

# 6TH CONFERENCE OF THE ECPR STANDING GROUP ON PARLIAMENTS

VIRTUAL EVENT 1-2 JULY 2021

ORGANIZED BY SGOP: OLIVIER ROZENBERG, MARIA THÜRK ASSISTED BY LENNARD ALKE

## Program Overview

Time	<b>Thursday</b> 1 July		<b>Friday</b> 2 July	
09.00- 10.45	The legislative behavior of MPs	Game-Changer or Old or old wine in a new bottle? The impact of the pandemic on democracy in the EU.	The European Parliament	Populism in national parliaments.  New perspectives.
11.00- 12.30	MP careers & backgrounds	Advances in the empirical research of legislatures	Discursive and institutional mobilisation in European parliaments	Government and opposition dynamics in parliaments
13.15- 14.45	Legislative voting	Challenges in African Legislatures	Reactions to policy issues in national parliaments	Patterns of institutional design in national parliaments
15.00- 16.15	Legislative representation of migrants and ethnic minorities	Non-democratic & hybrid parliaments	Substantive representation in national parliaments	Developments & evolution in national parliaments
16.30- 17.45	Public perception of MPs	Comparing National Legislatures	Parliamentary communication and discourse	Book Launch Event The Politics of Legislative Debate (Bäck, Debus, Fernandes) & Handbook of parliamentary studies (Benoît, Rozenberg)
18.00-	Reception via GatherTown			

All times in CEST.

### Thursday, 1 July 2021

#### Session 1: 9.00-10.45 (CEST)

### Panel 01: The Legislative Behavior of MPs

Chair: David Willumsen Discussant: Thomas Zittel

#### Presentations:

The independent effect—the relevance, influence and impact of independent politicians on a parliamentary democracy

Andrea Cullen

Legislator Dissent and Electoral Outcomes

Resul Umit (Oslo University), Philip Cowley (University of Hull)

Mutual benefits? Norwegian MPs and the lobbyists, 1995 - 2019

Hilmar Rommetvedt (University of Stavanger), Ketil Raknes (Oslo University)

Electoral Systems and the Personal Vote

Jorge Fernandes (Universidade de Lisboa), Yael Shomer (Tel Aviv University), Matthew Shugart (University of California)

Geographical representation under a single nationwide district: the case of the Netherlands Marijn Nagtzaam (Leiden University), Tom Louwerse (Leiden University)

### Panel 02: Game-Changer or Old Wine in a New Bottle? The Impact of the Pandemic on Democracy in the EU

Chair: Eric Miklin

Discussant: Aleksandra Maatsch

#### Presentations:

Parliamentary outreach and the pandemic

Alex Prior (University of East Anglia)

The Role of the European Parliament in the Establishment of the Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF): A Rebound Opportunity?

Ermela Gianna (University of Salzburg)

Democracy in Lockdown: Concentration of Powers in the European Parliament under COVID-19

Ariadna Ripoll Servent (University of Salzburg)

A Hamiltonian moment for European Solidarity? Domestic Ratifications of the European Financial Stability Facility and the Own Resources Decision.

Carlos Closa Montero (Universidad Autònoma de Madrid), Aleksandra Maatsch (University of Wrocław)

Toward a new form of representative democracy? Introducing a comparative database on parliamentary democracy during the pandemic

Edgars Eihmanis (European University Institute)

#### Session 2: 11.00-12.30 (CEST)

#### Panel 03: MP Careers and Backgrounds

Chair: Ulrich Sieberer Discussant: Wang Leung Ting

#### Presentations:

Mapping party leaders' careers across countries: career capital & leadership survival Clint Claessen (University of Basel)

Divining Parliamentary Roles: Latent Class and Transition Analyses of Intra-cameral Backbench Activity in the UK House of Commons, 1979-2019

Stephen Holden Bates (University of Birmingham), Caroline Bhattacharya (University of Helsinki)

Evolution of the Greek parliament's composition 2009-2019: assessing MPs' profile during a decade of political crisis

Dimitrios Kosmopoulos (Université Paris-Dauphine)

Setting-Up Institutions in Multilevel States: Assemblies, Parties and the Selection of Candidates Patrícia Calca (CIES-IUL), Teresa Ruel (Universidade de Aveiro)

### Panel 04: Advances in the Empirical Research of Legislatures

Chair: Tevfik Murat Yildirim

Discussant: Simon Otjes

#### Presentations:

Interrogating the Opposition? The Use of Blue-Card Questions in the European Parliament Verena Kunz (University of Mannheim)

Signaling to voters? Conceptual problems of testing signaling models in legislative studies Sebastian Koehler (University of Constance)

The Deliberative Constitution: Lotteries in Denmark's 1848 Constituent Assembly Brenda Van Coppenolle (University of Essex)

How Legislators Respond to Citizens in Times of Crisis. A Field Experiment with Members of the 19th German Bundestag during the Covid-19 Pandemic

Thomas Zittel (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt), Markus Baumann (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt), Diane Bolet (The London School of Economics), Rosie Campbell (Kings College London), Tom Louwerse (Universiteit Leiden), Helene Helboe Pedersen (Aarhus Universitet), Wouter Schakel (University of Amsterdam)

### Session 3: 13.15-14.45 (CEST)

#### Panel 05: Legislative Voting

Chair: Jorge M. Fernandes Discussant: Patrícia Calca

#### Presentations:

Veto Powers in Parliamentary Democracies: The Portuguese Case Patrícia Calca (CIES-IUL)

Why do legislators amendment executive bills? Evidence from a multilevel parliamentary system Anna Palau (Universitat de Barcelona), Andreu Casas (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Luz Muñoz (Universitat de Barcelona)

Opening or Closing the Public Purse? The Expected Fiscal Effect of Policies on Legislative Voting Flemming Juul Christiansen (University of Roskilde)

The stability of Legislation Case study for Hungarian Legislation 1990-2014 Anna Székely, Miklos Sebok (Centre for Social Sciences)

### Panel 06: Challenges in African Legislatures

Chair: Maria Thürk Discussant: Kristen Heim

#### Presentations:

Tanzania's Parliament after the General Elections of 2020 Bariki Mwasaqa (Università degli Studi di Perugia)

Rewarding Loyalty: Committee Assignment in Kenya's National Assembly Ken Opalo (Georgetown University)

African MPs in Their Home District: Patrons or Agents Robert Mattes(University of Strathclyde)

Why Change When We Can Stay the Same? Informal Institutional Change in Legislative Budgeting in Southern Africa

Kristen Heim (Stellenbosch University)

#### Session 4: 15.00-16.15 (CEST)

## Panel 07: Legislative Representation of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities

Chair: Daniel Höhmann Discussant: Daniel Höhmann

#### Presentations:

Do Diaspora Members Represent the Diaspora in the Turkish Parliament? A Contingent "Yes" Ayse Yedekci-Schelhaas (Middle East Technical University)

Who is Talking When? Migrant MPs' Legislative Behavior in the German Bundestag. Noam Himmelrath (University of Mannheim)

Strategic Intersectionality: Narratives of Minority Members of Parliament' as Substantive Acts Zahra Runderkamp (University of Amsterdam)

### Panel 08: Non-democratic and Hybrid Parliaments

Chair: Svenja Krauss Discussant: Svenja Krauss

#### Presentations:

Legislative and the Hybrid National Identity in Asia Ardian Bakhtiar Rivai (Universitas Ahmad Dahlan)

Why do MPs Support Redistribution in Non-Democratic Regimes? An Analysis of Parliamentary Questions in Morocco.

Ahmed Fouad El Haddad (Institut d'Études Politiques de Bordeaux), Othmane Bentaouzer (Universite Mohamed V)

Committee Assignments as a Proxy to Understanding the Saudi Shura Council: 1994-2016 luai Allarakia (University of Richmond)

#### Session 5: 16.30-17.45 (CEST)

### Panel 09: Public Perception of MPs

Chair: Tom Louwerse Discussant: Tom Louwerse

#### Presentations:

Trusting the Process? Public Confidence in the Brexit Process and Trust in MPs

Dan Ziebarth (George Washington University)

The Effect of Parliamentary Activity on the Media Visibility of Politicians in the UK and Norway Tevfik Murat Yildirim (University of Stavanger), Will Jennings (University of Southampton), Gunnar Thesen (University of Stavanger)

The evaluation of legislators' performance and satisfaction with democracy. The Hungarian example Zsófia Papp (Centre for Social Sciences)

### Panel 10: Comparing National Legislatures

Chair: Olivier Rozenberg
Discussant: Olivier Rozenberg

#### Presentations:

Role of parliaments in national anti-corruption strategies
Franklin De Vrieze (Westminster Foundation for Democracy)

Comparative Legislative Research as Gerhard Loewenberg Saw It Sunil Ahuja (Shawnee State University)

Structure and process of budget approval in parliament, comparison of France and Iran Mohadese Soroush Bigdeli & Mahdi Zeinaloo (Governance and Policy Think Tank)

Deliberation on educational policies in the Portuguese parliament: the enhanced role of subcommittees and working groups

Teresa Teixeira Lopo (Universidade Lusófona)

### 18.00 (CEST): Reception & Pub Quiz

via GatherTown Link is here: https://gather.town/invite?token=0LnAt30t

### Friday, 2 July 2021

#### Session 1: 9.00-10.45 (CEST)

Panel 11: The European Parliament

Chair: Verena Kunz Discussant: Mihail Chiru

#### Presentations:

Separation of Powers in EU External Migration Policy: Assessing the Scrutiny Role of the European Parliament in Informal Readmission Arrangements

Davide Gnes (University of Amsterdam), Milka Sormunen (University of Helsinki)

Foreign Policy in the European Parliament

Simon Otjes (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen), Harmen van der Veer (University of Amsterdam), Wolfgang Wagner (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Comparing European Values in the Discourse of Greek MEPs and Members of the National Parliament between 2014-2019

George Kordas (Panteion University)

What drives scrutiny efforts in the European Parliament?

Mihail Chiru (University of Oxford), Alban Versailles (Université catholique de Louvain)

Does ideology trump geography? EU responses to democratic backsliding in member states Natasha Wunsch (Sciences Po Paris), Mihail Chiru (University of Oxford)

### Panel 12: Populism in National Parliaments. New Perspectives.

Chair: Francesca Feo Discussant: Rebecca Kittel

#### Presentations:

Parties' Policy Positions and Degrees of Populism: A Comparison of Left-Wing and Right-Wing Populists' Speeches in Parliament

Rebecca Kittel (European University Institute)

"The Oktoberfest is populist": The rhetorical weaponization of populism in four European parliaments (2010-2020)

Matteo Cesare Mario Casiraghi (Universitá degli Studi di Milano), Margherita Bordignon (Universitá degli Studi di Milano)

A reality check on populist representation in Southern Europe: the cases of Podemos and the Five Star Movement

Francesca Feo (Scuola Normale Superiore)

Being populist when you need it? On the strategic usage of populist rhetoric in parliamentary debates

Markus Kollberg (University College London)

Is the populist Robin Hood just a tale? A comparative study of parliamentary representation of the poor in seven countries

Luca Manucci (University of Lisbon), Enrico Borghetto (Universitá di Firenze)

#### Session 2: 11.00-12.30 (CEST)

## Panel 13: Discursive and institutional mobilisation in European parliaments

Chair: Natasha Wunsch Discussant: Marie-Eve Bélanger

#### Presentations:

The European Parliament and the Covid 19 pandemic: which impact on the balance of power within the assembly?

Nathalie Brack (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Olivier Costa (Sciences Po Paris), Awenig Marié (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

From discursive to legislative Euroscepticism? The discourse-vote choice gap in the European Parliament

Marie-Eve Bélanger (University of Zurich), Natasha Wunsch (Sciences Po Paris)

Russia's Parliamentary Discourse on Europe

Mila Mikalay (Albert-Ludwigs-University Freiburg)

From projection to introspection: enlargement discourses after the 'big bang' accession Natasha Wunsch (Sciences Po), Nicole Olszewska (University of Zurich)

### Panel 14: Government & Opposition Dynamics in Parliaments

Chair: Thomas Meyer Discussant: Maria Thürk

#### Presentations:

Coalition government, frustrated majorities, and perverse policy change

David Willumsen (University of Innsbruck), Simon Otjes (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Whose bread I eat, their song I sing? How the sex of MPs influences the use of oversight mechanisms in government and opposition

Svenja Krauss (University Vienna), Corinna Kroeber (University Greifswald)

Constitutional rules and cabinet durability in advanced democracies

Elena Semenova (Free University Berlin)

Coalition government and committee policing strength: New evidence from 17 European democracies Radoslaw Zubek (University of Oxford)

### Session 3: 13.15-14.45 (CEST)

### Panel 15: Reactions to Policy Issues in National Parliaments

Chair: Flemming Juul Christiansen

Discussant: Simon Stückelberger

#### Presentations:

The politics of policy re-designing: The case of German renewable energy policy, 2000-2020 Nicolas Schmid, Sebastian Sewerin (University of Zurich)

(Governmental responsibility + crisis) > ideology? Social Democratic party politics in reaction to the 'migration crisis' in Germany and Sweden

Mechthild Roos (Augsburg University)

Impact of House of Common hybrid proceeding on members participation during COVID pandemic Wang Leung Ting (The London School of Economics & Political Science)

Having a say in international affairs: US Congress and United Nations Anna Kronlund (University of Jyväskylä)

#### Panel 16: Patterns of Institutional Design in National Parliaments

Chair: Radoslaw Zubek Discussant: Stefanie Bailer

#### Presentations:

By request and by call: Interest Group Access and Parliamentary Hearings in the Portuguese democracy

Rui Oliveira (IPRI-NOVA)

Serving MPs or surveying the country? A comparative analysis of parliamentary staff Simon Otjes (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Social proximity matters? Revisiting the effect of government size on parliament's professionalization

Andreu Paneque (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Parliamentary oversight: a task for only a few good MPs?

Hallbera West (University of the Faroe Islands)

### Session 4: 15.00-16.15 (CEST)

### Panel 17: Substantive Representation in National Parliaments

Chair: Corinna Kroeber
Discussant: Stephen Holden Bates

#### Presentations:

The Gendered Assessment of Public Opinion

Daniel Höhmann (University of Basel), Stefanie Bailer (University of Basel), Christian Breunig (University of Constance)

The non-descriptive sources of the substantive representation of the poor. A text-based analysis of the behaviors of legislators in the German Bundestag

Simon Stückelberger, Thomas Zittel (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt)

Gender and Signalling Behaviours in the UK Parliament

Rachel Gregory (University College Cork)

#### Panel 18: Developments and Evolution in National Parliaments

Chair: Zsófia Papp Discussant: Zsófia Papp

#### Presentations:

Changing visions of democracy

Agnieszka Kwiatkowska (SWPS), Amanda Dziubińska (University of Warsaw), Viktoriia Muliavka (Polish Academy of Sciences), Hubert Plisiecki (University of Sheffield)

Regulating ethics in parliaments: a matter of regime robustness

Susana Coroado, Luis de Sousa (Universidade de Lisboa)

A Tale of Two Parliaments: Emergence and Evolution of Parliamentarism in Italy Since 1848 Francesco Bromo (Texas A&M University)

#### Session 5: 16.30-17.45 (CEST)

### Panel 19: Parliamentary Communication and Legislative Discourse

Chair: Clint Claessen
Discussant: Clint Claessen

#### Presentations:

Populism as a communication style in Parliamentary communication in the Republic of Croatia's current Parliamentary mandate

Jasmina Jovev, Barbara Mašić (University of Zagreb)

The Slippery Ground of Turkish Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Foreign Policy Discourse of Political Parties in the Turkish Parliament: In the Case of the Eastern Mediterranean Nur Sinem Kourou (Bogaziçi University), Seyyide Sena Türkdoğan (Istanbul University)

### **Book Launch Event**

The Politics of Legislative Debate, The Oxford Politics of Institutions Hanna Bäck, Marc Debus, and Jorge M. Fernandes

Handbook of Parliamentary Studies, Interdisciplinary Approaches to Legislatures Edited by Cyril Benoît and Olivier Rozenberg