule and military domination in which civil rights, human rights, popular participation, and governmental accountability have been conspicuously absent (Malloy and Seligson 1987; Sojo 1999; Woodward 1999; Holden 2004; Pearcy 2006; Foster 2007). Recently, the Coupe d'état in Honduras[4] illustrates the weak and vulnerable condition of the democratization process in the region (Poitevin and Sequén-Mónchez 2002; Ordóñez, Rosales et al. 2004; Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. and Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Políticos. 2006; Booth, Wade et al. 2010).

Besides, some scholars argue that "national politics" in many Latin American countries (including the cases studied here) are really "city politics", and Solórzano describe Central America as a region of "facade of democracies" (Malloy and Seligson 1987)[5]. Although it is widely assumed that elections play a key role in promoting stable democracies, for decades, dictatorial regimes in Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Panama had periodically held elections that merely reinforced or justified authoritarian rule[6]. As a matter of fact, three of the most brutal regimes in Central American history came to power through elections: Nicaragua's Anastasio Somoza Debayle (1967-79), Guatemala's Romeo Lucas García (1978-82) and El Salvador's Carlos Humberto Romero (1977-79) (Seligson and Booth 1995). What is more, some

critics brand elections in the region as merely "demonstration elections" (Goodman, LeoGrande et al. 1992).

Under that circumstances it is quite clear that the chronic democratic deficit that affected the region[7] was an obstacle to political party development and their performance in the political system (Alcántara Sáez and Freidenberg 2001).

Notwithstanding, Central American has been the only region in the world capable of peacefully resolving prolonged civil wars in the last few decades through a combination of regional and national actions rather than international political or military interventions (Proyecto Estado de la Nación (Costa Rica) 1999; Proyecto Estado de la Región. 1999). In the early 1990s, Central American countries accomplished transitions to democracy and reestablish democratic procedures (peace agreements, elections) in order to resolve political conflicts[8]. Constitutional, elected civilian governments in fair and competitive contests had become the norm (Booth, Wade et al. 2010)[9]. Elections during the 1980s and 1990s (mainly) replaced the military and dictatorial regimes of Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala with civilian governments (Rojas Bolaños 1995; Calvert 1998; Booth and Walker 1999; Walker, Armony et al. 2000).

Democratization progress in the region is undeniable. None of the authoritarian regimes existing in 1978 survive today in Central America. Although democracy was an exception until a few years ago, today all the countries, even the oldest democracy, are experiencing a democratization drive in both national and local level. Governments are elected by their citizenry; human rights violations are not, as in the recent past of various nations, State policy; and new forms of political and institutional control, still

weak in many cases, are experienced over public authorities (Proyecto Estado de la Nación (Costa Rica) 1999).

Nevertheless, in this process the new democracies faced important difficulties, in a region which in a short period of time have had not only to dismantle authoritarian regimes and establish the rule of law, but simultaneously make the transition from war to peace and so many weaknesses persist in the region (Proyecto Estado de la Nación (Costa Rica) 2008). The strengthening as well as the consolidation of this democratization is, in some countries, the object of intense public debate. Among them for instance, electoral systems continue to be characterized by imbalances that affect competition, including the regulations governing political financing. In the process of demilitarization, legal and institutional reforms were not finished off with mechanisms to ensure democratic control of the armies. And with regard to the protection of freedoms, especially the freedom of expression, the media is still subjected to certain legal constraints and pressures and, in some cases, the media are unduly politicized. Equally, across the region, citizens show growing doubts and apathy toward politics and politicians while their personal and legal security still is precarious (United Nations Development Programme., Proyecto Estado de la Región. et al. 2003; Proyecto Estado de la Nación (Costa Rica) 2008)

In summarize, the third wave of democratization in Latin America since 1978 has been by far the broadest and most durable in the history of the region, but many of the resulting democratic regimes also suffer from profound deficiencies and faced complex challenges (Hagopian and Mainwaring 2005; Seligson, Center for the Americas at Vanderbilt. et al. 2008). In Central American cases, unfortunately, the democratization

has not included a parallel effort to establish the democratic rule of law, precisely one of the most important dimensions scholars examine and evaluate regarding democratic governance (Mainwaring and Scully 2010). This will require specific commitments and efforts that are far more complex than the establishment of regular, free and fair elections. It will involve dismantling State organizational structures inherited from authoritarian regimes and establishing institutions that recognize, promote and protect the rights of citizens to exercise control over their rulers during non-electoral periods, that is, most of the time. In almost all the countries, spending on key democratic institutions continues to be extremely low and in some cases it is lower than military spending (United Nations Development Programme., Proyecto Estado de la Región. et al. 2003; Proyecto Estado de la Nación (Costa Rica) 2008).

Literature on Party Nationalization

Political parties still are indispensable to the operation of democratic political systems (Cerdas Cruz 1993; Córdova Macías and Ramos 1998; Artiga González 2000; Alcántara Sáez and Freidenberg 2001; Mahoney 2001; Centro de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral (Inter-American Institute of Human Rights) 2004; Achard and González 2005). In this document I am particularly interested in examining one important political parties' dimension: the geographical patterns of electoral returns. The nationalization of the party system as a whole is an aggregated measure for the territorial homogeneity of support of both all and individual parties included in the system (Bochsler 2010).

Chhibber and Kollman define a *national party system* as one in which party systems at the constituency level, or at the state level or provincial levels, look similar to national party systems (Chhibber and Kollman 2004). This broad definition has encompassed two main concepts of nationalization: convergence in the level of partisan support across the nation, and uniform response of the different sub-units to political forces (Aleman and Kellam 2008). In sum, as Ishiyama affirms party nationalization reveals to extent to which party politics locally mirrors party politics nationally (Ishiyama 2002). Consequently, party nationalization is high if party support is equally distributed across the territory of a country. Thus, a political party that is perfectly nationalized would be equally strong in all territorial units of a country, no matter how they are drawn (Bochsler 2010).

Examining party nationalization scores is a salient issue for several key reasons. Firstly, fluctuations in the partisan distribution of the vote affect partisan behavior and government priorities. According to Aleman and Kellam, elections that are decided on local issues tend to make congressional parties a composite of different parochial interest, and make harder the task of forming a legislative majority behind policy proposals that have a national scope. A nationalized electorate, in contrast, can strength partisan ties despite electoral rules that emphasize personal characteristics (the personal vote) or decentralized candidate nomination procedures (Aleman and Kellam 2008). Likewise, other suggest that under nationalized party system, public policy is more likely to be oriented toward the national common good (Harbers 2010). Conversely, elections that are decided on local issues require that the parties be flexible enough to adapt their programs to local realities (Ishiyama 2002).

Secondly, scholars argue that the nationalization of parties has a direct effect on the success of democratic consolidation and preserving democracy in countries with deep ethnic or national cleavages (Linz and Stepan 1996; Jones and Mainwaring 2003; Caramani 2004; Meleshevich 2006).

Thirdly, identifying patterns of electoral change at the sub-national level can help scholars better understand national electoral volatility, electoral incentives, and executive strategies (Aleman and Kellam 2008).

Students on electoral politics have developed theories and measures for understanding and explaining the differences between national and local electoral behavior (Claunch, Bernd et al. 1965; Jones and Mainwaring 2003; Jones 2004; Morgenstern and Potthoff 2005; Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009; Bochsler 2010). Also, recently, there is a growing body of literature[10] regarding measures of party nationalization characteristics and alternative measures (Chhibber and Kollman 1998; Morgenstern and Potthoff 2005; Aleman and Kellam 2008; Kasuya and Moenius 2008; Bochsler 2010).

In the literature on this issue some scholars emphasize that the existence of political parties with uniform electoral support across geographical space is strongly linked to political conflicts. Social or political cleavages are habitually the main source of party affiliation or party identification in societies (Lukáš and Lyons 2008). Social cleavages shape party systems and it takes major social changes, such as postindustrialization, civil war, depression, or massive population shifts, to alter patterns significantly (Chhibber and Kollman 2004). These studies explain the party system as a mirror of organized social groups and social conflicts (Ishiyama 2002; Bochsler and

Gherghina 2008). Caramani affirms that political cleavages characterize the divisions and oppositions within the space of political systems (Caramani 2004). As a result, cleavages provide the bases of support for parties and structuring the party competition (Ockey 2005; Saarts 2008).

This approach is by far the most prominent in comparative politics. It highlights the nature of social cleavages that manifest themselves in party politics. Parties represent societal interest, and these interests are prior to partisan debates. The literature on party systems in several countries is predominantly rooted in this tradition (Chhibber and Kollman 2004). In those countries that suffer from civil war (or invasion like in Panama) parties' electoral support is strongly reliant on post-conflict effect, particularly on territorial cleavages. Hence, under recent civil war context political parties are considerably less nationalized than those parties in countries with not civil war. Theoretically, in context without recent civil war parties would have been able to possess uniform electoral support across space.

Other scholars have been trying to explain party nationalization using a set of intra-party variables, principally among them party age or ideology. The assumption of the former is simple. According to Caramani party nationalization derives from historical evolution (Caramani 2004). Morgenstern et al. suggests that more mature democracies should have higher nationalization scores (Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009). If this assumption is accurate, the older the party is the more nationalized, whereas the youngest parties are just trying to forge their electoral support. In other words, I expect party age affects positively party nationalization. My hypothesis, therefore, is that, as party age augments, party nationalization should increase.

