

DR. FERNANDO CASAL BÉRTOA

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Address: School of Politics & IR
Law & Social Sciences Building
University of Nottingham
University Park
Nottingham NG7 2RD (UK)
Telephone: 00447580734055
E-mail: Fernando.Casal.Bertoa@nottingham.ac.uk
or Fernando.Casal@EUI.eu
Date of birth: 4 August 1976
Nationality: Spanish

EMPLOYMENT

Research Fellow, School of Politics and International Relations (University of Nottingham, United Kingdom), 2013-2016
Project: “The Institutionalization of European Party Systems: Explaining Party Competition in 48 Democracies (1848-2013)”

Post-doctoral Fellow, Institute of Political Science (Leiden University, The Netherlands), 2010-2013
Project: “Party Law in Modern Europe”
Director: Prof. Ingrid van Biezen

EDUCATION

Ph.D. Social and Political Sciences, European University Institute (Florence, Italy), 2011
Field: Comparative Politics
Dissertation: “The Institutionalization of Party Systems in East Central Europe: Explaining Variation”
Committee: Prof. Peter Mair (supervisor), Prof. László Bruszt, Prof. Ferdinand Müller-Rommel and Prof. Leonardo Morlino
MRes. Social and Political Sciences, European University Institute (Florence, Italy), 2007
M.A. Central and Eastern European Studies, Centre for European Studies, Jagiellonian University (Cracow, Poland), 2006 (*magna cum laude*)
M.A. Political Science, University of Salamanca (Spain), 2004 (*cum laude*)
M.A. Law, University of Navarra (Pamplona), 1998 (*cum laude*)

ADDITIONAL TRAINING

2009 “Qualitative Comparative Analysis and Fuzzy Sets”, ECPR Summer School in Methods and Techniques (Ljubljana, Slovenia)

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Comparative Politics: Government and Democratization
Institutions: Political Parties and Party Systems, Electoral Systems, Cleavages

Party Law: European Constitutions and Party (Funding) Laws
Methodology: Process-tracing and Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA)

PUBLICATIONS

Books and edited volumes

- 2015 *Partidos, Sistema de Partidos y Democracia. La Obra Esencial de Peter Mair* [Parties, Party Systems and Democracy. Peter Mair's Essential Works] (co-edited with Gerardo Scherlis), Argentina: EUDEBA
- Party Politics and Democracy in Europe: Essays in Honour of Peter Mair* (with Ferdinand Müller-Rommel), Abingdon/New York: Routledge
- 2014 *The Regulation of Party Politics in Southern Europe* (with Ingrid van Biezen), Special Issue in *South European Society and Politics*, v. 19, n. 1, pp. 71-152
- Party Regulation and Party Politics in Post-communist Europe* (with Ingrid van Biezen), Special Issue in *East European Politics*, v. 30, n. 3, pp. 295-427

Articles

- 2015 “Regulating Party Politics in the Western Balkans: the Legal Sources of Party System Development in Macedonia” (with Dane Taleski), *Democratization*
- 2014 “Party System Closure and Openness: Conceptualization, Operationalization and Validation” (with Zsolt Enyedi), *Party Politics*, Online First
- “Party Systems and Cleavage Structures Revisited: A Sociological Explanation of Party System Institutionalization in East Central Europe”, *Party Politics*, v. 20, n. 1, pp. 16-36
- “The World Upside Down: De-legitimising Political Finance Regulation” (with Fransje Molenaar, Daniela Piccio and Ekaterina Rashkova), *International Political Science Review*, v. 35, n. 3, pp. 355-376
- “Party Regulation in Post-authoritarian Contexts: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective” (with Ingrid van Biezen), *South European Society and Politics*, v. 19, n. 1, pp. 71-87
- “The Carrot and the Stick: Party Regulation and Politics in Democratic Spain” (with Juan Rodríguez Teruel, Oscar Barberà and Astrid Barrio), *South European Society and Politics*, v. 19, n. 1, pp. 89-112
- “Party Regulation and Party Politics in Post-communist Europe” (with Ingrid van Biezen), *East European Politics*, v. 30, n. 3, pp. 295-314
- “Regulating Polish Politics: ‘Cartel’ Parties in a Non-Collusive Party System” (with Marcin Walecki), *East European Politics*, v. 30, n. 3, pp. 330-350

