

Conference Program

version: Jan. 4, 2023

**Conference within Conference (CWC #2)
at the Southern Political Science Association Annual Conference 2023
organized by RC08 Research Committee of Legislative Specialists
and RC13 Democratization in Comparative Perspective
of the International Political Science Association**

Organizers:

Irina Khmelko, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, USA, Irina-Khmelko@utc.edu
Adam Szymański, University of Warsaw, Poland, ar.szymanski@uw.edu.pl
Sven T. Siefken, Institute for Parliamentary Research, Berlin, and Federal University of Applied
Administrative Sciences, Germany, siefken@iparl.de

RC08 "Research Committee of Legislative Specialists" at <https://ipsa-rcls.org/>
RC13 "Democratization in Comparative Perspective" at <http://rc13.ipsa.org/>

Venue: all meetings are held during the SPSA 2023 Annual Conference at the Tradewinds
Island Resort in St. Pete Beach, Florida. January 11-14, 2023. Room: Banyan Breezeway 4

Online presentations (marked in yellow) will be held via Zoom. As the SPSA conference is not held in hybrid mode, we will do our best to organize zoom access for the presenters. However, we cannot be sure if and how it works and ask for your kind understanding in case of connection problems. Online presenters may no longer appear on the official SPSA conference program, but will be part of our IPSA RC08/RC13 conference within the conference. We will share the zoom access links with presenters shortly before the conference.

Papers: Please circulate your papers and presentations to the chairs, discussants, and participants in your respective panel. You will receive more information from your panel chair.

We are still waiting for feedback from paper givers marked in blue about their mode of participation (none / online / in person). Please get in touch with the organizers.

Program

1	Panel: Current democratic backsliding – reasons, indications and effects	5
1.1	Autocratization by means under-the-radar. Non-legislative changes of democratic rules in Poland as an instrument of autocratization	5
1.2	The conflictive legacy of Bolivia’s 2019 political crisis and the democratic uncertainty. Institutional failure or political opportunity?	5
1.3	Fragile Democratic Consolidation and the Institutional Role of the Electoral Process....	6
1.4	Afghanistan- A Romantic Failure of Western Liberalism.....	7
1.5	Understanding FEU Political Science Students Perceptions of Police Body-Worn Cameras during Operations.....	8
2	Expert Table: Policy makers and Academics Making an Impact in a Real World	8
3	Panel: Democratization and de-democratization – from local to global level.....	9
3.1	Federalism in a post-pandemic world	9
3.2	Democratization and Autocratization in Multi-level Democracies. Case Study of Poland	10
3.3	Autonomy, Community and the Future of Democracy	10
3.4	Post-Cold-War World Order and Global Democratic Backslide	11
3.5	Intergenerational and intragenerational responsibility: how does environmental law deal with the principle of non-refoulement?	11
4	Panel: Legislatures and Legislation: Domestic and International Political Challenges.....	12
4.1	The legislature within a web of pandemics: Evaluating roles, actions and missteps under a protest climate	12
4.2	The Dilemmas, Challenges and Opportunities of Legislating on ESRs: A Case-study From 21st Century India	13
4.3	Liberal-Democratic Agenda and Legislation in the Parliament of Pakistan (2008-2021)	13
4.4	Legislature and the adoption of national and regional agreements: the effect on the fight against insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria.....	14
4.5	The order according to Carl Schmitt: between normativity and politics (Case of pandemic)	14
5	Panel: Democratization and de-democratization in India	15
5.1	Democracy and Identity Politics: The Power-Sharing in Contemporary India	15
5.2	Parastatal Bodies in Governance: A Case from Hampi UNESCO World Heritage Site in India	16
5.3	Democracy in Divided Societies: Social Coalitions and Power-Sharing in Kerala	16

6	Panel: Legislatures and Liberal Democracy I – Question of Political Inclusion.....	17
6.1	Progress disrupted: Legislative activity in Fiji during the COVID-19 pandemic	17
6.2	Is Lowering the Minimum Age of Candidacy Enough? The Politics of Youth Representation in Nigeria’s Lower National Legislature	18
6.3	Explaining Cross-National Differences in Women’s Descriptive Representation in the European Parliament: a Comparative Study	18
6.4	Progress, Stagnation and the Contradictions Thereof: The Nigerian Legislature’s Role as Vanguard of Disability-Inclusive Governance and Development	19
6.5	How citizens imagine expectations: Revisiting clientelism and its impact on legislative perceptions.....	19
6.6	Namibia Parliament conducts an e-Parliament assessment	20
7	Panel: Legislatures and Liberal Democracy II – Question of Legislative-Executive Relationship	20
7.1	The role of legislatures to address the challenges of representation and legitimation in emergent democracies with a case study of South Africa.....	21
7.2	Is a strong government antithetical to a Functioning Parliament? (India).....	21
7.3	Ensuring democratic accountability of executive legislation in the UK post-Brexit	22
7.4	Institutional Design, Cabinet Stability and Parliamentary Dissolution.....	22
7.5	Parliaments in Foreign Policy Making.....	23
7.6	Financial Oversight for Public Accounts Committees in Small States	23
8	Panel: Parliaments in Policy-Making.....	24
8.1	Parliamentary Institutions and Portfolio Allocation in Coalition Governments	24
8.2	Comparing opposition power across regime types: The case of Africa.....	24
8.3	A Parliament Evolving Towards Evidence-Based Policy: Ireland and the experience of the 2010-2014 IMF-EU-ECB bailout and beyond.....	25
8.4	The public engagement agenda and the deepening divide between legislatures' practice.....	25
9	Book Event: Meet the Authors and discuss findings from “ <i>Legislative Decline in the 21st Century: A Comparative Perspective</i>	26
10	Panel: Post-Communist Countries: History and Modern Developments.....	26
10.1	Regime Implications and Legislative Roles During War Times: Cases of Ukraine and Russia	26
10.2	Critical Events and Rally Effects in Ukraine.....	27
10.3	Transfer of the decision-making core in Poland from the legislature to the executive since 2015 – main reasons, manifestations and consequences for democratic backsliding	27

11	Panel: Parliaments in Crises.....	28
	11.1 Parliamentary standards in decline: learning from the case of Westminster	28
	11.2 Wartime Legislative Political Inclusivity and the Likelihood (and Success) of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars.....	29
	11.3 Parliaments in the Pandemic – Lessons From the Crisis for Parliamentary Practice ...	29
	11.4 Parliamentary diplomacy in the age of global crises	30
	11.5 Dragging Congress into the 21st Century: Creating Policies and Improving Processes in an Age of Pandemic and Polarization	30
12	Joint Business Meeting IPSA RC08 and RC13.....	31

1 Panel: Current democratic backsliding – reasons, indications and effects

Thursday, 9:30am-10:50am, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Adam Szymański, University of Warsaw, Poland

Discussants: Shruti Pandey, O.P. Jindal Global University, India, Tunde, A. Abioro, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria (Online Participation)

1.1 Autocratization by means under-the-radar. Non-legislative changes of democratic rules in Poland as an instrument of autocratization

Łukasz Zamęcki, Associate Professor, University of Warsaw, Poland

The study does not have a deep theoretical aspiration, however, on the case of Poland, its goal is to present the practice of limiting pluralism and political competition by using instruments, called here as “under-the-radar” – unsophisticated, at a low level, that they do not even attract the attention of media, but and at the same time leading to the deterioration of democracy according the agenda of populist autocrats. Several such cases, that did not involved the legislative changes, will be presented in the paper. How to limit the pluralism in schools and brainwash kids? By implementing the new core curriculum in schools so late that it would not be possible for publishers to write textbooks other than the one supported by the government. Or how to limit media pluralism without direct involvement in media law? By changing the standard of television broadcasting that limit the access of private media but allow state-controlled media to reach wider audiences. Several similar case studies will be presented showing the new means of actions by the would-be autocrats.

1.2 The conflictive legacy of Bolivia’s 2019 political crisis and the democratic uncertainty. Institutional failure or political opportunity?