On the other hand, political parties are crucial in democratic regimes not only because they are the only way to reach political power, but also because they reflect social differences. In Latin America, party ideology differences are not as clear as they are in other contexts (Coppedge 1998). As a result, classifying parties using ideology criteria is, most of the time, a tricky exercise. Despite that, generally speaking, parties with the same ideology tend to adopt equal positions to similar issues. However, how political parties embody social conflicts differs by party. It depends on many aspects, principally among them *Party ideology*. Thus, right or left parties tend to propose different solutions to the same problems. Based on the fact that, left or center-left parties are capable of forming alliances with a broader social groups, these parties tend to get more homogenous electoral support across territory. As a result, centrist parties could be more appealing to some geographical districts than others. At the same time, parties identified with a more ideologically extreme position could have a regional geographic base, especially if their appeal is more closely aligned with particular social groups (Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009). So, I do expect a strong correlation of this variable with party nationalization. The hypothesis, then, is that ideological extreme political parties get lower scores of party nationalization than centrist parties.

In addition, *political fragmentation* is often associated with party nationalization. In particularly, under fragmented political contexts is much more difficult for parties to attract votes, because there are more competitors in the political arena. Also, fragmentation complicates coalition building in the legislature and inhibits compromise on policy issues (Laakso and Taagepera 1979; Mainwaring 1993; Birnir and Cott 2007). Additionally, Mainwaring argues that the combination of presidentialism -like all my

study-cases- and multipartism makes stable democracy difficult to sustain. So, this combination is more likely to produce immobilizing executive/legislative deadlock (Mainwaring 1993). Thus, I theorize that the more fragmented political arena, the less nationalized parties.

Similarly, previous research has shown the influence of *ethnic differences* on party's electoral patterns (Boschler 2006; Harbers 2010). This approach is based on the assumption that ethnic diversity leads to regional heterogeneity of the party system (Boschler 2006). According to Morgenstern, Swindle et al., this argument rests on the idea that ethnic groups are geographically concentrated and have interests distinct from other sectors of the society (Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009). Furthermore, the greater the extent to which the population of a state is composed of a plurality of national, linguistic, religious, or cultural societies, the more complex politics becomes, since an agreement on the fundamentals of a democracy will be more difficult (Linz and Stepan 1996). Central America is an ethnic and cultural diverse region. Two social groups are more numerous than others: indigenous and African descendents. Also, these two ethnic groups illustrate the importance of multicultural factors in the region. In the former case, there are at least three sets of countries. Guatemala is the country with the highest proportion of indigenous (around 40% depending on the information source) whereas Costa Rica has the lowest (less than 5%). Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and El Salvador are in between these two nations (approximately 10% of the people). The more precise demographic information available estimate indigenous population in six or maybe seven million people in the region. On the other hand, there is no accurate information regarding how many African-descendents live in the region; however some

demographic documents reveal an interesting pattern strongly related to pre-hispanic traditions: a vast majority of them live in the Caribbean in striking contrast with the rest of the society who tend to be in the Pacific area (United Nations Development Programme., Proyecto Estado de la Región. et al. 2003). Although Central America has always been multicultural, it is only recently that this fact has been recognized, although to different degrees among countries, and within them, by different sectors. In the last twenty years of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st century some ethnic groups, primarily indigenous and those of African descent, have become social and political stakeholders claiming the right to be citizens with economic, social, cultural and political rights. As a result, some progress has been made in the constitutional frameworks: five of the seven Central American countries recognize, to some extent, that their societies are multi-ethnic and multicultural (United Nations Development Programme., Proyecto Estado de la Región. et al. 2003)

The political implications of ethnic cleavages are particularly important in newly democratic countries, where social structure may have a larger impact than institutions in shaping political life. Briefly, in general, the greater the social diversity, the greater the fragmentation of parties in the legislature; since parties will appeal to and represent distinct social cleavages (Birnir and Cott 2007). Ethnic differences are relevant in the region not only because countries differ considerably with each other, but also because I am interested in examining to what extent parties reflect these differences. In addition, on the other hand, I want to test whether the effect of ethnic diversity on party nationalization is significant or not. My hypothesis here is that if ethnic fractionalization is significant, party nationalization should tend to decline.

By the same token, a significant amount of literature in comparative politics argues that institutional factors affect electoral outcomes and party nationalization, among them, concurrent elections, the number of electoral districts, and the electoral system. According to this literature, concurrent presidential elections reduce the number of effective parliamentary parties (Cox 1997; Neto and Cox 1997; Kasuya and Moenius 2008; Harbers 2010). What is more, as Harbers suggests, because presidential systems encourage the formation of national alliances between parties, if presidential elections are held with lower house elections, the resulting coattails effects should promote higher nationalization (Harbers 2010). The hypothesis, then, is that when legislative elections are held the same day that presidential contests, party nationalization should be higher because citizens' interests increase but also because parties want to control Congress as well as the Executive Branch. However, in contrast, the introduction of sub-national elections encourages the formation of regional parties (Harbers 2010). So, an alternative hypothesis is that in circumstances in which there are concurrent elections (local elections and parliamentary), there are incentives to diminish homogeneity in parties' electoral support. In sum, the level of nationalization, therefore, should correlate with the kind of concurrent elections.

Furthermore, I examine the effect of the *number of districts* on party nationalization. Scholars consider districts as one of the most important components of an electoral system (Taagepera and Shugart 1989; Ordeshook and Shvetsova 1994; Levi 2008). Another author suggests that party aggregation across districts becomes more challenging as the number of districts increases: that is, maintaining an organizational structure in a large number of districts is more demanding for a political

party than it is just in a few or even one nationwide district (Harbers 2010). Fundamentally, my hypothesis is that, as the number of districts increases parties must have to make an extra effort to cover more territory, thus party nationalization scores tend to be lower.

As well as the number of districts, other electoral systems components also affect parties' electoral support patterns and party behavior too (Golder 2005; Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009; Wills-Otero 2009). Particularly, Single Member Districts (SMD) or Multi-member Districts (MMD) influence elector's decision and partisan behavior. In the former electoral competition is much more narrow than in the latter because in MMD more parties could have the opportunity to obtain at least one seat in the Congress whereas in SMD the same likelihood is considerably lower. Furthermore, if the party system is geographically heterogeneous and or poorly entrenched, a single-member will encourage the multiplication of small, regionalized political support bases and the dominance of one large party (Birch 2005). Again, my hypothesis is that countries in which MMD predominates, parties' nationalization scores are higher than in systems that combine MMD and SMD. In spite of the fact that I control for SMD/MMD effects, I do not expect that these electoral system components have a significant impact on party nationalization, especially because there are remarkable variations among countries regarding the number of SMD and MMD they posses.

Finally, I study the influence of geopolitical and ideological context and its evolution on party nationalization. As some authors say domestic political actors do not operate in a vacuum, sealed in by national borders (Hagopian and Mainwaring 2005).

The geopolitics of the Cold War predominated on the world scene in the 1970s and set the context for Central American geopolitics (Booth, Wade et al. 2010). Additionally, the process of ending the Cold War also had a specific component in the Western Hemisphere, the termination of the civil and international wars that had swirled in Central America since the late 1970s (Rosenberg and Solís Rivera 2007). When the Cold War finished, it facilitates that groups in conflict moderate their extreme positions and tried to reach peace agreements. Accordingly, in 1994 all Central American countries have signed these agreements. Perhaps, one of the most important aspects of these negotiations was the national compromise of organizing free and fair elections as well as democratizing political competition. My thesis is that Cold War affects negatively geographic distribution of parties' electoral support.

In sum, I believe that in new democracies party nationalization depends on the combination of intra-party predictors, as well as socio-political and institutional factors.

Methodology and data

The purpose of the present research is to measure the degree and dynamics of the geographical pattern of party support as an important dimension of political parties in Central American nations. Six countries -Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama- are included in this study based on two criteria: 1) availability of electoral data for measuring and analyzing party nationalization by districts, and 2) a reasonable number of free and fair elections since 1980. In the region, most of the countries lack of consistent and comparable electoral returns for the

elections held previous to this year. In each country, these elections were excluded from the study because they do not fulfill the second requirement.

At the time when the present research was conducted, El Salvador held six cycles of democratic elections for its national legislature, Guatemala four, Honduras eight (including the 2009 controversial election), Nicaragua four, and Panama held five legislative elections, since democracy restoration. Costa Rica, on the other hand, has held fifteen elections since civil war in 1948. I analyze geographical patterns of voting to measure the national *versus* local strength of party support in Central America in all consecutive elections to the national legislatures since these countries accomplished peace agreements in the early nineties. Political parties in each country are my units of analysis.

I employ geographical comparable territorial units across region (districts) following the established or administrative divisions adopted by the six countries, provinces in Panama and Costa Rica but departments in the rest of the nations. Thus, Costa Rica and El Salvador employ a proportional-representation electoral system in Multi-member Districts (MMD) with the magnitudes ranging from 4 to 21 in the former and from 3 to 25 in the latter. Four other countries -Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama- conduct proportional representation in both a Single Member Districts (SMD) and Multi-member Districts. In all these four cases I include both kinds of districts. Guatemala presents 22 districts (1 nationwide district, 1 SMD and 22 MMD). Honduras has 18 electoral districts (2 SMD and 16 MMD). Nicaragua possesses 17 districts (1 nationwide district and 17 MMD). Finally, Panama has 40 electoral districts (26 SMD and 14 MMD)[11].

Table 1 summarizes the main characteristics of study cases, and it also provides a fair picture of the region as a whole in terms of some electoral systems components.