- “The Limits of Regulation: Party Law and Finance in Slovakia (1990-2012)” (with Kevin Deegan-Krause and Peter Učen), *East European Politics*, v. 30, n. 3, pp. 351-371
- 2013 “Post-communist Politics: on the Divergence (and/or Convergence) of East and West”, *Government and Opposition*, v. 48, n. 3, pp. 398-433
- 2012 “Parties, Regime and Cleavages: Explaining Party System Institutionalization in East Central Europe”, *East European Politics*, v. 28, n. 4, pp. 452-472
- 2010 “Pártverseny-mintázatok Kelet-Közép-Európában, 1990-2008” [Party System Configurations and Bloc Politics in Eastern-Central Europe, 1990-2008] (with Zsolt Enyedi), *Politikatudományi Szemle [Hungarian Political Science Review]*, v. 19, n. 1, pp. 7-30

Book chapters

- Forthcoming “Po Dwudziestu Latach: Jak Zinstytucjonalizowane są Postkomunistyczne Systemy Partyjne?” [Twelve Years on: How Institutionalized Post-communist Party Systems are?] (with Peter Mair), in Wojciech Gagatsek and Katarzyna Grzybowska-Walecka (eds.) *Oblicza Demokracji. Dzieła wybrane Petera Maira* [The Face of Democracy. Peter Mair’s Selected Works], Warsaw: Centre for Europe (Warsaw University)
- 2015 “Party System Institutionalization. A Travelling Concept?”, in Ferdinand Müller-Rommel and Fernando Casal Bértoa (eds.), *Party Politics and Democracy in Europe: Essays in Honour of Peter Mair*, Abingdon/New York: Routledge
- 2014 “Party Laws in Comparative Perspective: Evidence and Implications” (with Daniela Piccio and Ekaterina Rashkova), in Ingrid van Biezen and Hans-Martien ten Napel (eds.) *Regulating Political Parties: European Democracies in Comparative Perspective*, Leiden: Leiden University Press
- 2012 “Party System Institutionalization across Time in Post-Communist Europe” (with Peter Mair), in Ferdinand Müller-Rommel and Hans Keman (eds.) *Party Government in the New Europe*, London: Routledge [Translated into Spanish in Fernando Casal Bértoa and Gerardo Scherlis (eds.) *Partidos, Sistema de Partidos y Democracia. La Obra Esencial de Peter Mair*, Argentina: EUDEBA]
- 2011 “Patterns of Inter-Party Competition (1990-2009)” (with Zsolt Enyedi), in Paul G. Lewis and Radosław Markowski (eds.) *Europeanizing Party Politics? Comparative Perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, Manchester: Manchester University Press
- “Resursele statului și bani de buzunar: Finanțarea partidelor politice românești în perioada postcomunistă” [State Resources and Pocket Money: Funding of Romanian Political Parties during Post-communism] (with Sergiu Gherghina and Mihail Chiru), in Sergiu Gherghina (ed.) *Voturi și politici: dinamica*

partidelor românești în ultimele două decenii [Votes and Policies; The Dynamic of the Romanian Political Parties in the most Recent Two Decades], Iasi: Editura Institutul European

- 2010 “Spain” (with Mónica Ferrín and Sergi Pardos Prado), in Wojciech Gagatsek (ed.) *The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament – Country Reports*. Florence: European University Institute
- 2008 “The Banality of Evil”, in Marcin Rebes (ed.) *From Totalitarianism to Citizen’s Societies in the United Europe*, v. 1. Cracow: Centre for European Studies (Jagiellonian University)

Book reviews

- 2012 “The Politics of Party Funding”, *Acta Politica*, v. 47, n. 4, pp. 478-480

Working papers

- Forthcoming “Alice in Wonderland. The Evolution of Party Regulation in Poland (1989-2013)”, *The Legal Regulation of Political Parties Working Paper Series*
- “Plus ça change: Portuguese Party Regulation Over-Time (1974-2012)”, *The Legal Regulation of Political Parties Working Paper Series*
- 2014 “Party Regulation and Party System Development in Macedonia (1990-2012)” (with Dane Taleski), *The Legal Regulation of Political Parties Working Paper Series* (n. 39)
- 2013 “Get a Subsidy or Perish! Party Funding and Party Survival in Europe” (with Maria Spirova), *The Legal Regulation of Political Parties Working Paper Series* (n. 29)
- 2012 “Uneasiness with the *Status Quo*: Party Regulation and Party Finance in post-Francoist Spain (1976-2012)” (with Juan Rodríguez Teruel, Oscar Barberá and Astrid Barrio), *The Legal Regulation of Political Parties Working Paper Series* (n. 25)
- 2011 “It’s Mostly about Money! Party System Institutionalization and its Sources: Reducing Causal Complexity in Post-Communist Europe”, *The Legal Regulation of Political Parties Working Paper Series* (n. 15)
- “Sources of Party System Institutionalization in New Democracies. Lessons from East Central Europe”, *EUI Working Paper Series* (n. 1)