Martin Mendoza-Botelho, PhD, Eastern Connecticut State University, USA (Online Participation)

After more than ten years of relative political stability during the Morales administration, Bolivia plunged into one its worse political crises after the 2019 conflictive elections. While the detonators of the crisis have been extensively studied, there is still no dominant consensus on some of the basic elements of this story. What is evident, however, is that Bolivia’s key institutions were not prepared to deal in an efficient and independent matter to provide the much-needed stability in a highly diverse society characterized by political, ethnic, social, regional, and economic divisions. This panel will contribute to the ongoing debate by discussing the role that key institutions played during the crisis and how their effect in the political system. While this crisis affected the political system in its entirety, particular institutions were pivotal in steering this country in a unique direction, such as the Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal, the military, the executive, and congress, to name a few. The discussion will focus on some salient events of the 2019 crisis and

the conflictive legacy of some of this country's important institutions. While some analysts might see this as an institutional failure, our panel will explore some of the political opportunities that might have emerged out of this crisis.

1.3 Fragile Democratic Consolidation and the Institutional Role of the Electoral Process.

Rana Abo Amra. PH.D. Political Science, Faculty of Economics and Political Science - Cairo University, Egypt

The decline in the degree of democratic consolidation was reflected in a change in the pattern of democracy, not a deviation from it completely. The crisis of democratic consolidation in emerging democracies resulted from a lack of trust in "represented democracy," and then resorting to "direct popular participation" through street policies, social movements, and demonstrations. And engaging in campaigns to object to virtual reality or campaigns to write objections on the ballot paper, for example, and it is no secret that resorting to street policies in this way increases the political, economic and social costs that the political system bears to resume the process of democratic consolidation, which hindered this process in some cases. But here a question arises: How did the electoral process not reflect the state of democratic instability and the threats that democratic consolidation was facing? The electoral process, through its main variables such like the voting turnout, voting vulnerability, stability of both electoral and governing coalitions and monitoring electoral violence...etc , was actually able to reflect the indicators of this state of declining democratic consolidation, as it appeared in the low voting rates, the high rates of abstention and participation, the formation of electoral coalitions and campaigns to abstain from voting or writing the opposition's demand on the ballot paper instead of voting for anyone. candidates, as well as the lack of cohesion of electoral coalitions and the instability of ruling party coalitions. For example, the demands of the demonstrations in Chile in 2019 were to change the constitution, which is one of the issues of contention between electoral and party coalitions in the previous elections, which means that the electoral process did not fail to perform one of its roles, which is a clarification The weaknesses of the political system, but the political system chose to deal with it as a procedural tool only without looking at it from its broader historical context. The most prominent obstacles facing the effectiveness of the institutional role of the electoral process in democratic consolidation are that the focus is on the results of elections as a mechanism for the consolidation of democracy through the transfer of power between different political parties, as indicated by the most widespread definition of consolidation proposed by Huntington. The academic attention was not given to the electoral process as a more comprehensive concept that includes multiple stages and many political parties that can work to strengthen the pillars of democratic building, not only through the period of preparing for and conducting elections and announcing their results, but working continuously and institutionally during the period between the two elections. On the other hand, the effectiveness of the institutional role of the electoral process in democratic consolidation was not undermined by traditional factors such as the historical context and the transitional pattern that was reflected on the constitutional and legal framework, as much as the behavioral dimension of the main political parties to the electoral process affected, namely voters and political parties. Facing a real test of its ability to contain the

crises of governance that the street ignited after failing to contain them before. In some cases, these democratic institutions even contributed to fueling them with the results they produced in previous entitlements. There is a dilemma in the relationship of the electoral process with democratic consolidation, since long-term democratic stability is not linear, and that some indicators of democratic progress may underlie vulnerabilities and vulnerabilities that threaten to explode. In other words, the stability and frequency of the electoral process did not contribute to consolidating democracy and moving forward in consolidating the pillars of democratic status.

1.4 Afghanistan- A Romantic Failure of Western Liberalism

By Arshia Sana, Assistant Lecturer, Law at Jindal Global Law School, O.P. Jindal Global University, India, (Online Participation)

Liberalism and development are to improve and not impede the quality of life. This paper aims to study the failure in introducing Western idea of liberalism in conservative societies like Afghanistan. Shunning all the conspiracy theories about US invasion of Afghanistan and conveniently accepting that the rationale behind this invasion was only to democratize a conventional theocracy, this paper will study as to why US failed in its attempt to accomplish this mission. The paper will be divided into three parts – first part will study a rationale behind US invasion of Afghanistan. It will further study the reaction of Afghan political actors and general public to the US will to reform Afghan politics. Second part of the paper will discuss various reasons of failure of US mission, major of which is that the Western idea of liberalization is not and should not be treated as biblical or universal. Instead, every legal system is unique in its own sense and universalizing the Western idea of liberalization may cause more harm than good, as it has caused in the case of Afghanistan. The mass killings and human rights violation that occurred in this process are underminingly subdued. In this part the author will also compare and contrast the chaos in post-independent Afghanistan with that of post-independent India in 1947 and the similarities within. Another point of comparison between the two countries is that of peripheral populism. While populist leaders of Afghanistan left the people with a choice but to accept the cultural conservatism, Indian authoritarian populism is going further in this race to preiterate the Indian society. This part of the writing will establish the role of legislature in both these jurisdictions to bring their country to the point where it is today and why the Western straight-jacket formulae of global liberalism will not work here. The final part, will be more suggestive than concluding where the author will suggest a few methods to approach the third world when it comes to reforming a culturally conservative society.

1.5 Understanding FEU Political Science Students Perceptions of Police Body-Worn Cameras during Operations

by Cabrera, Analyn B., Centino, Aiken Niña R., Cristobal, Krisha Ashley C., Nocedo, Dianne Nicole M., Santos, Mark Roland S., Talaban, Gerry R. Jr, Institute of Art and Sciences, Political Science Department, Far Eastern University Manila (corresponding author Gerry R. Jr. Talaban)

The discourse of implementation of Police Body-worn cameras in the Philippines was established to address the ill-threat and abuse of the Police force to civilians; and vice versa, during drug on war operations. Several studies found internationally, deems to acknowledge the notions from law enforcers with less from citizens perception. In the Philippines, uprising cases of detrimental usage of power from extra-judicial killings (the unique ground of this study), is recognized as no study done in the Philippines; and either subjecting political science students perceptions that are considered non-biased as be further shown in this research paper. There are possibilities for biases to occur when it solely delimits the knowledge of BWCs on the part of law enforcers. Hence, this study utilized a mixed evidence on perceived perceptions of students on police BWCs. In this regards, the data from the perceptions of FEU Political Science Students is analyzed based on exploratory data analysis (EDA) in which the factors that shapes the overall perception of students on BWCs; perceived positive effects and drawbacks; and students suggestions on the implementation are explored by the study and are recommended to policy makers. As the result of the study, it is confirmed that the use of Police Body-worn cameras indicates for transparency and accountability, wherein also held as positive attitudes by university students. On the other hand, hesitation towards the use of Police body-worn cameras still showed particularly on privacy matters and on the tampering of evidence, the loss of trust is mostly found from the responses vis-a-vis on police forces in the country. Despite these, the perceptions of the Political Science students provided suggestions such as strengthening policies in order to address the hesitation towards the use of body-worn cameras. Moreover and based on the further outcome of this study, the justice system is discerned vulnerable as where manipulation of power is extended from those with authority.

2 Expert Table: Policy makers and Academics Making an Impact in a Real World

Thursday, 11:00am-12:20pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Sven T. Siefken, Institute for Parliamentary Research, Berlin, and Federal University of Applied Administrative Sciences, Germany

This roundtable offers practitioners the opportunity to discuss issues related to parliamentary support in developing democracies. Participants will address, among others, the design and inception of parliament support, the consideration of stakeholder needs and donor expectations, identifying an adequate response to reform opportunities, the alignment with standards and benchmarks for democratic legislatures, flexible management, and innovative activity implementation, peer-to-peer learning, the need for fostering ownership and stakeholder inclusion,

and the importance of indicators for measuring results. Practitioners will provide insight into the intricate work of parliamentary support work in various jurisdictions around the globe and highlight where academic research and excellence can make practical contributions to the various stages in the program cycle. This roundtable is organized to reflect upon the current status of parliamentary support programs and opportunities for future collaboration and cooperation. The roundtable will encourage audience engagement and follow-up questions.

- Kevin J. Gash, Legislative Strengthening Advisor at USAID's DRG Center
- Kafu Kofi Tsikata, Head, Global Parliamentary Engagement, World Bank Group
- Irina Khmelko, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, USA,
- Frieda Arenos, National Democratic Institute,
- Marta Udina, European Parliament, Head of Unit for Parliamentary Support and Capacity Building
- Enrico Borghetto, University of Florence
- Frank Feulner, UNDP Pacific Office

3 Panel: Democratization and de-democratization – from local to global level

Thursday, 12:30pm-1:50pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Erik Herron, West Virginia University, USA

Discussant: Renata Mieńkowska-Norkiene, Associate Professor, Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland

3.1 Federalism in a post-pandemic world

Tridivesh Singh Maini, Assistant Professor, OP Jindal Global University, Sonipat

In recent years there has been a lot of discussion on the rise of 'authoritarian tendencies' and increasing concentration of power in the hands of individual leaders – which has manifested itself in different ways. The covid19 pandemic, many argue, has led not just to centralisation of power, but also to federal governments becoming more powerful given that they have taken the lead in policies related to controlling the pandemic, such as lockdowns, as well as economic policies for getting economies back on track. This paper will try and examine with case studies examples of 'cooperative federalism' as well as those where federal governments and sub-national governments have had differences over dealing with the pandemic.

3.2 Democratization and Autocratization in Multi-level Democracies. Case Study of Poland

Adam Szymański, Associate Professor, Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland

Most studies on the democratic or, in recent years, de-democratic changes have concentrated so far on the national level, while they are also important at the local and regional levels. The proposed paper is aimed at investigating: 1) changes going in either democratic or autocratic direction within the local and regional structures in a state as well as 2) their relationship with the similar processes at the national (central) level – focusing on the impact of the national tier on lower territorial levels. The case of Poland will be studied in the years 2010-2022 (three full legislative periods of local and regional structures), including the time of pandemic. This state has been selected because it is an interesting case of the EU member having three subnational levels, combination of centralized and decentralized model of administration as well as various political profiles of local and regional authorities (including politically non-aligned persons) and models of their political relationship with central authorities, not to mention the process of democratic backsliding, observable particularly since 2015. The paper will present a part of research within the 3-year project carried out at the University of Warsaw within the OPUS 20 programme of the National Science Centre. It is a pilot study which covers selected 5 voivodeships in Poland and cities within these provinces. The paper (as well as the study) is based on the theoretical framework concerning two pillars: democracy/(de-)democratization and territorial dimension of politics. It takes mainly a qualitative approach. For analysing links between territorial dimension and democratization/autocratization in Poland the following sources have been collected: local media materials, data from in-depth semi-structured interviews of sub-national politicians and national experts as well as data from focus group interviews – local journalists and NGOs members. The following methods of analysing data have been used: content analysis (with a use of MAXQDA software) – to find out if we can observe at subnational levels any non-democratic legislation and practices and to investigate the local and regional groups' perception of the state of democracy in their cities or regions; process-tracing of the paths through which the national level affects the subnational structures – to investigate the causal chains leading to democratic or autocratic changes.

3.3 Autonomy, Community and the Future of Democracy

Edgar Flores Tiravanti, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

In the current international context, in which a new post-globalisation (and post-pandemic) order seems to be emerging -in Europe, through the war in Ukraine; as well as in the Asia Pacific region, with the attempts to contain China by the US and its allies-, the challenge to the US (and Western) hegemony is taking place on at least three fronts: the strategic-military, the economic-commercial and the ideological-institutional. It is on this last front, the ideological-institutional one, where we propose to locate (and discuss) the demands for the renewal of democratic institutions, expressed

by the so called “citizenry or keyboard revolutions”, such as Indignados, the Gilets Jaunes, and more recently, the riots surrounding the last US presidential elections, as well as the demonstrations against the vaccine pass in Europe, or the rallies led by the Truckers in Canada. In the context of the institutional, political and economic crisis expressed by these revolts, socio-economic demands are present, but they are secondary elements of a broader and deeper claim: recognition and autonomy. Our hypothesis is that this claim is not only the symptom of a problem of administration and representation, but above all, a crisis of values that affects the very foundations of democracy. Which are the triggers of this rebellion? What makes anonymous citizens take over the streets? What part of themselves (or their “self”) is at stake? Identifying these triggers, could potentially suggest a therapy to address the current challenge to democracy, in the hope it still has a future.

3.4 Post-Cold-War World Order and Global Democratic Backslide

by Sagheer Ahmad Khan, Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan

Polarization, exclusion of minorities, distrust about established institutions and norms and; consequent rise of authoritarian leaders, trends of centralization---at the expense of the principle of separation of power---and declining impartiality of state institutions are prevalent features of recent time in many societies throughout the globe. This particular type of democratic backslide has largely been studied either at state or at individual’s levels. The third level---international system/global power structure---however, has been ignored despite the fact that the phenomenon is global in its character as it affected societies throughout the globe. Therefore, the phenomenon has been studied in relation to determining effects of changes in nature of global order and ensuing policies of the super power with regard to its global engagement in military and economic affairs. It is argued that limitation on choices (for citizens) set by global order and nature of global engagement of the super power facilitated a discourse of exclusive nationalism; technological changes gave the discourse a populist touch and generated demands for its assertive expression (authoritarianism) finally; the discourse gained momentum with changes in power relations at global level (declining role of USA in international politics).

3.5 Intergenerational and intragenerational responsibility: how does environmental law deal with the principle of non-refoulement?

By Cinzia Cilento, PhD student in Comparative Law and Integration Processes, Università degli Studi della Campania Luigi Vanvitelli, Department of Political Science, Caserta, Italy

While the concept of intergenerational responsibility commonly refers to the satisfaction of the needs and demands of present and future generations (Roemer, 2007), intra-generational responsibility implies the concept of justice in a broad and democratic sense, for instance equity in measured terms of quality of life, availability of essential goods and access to equal opportunities considering capabilities and resources, guaranteed to every community member

(Padilla, 2002). Both definitions are increasingly finding their way into constitutional environmental law and especially within the climate change debate, but in which respect are they interconnected? How do inter- and intra-generational responsibilities approach the issue of “climate refugees” and the principle of non-refoulement? The following paper aims to investigate what are the main features of environmental inter- and intragenerational responsibility and how normative developments related to the environmental law arena are equipped to embed intergenerational equity and the principle of non-refoulement. The methodological framework of the research will be drawn through a comparison between two main approaches, the “polluter pays theory” and the “ability-to-pay” principle, applied to the case study of Ioane Teitiota, a farmer of the Republic of Kiribati who emigrated from the island of Tarawa to New Zealand prompting his displacement because of climate change.

4 Panel: Legislatures and Legislation: Domestic and International Political Challenges

Thursday, 2:00pm-3:20pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Omomayowa Olawale Abati, The University of Leeds, UK, Stellenbosch University, South Africa

Discussant: Robert Brett Taylor, University of Aberdeen School of Law in Scotland, UK

4.1 The legislature within a web of pandemics: Evaluating roles, actions and missteps under a protest climate

By Boluwatife Solomon Ajibola, Faculty of Environment, University of Leeds, United Kingdom.

Africa has in the past two years witnessed a cornucopia of social inequities and human rights violations which sparked several protests and violent demonstrations. These coincided with what has been widely acknowledged as the unprecedented bane of the 21st century – the Covid-19 pandemic. For many, the rhythms of democratic and human rights violations were ‘pandemics within a pandemic’. The #stopGBV movement against gender-based violence in South Africa, the #AmharaGenocide protests against violence in Ethiopia, the #ShutItAllDown movement against gender-based violence in Namibia, the #ZimbabweanLivesMatter movement against rights abuses, and the #EndSARS movement against police brutality in Nigeria are a few examples. As reported in these different contexts, agencies and arms of government were key targets of the protesters. However, the case of Nigeria’s #EndSARS protests punctuated both the vulnerabilities of the legislative institution to (violent) targeting by angry protesters as well as their powers to quell dissent. The academic study of parliamentary procedures has been successful in bringing to light, among other things, the constitutional requirements for public accountability, the importance of legislative independence in building public trust, and the changing trends in public engagement. Findings on inter-arm government agencies’ rapid response patterns in times of emergencies are also not uncommon. However, less has been documented on what roles legislatures play during social movements, and in times of human rights emergencies. Thus, this study which draws on

mixed methods, through exploratory interviews and surveys, investigates the roles of the legislature in dealing with aggression and its consequences under protest climate.

4.2 The Dilemmas, Challenges and Opportunities of Legislating on ESRs: A Case-study From 21st Century India

By Shruti Pandey, Professor of Legal Practice, and Director of Centre for Human Rights, Jindal Global Law School, O.P. Jindal Global University, India

The draft Indian 'National Health Bill' of year 2009 remains the most substantial rights-based, comprehensive, legislative endeavour on health in the country. More than a decade after the process was undertaken by the Indian government to enact such a law and later lapsed by the same government, it offers an instructive case-study about the entrenched milieu and processes of widening dichotomy between law and policy, particularly on economic and social rights (ESRs): India's economic liberalization began in the year 1991. Remarkably, Indian legislative initiatives on ESRs also gathered momentum broadly from the 1990s. The temporal overlap of these two incongruous phenomena is clearly not a random coincidence. In fact, the chasm between the promise of legal—and justiciable—rights, and the contrary political will, only grew as liberalization struck deeper roots. Privatization has been actively nurtured by Indian state through withdrawing itself and yielding – in the name of quality, efficiency, access. This is true for the entire range of ESRs, all of which have been increasingly privatized. Massive high-profile, resource-intensive, and non-justiciable federal policies have been announced to drive that agenda by increasingly populist government. Still, the promise of law continues to be held out through recurring government announcements. In such a scenario, law making is palpably tokenistic – processually apolitical and hyper-technical, conceptually fragmented and inchoate. Yet, it remains vital to continue to engage with every such legislative process as a dialectic interplay of the unconstituted, constitutive and constituted, which productively go back and forth in time, space and agency.

4.3 Liberal-Democratic Agenda and Legislation in the Parliament of Pakistan (2008-2021)

Ahsan Riaz, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Punjab, Pakistan

Liberal democracy got a dominant position in world politics after World War II. Now it has been adopted by a vast majority of the political spectrum in the world. Liberal democratic values are varied but usually, they are emphasized to develop democratic government, promote civil society or civil liberty, and protect the rights and freedoms of individuals as well as groups. Sometimes these values are guaranteed by the constitutions or otherwise generated by statutory law which may empower various civil institutions to enforce these laws. After the independence, Pakistan apparently adopted the democratic system in various constitutions of 1956, 1962, 1973, and the latest version of the current constitution. The most of these constitutions incorporated the

democratic values and norms. Pakistan also gives the rights of property, privacy, equality; and freedom of speech, assembly, and religion. Rule of law is enforced by the parliamentary system which has a sovereign authority. To some extent the legislation process did follow the agenda of liberal democracy but in a limited way. However, the bitter reality is that practical implementation of the constitutional provisions is not very encouraging. The reasons are political instability, supremacy of authoritarian structure and the misuse of political power and on top of all is the temperament the opponent political forces in the country. Political forces have become quite stubborn to listen each other's point of view. This article intends to examine the main agenda of the liberal democracy and to see whether Pakistan's legislature executed according to democratic values? What had been the legislative preferences of Pakistan's government? What are the factors which were the major hurdles in the way of required legislative process? The qualitative and descriptive methods have been used to analyze the theoretical aspect of liberal democracy and its adaptation Pakistan. Bibliographical analyses also used to examine, how many bills have been passed from 2008 to 2021 regarding liberal perspective and how much was the implementation index. This research is based on both primary and secondary data.

4.4 Legislature and the adoption of national and regional agreements: the effect on the fight against insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria

Tunde, A. Abioro, PhD, Department of Local Government and Development Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

Since the year 2002, the Nigerian state has been confronted with the menace of insurgency and terrorism. Specifically, the dimension of the violence in the northern part of the country is the sudden advent and popularity of a radical Muslim religious sect known as Yusuiffiyya Movement. Currently, the North-east and the North-west regions are regularly confronted with deadly attacks from the bandits and terrorists who not only kidnap to collect huge ransoms before releasing their captives but exterminate the victims in some instances. The South-south region has also suffered attacks ranging from the kidnap of expatriates to vandalism of petroleum pipelines among others. These crimes against the state and the citizens have fragmented the citizens and effected so poorly on the social economic status of the people. However, there are conditions imposed by manufacturing nations before procurement and deployment of certain categories of military hardware are allowed. Therein, it has either been underserving or inappropriate. The study will assess how the national and regional agreements have hampered the state response as well as the role of the legislature in addressing the situation if at all it has the capacity to intervene. The study will adopt historical method to gather data that will be descriptively interpreted.

4.5 The order according to Carl Schmitt: between normativity and politicity (Case of pandemic)

Orazio Maria Gnerre, PhD Candidate, University of Perugia, Italy

Carl Schmitt was one of the most famous political theorists of the twentieth century, and at the same time an expert in national and international law. His thought not only moved fluidly between law and the study of politics, but he conceived concepts and presuppositions in which these two disciplinary fields overlapped. He demonstrated how at the heart of certain methodological or procedural problems survives the question of the primordial forms with which the associated life of human beings was linguistically expressed. One of these principles is that of order / ordering. His perspective has been defined as that of a “mystic of order” (Montserrat Herrero). With this speech we therefore want to explain how the concept of “order” is central to Schmittian thought, and above all how it is expressed in jurisprudence as well as in political science through a reflection on the order as a principle and on the orders as an always plural phenomenon.

5 Panel: Democratization and de-democratization in India

Thursday, 3:30pm-4:50pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Renata Mieñkowska-Norkiene, Associate Professor, Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland

Discussant: Edgar Flores Tiravanti, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

5.1 Democracy and Identity Politics: The Power-Sharing in Contemporary India

Ivy Dhar, PhD, Assistant Professor, School of Development Studies, B.R. Ambedkar University Delhi, India.

South Asia has struggled out of a colonial past to evolve as sovereign states that are racially, culturally, and politically free from subjugation. Democracy in the region is crafted to particularly fulfill the goal of representation of identities. Most of the South Asian states after coming out of colonization had embraced homogenization, while India stood apart. Federalism, regionalism, and caste politics provided fodder for its democratic aspiration. The complexity has been continuously reconstructed, both imaginary and existentially, in India than in any other state of South Asia. The limited base of parties that hold caste or linguistic identity as its mainstay had led communities to shift loyalty towards leadership that slogans ‘unity in diversity’ and ‘nation first’. The power-sharing dynamics at the national level are presently guided by a decisive shift towards integration. India may have taken to globalization but its identity politics remains domestic with very little international influence (Pingle and Varshney, 2006). A simplistic argument of economic integration cannot suffice the political one. The question is whether fragmented politics and the stress on cultural differences in the previous decades had deepened democracy more than the present trend. This paper, while reflecting on the comparative goals of democracy in South Asia, will bring into discussion the changes in the nexus of democracy and identity politics in India. It will critically reflect on the shift of legislative inclinations, the trend towards centralization, representation, and the identity groups’ stake in integration.

5.2 Parastatal Bodies in Governance: A Case from Hampi UNESCO World Heritage Site in India

by Philip Varghese, PhD, Assistant Professor, Christ University, India

This paper analyses the contemporary events of Hampi (India) through an exploratory theoretical framework for understanding the role of parastatal bodies in governance and the enhanced role and power of executives over the legislative processes. While parastatal agencies and unelected commissioners are pre-73/74th amendment legacies that have not been undone, what is also worrying is the further de-politicization of local government in post-colonial India. Hampi, being the capital city of the medieval Vijayanagara empire is a thriving tourist hotspot in India today and has also earned the tag of a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site. Small-scale farmers, shopkeepers, restaurant owners, homestay service providers, and tour and hiking guides were the main occupations of the members of the Hampi community. Nevertheless, their identity is shaped by their overt dependence on tourism activity in the region. Although this has changed since 2011 when the first wave of demolitions and evictions of people and their economic livelihood options took place, only to be followed by a series of such raids and bulldozing of their homes in recent years. The local villagers are now “illegal residents”, “encroachers”, “criminals” and a “menace” to the safety and serenity of the world heritage site all of a sudden in the eyes of the administration and as per official notifications and records. With this case study, the paper would argue to validate how participatory local governance, as envisaged in the 73rd and 74th amendments of the Indian constitution has changed with the formation of the new parastatal bodies and shed insights into how the right-based approach and participatory governance have taken a seat back when it comes to the decision-making process in the world’s largest democracy.

5.3 Democracy in Divided Societies: Social Coalitions and Power-Sharing in Kerala

By Shahul Hameed MM, Ph.D. candidate, Centre for Political Studies (CPS), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, India

The Indian state of Kerala has a unique feature of sustaining an accommodative political culture even as the majoritarian Hindu nationalist party is ruling the center and most of the states. A polity, peopled by three major religions of the planet-Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam-and numerous caste groups, developed a sustainable political model with the participation of all major social groups without any significant communal disorders. Since its formation, the governments formed in the state have contained at least one member from the four significant social groups, constituting around 90 percent of the population. First, it explores how the historical legacies of the state shaped the current political structure that provided representation to all social groups without communal confrontations in contrast with the general Indian social scenario. Second, it uses the power-sharing framework to understand how the state developed and sustained an accommodative political structure amid deep social divisions. Finally, it discusses its implications for the rest of the country and other divided societies.

6 Panel: Legislatures and Liberal Democracy I – Question of Political Inclusion

Thursday, 5:00pm-6:20pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Shruti Pandey, O.P. Jindal Global University, India

Discussant: Adam Szymański, University of Warsaw, Poland

6.1 Progress disrupted: Legislative activity in Fiji during the COVID-19 pandemic

By Frank Feulner, UNDP Pacific Office

This paper analyses the legislative activity conducted by the Parliament of the Republic of Fiji during the COVID-19 pandemic from 2020 to 2021. Exemplified by the characteristics of Pacific Island Countries, like small populations, remoteness, infrastructure challenges, cultural norms, and a susceptibility to natural disasters, the Parliament of Fiji has faced specific challenges to its administration and legislative activities. The paper describes the impact of the crisis on parliamentary operations like parliamentary sessions and committee meetings, resulting in an expedited rollout and usage of digital tools for online participation and communication. More, it highlights the decreased influence of parliament on policy making throughout the crisis, diminished executive oversight, and reduced public engagement. Although no state of emergency was declared in Fiji to deal with the crisis, the declaration of a natural disaster during the early stage of the pandemic, allowed the government to utilize provisions of the National Health Act to impose several restrictive measures with little parliament debate and scrutiny. Subsequent legislation-making in general and not pandemic-related policy areas occurred in an expedited fashion, resulting in a reduced consultation and deliberation. Similarly, the frequency and intensity of oversight instruments by parliament declined. With debate of pandemic measures and assistance mainly relegated to the annual budget discussion, no specific parliamentary investigating committee was set up to scrutinize the national response to COVID-19. Although an improvement of public outreach by parliament could be witnessed in the use of multiple new communication channels, like live streaming of sessions and committee meetings, the personal interaction of MPs with their constituents declined and the frequency of public consultations suffered a setback. Almost two years since the onset of the pandemic, standing committees have returned to in-person meetings and conducting public consultations. It is hoped that with an end of the COVID-19 crisis in sight, the negative trends will be reversed and that the Parliament of Fiji will resume strengthening its core functions with reimagined opportunities for its democratic role.

6.2 Is Lowering the Minimum Age of Candidacy Enough? The Politics of Youth Representation in Nigeria's Lower National Legislature

by Omomayowa Olawale Abati, PhD candidate, School of Politics and International Studies (POLIS) The University of Leeds, United Kingdom/ Department of Political Science, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa

Through series of advocacy campaigns by a coalition of youth-centric civil society organisations, the minimum ages of candidacy for elective positions in Nigeria were successfully reduced variedly from 40 and 30 to 35 and 25 for the Presidency, and the Federal House of Representative and State Houses of Assembly respectively. While the passage of the bill is a laudable attempt towards youth political inclusion in the country, it remains to be known if lowering candidacy ages will necessarily lead to improved youth parliamentary representation. In this regard, it is needful to take an historic gaze at the role played by young members of parliament in the current democratic dispensation; specifically examining the descriptive and substantive representation of young MPs since 1999. Examining historical descriptive representational pattern helps to ascertain the extent to which the parliament has mirrored not just the demographic characteristics but also the opinions of the people, experiences, and interests. Similarly, examining historical substantive representational patterns reviews the extent to which the parliament has acted on the behalf of, in the interest of, and as agents of, or as substitute of the represented. Using this historical lens, the study subjects the new minimum candidacy rule to analytic review; avowing that, at best, the new rules are permissive but not prescriptive; while they pave way for youths to come forward as political aspirants, failure to require parties to nominate more youths as political candidates leaves little to be desired for improved youth parliamentary representation.

6.3 Explaining Cross-National Differences in Women's Descriptive Representation in the European Parliament: a Comparative Study

by Aleksandra Polak, PhD Candidate, Doctoral School of Social Sciences, University of Warsaw, Poland

The paper aims to contribute to the existing literature on cross-national variation in women's descriptive representation in the European Parliament (EP) by examining variables that have been deemed potentially significant in previous research but not yet empirically tested for all EU Member States. The study juxtaposes the variables from two units of analysis: intra-party level and national level and compares their relative significance for gender balance in the EP. Taking into account the aggregated EU average, the percentage of women in the EP has been consistently higher than in national parliaments. However, a disaggregated analysis unveils substantial variations across Member States. The study draws on data from the European elections in 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019 and seeks to answer the following research questions: 1. Why does a high cross-national variation in women's descriptive political representation occur in the European Parliament? 2. What characteristics of national political parties favour electing women as MEPs? 2a. Do the political orientations of parties, their views on social and cultural values and their positions on

European integration have any effect on the percentage of women elected from these parties to the European Parliament? 2b. Do internal party rules, structures and candidate selection procedures make a difference in terms of gender balance of the party's representation in the EP? 3. Does national ballot structure have an impact on the percentage of women MEPs elected from Member States? 4. Factors from which level – national or intra-party – are more significant for the women's descriptive representation in the EP?

6.4 Progress, Stagnation and the Contradictions Thereof: The Nigerian Legislature's Role as Vanguard of Disability-Inclusive Governance and Development

by Temitayo Odeyemi, PhD candidate, School of Politics and International Studies, University of Leeds, United Kingdom, Department of Political Science, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

To what extent do legislatures in emerging democracies function to facilitate social and political inclusion of persons living with disabilities (PWDs)? I argue that pressures from external stakeholders often make legislatures in such contexts to develop legislations aimed at enhancing the inclusion and well-being of PWDs. When such legislations become laws, implementation is limited because of the inability of key actors to engage and push relevant institutional reforms, including within the internal mechanisms and processes of the legislature. Thus, the same legislative institutions that had worked to bring about legislation for inclusion are among the biggest culprits of exclusionary norms. I support the argument with the case of Nigeria, where the Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Law 2018, aiming to enhance the well-being of the country's 25 million PWDs, was a subject of 18 years of controversies between the legislature and the executive, with the legislature passing it 3 times before it eventually received presidential assent in 2019. I relied on months of in-depth interviews, observations and document analysis to show stagnation in the implementation of the provisions of the Disability Law, mainly because of limited will and agency of the legislature in functioning as an enabler of social integration. Among others, weak inter-chamber synergy within the National Assembly, slow progress in replicating relevant legislations at the subnational levels and poor policy engagement of PWDs had combined with weak oversight of implementing agencies to limit the effectiveness of the legislature and the Disability Law as vanguards of disability-inclusive development.

6.5 How citizens imagine expectations: Revisiting clientelism and its impact on legislative perceptions

By Mayowa Micheal Adeniji, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Redeemer's University, Ede, Osun State, Nigeria

In developing societies, democratisation is often marred by the influence of informal dynamics which usually define the nature of interaction between legislators and constituents. MPs face the pressure to downplay their primary law-making, representation, oversight and constituency services roles in favour of the provision of particularistic and clientelist goods, or risk losing

goodwill and elections. But it is not always known if citizens' clientelist expectations are as prominent among young people who, by their education, are exposed to democratic ideals of MPs' duties. Against this background, this article assesses the impact of clientelism on young citizens' assessment of national and subnational legislators in Nigeria. What are young citizens' conceptions of MPs roles and how are these conceptions formed? How are clientelist attachments formed, sustained, and what influences do they have on young citizens' evaluation of legislators? The study argues that clientelism complicates, leverages, and perpetuates the predominant cycle of poverty, deprivation and skills deficiency by jettisoning public good for private or particularistic goods and undermines the quality of legislators' primary functions. In drawing evidence, the study uses several sources, including the quantitative and qualitative data methods involving Surveys and Focus Group Discussion sessions with young people (ages 18 – 29). The study provides a developing country understanding of clientelist trends by accounting for the roles of underestimated informal institutions in shaping young citizens' opinion and dispositions.