Table 1: Seats, Districts, Electoral System and Elections included

Country	Seats	Districts	Electoral system	Elections included
Costa Rica	57	7	MMD	1986-2010
El Salvador	84	14	MMD	1994-2009
Guatemala	158	22	1 national district: 31 seats, 1 SMD, and 22 MMD	1995-2007
Honduras	128	18	2 SMD and 16 MMD	1981-2005
Nicaragua	90	17	1 national district :20 seats, and 17 MMD	1996-2006
Panama	78	9	26 SMD and 14 MMD	1994-2009

My data cover 6 countries, 31 parliamentary elections, 89 electoral districts, and 19 political parties during the years 1980-2010. I only take into account parties that received at least 10 percent of the national vote in the respective election[12]. As a result, I exclude several minor parties but all main parties in the region are included. A large number of political parties took part in the elections in the region. In particular after reaching peace agreements in early 1990's many parties were added to the list of new competitors. However, a few of these parties managed to gather the majority of votes and also determine the political life of the countries.

Furthermore, the electoral system for the elections to the Parliament in several cases has not remained the same during the period under study. In general there were important variations in electoral systems across the region; perhaps the most important was the introduction of SMD in some systems. Honduras was the last country to do that in 2005. All these changes were taken into account when constructing research database.

Variables

Dependent variable: Party nationalization, the dependent variable, refers to the homogeneity of a party's support across the nation. I use electoral data published by the Electoral Supreme Court in each country by provinces, not aggregated data. As I already said, when political party's electoral returns are homogeneous across the country these parties are considered nationalized, otherwise party's support is localized or regionalized. This document examines the extent to which the nationalization of the vote has occurred in Central America since free and fair elections in the early 1990's. To assess the dispersion of party strength across the territory I use the Party Nationalization Score (PNS), proposed by Jones and Mainwaring (2003). Harbers (2010) summarize in a good way how to calculate the PNS measure. Basically, PNS is based on the Gini coefficient, a well-known measure of income inequality. So, a Gini coefficient is computed that reflects the vote distribution of each party. A coefficient of 0 signifies that a party received the same percentage of votes in every sub-national unit and the value 1 means perfectly unequal distribution (a party has exactly the same vote share across all territorial units). In a second step, the Gini coefficient is then subtracted from 1 so that high scores indicate a high level of party nationalization (PNS = 1 – Gini coefficient).

Independent variables:

Party age refers to the date when political parties were founded. I use the number of years each political party has been competing politically. Because I theorize that party nationalization derives from historical evolution I expect that the older the

party is, the more nationalized. Despite party age does not necessarily reflect party stability, nevertheless it assess whether political parties get more nationalized as they age. Data for this indicator are available in Latin American Political Parties: Central America, Mexico and Dominican Republic (Alcántara Sáez and Freidenberg 2001). Where necessary, data were updated and cross-checked with information available from political parties' official websites.

Equally, political parties reflect social differences (Moon 2005), however, how political parties embody social conflicts differs by party. It depends on factors like party ideology. I coded each political party ideology using a five point scale that ranges from 0 = "Left", 1="Center-Left", 2="Center", 3="Center-Right", and 4=Right".

On the other hand, the first variable that might distinguish socio-political effects is political fragmentation. In fragmented party systems, small parties divide most of the vote, hence a powerful tendency towards low nationalization (Jones and Mainwaring 2003). Here, I use the Effective Number of Parties Index (ENPI) devised by Laakso and Taagepera to measure political fragmentation. The ENPI is calculated by squaring the proportion of the vote or seat shares of each party, adding these together, then dividing 1 by this total. The higher the ENPI value, the more fragmented the political system (Laakso and Taagepera 1979).

The second socio-political variable is ethnic differences. With these variable I want to test whether party nationalization scores is influenced or determined by territorial ethnic boundaries. Bochsler argument, in short, is that the regionalization of party systems among ethnic boundaries might reinforce ethnic identities and separation and deepen the cleavages further (Boschler 2006).

Under multicultural context it is quite reasonable to hypothesize that ethnic diversity have a significant effect in the way in which parties' votes are distributed across the country. In other words, in countries characterized for having a multicultural composition party nationalization is determined by ethnic differences. In those territories, it is much more difficult to find nationalized parties because inter-ethnic differences predominate. To measure the impact of ethnic heterogeneity I use Taylor and Hudson's Index (Taylor, Hudson et al. 1972; Krain 1997). Using this variable I want to capture inter-country differences within the region.

Concurrent elections account for the situation in which electoral contest at different level are held simultaneously. The possibility of designating many authorities in the same day increases the political competition and affects party nationalization. Here, I consider not only presidential and legislative elections but also concurrent local elections using two dichotomous variables. In both cases concurrent elections are coded as 1 and non-concurrent elections as 0.

By the same token*, Electoral system* refers to what kind of mechanism (proportional or majority rule) drives seats distribution in the districts. Here I use a dummy variable in which MMD is coded 1 and the combination of MMD and SMD is coded as 0. Data available for this indicator is available in the Political Constitution or Electoral Law in each country.

Finally, the last independent variable is called *Cold War*. There are two reason why including this variable. Firstly, based on the fact that international and geopolitical context plays a key role in domestic issues, I examine its influence on party nationalization. Also, due to my database is unbalanced, meaning that each country has

a different number of observations (elections and parties) (Gujarati and Porter 2009), I include a variable to control for dissimilar time periods. Cold War is a dummy variable in which elections held prior to 1989 were coded as 1 and the rest were coded as 0.

All hypotheses are going to be tested using Panel-corrected standard errors analysis based on the following model:

Party nationalization score (PNS) = β_0 + β_1 Party age

$\qquad$ + β_2 Party ideology

$\qquad$ + β_3 Political fragmentation

$\qquad$ + β_4 Ethnic differences

$\qquad$ + β_5 Cold war

$\qquad$ + β_6 Concurrent elections (presidential election)

$\qquad$ + β_7 Concurrent elections (municipal election)

$\qquad$ + β_8 Number of districts

$\qquad$ + β_9 Electoral system

$\qquad$ + ε

According to this model, I test the influence of three sets of factors on party's electoral support patterns: 1) Intra-party factors (party age and party ideology), 2) Social and political context (political fragmentation, ethnic differences, and cold war influence), and 3) Institutional variables (Concurrent elections, number of districts and electoral systems).

Main results

Central American party systems are characterized by different degrees of regional variation in voter support of the political parties. In other words, there is a wide variation in terms of the penetration of political parties into the various regions across countries. A first glance of the data shows that, geographically speaking, there are three patterns in parties' electoral support clearly identifiable in the region. Firstly, in southern countries (Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama), parties' in government support is considerably more concentrated in specific areas; particularly nearby to the coasts or international borders. In all three cases aforementioned, major party lacks of electoral control of large zones in the territory, even in those places highly populated and with a dense concentration of voters, including the capital.

Conversely, in Honduras the party in government possesses strong electoral control in the territory. As we can see in the map, in vast zones of the country, official party obtained more than 40% of the vote. What is more, in the Caribbean, it exceeds 50% of the support. Guatemala and El Salvador cases, in evident contrast, exemplify the third and last geographical pattern. In both countries, electoral returns vary across departments showing an inconsistent path. Without doubt, Guatemala is the country with the sharpest differences in party nationalization and the weakest party in government (see Map 1 below). Furthermore, from an international perspective, the region has parties in each three ranges of party nationalization scores: high, middle and low (Jones and Mainwaring 2003).

Map 1: Party in government percentage of vote in the last legislative election in Central America
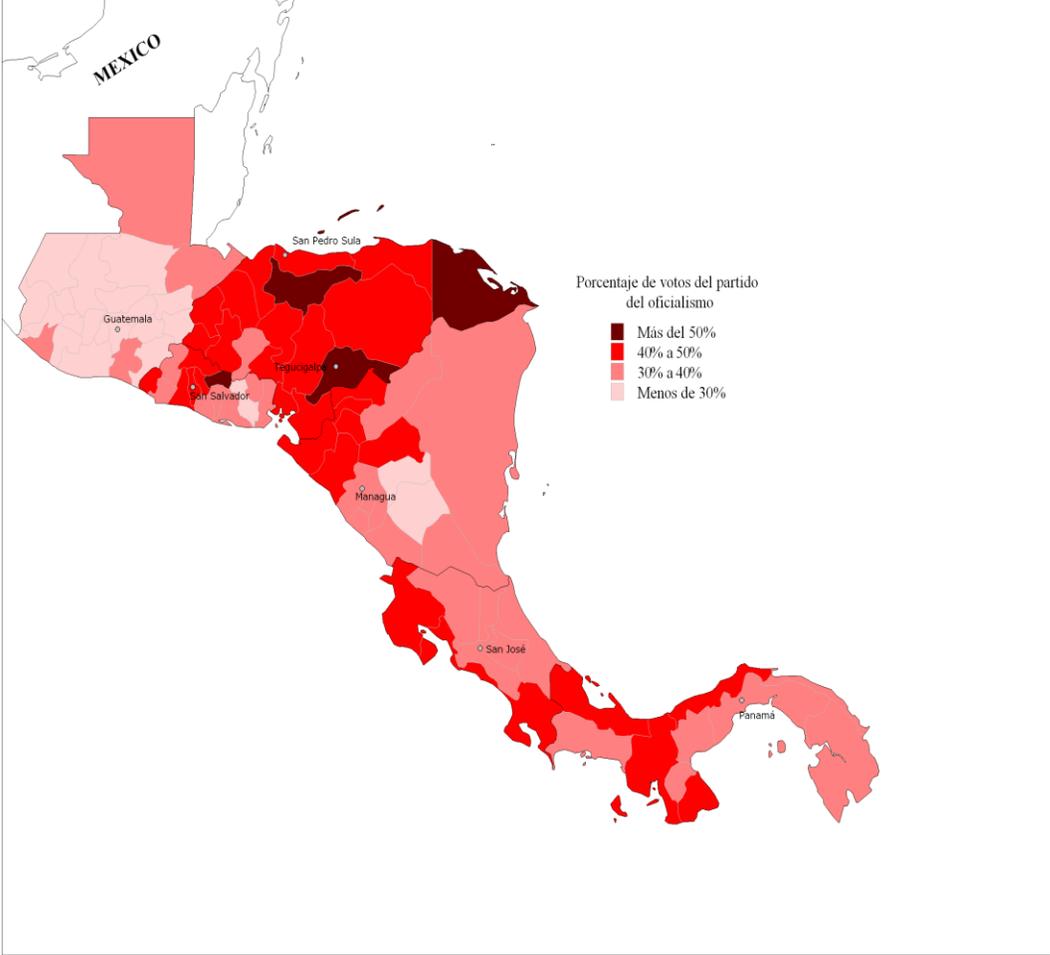
Note: elections included in the map, Costa Rica (2006), El Salvador (2004), Guatemala (2007), Honduras (2005), Nicaragua (2006), and Panama (2004).