Manuscripts in (accepted proposals for) Special Issues

- R&R “Sources of Party System Institutionalization in New Democracies: A Multi Method Approach to Reduce Causal Complexity in Post-communist Eastern Europe”, *Sociological Methods and Research* (edited by Derek Beach and Ingo Rohlfing)

OTHER WORKS

In progress *Party System Institutionalization in East Central Europe: Institutions, Fragmentation, Cleavages*. Book Manuscript

“Political Parties or Party Systems? Assessing the Myth of Institutionalization and Democracy”

“Bartolini and Mair Revisited: On the Determinants of Electoral Volatility in Europe (1885-2012)” (with Carsten Q. Schneider)

“It is not a Question of Size: A Comprehensive Explanation to Electoral Fluidity in Democratic Micro-States” (with Mariano Torcal)

“Parties between Thresholds: State Subsidies and Party Behavior in post-Communist Democracies” (with Maria Spirova)

CONFERENCE PAPERS (selection)

2014 “Seismic Wave or Tsunami? Assessing Party System Change in Times of Crisis”. Prepared to be presented at the ECPR General Conference (Glasgow, UK), September 3-6

“Does the Type of Regime Matter? On the Perils of Presidential Elections for Party System Institutionalization in Europe”. Prepared to be presented at the IPSA World Congress (Montreal, Canada), July 19-24

“Political Parties or Party Systems? Assessing the ‘Myth’ of Institutionalization and Democracy”. Presented at the EPSA General Conference (Edinburg, UK), June 19-21

“Prescribing Democracy? Party Proscription, Militant Democracy and Party System Institutionalization” (with Angela Bourne). Presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions (Salamanca, Spain), April 10-15

“Does the Type of Regime Matter? Perils of (Semi-)Presidentialism for Party System Institutionalization”. Presented at the CES Annual Conference (Washington, USA), March 14-16

2013 “The World Upside Down: De-legitimizing Political Finance Regulation” (with Fransje Moleenar, Daniela Piccio and Ekaterina Rashkova). Presented at the XI AECPA Bi-annual Congress (Seville, Spain), September 18-20

“Parties between Thresholds: State Subsidies and Party Behaviour in post-Communist Democracies” (with Maria Spirova). Presented at the APSA Annual Conference (Chicago, USA), August 29-September 1

“Splitting the Difference: New Models for Assessing the Stability and Volatility of Political Party Systems” (with Kevin Deegan-Krause and Tim

Haughton). Presented at the CES Annual Conference (Amsterdam, The Netherlands), June 25-27

“Regulating Party Politics: On the Legal Sources of Party System Development in Macedonia (1994-2012)” (with Dane Taleski). Presented at the MPSA Annual Conference (Chicago, USA), April 11-14

2012 “Determinants of Electoral Volatility in 33 European Democracies (1945-2011): a Set-Theoretic Approach” (with Carsten Q. Schneider). Presented at the IPSA World Congress (Madrid, Spain), July 8-12

“Determinants of Party System Institutionalization in Post-communist Europe”. Presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions (Antwerp, Belgium), April 10-15

2011 “It’s Mostly about Money! Sources of Party System Institutionalization in Post-communist Eastern Europe”. Presented at the ECPR General Conference (Reykjavik, Iceland), August 25-27

“Government Formation, Ministerial Turnover and Party System Stability in Post-Communist Eastern Europe”. Presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions (St. Gallen, Switzerland), April 12-17

2010 “Party System Closure: Conceptualization, Operationalization, and Validation” (with Zsolt Enyedi), Presented at the MPSA Annual Conference (Chicago, USA). April 22-25

2009 “Open or Closed? A Key to Understanding Party System Institutionalization in New Democracies” (with Zsolt Enyedi). Presented at the ECPR General Conference (Potsdam, Germany), September 10-12

“Party System Institutionalization in Eastern Europe (1990-2008): Closure, Fragmentation, and Volatility” (with Zsolt Enyedi). Presented at the APSA Annual Conference (Toronto, Canada), September 3-6