6.6 Namibia Parliament conducts an e-Parliament assessment

by Patrick Kabuya, The World Bank and Kafu Kofi Tsikata, The World Bank

The Namibia Parliament (National Assembly and National Council) aspires to accelerate the adoption of e-Parliament to improve efficiency within the institution and increase its interaction with its stakeholders. The aspiration was driven by COVID 19 and increased demand for transparency by citizens. The World Bank supported the Parliament to conduct a baseline assessment of e-Parliament, through a consultative process, based on the pillars of the World IPU e-Parliament 2020 report. The assessment report proposed reforms to accelerate the use of digital technologies by the Parliament. Specific reforms include: (i) developing and implementing a formal citizen engagement strategy based on a more cost-effective use of digital technologies. (ii) Digitizing parliament information for easy access by users and recruit library research staff to support MPs and citizens. (iii) Enhancing chamber and committee digital services, and (iv) improving Digital skills for MPs and parliamentary staff. The reforms have been included in the 2022 – 2027 Namibia e-Parliament strategy launched in December 2022. The paper/ presentation will highlight the key findings and recommendations of the assessments and an overview of the e-Parliament strategy.

7 Panel: Legislatures and Liberal Democracy II – Question of Legislative-Executive Relationship

Friday 8:00am-9:20am, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chairs: Orazio Maria Gnerre, University of Perugia, Italy

Discussant: Ivy Dhar, School of Development Studies, B.R. Ambedkar University Delhi, India

7.1 The role of legislatures to address the challenges of representation and legitimation in emergent democracies with a case study of South Africa.

by Ainara Mancebo, PhD, Ronin Institute, USA

After almost three decades of dominant party system, South Africa faces multiple crises. Despite the benign effects of this dominant party system in the consolidation of its democratic system (Mancebo, 2020), many challenges menace the quality of South African democracy. Parliamentary accountability and oversight, likewise corruption in high levels of the administration jeopardise the political process goals of legitimacy and stability. In the midst of a variety political crisis and constant decline of electoral turnout, extra-parliamentarian opposition and civil society claim that the current South African electoral reform to accommodate independent candidates in the elections of national and provincial representatives will increase the accountability within the system and its legitimacy. This article explores the internal variables to a legislature that maximise its capacity to constrain government through the correlation between certain institutional features, besides external variables such as party system. It appears that the principal political variable for explaining South Africa legislative capacity to constraint executive is the party system. The legislative's influence exercised by political parties is determined, to a large extent, by the electoral system, and by the nature of society (whether homogeneous or fragmented). In terms of relationship between legislatures and governments (Strom 2003), the assumption is that the institution can affect what government does; alternatively it can constrain the government. In order to analyse the capacity of the legislatures to hold the government to account, it is important to identify which category a legislature occupies (Döring 2001; Tsebelis 2002).

7.2 Is a strong government antithetical to a Functioning Parliament? (India)

Sahibnoor Singh Sidhu, B.A., LL.B. (JGLS), LL.M. (University of Toronto, Canada), Assistant Lecturer, Jindal Global Law School, O.P. Jindal Global University

The paper shall intend to look at the direct relation between electoral mandate and the efficiency of parliamentary debates in India. Even before the formal proclamation of independence by India, and for a long time since, India witnessed a healthy environment of parliamentary debates. In the Constituent Assembly overwhelmingly populated by representatives of the Indian National Congress (INC), members from outside the INC were elected from constituencies reserved by the INC for a higher diversity of ideas in the Assembly. This trend has worsened since 2014 when India voted a strong centralising government with a majority of seats in the parliament. This paper shall look at the decline in the utilisation of the Parliament for debate and passing legislations. An analysis of the parliamentary business from 2000-2022 has interesting trends that beg notice. A stronger central government in 2014 (Indian Central governments were dependent on coalitions from 1989-2014) seems to have had a direct impact on the increase in the number of ordinances (executive orders promulgated by the President) and a decrease in the number of days and hours that the Parliament has spent debating. The number of legislations to go through Parliamentary

Committees and even basic Parliamentary debates has significantly reduced. This paper will draw a connection between a strong center and decline in the efficiency of the Parliament from 2000-2022. It will also explore theoretical basis for the scrapping of ordinance system in India and suggesting steps for revising and reviving debate and deliberation in the Indian parliament.

7.3 Ensuring democratic accountability of executive legislation in the UK post-Brexit

Robert Brett Taylor, Professor, University of Aberdeen School of Law in Scotland, UK,
Adelyn L M Wilson, Associate Professor, University of Aberdeen School of Law in Scotland, UK

Brexit has contributed to executive legislation becoming the dominant mechanism for law-making in the UK. Delegation of broad rule-making powers is enabled under the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, which grants Parliament unlimited legislative authority. Parliament routinely bestows the executive with diverse and far-reaching powers: to amend primary legislation itself (so-called “Henry VIII powers”); to amend EU law as it would continue to apply after Brexit; and to change the law at a sub-national level without consent of the devolved executives or legislatures of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The effectiveness of the democratic checks by Parliament is increasingly doubted, leading to concerns being raised regarding constitutional legitimacy and democratic oversight. This paper will consider: the processes for delegating powers and making executive legislation, the extent and effectiveness of scrutiny by the legislatures and courts, and the limitations of interparliamentary cooperation between national and devolved legislatures within the unitary state. Although it will focus on the UK, it will contextualise the UK experience by drawing international comparisons.

7.4 Institutional Design, Cabinet Stability and Parliamentary Dissolution

Luai Allarakia, Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Richmond,
USA

Kuwait’s political system has become notorious for its terminal impasse. This has had serious consequence on the economic development of Kuwait despite its massive per capita oil wealth. In turn, it has also cast doubt over the value of democracy in Kuwait, and the attractiveness of its relatively more open political model compared to its mostly authoritarian neighbors. In this paper I examine executive-legislative relations in Kuwait’s unique political system (democratically elected parliament combined with a hereditary monarchy). I aim to unravel the roots of Kuwait’s terminal political deadlock, by examining the connection between poor institutional design, cabinet stability and parliamentary dissolution.

7.5 Parliaments in Foreign Policy Making

by Jan Menzer, Foreign Policy Advisor, Deutscher Bundestag

How do parliamentarians shape governments foreign policy? I want to give an introduction about cases and circumstances for parliamentarians foreign policy making. Additionally I will explore who is consulting MPs and how influential they are. I will concentrate on the Bundestag but with a comparison to other parliaments.

7.6 Financial Oversight for Public Accounts Committees in Small States

by Isabelle Watkinson, McGill University

McGill University, among other academic and organizational partners, entered a research project on financial oversight in small states, specifically through the role of Public Accounts Committees. The forthcoming book, *Enhanced Parliamentary Oversight: Promoting Good Governance in Smaller States*, is the product of research which surveyed Committee Chairs and Clerks from about 30 small countries and sub-national jurisdictions. A byproduct of this research was a Handbook I prepared for one of our institutional partners, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA). This Handbook on Parliamentary Financial Oversight offers 16 practical recommendations to enhance PAC performance by adapting international best practices to the size and resource capacities of smaller parliaments. The recommendations were divided into three primary factors that have been found to impact PAC performance: opportunity, capacity and motivation. Opportunity refers to the institutional context that establishes the scope of a PAC's mandate and ability to execute its oversight function. Capacity is the organizational context that impacts a Committee's ability to fulfill its mandate and undertake its oversight duties. Finally, motivation encompasses the component of Committee performance that cannot be explained by the institutional or organizational context. Beyond available tools, supporting institutions or other facilitating conditions, motivation refers to the willingness of PAC members to fulfil their mandate and undertake diligent oversight. This fall, I will be conducting a research study and writing a discussion paper focused specifically on Canadian PACs. This study will utilize survey data provided by parliamentary partners and the Canadian Audit & Accountability Foundation, a national organization committed to promoting public-sector auditing, oversight and accountability. By conducting statistical analyses on the survey data and comparing the findings of smaller provinces/territories to that of larger jurisdictions, we will develop recommendations related to the aforementioned factors, which will be relevant to PACs in smaller jurisdictions located in Canada and abroad.

8 Panel: Parliaments in Policy-Making

Friday, 9:30am-10:50am, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Sven T. Siefken, Institute for Parliamentary Research, Berlin, and Federal University of Applied Administrative Sciences, Germany

Discussant: Adelyn L M Wilson, Associate Professor, University of Aberdeen School of Law in Scotland, UK

8.1 Parliamentary Institutions and Portfolio Allocation in Coalition Governments

Cristina Bucur, Assistant Professor, School of Politics & International Relations, University College Dublin, UK, Bjørn Erik Rasch, Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, Norway

The distribution of cabinet seats among coalition partners is puzzling: portfolio allocations tend to be highly proportional, while legislative bargaining models typically predict over-compensation of formateur parties. This paper investigates how variation in the involvement of legislators in the making and breaking of governments affects the share of portfolios that formateur parties reap. We argue that restrictive rules for government formation and termination increase the prospects of coalition durability and provide formateur parties with weaker incentives to overcompensate coalition partners in exchange for their support. Our results confirm that absolute majority requirements for cabinet formation and removal tend to advantage formateur parties in portfolio allocation. This finding is robust to various coalition characteristics and national settings. The analysis covers 30 countries and doubles the number of observations compared to previous studies. Moreover, we improve measurement of portfolio allocation by basing calculations on the unbiased Sainte-Laguë divisor method.

8.2 Comparing opposition power across regime types: The case of Africa

by Danny Schindler, Institute for Parliamentary Research (IParI), Berlin, Germany

While it is tempting to disregard constitutions in non-democratic regimes, it is even more tempting to dismiss the search for constitutional norms that protect the interests of the parliamentary opposition, i.e. the institutionalized form for the expression of opposition. In particular, one might argue that strictly autocratic regimes are a least likely case for constitutional foundations of parliamentary opposition power given that assemblies are seen as mere rubberstamps in those contexts. However, there are also arguments against that reasoning. For instance, constitutionally protected minority rights can bolster a regime's legitimacy domestically and internationally. Moreover, parliamentary oppositions can entail benefits for autocratic leaders since they channel criticism and provide effective information. Empirically, I focus on Africa which provides an insightful sample for various reasons. Almost all regimes are characterized by powerful presidents

controlling legislative majorities. Besides, most African constitutions have been newly introduced or substantially revised since the advent of multipartyism in the 1990s. Finally, the continent provides an enormously diverse setting that allows comparisons between autocratic, hybrid and democratic contexts, among others. The paper first outlines a framework for broadly analysing parliamentary opposition power. Second, it presents initial findings from a new dataset for African polities.

8.3 A Parliament Evolving Towards Evidence-Based Policy: Ireland and the experience of the 2010-2014 IMF-EU-ECB bailout and beyond

Charles Larkin, University of Bath, Bath, UK

The paper addresses how Ireland's legislature developed into a more accountable and evidence-based organisation. The paper looks directly at budgetary oversight and how it shifted from being driven by a rigid party whip system and anecdotal evidence towards a more evidence-based approach to policymaking under the impetus of the IMF-EU-ECB (Troika) Bailout of the Irish economy. This paper looks at the initial legislative requirements of the IMF, the development of an independent fiscal watchdog in law, the formation of a government economic service and the eventual creation of a parliamentary budget office to improve the evidence-base used by parliamentarians as part of the policy formation process. This work is informed by the author's direct experience as a researcher and special advisor in the Irish parliament during the Troika Bailout and as a researcher for the official Joint Oireachtas [Irish Parliament] Committee of Inquiry into the Banking Crisis.

8.4 The public engagement agenda and the deepening divide between legislatures' practice

by Cristina Leston-Bandeira, University of Leeds, UK

Over the past couple of decades, public engagement has gained extraordinary visibility amongst parliaments, being often seen as the solution for deepening malaises of contemporary democracies. For some legislatures, this has resulted in considerable expansion of services and staff to deliver complex strategies and practices to promote public involvement in parliamentary affairs, as well as of understanding of parliamentary practice. However, this development has been very patchy and in many cases the understanding of public engagement is still very limited. More importantly, it is often unclear the extent to which parliamentary public engagement has resulted in an enhancement of our democracies. This paper will explore how parliamentary public engagement has developed and the extent to which it has met the challenges it set out to address.

9 Book Event: Meet the Authors and discuss findings from “Legislative Decline in the 21st Century: A Comparative Perspective.

Friday 12:30pm-1:50pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

Book: “Legislative Decline in the 21st Century: A Comparative Perspective“. Irina Khmelko, F. Stapenhurst, and M. Mezey (Eds). Routledge, 2020.

This event will offer an opportunity to discuss the most recent trends in world development with regard to the rise of powerful executives and legislative decline in many countries of the world. What explains the recent inability of national legislatures to check the growth of executive power? Why do some democracies do better than others? We will discuss historical legacies, institutional design; economic factors; external factors; political polarization; the personalization of the politics, and random, exogenous “shocks,” and the other factors that may explain these developments.

Chair: Irina Khmelko, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, USA

Discussants

- John Ishiyama, University of North Texas, USA
- Irina Khmelko, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, USA
- Sven T. Siefken, Institute for Parliamentary Research, Berlin, and Federal University of Applied Administrative Sciences, Germany
- Csaba Nikolenyi, Professor, Concordia University, Montréal, Canada
- Adam Szymański, University of Warsaw, Poland

10 Panel: Post-Communist Countries: History and Modern Developments

Friday, 2:00pm-3:20pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Adam Szymański, University of Warsaw, Poland

Discussant: Łukasz Zamęcki, Associate Professor, University of Warsaw, Poland

10.1 Regime Implications and Legislative Roles During War Times: Cases of Ukraine and Russia

Irina Khmelko, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, USA

This paper examines the regime implications of legislative roles during war times. While there is substantial research on how nations unite behind presidents during war times and on the recent

rise of powerful executives and decline of legislatures in many countries around the world, there is substantially less clarity on the implications of the roles of legislatures during war times and implications for the future of a regime in a country. Do wars necessarily mean a further decline in legislative powers and subsequent move of a country towards authoritarianism, or under what conditions can democracy prevail at the end, and what roles do legislatures play in this process? This analysis uses the ongoing case of a war of Russia on Ukraine that started on February 24, 2022. It discusses how different sets of factors, such as political, historical, and economic, influence current political developments and potential regime implications in Ukraine and Russia. It analyzes governmental documents and media coverage in Ukraine, Russia, UK, Germany, and the USA to discuss regime implications of roles that legislatures in Ukraine and Russia play during this war.

10.2 Critical Events and Rally Effects in Ukraine

Erik Herron, West Virginia University, USA
Khrystyna Pelchar, USA, West Virginia University

The escalation of Russia's eight-year war against Ukraine in February 2022 did not produce the outcomes that Russian political elites anticipated. Instead of a short conflict ending in Ukraine's capitulation, the world witnessed Ukraine's military repelling invading forces and the Ukrainian population mobilizing to defend the homeland. This paper uses almost a decade of public opinion data, collected by the Ukrainian agency Info-Sapiens, to analyse changes in attitudes that can help explain the extraordinary responses of citizens. We explore how key events in recent history – the 2013-2014 Euromaidan Revolution of Dignity, the initial stages of the war in 2014, the election of Volodymyr Zelenskyy in 2019, and the escalation of the war in 2022 have produced rallying effects. The rallying effects, which initially vary substantially by region, change over time to become national in their impact. Our findings suggest that the challenges of the last decade have also served to unify Ukrainians.

10.3 Transfer of the decision-making core in Poland from the legislature to the executive since 2015 – main reasons, manifestations and consequences for democratic backsliding

by Renata Mieñkowska-Norkiene, Associate Professor, Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland

According to Haggard and Kaufman, an essential element of democratic backsliding is the transfer of the decision-making core from the legislature to the executive. According to Batory Foundation, in 2016-2017 the number of laws in Poland formally proposed by the government increased (184 laws - 76, 3% of all laws) and the number of laws proposed by the MPs of the governing party decreased - 30 laws (12,5% of all laws). However, a much more serious problem since 2015, limiting the transparency of the legislative process, is the creation of draft laws in ministerial offices,

and presenting them as parliamentary (so-called "by-passing" of laws) to avoid the need for public consultations and impact assessments, and to speed up the legislative process. Since 2015 the government has often used the special mode to reduce the duration of the legislative process and has dealt with draft laws in circulation mode (approx. 20% of draft laws). Moreover, the form and scope of parliamentary debate has been restricted by those in power (often unconstitutionally) in favor of government press conferences. The study will make an important contribution to confirming Haggard and Kaufman's approach by producing evidences of how strengthening of the executive branch in Poland since 2015 has been both a reason (in 2015-2017) and a consequence (since 2017) of empowering Jarosław Kaczyński and ambitious influential Minister of Justice Zbigniew Ziobro (whose party is supported by 0,5% of the Poles but who's MPs are crucial for winning votings) to attack democracy in Poland.

11 Panel: Parliaments in Crises

Friday, 3:30pm-4:50pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

Chair: Sven T. Siefken, Institute for Parliamentary Research, Berlin, and Federal University of Applied Administrative Sciences, Germany

Discussant: Adelyn L M Wilson, Associate Professor, University of Aberdeen School of Law in Scotland, UK

11.1 Parliamentary standards in decline: learning from the case of Westminster

by Emma Crewe, Professor of Social Anthropology, SOAS University of London, UK

Healthy parliaments require ethical leadership, lively scrutiny of the executive, respect for laws and rules, and deep engagement with diverse publics. But the steady deepening of democracy around the world is not just in doubt; democracy itself seems to be in crisis, with public distrust and confusion at an all-time high. Parliamentary strengthening programmes once looked to the UK as one of the models for a highly functioning democracy but in the last five years we have witnessed an abrupt decline in standards in the Westminster Parliament. In contrast to the slow development of the conditions and actions that created the 2009 expenses scandal, rule-breaking within Parliament during Prime Minister Johnson's term in office emerged more suddenly, in part out of the rupture of Brexit. Although the expenses scandal was more about rule-following than rule-breaking, both these narratives about standards require a theoretical approach that goes beyond looking at the bad behaviour of individuals, or a rotten culture, because neither of these approaches offer more than a partial account. In this paper I make an argument for a relational, cultural and historical approach to the study of parliaments within which people always act in a complex configuration of relationships. To understand how and why parliaments go into a decline, or resist the efforts towards reform (or 'strengthening' initiatives in the Global South), or even function more generally, then an inquiry into relationships within the context of broader societal

change will reveal a more rigorous, impartial and persuasive analysis than narrower theoretical approaches.

11.2 Wartime Legislative Political Inclusivity and the Likelihood (and Success) of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars.

By John Ishiyama, University of North Texas, USA

Does the political inclusivity of a war time legislature lead to negotiated settlements in civil wars? Best, Shair-Rosenfeld and Wood (2019), who focused on the inclusion of women in war time legislatures, examined how “diversity-in-leadership” in the legislature improves problem-solving of seemingly intractable conflicts by introducing a wider variety of individual perspectives, preferences, and experiences to the challenges of finding solutions to end the war. Legislators they argue are more important to focus on than other advisors, both international and domestic, because their power and influence extend beyond negotiations and they have direct (and indirect) influence over the negotiations because they have the power to implement the accords and help politically legitimate deals made by executives (thus leading to the potential for successful negotiated settlements). Further political inclusion of those who have links to the rebels may provide a line of communication between the government and the insurgents that can potentially lead to proposed negotiations (as the Democratic Party opposition in the North during the American civil war did). Thus, political diversity in the war time legislature should lead to negotiated settlements and should raise the likelihood of “successful” negotiated settlements. On the other hand, some scholars like Urlacher (2011) argue that a diverse legislature that includes political oppositions (which constrains executives) has no effect on the likelihood of negotiated settlements, but even if negotiated settlements, when the executive is constrained by a legislature representing opponent this significantly reduces the likelihood of negotiations succeeding. In this paper I examine the question of whether war time political diversity (measured in terms of both the number of parties represented and the size of the largest opposition party in the legislature) affects the probability of a negotiated settlement occurring, and the likelihood that those negotiations will succeed.

11.3 Parliaments in the Pandemic – Lessons From the Crisis for Parliamentary Practice

by Sven T. Siefken, Institute for Parliamentary Research, Berlin, and Federal University of Applied Administrative Sciences, Germany

The pandemic situation of Covid-19 has been a unique opportunity to study parliaments in a comparative perspective, because the same fundamental challenge occurred almost simultaneously around the globe. In April 2020, the IPSA RC08 started a collaboration of experts to track the role of parliaments in the pandemic crisis. This turned into a global panel study that gathered information in two waves through an expert survey in two waves, compiling answers and

expert judgement on 380 detailed questions about 33 parliaments. The paper will report first findings about the organizational reaction and parliamentary performance and how they are related to characteristics of the political system and public perception of parliaments. Based on that it aims to identify lessons that can be learned from the crisis situation for the regular practice of parliaments.

11.4 Parliamentary diplomacy in the age of global crises

Csaba Nikolenyi, Professor, Concordia University, Montréal, Canada,

Legislative scholars tend to study the activity and functions of parliaments in their respective national political contexts. Yet, many parliaments around the world are also engaged in bi- and multi-lateral international relations with legislative institutions of other states. The role of parliamentary diplomacy assumes particular significance in the current global age as national parliaments are increasingly called upon to respond to issues and crises that are themselves of a regional, international or even global nature. The Covid-19 pandemic that rapidly spread all over the world is an important recent example of such issues. In my contribution to the panel, I propose to investigate the ways in which parliamentary diplomacy was used by selected national legislatures in addressing the pandemic. I am particularly interested in examining the ways in which parliaments used their existing international connections to learn about the pandemic itself and the efficacy of various legislative measures to address it. The practical implication of this research is to highlight parliamentary diplomacy as a important area that requires strengthening in the future.

11.5 Dragging Congress into the 21st Century: Creating Policies and Improving Processes in an Age of Pandemic and Polarization

by Anne Marie Cammisa, Professor, Georgetown University, USA

COVID-19 presented a major external shock to the United States governmental system. The system itself, crafted in the 18th century, was not designed to easily absorb this shock. The U.S. government is divided by the Constitution in two important ways: through a system of federalism in which state power vies with federal power, and through a separated system at the national level in which Congress, the President and the Supreme Court wrestle with each other over lawmaking and policy authority. By 2019, the system was stymied by increasing partisan polarization, magnified by the Presidency of Donald Trump. Responses to Coronavirus would have to be shepherded through a labyrinthian path and would face horizontal (separated powers) and vertical (state, federal, local) challenges, in addition to partisan wrangling. At a more micro level Congress itself faced, in addition to the hurdles already mentioned, specific problems in what could be termed “capacity.” Congressional policymaking relies on physical presence—in committees, on the floor, in party caucuses and in member organizations—to get its business done. With the nation and the world facing quarantines, lockdowns and stay-at-home orders, how could Congress

maintain physical presence? Should it? What alternatives might there be? Along with the rest of the country, Congressional staff adjusted to working from home. Maintaining national security during remote work would be problematic, certainly, but even more basic problems were exposed as it came to light that many congressional offices lacked the technology and equipment to provide staffers with secure means to get their jobs done from remote locations. COVID-19 made clear that the United States Congress was facing 21st Century problems in an organization with 20th (or even 19th or 18th) century procedures and structures. How could it respond to the immediate problem? And, perhaps more importantly, what would be the path forward once the country moved past the crisis?

12 Joint Business Meeting IPSA RC08 and RC13

Friday, 5:00 pm- 6:20pm, Banyan Breezeway 4

All participants of the Conference within the Conference are welcome to join the business meetings of the two organizing IPSA Research Committees to exchange, socialize and plan future collaboration.

More information on the

RC08 “Research Committee of Legislative Specialists” at <https://ipsa-rcls.org/>

RC13 “Democratization in Comparative Perspective” at <http://rc13.ipsa.org/>

Organizers:

Irina Khmelko, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, USA, Irina-Khmelko@utc.edu,
Chair of RC08 (Research Committee of Legislative Specialists)

Adam Szymański, University of Warsaw, Poland, ar.szymanski@uw.edu.pl
Chair of RC13 (Democratization in Comparative Perspective)

Sven T. Siefken, Institute for Parliamentary Research, Berlin, and Federal University of Applied Administrative Sciences, Germany, siefken@iparl.de
Vice Chair of RC08 (Research Committee of Legislative Specialists)