Table 2 depicts the main descriptive statistics of the variables included in the model. According to these results, there are remarkable differences among cases in party nationalization. The average of party nationalization in the region is 0.87. Using Jones and Mainwaring classification, this value is associated with an intermediate score of party nationalization. Additionally, the dependent variable values range from 0.46 (Cambio Democrático, Panama) to 0.97 (four Costa Rican cases in the database).

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of the Variables

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Party nationalization	0.87	0.09	.46	.97
Party age	33.2	31.6	1	114
Ideology	2.54	1.37	0	4
Political fragmentation	3.15	0.81	2	4.9
Ethno-linguistic differences	0.22	0.17	0.07	0.64
Cold war	0.09	0.29	0	1
Concurrent Presidential election (dummy)	0.78	0.41	0	1
Concurrent Municipal election (dummy)	0.6	0.49	0	1
Electoral districts	13.3	5.28	7	22
Electoral system	0.67	0.47	0	1

Figure 1

Party Nationalization in Central America
(by election)
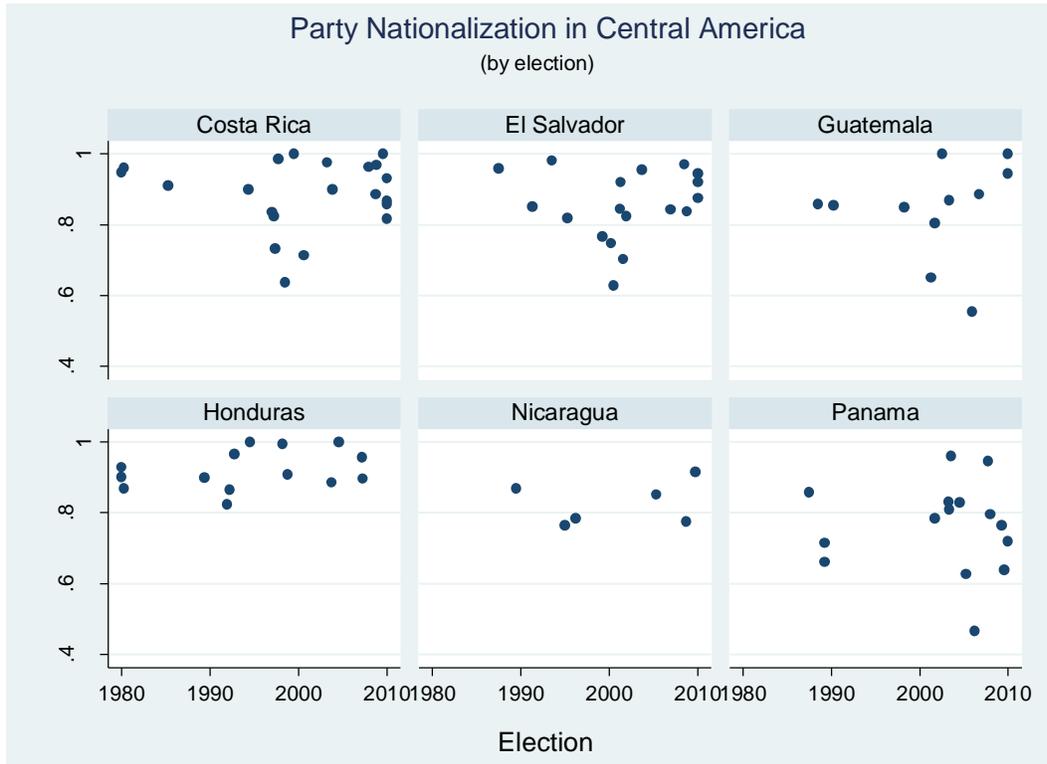
Some trends in party nationalization can be easily observable in Central America. Overall the results provide good evidence of both national and local forces at work on the electorate. Speaking of inter-country differences, political parties in Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica looks highly nationalized across the region. Unfortunately, data for Honduras 2009 national election is not available for the former country to examine whether this condition remains the same or changed. Conversely, Panama parties' electoral support shows the greatest differences among departments. Similarly, Guatemala's political parties' nationalization scores reveal significant variations and strong dependence on local factors. Interestingly, Costa Rica and El Salvador, the first and the last countries in achieving democratization in the region, share the same nationalization patterns in spite of the fact that both political systems differ radically.

29

Finally, based on the fact that only three elections are considered in Nicaragua's case, no trend in either direction is identifiable. Likewise, in terms of intra-country differences (figure 2), there are three sub-sets of countries. Costa Rica and Guatemala parties share similar patterns, whereas in El Salvador and Panama the first quartile of cases predominates. On the other hand, Honduras and Nicaragua cases look very similar with the smallest variation among cases.

Figure 2

Box plots Party Nationalization Score
(by country)
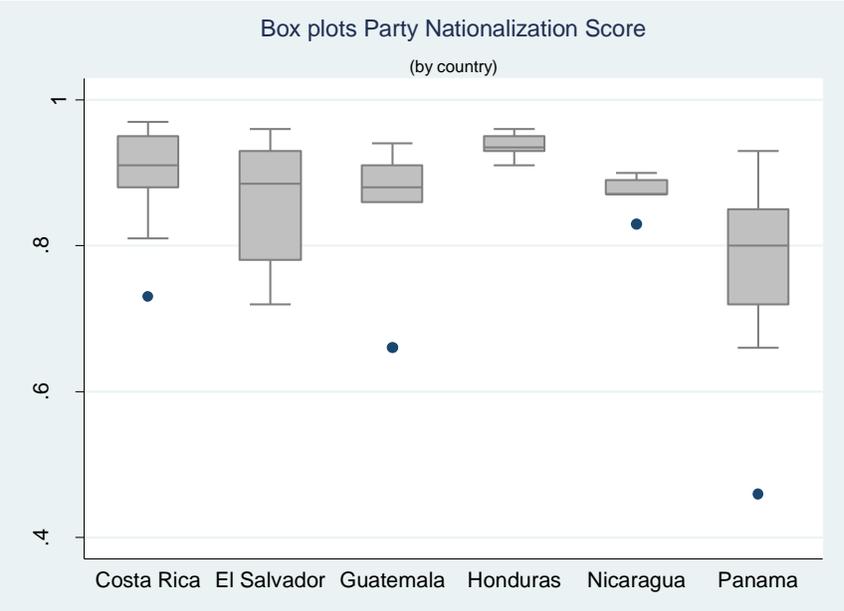
Within the ten highest nationalized scores, National Liberation Party (PLN) and Social Christian Unity Party (PUSC) in Costa Rica are the two political parties that have been predominantly nationalized. These two parties are followed by Nationalist Republic Alliance Party (ARENA, El Salvador), and both Honduras's parties: Honduran Liberal Party and The National Party (PLH and PNH, respectively). Meanwhile, in the opposite

extreme category eight out of ten parties that get the lowest nationalization scores are merely from two countries (Panama and Guatemala).

A comparison of party nationalization patterns clearly shows that parties in all six nations demonstrate a distinct trend towards a more uniform dispersion of party support over time. One might expect that a party system in a transitional country -and still in democratization process- would become better entrenched in the society over time (Meleshevich 2006).

Multivariate analysis

To asses which factors explain party nationalization in Central American political parties I employ Panel-corrected Standard Errors (PCSE) regression analysis. At the beginning, one alternative to examine data was Time Series-Cross Sectional Data. Nevertheless, a methodological problem arises. The number of elections varies in every country (unbalanced panel). So, Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) methods are inappropriate because of the underestimation of standard errors. Instead I estimate the model using PCSE. It estimates standard errors for linear cross-sectional time-series model[13]. Since, in this particular case, panel data relate to political parties and countries, over time, there is bound to be heterogeneity in these units. This technique of panel data estimation can take such heterogeneity explicitly into account. Another two good reasons why I use this technique are: panel data are better suited to study the dynamics of change and can better detect and measure effects that simply cannot be observed in pure cross-section or pure time series data (Gujarati and Porter 2009).

According to the correlation matrix (see Appendix), four out of nine independent variables are negatively correlated with *party nationalization*: *ideology*, *political fragmentation*, *ethno-linguistic differences*, and *concurrent municipal election*. The maximum of the all correlations is in the 0.76 range, indicating some evidence for collinearity issues[14]. As expected, the older the parties the higher party nationalization score (correlation= 0.35). In contrast, extreme right parties get lower nationalization scores than left parties (-0.32), as well as those parties that compete in political context characterized for being highly fragmented (-0.37), and for having important ethno-linguistic differences (-0.25). The last independent variable negatively correlated with party nationalization is concurrent municipal election but with a very low value -0.04. Among the predictors positively associated with the dependent variable, *electoral system* possesses the highest value (0.41) followed by *party age*, the influence of *cold war* (0.26), the number of *electoral districts* (0.10), and lastly, *concurrent presidential election* (0.02).

Table 3 reports the results of regressing party nationalization on different sets of variables. Model 1 estimates multiple OLS regression considering only intra-party variables. Model 2 includes social and political effects on the dependent variable plus intra-party predictors, whereas Model 3 is the most exhaustive OLS estimation that includes institutional variables plus both intra-party and context predictors. Model 4 and 5 are the panel-corrected standard errors. These are the estimations for linear cross-sectional time-series where the parameters are estimated by OLS and Prais-Winsten regression.

Table 3: Models Estimations Results

Variable	Model 1 (OLS)	Model 2 (OLS)	Model 3 (OLS-robust)	Model 4 (panel-corrected OLS)	Model 5 (panel-corrected Prais-Winsten)
Party age	.001** (.0003)	.0004 (.0003)	.000 (.000)	-.001** (.000)	-.001** (.000)
Ideology	-.020** (.007)	-.019** (.007)	-.019** (.006)	-.032** (.004)	-.033** (.008)
Political fragmentation		-.023 (.014)	-.019 (.017)	-.041** (.017)	-.027** (.014)
Ethno-linguistic Differences		-.028 (.056)	.216 (.207)	-.190 (.141)	-.361** (.142)
Cold war		.031 (.033)	.012 (.019)	-.011 (.013)	.001 (.016)
Concurrent presidential election			.017 (.025)	-.002 (.017)	.001 (.020)
Concurrent municipal election			.004 (.027)	-.001 (.024)	-.004 (.018)
Electoral districts			-.002 (.004)	.007** (.003)	.010** (.003)
Electoral system			.113** (.054)	.035 (.030)	.002 (.024)
Constant	.889** (.022)	.978** (.052)	.843** (.100)	1.05** (.084)	1.03** (.064)
N	85	85	85	72	72
R^2	0.21	0.26	0.36	0.49	0.88
Wald x^2				903.85	206.41

Standard errors are in parentheses.

** p < .05

In Model 3 -OLS estimation with robust standard errors- when I estimate the multivariate regression, three coefficients are negative (*ideology*, *political fragmentation* and *districts*) and six are positive, with two variables (ideology and electoral system) reaching statistical significance (t-value higher than 1.96). However, Model 3 explains only 36% of the variance of the dependent variable. Surprisingly, any of the socio-political variables reach statistical significance, contrary to what I expected. In other words, accounting for context predictors does not add explanatory power to model estimation. Furthermore, I added an interaction term in order to test the possibility that political fragmentation and ethno-linguistic differences are related with each other. In

spite of the fact that this relationship makes some sense theoretical and empirically, the t-value of the interaction term was not statistically significant (not shown). Additionally, I then tested whether changing the functional form (squaring the original values of the variable) of some of the variables such as *party age* and *party fragmentation*, reduce the skeweness of the predictor and consequently, add more power to the explanation, but this transformation had no significant effect on party nationalization (not shown).

Model 4 and Model 5 provide support for the hypothesized negative effect of *ideology*, *political fragmentation*, and *ethno-linguistic differences* on party nationalization. According to the Model 5, *party age* ranges from 1 to 114 years. So, if everything is held constant, the effect of going from the youngest and the oldest party is associated with an increase of 0.11 units in the party nationalization score (0.001*114=0.11). Equally, *Party ideology* is coded using a five points scale that varies from 0 (Left parties) to 4 (Right parties). As a result, the effect from going to left to right in the party ideology scale is associated with a decrease of 0.2 units (-0.33*5=-0.1) on the party nationalization score. Similarly, *political fragmentation* is coded using values that vary from 2.0 (Bipartisan) to 4.9 (Multiparty system). So, holding everything constant, the effect of going from the lowest fragmentation value to the highest one is related to a decrease of 0.1 units in party nationalization score. Moreover, the effect of moving from the lowest ethno-linguistic differences value (0.07) to the highest value (0.64) is associated with a decrease of 0.2 units in the score of the dependent variable.

Interestingly, the more the electoral districts the higher the party nationalization score. The number of districts fluctuates from 7 to 22. So, the effect of moving from the

lowest number of districts case to the highest number is associated with a decrease of 0.2 units in the party nationalization score.

So far, Models 4 and 5 yields substantively similar results for several variables, among them *party age*, *party ideology* and *electoral districts*; that is, the same variables are significant and the coefficients have pretty much the same magnitude and sign.

On the other hand, if we compare the sub-sets of variables included in the model estimations, both intra-party variables reach statistical significance, and two of the three socio-political are also statistically significant; whereas in the set of institutional predictors only the t-value of *electoral districts* exceeds the critical value*.*

According to the regression analysis, the last two models offer limited support for the impact of concurrent elections, both presidential and municipal, on party nationalization. Both cases are striking. The former because holding concurrent presidential elections should have an impact on parties' support, and the latter because one might expects that local elections play a role in explaining parties' nationalization scores.

Finally, the test for the impact of *electoral systems* and the *influence of cold war* failed to reveal statistically significant results. The former case supports Morgenstern at al. results whose main findings suggest electoral system proved to be inconsequential for party nationalization (Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009) and, in some sense, undermine partially a well-known body of literature in political science regarding the influence of "the personal vote" (Carey and Shugart 1995).

In sum, panel-corrected standard errors estimations confirm the hypothesized negative effect of *party age*, *ideology*, *political fragmentation*, and *ethno-linguistic*

differences on *party nationalization*, whereas the coefficient for *electoral districts* is positive. Other four variables -concurrent presidential and municipal elections, electoral system and the influence of cold war- failed to reach statistical significance. These results reinforce the argument that party nationalization in new democracies depends upon a combination of intra-party, socio-political and institutional factors.

Generally speaking, multivariate analysis reveals two striking outcomes. Firstly, *party ideology* is the only independent variable that reaches statistical significance and that is robust across all models. As a result, in new democracies, when trying to explain geographic distribution of the parties' vote it is quite important to pay attention to how political parties reflect social conflicts through party ideology, and also, to focus on the way in which they appeal to voters, offering what kind of promises and in what areas of the country. These result is consequent with recent literature (Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009) that suggest that parties identified with a more ideologically extreme position could have a locally focused base. In addition, social major changes such as civil war play a key role in building party identification, and usually theses patterns remain steady until new social cleavages appear. That is why in Central America this issue is so important.

On the other hand, in a vast majority of the literature about this topic, institutional factors matter, however this not the case of my study. All institutional predictors considered here as control variables seem to have no effect on my dependent variable, something I really did not expect. But perhaps, in political regimes that achieved democratization recently, institutional effects on politics are incipient. One might expect

that if those democratic institutions were recently established, their political impact will appear some years or even decades later.

Conclusions

Party nationalization reveals political parties' strengthens and weakness in covering territory and obtaining support among broad groups of electors. Parties' crucial mission is winning electoral contests and controlling the Executive and the Congress. In order to do that, parties must receive enough votes from an enormous diversity of contexts. The more extend the electoral support, the better. Failing to fulfill these requirements turns into a political obstacle in at least two perspectives. First, political parties that lack of broaden support among citizens would not be successfully enough in reaching power and shaping society's path. Secondly, but not least important, lacking of nationalized support could transform easily in a real threat for surviving the last election.

In new democracies, party nationalization is even more important than in consolidated democratic regimes because not only political parties' survival is a key concern, but because democratization strongly depends upon political institutions performance. Democratic nations are, most of the time, differentiated and characterized for being capable of building robust institutions that are particularly designed for driven collective actions. For Jones and Mainwaring, the importance of analyzing variance in nationalization is greater for new democracies than for advanced industrial democracies. Also, it is impossible to understand many party systems in the world without paying attention to the widely divergent vote shares that parties win in different states or provinces (Jones and Mainwaring 2003).

Two decades ago, rebel forces and authoritarian governments in Central America fought against each other in cruel wars. After several failed attempts for reaching an agreement, in which local and external actors got involved, in the early 1990s, five out of six Central American countries achieved transitions to democracy. Despite these countries share similar democratization trends, my data show remarkable differences in terms of geographic distribution of the parties' vote. This document examines the extent to which the nationalization of the party support has occurred in the region since peace agreements and elections in the eighties and nineties.

For Ishiyama, and others, the most straightforward indicator of political integration in democracies is the nationalization of the vote. It is a key element in demonstrating whether political integration has occurred, because it illustrates whether citizens think of themselves primarily as inhabitants of a region or a locality (Ishiyama 2002). In political contexts in which political diversity is manifest -like Central America-, party nationalization is a useful method to understand partisan behavior, to figure out what forces interact with each other in defining parties' agenda policy, and also to comprehend parties' strategies for attracting voters.

Nevertheless, the implications of this noteworthy issue in the region have not been receiving enough attention in specialized literature in the region. In spite of being relatively few cases, Central American countries possess interesting conditions for testing scholar's hypothesis in order to find out what aspects explain parties' electoral support patterns.

In this document, I have offered a model that specifies the combination of intra-party predictors, socio-political factors and institutional ones for explaining the

nationalization of political parties. The results showed that party nationalization in Central America widely reflects the influence of two intra-party variables: *party age* and *ideology*; as well as the negative effects of *political* and *ethnic fragmentation* on geographical patterns of party support. In terms of the institutional factors, only the number of *electoral districts* proved to play a role according to the model estimations.

To summarize, *party age* significant results provides good evidence to reaffirm Caramani's idea (2004) that mature political parties would be more nationalized. However, some party nationalization scores in my case-studies, mainly in countries such as Guatemala and Panama, also illustrates Morgenstern et al. (Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009) argument that says that while some parties may nationalize over time, others consolidate on a more regional basis. Similarly, the effect of *party ideology* is statistically significance according to the model. Using a five point scale that varies from 0 (left) to 4(right), there is a negative relationship between the higher the value in the ideology scale and party nationalize. In Central America ideology affects parties' performance in the territory. In other words, in new democracies, the geographical patterns of political parties support are strongly influenced by the way in which political parties embody socio-political conflicts. Usually, current political parties inherited their political ideology from former political forces that got involved in conflicts. These political parties appeal, in their programmatic agenda or in their public policies while in government, to the same people and to the same geographical areas that support them during the political conflict. So, party nationalization depends not only on what political parties were before but as well as what they are now. This is, perhaps, the main theoretical contribution of this study to party nationalization literature interested in

explaining the territorial performance of party politics in regions of the world that were recently, or still are, under the influence of political conflicts as well.

So far, both intra-party variables predictors are good predictors of geographical parties' support patterns.

Furthermore, as expected, contextual factors play an important role in explaining the nationalization of the parties' votes. Both political fragmentation and ethnic differences are negatively correlated with party nationalization. In fragmented contexts (politically or ethnically) parties reflect and reproduce these differences usually in specific zones of the country, consequently, the likelihood of obtaining uniform support across the nation is markedly lower and totally unexpected. The same argument applies to societies in which ethnic differences are present. In fact, the country with the highest ethnic diversity in the region (Guatemala) has the least nationalized parties in the region. Ethnic heterogeneity matters because further strengthening of democracy in the countries of the region will depend, in part, on what social, political, and cultural changes they make to recognize the multicultural nature of their societies (United Nations Development Programme., Proyecto Estado de la Región. et al. 2003)

Finally, I tested the influence of a set of institutional variables on party nationalization. There is a vast literature related to this relationship. This body of literature is deeply rooted in the idea that political institutions determine partisan behavior. Nevertheless, this theoretical argument might not travel well to newly democracies like Central American countries in which the effects of the institutions on party politics will develop over time. My results show a combination of negative and positive effects regarding institutional effects. Interestingly, contrary to my initial

expectations, parties do better in political systems with a high number of districts. Equally, I found no evidence that concurrent elections, neither presidential nor municipal contest, are associated with party nationalization in the region. Something similar happened with the influence of geopolitical predictors -Cold War- and electoral system. The latter result supports other authors' findings who suggest that electoral system is insufficient to explain the degree of localism in elections (Morgenstern, Swindle et al. 2009).

The analysis of electoral geography in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama shows that party nationalization scores in the six nations reveal diverse patterns of political institutionalization. Like Meleshevich suggests, although some parties more than others manifest a tendency towards a greater regional uniformity of party support, the pace of this trend is different in different nations as well as it is in different parties as other author suggests for former Russian republics cases (Meleshevich 2006).

Overall, in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras, geographical support for their major political parties has gradually became more homogenous with every electoral cycle; whereas in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Panama the pace of party nationalization is considerably slower than in the other three case-studies.

The findings presented in this document shed new light on patterns of electoral support in legislative elections in Central America, using disaggregated electoral returns. My analysis of 6 countries, 31 parliamentary elections, 89 electoral districts, and 19 political parties during the years 1980-2010 show interesting, inter- and intra-

country variations in patterns of partisan support over time and across countries. This work makes clear that party nationalization score varies markedly across countries.

This document has other two contributions. On one hand, this thesis focuses on a world region that has been, and still is quite understudied. Despite their similarities of geography, there are some sharp differences among the region nations. Precisely, one of the main goals of this research effort is helping to put Central America in the party nationalization academic studies "table". Doing so, the new democracies in the region also help to test old and new hypothesis regarding parties' support patterns. This document complements other analyses of parties' nationalization patterns by examining district-by-district changes across parties and among countries.

On the other hand, it also has contributed to understand political parties within the region characterized for accomplishing democratic transitions recently. Studying the role that political parties play under new democratic circumstances is, without doubt, a key topic. In Central American cases, in spite of the fact that some share similar backgrounds and paths, parties vary remarkably across nations as well as their do in nationalization support patterns. Examining parties' performance in the territory reveals important spatial dimensions of the most important actors of democratic regimes, specially the extent to which they have been able to penetrate more territory gradually.

Lastly, I certainly believe that this document and my findings constitute an important step forward to party nationalization academic research.

Appendix

Political Party Acronyms

Party initials by country

Costa Rica
PLN: National Liberation Party - Partido Liberación Nacional
PUSC: Social Christian Unity Party - Partido Unidad Social Cristiana
PAC: Citizen Action Party - Partido Acción Ciudadana
PML: Libertarian Movement Party - Partido Movimiento Libertario

El Salvador
ARENA: Nationalist Republic Alliance Party - Alianza Republicana Nacionalista
FMLN: Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front - Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional
PCN: National Conciliation Party - Partido de Conciliación Nacional

Guatemala
FRG: Republican Front of Guatemala - Frente Republicano Guatemalteco
PAN: National Advancement Party - Partido de Avanzada Nacional
UNE: National Unity of Hope - Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza

Honduras
PLH: Honduran Liberal Party - Partido Liberal de Honduras
PNH: The National Party - Partido Nacional de Honduras

Nicaragua:
PLC: Liberal Constitutionalist Party - Partido Liberal Constitucionalista
FSLN: Sandinista National Liberation Front - Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional

Panama:
PRD: Democratic Revolutionary Party - Partido Revolucionario Democrático
ANR: Arnulfista Party - Partido Arnulfista (Panameñista)
Molirena: Liberal Republican Nationalist Party - Movimiento Liberal Republicano Nacionalista
PCD: Democratic Change Party - Partido Cambio Democrático

Correlation Matrix

```
cor party_nationalization party_age ideology_rec fragmentation ethno_ling_diff
presid_concurrency munic_concurrency districts electoral_system cold_war
(obs=85)

             | party_~n party_~e ideolo~c fragme~n ethno_~f presid~y munic_~y
-------------+-----------------------------------------------------------------
party_nati~n |   1.0000
   party_age |   0.3466   1.0000
ideology_rec |  -0.3195  -0.0741   1.0000
fragmentat~n |  -0.3657  -0.5445   0.0537   1.0000
ethno_ling~f |  -0.2459  -0.2976   0.1492   0.4238   1.0000
presid_con~y |   0.0216   0.1599  -0.0478  -0.1303   0.1627   1.0000
munic_conc~y |  -0.0382   0.2000   0.0247  -0.2112   0.4165   0.6348   1.0000
    districts |   0.1037   0.3094   0.0749  -0.0235   0.6533  -0.0697   0.2195
electoral_~m |   0.4108   0.2991  -0.1077  -0.3914  -0.7588  -0.3633  -0.5723
     cold_war |   0.2584   0.3889  -0.0394  -0.3808  -0.1614   0.1671   0.2632

             | distri~s electo~m cold_war
-------------+--------------------------
    districts |   1.0000
electoral_~m |  -0.1943   1.0000
     cold_war |   0.1201   0.2259   1.0000
```

Table : Electoral systems in Central America (as of the most recent election)

Country	Seats	Districts	District magnitude	Unicameral/ Bicameral	Formula	Candidates	Concurrent elections	Mandate
Costa Rica	57	7 MMD	21, 10, 7, 6, 5, 5, 4	Unicameral	PR: Hare plus medio cociente and higher remainder	Closed and locked lists	Yes	4 years
El Salvador	84	14 MMD	25, 8, 7, 6, 6, 5, 4, 4, 4, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3	Unicameral	PR: Hare plus higher remainder	Closed and locked lists	No	3 years
Guatemala	158	1 national district (31 seats), 1 SMD, and 22 MMD	31, 1, 19, 11, 10, 9, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 5, 4, 4, 4, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 2, 2	Unicameral	PR: D'Hondt	Closed and locked lists	Yes	4 years
Honduras	128	2 SMD and 16 MMD	23, 20, 9, 9, 9, 8, 7, 7, 7, 6, 5, 4, 4, 3, 3, 2	Unicameral	PR: Hare plus higher remainder	Open list with panachage	Yes	4 years
Nicaragua	90	1 national district (20 seats) and 17 MMD	19, 6, 6, 6, 4, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 1	Unicameral	PR: Hare plus cocientes	Closed and locked lists	Yes	5 years
Panama	78	26 SMD and 14 MMD	6, 5, 5, 4, 4, 4, 3, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2	Unicameral	SMD: majority rule and MMD: Hare plus medio cociente and majority remainder	Individual and closed but not locked lists	Yes	5 years

Costa Rica: Political Party, Election Year and Party Nationalization Score. 1986-2010

Party	Election Year	Party nationalization
PLN	1986	0.95
PLN	1990	0.94
PLN	1994	0.97
PLN	1998	0.94
PLN	2002	0.91
PLN	2006	0.94
PLN	2010	0.96
PUSC	1986	0.97
PUSC	1990	0.97
PUSC	1994	0.97
PUSC	1998	0.93
PUSC	2002	0.91
PUSC	2006	0.85
PUSC	2010	0.86
ML	1998	0.73
ML	2002	0.82
ML	2006	0.91
ML	2010	0.90
PAC	2002	0.81
PAC	2006	0.88
PAC	2010	0.89

El Salvador: Political Party, Election Year and Party Nationalization Score. 1994-2009.

Party	Election Year	Party nationalization
ARENA	1994	0.96
ARENA	1997	0.96
ARENA	2000	0.94
ARENA	2003	0.93
ARENA	2006	0.93
ARENA	2009	0.93
FMLN	1994	0.85
FMLN	1997	0.86
FMLN	2000	0.88
FMLN	2003	0.89
FMLN	2006	0.9
FMLN	2009	0.93
PCN	1994	0.78
PCN	1997	0.76
PCN	2000	0.72
PCN	2003	0.81
PCN	2006	0.78
PCN	2009	0.78

Guatemala: Political Party, Election Year and Party Nationalization Score. 1995-2007

Party	Election Year	Party nationalization
FRG	1995	0.86
FRG	1999	0.91
FRG	2003	0.87
FRG	2007	0.66
PAN	1995	0.94
PAN	1999	0.86
PAN	2003	0.88
PAN	2007	0.66
UNE	2003	0.91
UNE	2007	0.93
GANA	2007	0.90

Honduras: Political Party, Election Year and Party Nationalization Score. 1981-2005

Party	Election Year	Party nationalization
PLH	1981	0.93
PLH	1985	0.94
PLH	1989	0.95
PLH	1993	0.93
PLH	1997	0.95
PLH	2001	0.94
PLH	2005	0.92
PNH	1981	0.91
PNH	1985	0.93
PNH	1989	0.96
PNH	1993	0.95
PNH	1997	0.92
PNH	2001	0.93
PNH	2005	0.95

Nicaragua: Political Party, Election Year and Party Nationalization Score. 1990-2006

Party	Election Year	Party nationalization
FSLN	1996	0.87
FSLN	2001	0.89
FSLN	2006	0.90
PLC	1996	0.87
PLC	2001	0.87
PLC	2006	0.83

Panama: Political Party, Election Year and Party Nationalization Score. 1994-2009

Party	Election Year	Party nationalization
PRD	1994	0.86
PRD	1999	0.85
PRD	2004	0.93
PRD	2009	0.90
ARN	1994	0.80
ARN	1999	0.84
ARN	2004	0.83
ARN	2009	0.84
MOLIRENA	1994	0.72
MOLIRENA	1999	0.75
MOLIRENA	2004	0.72
MOLIRENA	2009	0.73
CD	1999	0.66
CD	2004	0.46
CD	2009	0.73

References

Achard, D. and L. E. González. (2005). "A challenge for democracy : political parties in Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic."

Alcántara Sáez, M. and F. Freidenberg (2001). Partidos políticos de América Latina : Centroamérica, México y República Dominicana. [Salamanca], Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Aleman, E. and M. Kellam (2008). "The nationalization of electoral change in the Americas." Electoral Studies 27(2): 193-212.

Artiga González, Á. (2000). La política y los sistemas de partidos en Centroamérica. San Salvador, El Salvador, FUNDAUNGO.

Birch, S. (2005). "Single-member district electoral systems and democratic transition." Electoral Studies 24(2): 281-301.

Birnir, J. h. K. n. and D. L. V. Cott (2007). "Disunity in Diversity: Party System Fragmentation and the Dynamic Effect of Ethnic Heterogeneity on Latin American Legislatures." Latin American Research Review 42(1): 99-125.

Bochsler, D. (2010). "Measuring party nationalisation: A new Gini-based indicator that corrects for the number of units." Electoral Studies 29(1): 155-168.

Bochsler, D. and S. Gherghina (2008). "The Shakedown of the Urban-rural Division in Post-communist Romanian Party Politics. An analysis of territorial patterns of party support in Romania". Paper proposal for the workshop: "The Nationalization of Party Systems in Central and Eastern Europe". Rennes, France, Department of Political Science, University of Rannes.

Booth, J. A., C. J. Wade, et al. (2006). Understanding Central America : global forces, rebellion, and change. Boulder, Col., Westview Press.

Booth, J. A., C. J. Wade, et al. (2010). Understanding Central America : global forces, rebellion, and change. Boulder, CO, Westview Press.

Booth, J. A. and T. W. Walker (1999). Understanding Central America. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press.

Calvert, P. (1998). The democratic transition in Central America : Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Panama. Leamington Spa, Warwickshire [England], Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism.

Caramani, D. (2004). The nationalization of politics : the formation of national electorates and party systems in Western Europe. Cambridge, UK ; New York, Cambridge University Press.

Carey, J. M. and M. S. Shugart (1995). "Incentives to cultivate a personal vote: A rank ordering of electoral formulas." Electoral Studies 14(4): 417-439.

Centro de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral (Inter-American Institute of Human Rights) (2004). Democratización interna de los partidos políticos en Centroamérica : avances y tareas pendientes. San José, Costa Rica, Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos.

Cerdas Cruz, R. (1993). El desencanto democrático : crisis de partidos y transición democrática en Centro América y Panamá. San José, Red Editorial Iberoamericana Centroamérica (REI).

Chhibber, P. and K. Kollman (1998). "Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States." The American Political Science Review 92(2): 329-342.

Chhibber, P. K. and K. Kollman (2004). <u>The formation of national party systems : federalism and party competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States</u>. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.

Claunch, J. M., J. L. Bernd, et al. (1965). Mathematical applications in political science. <u>Arnold Foundation monographs no. 12, 16</u>. Dallas, Texas, Southern Methodist University Press: v.

Coppedge, M. (1998). "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems." <u>Party Politics</u> 4(4): 547-568.

Córdova Macías, R. and C. G. Ramos (1998). <u>Partidos y elecciones en Centroamérica</u>. San Salvador, El Salvador, FUNDAUNGO : Fundación Friedrich Ebert.

Cox, G. W. (1997). <u>Making votes count : strategic coordination in the world's electoral system</u>. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Foster, L. V. (2007). <u>A brief history of Central America</u>. New York, Facts on File.

Golder, M. (2005). "Democratic electoral systems around the world, 1946-2000." <u>Electoral Studies</u> 24(1): 103-121.

Goodman, L. W., W. M. LeoGrande, et al. (1992). <u>Political parties and democracy in Central America</u>. Boulder, Westview Press.

Greentree, T. R. (2008). <u>Crossroads of intervention : insurgency and counterinsurgency lessons from Central America</u>. Westport, Conn., Praeger Security International.

Gujarati, D. N. and D. C. Porter (2009). <u>Basic econometrics</u>. Boston, McGraw-Hill Irwin.

Hagopian, F. and S. Mainwaring (2005). <u>The third wave of democratization in Latin America : advances and setbacks</u>. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Harbers, I. (2010). "Decentralization and the Development of Nationalized Party Systems in New Democracies: Evidence From Latin America." <u>Comparative Political Studies</u>.

Holden, R. H. (2004). Armies without nations public violence and state formation in Central America, 1821-1960. Oxford ; New York, Oxford University Press: x, 336 p.

Ishiyama, J. T. (2002). "Regionalism and the nationalization of the legislative vote in post-communist Russian politics." <u>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</u> 35(2): 155-168.

Jones, M. P. (2004). "Electoral institutions, social cleavages, and candidate competition in presidential elections." <u>Electoral Studies</u> 23(1): 73-106.

Jones, M. P. and S. Mainwaring (2003). "The nationalization of parties and party systems - An empirical measure and an application to the Americas." <u>Party Politics</u> 9(2): 139-166.

Kasuya, Y. and J. Moenius (2008). "The nationalization of party systems: Conceptual issues and alternative district-focused measures." <u>Electoral Studies</u> 27(1): 126-135.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. and Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Políticos. (2006). <u>Índice de desarrollo democrático centroamericano, 2006</u>. Guatemala, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung : Politat.com : INCEP.

Krain, M. (1997). "State-sponsored mass murder - The onset and severity of genocides and politicides." <u>Journal of Conflict Resolution</u> 41(3): 331-360.

Kruijt, D. (2008). <u>Guerrillas : war and peace in Central America</u>. London ; New York, Zed Books.

Laakso, M. and R. Taagepera (1979). ""Effective" Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe." <u>Comparative Political Studies</u> 12(1): 3-27.

Levi, M. (2008). <u>Designing democratic government : making institutions work</u>. New York, Russell Sage Foundation.

Linz, J. J. and A. C. Stepan (1996). <u>Problems of democratic transition and consolidation : southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe</u>. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lukáš, L. and P. Lyons (2008). Is the Nationalisation of Politics Fact or Artefact?. Evidence from the Czech Republic. <u>Paper proposal for the workshop: "The Nationalization of Party Systems in Central and Eastern Europe"</u>. Rennes, France., Department of Political Science, University of Rannes.

Mahoney, J. (2001). The legacies of liberalism path dependence and political regimes in Central America. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press: xv, 396 p.

Mainwaring, S. (1993). "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination." <u>Comparative Political Studies</u> 26(2): 198-228.

Mainwaring, S. and T. Scully (2010). <u>Democratic governance in Latin America</u>. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press.

Malloy, J. M. and M. A. Seligson (1987). <u>Authoritarians and democrats : regime transition in Latin America</u>. Pittsburgh, Pa., University of Pittsburgh Press.

Martí i Puig, S. and C. Figueroa Ibarra (2006). <u>La izquierda revolucionaria en Centroamérica : de la lucha armada a la participación electoral</u>. Madrid, Los Libros de la Catarata.

Meleshevich, A. (2006). "Geographical patterns of party support in the Baltic States, Russia, and Ukraine." <u>European Urban and Regional Studies</u> 13(2): 113-129.

Moon, W. (2005). "Decomposition of Regional Voting in South Korea: Ideological Conflicts and Regional Interests." <u>Party Politics</u> 11(5): 579-599.

Morgenstern, S. and R. F. Potthoff (2005). "The components of elections: district heterogeneity, district-time effects, and volatility." <u>Electoral Studies</u> 24(1): 17-40.

Morgenstern, S., S. M. Swindle, et al. (2009). "Party Nationalization and Institutions." <u>Journal of Politics</u> 71(4): 1322-1341.

Neto, O. A. and G. W. Cox (1997). "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u> 41(1): 149-174.

Ockey, J. (2005). "Variations on a Theme: Societal Cleavages and Party Orientations Through Multiple Transitions in Thailand." <u>Party Politics</u> 11(6): 728-747.

Ordeshook, P. C. and O. V. Shvetsova (1994). "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u> 38(1): 100-123.

Ordóñez, J., R. Rosales, et al. (2004). <u>Democracia sin reglas? : las debilidades del estado de derecho en la construcción democrática de América Central : propuesta de un sistema de indicadores de gobernabilidad jurídica e institucional para el Observatorio de la Democracia en Centroamérica</u>. [San José, Costa Rica], Observatorio de la Democracia en Centroam*erica : Estudios para el Futuro : Organizacíon de los Estados Americanos.

Pearcy, T. L. (2006). <u>The history of Central America</u>. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press.

Poitevin, R. and A. Sequén-Mónchez (2002). <u>Los desafíos de la democracia en Centroamérica</u>. Guatemala, FLACSO.

Proyecto Estado de la Nación (Costa Rica) (1999). <u>Estado de la región : un informe desde Centroamérica y para Centroamérica : investigación participativa, información oportuna y veraz, análisis objectivo y pluralista-- para dar seguimiento a los</u>

desafíos regionales del desarrollo humano. San José, Costa Rica, Proyecto Estado de la Nación.

Proyecto Estado de la Nación (Costa Rica) (2008). **Estado de la región en desarrollo humano sostenible : un informe desde Centroamérica y para Centroamérica**. San José, Costa Rica, Programa Estado de la Nación.

Proyecto Estado de la Región. (1999). <u>State of the region : first report summary</u>. San José, Costa Rica, Proyecto Estado de la Región.

Rojas Bolaños, M. (1995). <u>Gobernabilidad y democracia en Centro América</u>. Guatemala, FLACSO.

Rosenberg, M. and L. G. Solís Rivera (2007). <u>The United States and Central America : geopolitical realities and regional fragility</u>. New York, Routledge.

Ruhl, J. M. (2004). <u>Ejércitos y democracia en Centroamérica : una reforma incompleta</u>. Managua, Lea Grupo Editorial.

Saarts, T. (2008). Nationalisation of Party Systems in the Baltic States and in Central Europe: A Comparative Perspective. <u>Paper proposal for workshop: "The Nationalization of Party Systems in Central and Eastern Europe"</u>. Rennes, France, Department of Political Science, University of Rannes.

Seligson, M. A. and J. A. Booth (1995). <u>Elections and democracy in Central America, revisited</u>. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.

Seligson, M. A., Center for the Americas at Vanderbilt., et al. (2008). <u>Challenges to democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean : evidence from the AmericasBarometer 2006-2007</u>. Nashville, Tenn., LAPOP.

Sojo, C. (1999). <u>Democracias con fracturas : gobernabilidad, reforma económica y transición en Centroamérica</u>. San Jose, Costa Rica, Flacso.

Taagepera, R. and M. S. Shugart (1989). <u>Seats and votes : the effects and determinants of electoral systems</u>. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Taylor, C. L., M. C. Hudson, et al. (1972). <u>World handbook of political and social indicators</u>. New Haven,, Yale University Press.

United Nations Development Programme., Proyecto Estado de la Región., et al. (2003). <u>Segundo Informe sobre desarrollo humano en Centroamérica y Panamá</u>. San José, Costa Rica, PNUD.

Walker, T. W., A. C. Armony, et al. (2000). <u>Repression, resistance, and democratic transition in Central America</u>. Wilmington, Del., Scholarly Resources.

Wills-Otero, L. (2009). Electoral Systems in Latin America: Explaining the Adoption of Proportional Representation Systems During the Twentieth Century. 51: 33.

Woodward, R. L. (1999). <u>Central America : a nation divided</u>. New York, Oxford University Press.

Notes

[1] In terms of Caramani, the formation of national electorates and party systems is not only a crucial aspect of the construction of national political space and of the structuring of party systems, but also of the development of a political democratic citizenship. In Western Europe, "the nationalization of electoral alignments and political parties has meant the transition from a fragmented and clientelistic type of politics dominated by local political personalities to national representation. National party organizations structured along nationwide cleavages replaced an atomized type of political representation" Caramani, D. (2004). The nationalization of politics : the formation of national electorates and party systems in Western Europe. Cambridge, UK ; New York, Cambridge University Press.

[2] Literature on Central America tends to focus on other issues: revolution, agrarian reform, structural and cultural (pre)conditions related to transitions to democracy, the role of the church and foreign intervention. For instance, by the 1980s, the seven countries on the isthmus between Mexico and South America had become central to American foreign policy Goodman, L. W., W. M. LeoGrande, et al. (1992). Political parties and democracy in Central America. Boulder, Westview Press.

[3] By the late 1970s waves of state terror, revolutionary insurrection, counterrevolution, and external meddling engulfed the region, taking over 300,000 lives, turning millions into refugees, and devastating economies and infrastructures.

[4] In a shocking reversal of the region's democratic progress, the Honduran army on June 28, 2009, removed and exiled the constitutionally elected president, Manuel Zelaya, a mere seven months before the end of his term Booth, J. A., C. J. Wade, et al. (2010). Understanding Central America : global forces, rebellion, and change. Boulder, CO, Westview Press.

[5] The permanency of the military in power, either formally or informally, is what has prompted Solorzano to describe Central America as a region of "façade democracies" (democracias de fachada) Malloy, J. M. and M. A. Seligson (1987). Authoritarians and democrats : regime transition in Latin America. Pittsburgh, Pa., University of Pittsburgh Press. Also, see: Ruhl, J. M. (2004). Ejércitos y democracia en Centroamérica : una reforma incompleta. Managua, Lea Grupo Editorial.

[6] There have been few periods in any of the countries´ histories when anything approaching fair elections have taken place Malloy, J. M. and M. A. Seligson (1987). Authoritarians and democrats : regime transition in Latin America. Pittsburgh, Pa., University of Pittsburgh Press.

[7] In the early 1970s only Costa Rica among the region's nations had a broadly inclusive, constitutional, civilian-led democratic regime. This regime had evolved from that country's 1948 civil war and 1948-1949 revolution. The other four nations had military-dominated authoritarian regimes: Nicaragua had a personalistic military regime dominated by the Somoza clan and a narrow coalition made up of key business interest and parts of the two major parties. Guatemala and El Salvador had corporately run military authoritarian regimes, allied with some business and large-scale agricultural interest and with the collaboration of weak political parties. Honduras had a military authoritarian regime that incorporated one of the two strong traditional political parties and tolerated a very strong but anticommunist labor sector. See Booth, J. A. and T. W. Walker (1999). Understanding Central America. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press.

[8] According to Malloy, J. M. and M. A. Seligson (1987). Authoritarians and democrats : regime transition in Latin America. Pittsburgh, Pa., University of Pittsburgh Press. Also, Weiner´s democracy dimensions are applicable to Central America. Essentially, Weiner argues that democratic countries are those in which (1) government leaders are chosen in competitive elections in which there are opposition political parties; (2) political parties, including opponents of the existing government, have the right to openly seek public support; (3) governments defeated in an election step down; (4) elected governments are not figureheads, they exercise power and make policies and they are accountable to electors, not to the military, the monarchy, the bureaucracy or some oligarchy. After transition to democracy Central American countries reasonably fulfill these criteria.

[9] The implications of this is straightforward, a series of fair and free elections could increase popular confidence in elections per se, in participatory norms, and in regime Seligson, M. A. and J. A. Booth (1995). Elections and democracy in Central America, revisited. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. Currently, the exceptions are the Coupe d' Etat in Honduras in July 2009 and the municipal

elections in Nicaragua in 2008. Both events undermined the popular confidence in politics and in politicians.

[10] In his article, Daniel Bochsler provides an exhaustive description and classification of many different measures of party nationalization. He also, makes interesting critics about current party nationalization measures based on the fact that "common measures of party nationalization do not allow us to investigate whether the number of electoral districts affects party nationalization, because the number of territorial units, on which the measures rely, affect the measures. For this reason, scores are only comparable when they rely on the same number of units. The author suggests that measures of party nationalization to take into account of varying number and size of territorial units. Further, if they do not consider the differences in the size of territorial units within a country, they lead to a potential paradox: one desirable property of variance measure is that they would indicate increase, as we move votes from a weak stronghold to a more pronounced stronghold of a political party. However, if variance measures do not take into consideration the size of territorial units, then, moving votes from a unit where the party is stronger than in the national mean to a unit where its electoral strength is even, higher might wrongly indicate lower variance, provided that the second unit is the larger one" Bochsler, D. (2010). "Measuring party nationalisation: A new Gini-based indicator that corrects for the number of units." Electoral Studies **29**(1): 155-168.

[11] A problem arises when controlling for SMD or MMD because countries differ radically in terms of how many cases employ the former or the latter. However, I decided to keep this variable in the model anyway.

[12] Even though the threshold appears to be high, all main parties are considered in the analysis. Here, I apply Morgenstern, Swindle et al. criteria.

[13] When computing the standard errors and the variance-covariance estimates, the disturbances are, by default, assumed to be heteroskedastic and contemporaneously correlated across panels.

[14] I checked for multicollinearity problems using bivariate scatterplots and also regressing each independent variable with the rest of independent predictors. Only three independent variables shows auto-correlation issues (ethnic differences, number of districts and electoral system). Additionally, I checked heteroskedasticity in the model. According to White test, since $39.67 < 52.19$ I cannot reject the null hypothesis of homoskedasticity. So, there is not heteroskedasticity in my model.