“Two Decades On: How Institutionalized are Post-Communist Party Systems?” (with Peter Mair). Presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions (Lisbon, Portugal), April 14-19

2008 “Political Parties, Party Systems and the Quality of Democracy in Southern and Eastern Europe”. Presented at the ECPR Summer School on Political Parties and European Politics European University Institute (Florence, Italy), September 8-19

“Sources of Party System Institutionalization in East Central Europe”. Presented at the ECPR Graduate Conference (Barcelona, Spain), August 25-27

“Sources of Party System Institutionalization in New European Democracies. Lessons from Southern Europe”. Presented at the 58th PSA Annual Conference (Swansea, United Kingdom), April 1-3

2007 “Party System Institutionalization in Poland: Consolidating or Fluidity?”. Presented at the ECPR/DAAD Summer School on Democracy and Governance in East Central Europe. Leuphana University (Lüneburg, Germany), August 13-26

HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS

2013-2016 Research Fellowship. University of Nottingham

2013 EUROLAB Grant. GESIS-Leibniz Institute (declined)

Workshop Directors’ Grant. European Consortium for Political Research

2012 LeidCeu Outbound Scholarship. Leiden University

2010 Scholarship to attend the International Greifswald Ukrainian Summer School. Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald (declined)

2009 International e-Democracy Award. Project: EUProfiler, directed by Prof. Alexander Trechsel (European University Institute, Florence). Role: Country co-leader (Spain)

PSA Overseas Conference Grant. Political Studies Association

ECPR Scholarship Fund. European Consortium for Political Research

DAAD Research Fellowship. German Academic Exchange Service

Erasmus Scholarship. European Academic Exchange Service

Salvador de Madariaga Scholaship. Spanish Ministry of Education

“Short-Stay” Research Scholarship. Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation

2008 Paderewski Scholarship. College of Europe (Natolin)

2008-2010 Ph.D. Scholarship. Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation

2006-2008 Ph.D. Scholarship. Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

2004-2006 Post-graduate Studies Scholarship. Foundation “Caja Madrid” (Spain)

2003 Socrates Scholarship. European Academic Exchange Service

1994-1998 Graduate Studies Scholarship. Spanish Ministry of Education

RESEARCH AND TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 2014 Visiting Lecture at the University of Zagreb organized by the Faculty of Political Science and the NGO “GONG” (Croatia), December 10th
- Guest Lecture at Dr. Goran Čular’s Seminar on “Political Parties” at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb (Croatia), December 10th
- Visiting Lecture at the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Montenegro (Podgorica, Montenegro), December 9th
- Research Seminar at the Department of Comparative Politics of the University of Bergen (Norway), December 3rd
- Visiting Lecture at the Academy of Public Administration (Chisinau, Moldova), October 22nd
- Lecture at the ECPR Summer School on “Political Parties and Party Systems” organized by the Centre for the Study of Democracy (CSD), Leuphana University (Lüneburg, Germany), September 11th
- Guest Lecture at the Summer School on “Internal Democracy within Parties and Citizen Movements” organized by the National University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine) and the Institute of German and International Party Law and Party Research of the University of Düsseldorf (Germany), National University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy (Kiev, Ukraine), May 26th
- 2013 Training Lecture at the General Meeting of the European Political Party Foundations and Institutes Network-EPPFI (Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina), November 2nd
- Guest Lecture at the European Policy Centre (Brussels, Belgium), June 25th
- Course (BA level): Party Systems in New Democracies
- 2012 Courses (BA level): Comparative Politics, Political Sociology
- Guest Lecture at the Centre for the Study of Imperfections in Democracies (DISC), Central European University (Budapest, Hungary), November 7th
- Guest Lecture (MA level) at the University of Salamanca (Spain), March 1st
- 2010 Training Lecture at the Working Meeting of the General Secretaries of the Central and South-Eastern European Centre-Right Political parties (Ohrid, Macedonia), October 23rd
- 2009 Guest Lecture at Prof. Vello Pettai’s Seminar on “Theories and Methods in Comparative Politics” at the Leuphana University (Lüneburg, Germany). December 10th
- Lecture on “Training during the Doctoral Studies” at the Free University in Brussels (Belgium). November 24th

Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Democracy (ZDEMO).
Leuphana University (Lüneburg, Germany). June-December

Visiting Student at the Political Science Department. Central European
University (Budapest, Hungary). January-April

2008 Teacher Training at the European University Institute

Lecture on Baltic Politics at the Centre for Baltic Studies (Riga, Latvia).
November 21st

REVIEWER

European Journal of Political Research, East European Politics, Acta Politica,
Democratization, Regional and Federal Studies, Comparative European
Politics, Government and Opposition, Political Studies Review, European
Political Science Review, Comparative Politics, American Journal of Political
Science, Australian Journal of Political Science, Yearbook of Polish European
Studies, Political Behaviour

EXPERT ADVISOR

2014 Fund for Scientific Research-FNRS (F.R.S.-FNRS) - Brussels (Belgium)

Global Integrity (Washington, USA)

“Party Financing and Referendum Campaigns in EU Member States” survey
(University of Amsterdam) – Study prepared for the Committee of
Constitutional Affairs (European Parliament)

Czech Science Foundation (Prague, Czech Republic)

Austrian Central Bank (OeNB Anniversary Fund) – Vienna (Austria)

Political party expert for OSCE/ODIHR (Warsaw, Poland)

2012 Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO, Belgium)

2011 “EPAC – Ethno-nationalism in Party Competition” dataset (ETH Zurich and
University of Cologne)

“Political Finance” database (IDEA, Stockholm)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

2014 Co-director of the Centre for Comparative Political Research (CCPR), School
of Politics and International Relations (University of Nottingham, UK)

PSA delegate at the IPSA World Congress (Montreal, Canada)

- 2013 Co-director of the ECPR Joint Sessions Workshop on “Developing a Comprehensive Framework for Party Change and Party System Volatility” (Mainz, 11-16 March)
- 2012 Co-director of the ECPR Research Session on “A Comprehensive Framework on Party System Change” (Florence, 19-22 June)
- 2010 Research Assistant. Social and Political Science Department, European University Institute (Florence, Italy). March-June
- 2009 Academic Collaborator. European Union Democracy Observatory, European University Institute (Florence, Italy). September-November
- Administrative Organizer. 19th ECPR Summer School on “Political Parties and European Democracy”. European University Institute (Florence, Italy), September 15-26
- Academic Collaborator. Department of Social and Political Sciences, European University Institute (Florence, Italy). April-June
- Post-Graduate Student Representative. Department of Social and Political Sciences, European University Institute (Florence, Italy)
- 2008 Post-Graduate Student Representative. Department of Social and Political Sciences, European University Institute (Florence, Italy)
- 2003 Graduate Student Representative. Department of Political Science, University of Salamanca (Spain)

EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERSHIP

East European Quarterly, CIVIS (Montenegrin Journal of Political Science), Politologia

ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

Asociación Española de Ciencia Política (AECPA), Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), American Political Studies Association (APSA), Council for European Studies (CES), European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), International Political Studies Association (IPSA), Midwest Political Studies Association (MPSA), Political Studies Association (PSA)

LANGUAGES

English, Polish, Italian and Portuguese: fluent
Dutch and French: passive (i.e. reading) knowledge

REFERENCES

Ingrid van Biezen, Ph.D.
Professor of Comparative Politics
Institute of Political Science
Leiden University
Wassenaarseweg 52
2333 AK Leiden
The Netherlands
i.c.van.biezen@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Zsolt Enyedi, Ph.D.
Professor of Political Science
Department of Political Science
Central European University
Nador u. 11
1051 Budapest
Hungary
enyedizs@ceu.hu

Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, Ph.D.
Professor of Comparative Politics
Centre for the Study of Democracy (CSD)
Leuphana University
Scharnhorststraße 1
21335 Lüneburg
Germany
muero@uni.leuphana.de

Kevin Deegan-Krause, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Department of Political Science
Wayne State University
2040 FAB
Detroit, MI 48202
USA
kdk@wayne.edu

László Bruszt, Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology
Department of Social and Political Sciences
European University Institute
Via dei Roccettini 9
I-50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy
Laszlo.Bruszt@EUI.eu

Mariano Torcal Lloriente
Professor of Political Science
Department of Political Science
Pompeu Fabra University
c/ Ramón Triás Fargas 25-27
08005 Barcelona
Spain
Mariano.Torcal@upf.edu

Peter Mair, Ph.D. (R.I.P.)
Professor of Comparative Politics and Government
Department of Social and Political Sciences
European University Institute
Via dei Roccettini 9
I-50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy