

The Europeanization of parliamentary behavior: a multilevel perspective

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Content:

- ✓ Introduction
- ✓ Research questions
- ✓ Conceptual model and hypotheses
- ✓ Data and methodology
- ✓ Results
- ✓ Conclusions

Introduction

Europeanization of Parliaments' **legislative function**



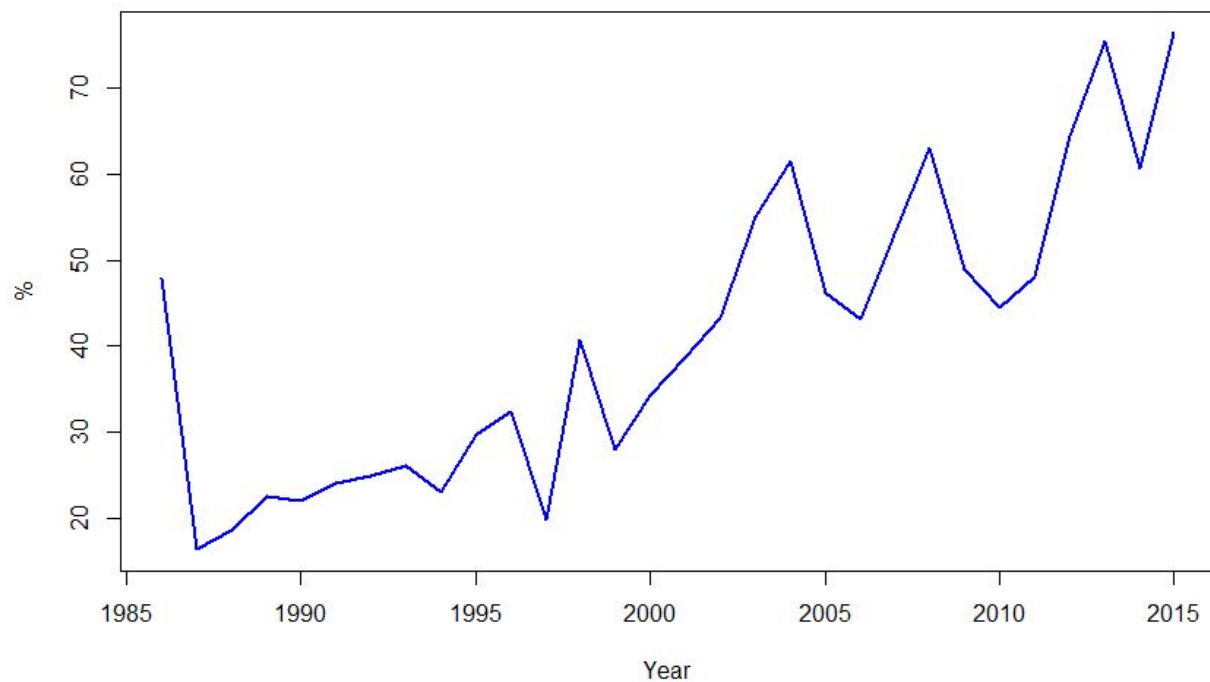
Democratic deficit
debate

Is there a “de-parliamentarization” process?
Focus on Parliaments' **control function** and institutional reforms:
e.g. Committees on EU affairs



Extensive comparative research on the topic:
formal rules are observable and easy to compare across countries
(e.g. Maurer and Wessels 2001, Raunio and Hix 2000, Raunio 2005, Goetz and Meyer-Sahling 2008)

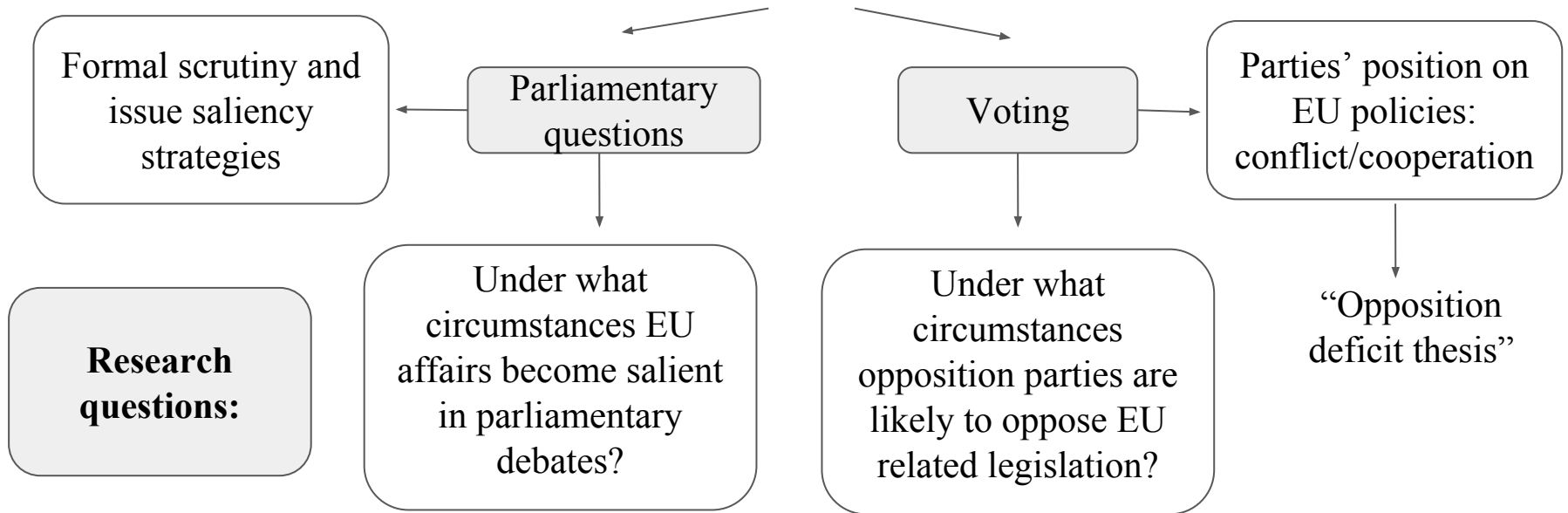
Percentage of Europeanized Legislation (Spanish Parliament)



A different approach:

Impact of Europe on MP's actual behavior

Parliaments conceived as institutions that perform a legislative function, a control function but also a **communicative function**

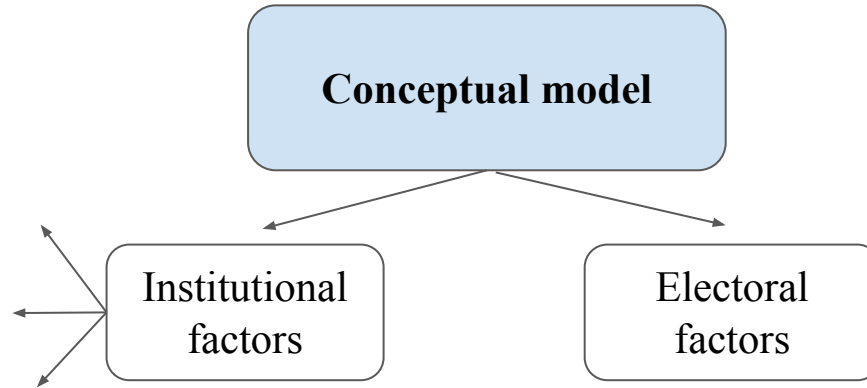


Existing research:

Deepening of integration

Parliaments' institutional
power

Governing status



Hypotheses: institutional factors

Deepening of the integration process: the saliency of EU affairs in parliamentary control sessions increases with the degree to which national competences are delegated to the supranational level. Attention focuses on those issues more europeanized (e.g. De Wilde and Zürn 2012, Rauh and Zürn 2014, Statham and Trenz 2012)

Parliaments' institutional power: the higher the institutional power of national parliaments (e.g. capacity to be effectively involved in EU affairs) the greater their activity on EU issues (OPAL project (Auel et al. 2015), Winzen's oversight index)

Governing status: government MP's pay more attention to EU affairs: accountability purposes (reporting duties, explain and justify EU decisions, etc.) (e.g. Rauh 2015)

Existing research:

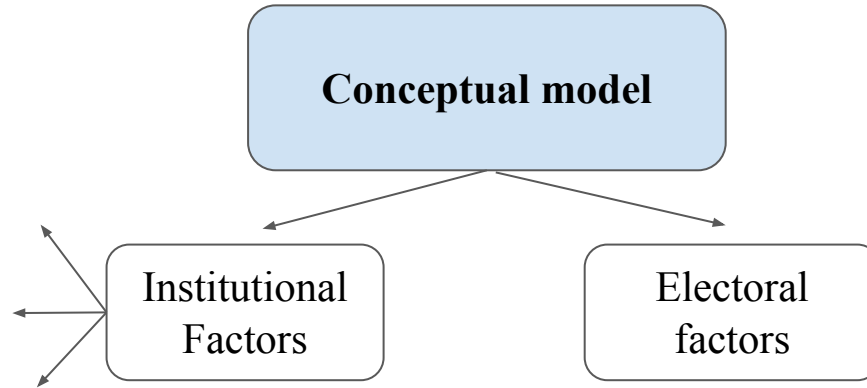
Deepening of integration

Parliament's institutional
power

Governing status



Multilevel perspective
(national- regional
dynamics)



Multilevel perspective:

H1: in regional parliaments with low institutional power, attention to EU affairs is lower than in national parliaments, perceived as more efficient arenas for the effective control of EU policies and institutions. Regional parties with representation in both national and regional parliaments prioritize the former for the scrutiny of EU affairs

Existing research:

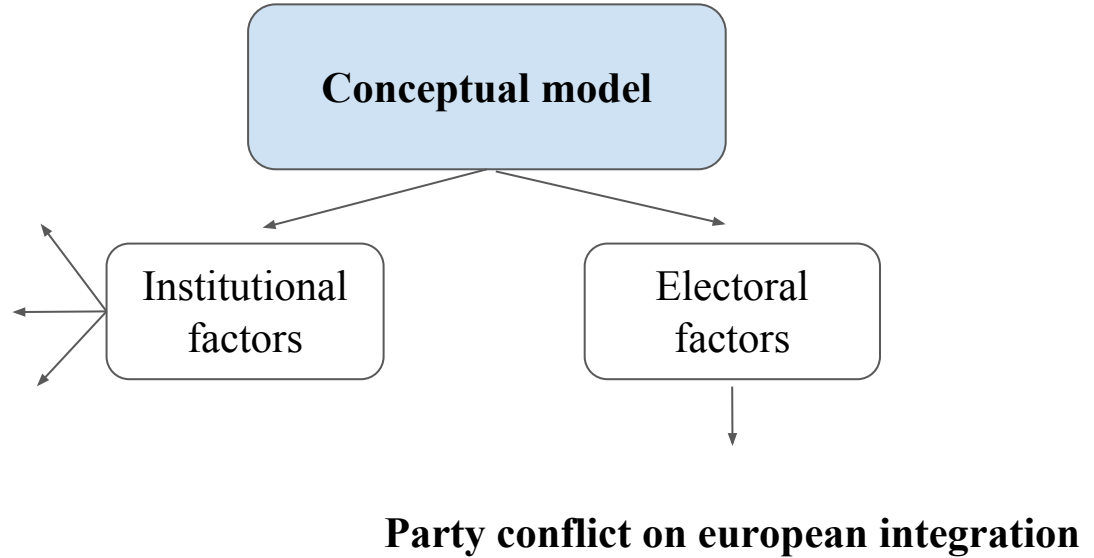
Deepening of integration

Parliament's institutional power

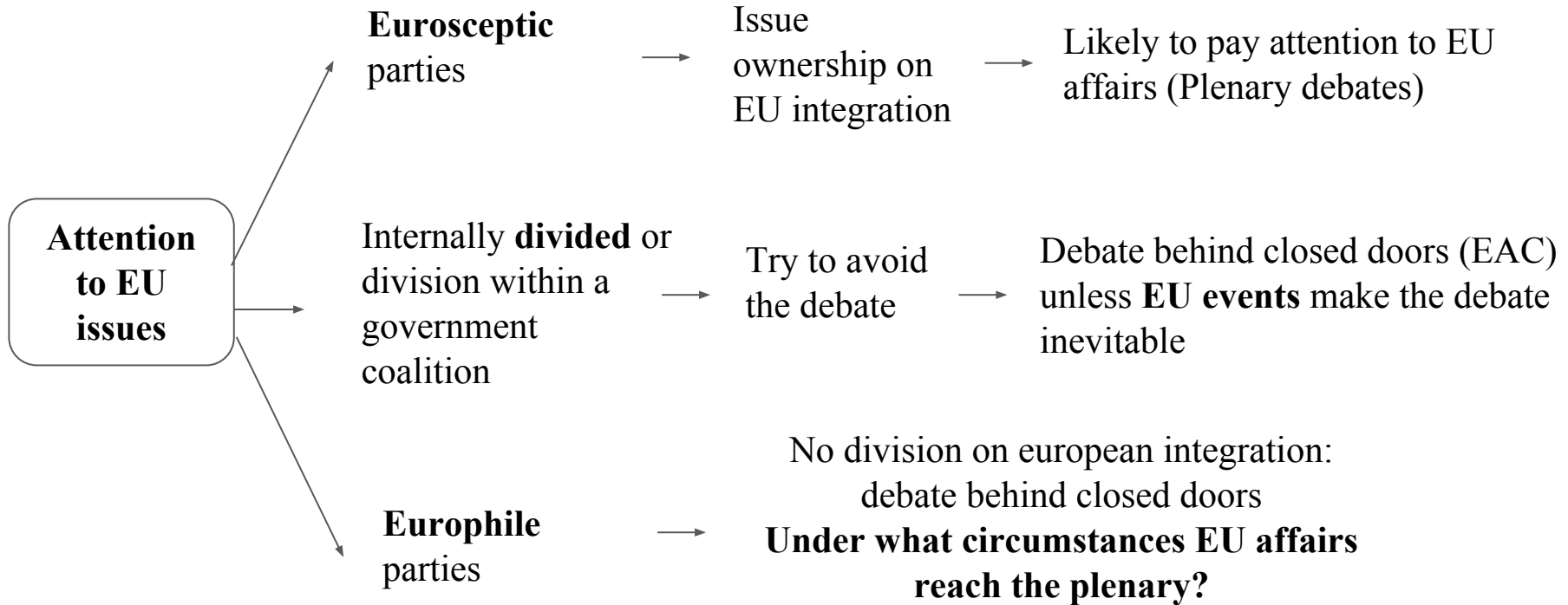
Governing status



Multilevel perspective
(national- regional dynamics)



Hypotheses: party conflict on European integration



Existing research:

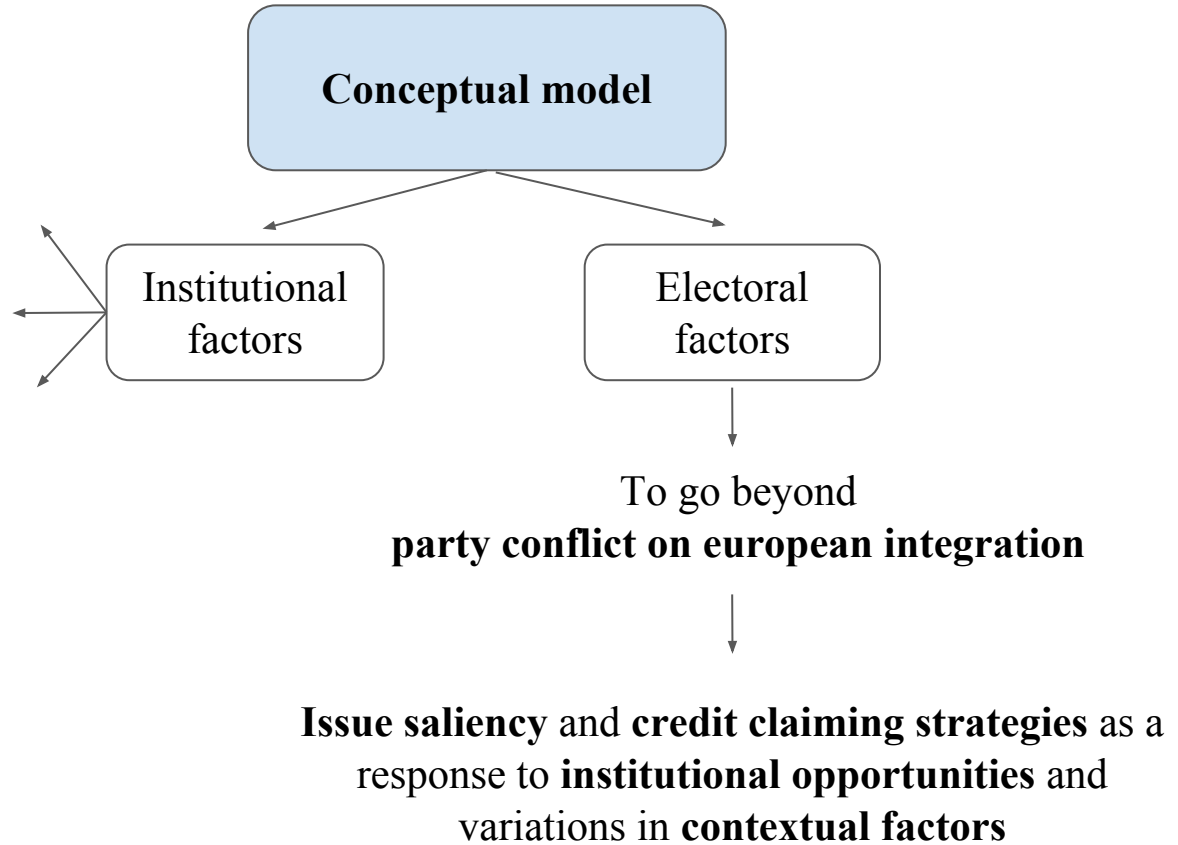
Deepening of integration

Parliament's institutional power

Governing status



Multilevel perspective
(national- regional dynamics)



Hypotheses:

Issue saliency strategies in a multilevel context:

H2: in regional parliaments with low institutional power, europhile regional MP's pay attention to the EU following **issue saliency strategies**. Regional parties with representation in the national parliament use this arena to reduce information asymmetries on EU affairs giving visibility to the interests of their territories/constituencies

Governing status and credit claiming strategies:

H3: in national parliaments, MP's of europhile governing parties pay attention to EU affairs following **credit claiming strategies**. These strategies are likely in the context of **EU events** (where executives have a prominent role) and unlikely under **critical junctures**, when the perceived benefits from integration decrease and EU events can hardly be framed as a governmental success

Hypotheses:

Euro crisis: new dilemmas

H4. MP's of europhile governing parties cannot use the EU following credit claiming strategies. They have electoral incentives to engage in **blame shifting strategies** but not in **debtor countries** (e.g. Bohle 2014; Hobolt and Tilley 2014). They will try to avoid the debate and attention to EU issues will decline

H5. MP's of europhile opposition parties pay more attention to EU affairs. Because citizens with economic left-wing orientations are more critical with the EU than those with right-wing orientations, europhile **challenger left parties** are more likely to oppose EU related legislation (e.g. Broz 2013, Maatsch 2015, De Giorgi et al. 2015)

Data and Methodology

Country where EU affairs are consensual: Spain

Allow exploring the hypotheses related to europhile parties + dynamics in a decentralized state

Data: dependent variables

Parliamentary questions (SPAP/Q-Dem):

- Total oral questions introduced in Plenary meetings (N=14.839) and in Specialized Committees in the Spanish Congress (N=23.966) (1986-2015)
- Total oral questions introduced in Plenary meetings in the Catalan Parliament (N=6.020) (1995-2015)
- Dummy variable identifies the EU content of questions

Voting decisions on EU related legislation (SPAP/Q-Dem):

- EU related legislation (N=480 (2.844)) (1996-2015)
- Dummy variable identifies a negative vote

Data: independent variables

- Deepening of the integration process: % Europeanized legislation over time and across policy areas (CAP methodology, 21 topics)
- Issue saliency: asymmetries in attention (21 CAP topics)
- EU events: Guinaudeau and Palau (2016)
- Governing status: dummy variable
- Euro crisis: risk premium (eurostat)

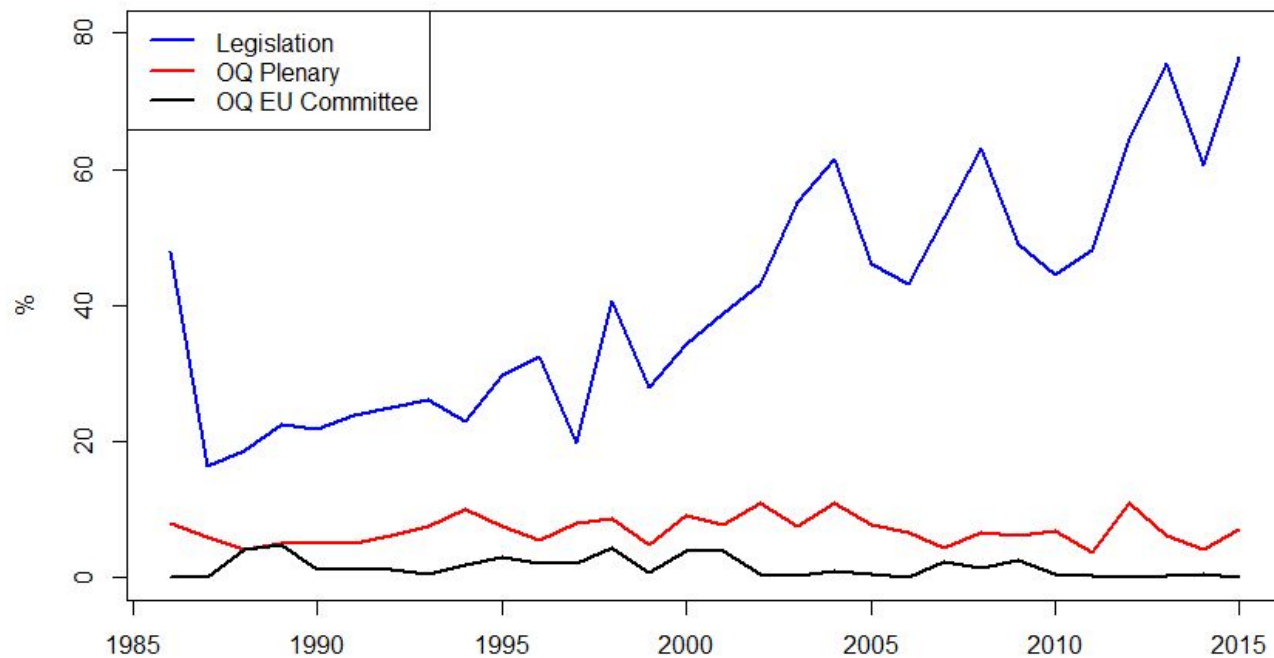
Control variables:

- Agenda capacity: total number of questions introduced by parliamentary groups in parliamentary control session
- Pivotal parties (dummy variable)
- Ideological distance with the incumbent (Rile index, CMP)

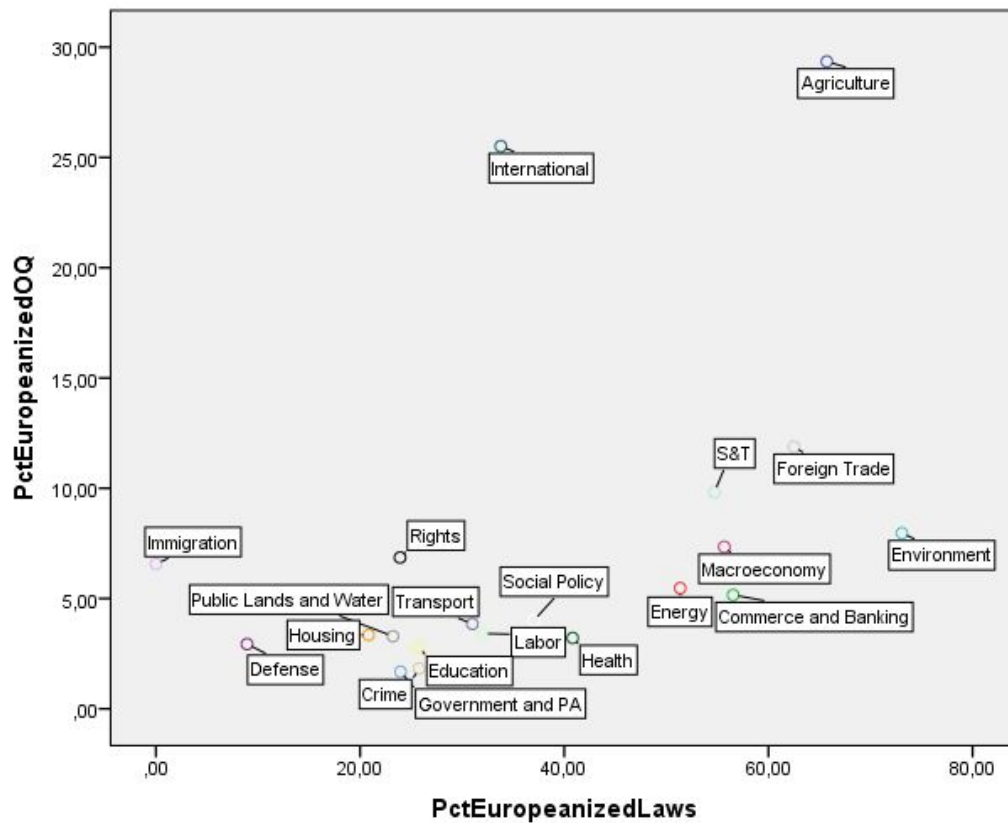
Descriptive statistics + Logistic regression

Deepening of the integration process:

Europeanized Laws and Oral Questions: Spanish Parliament

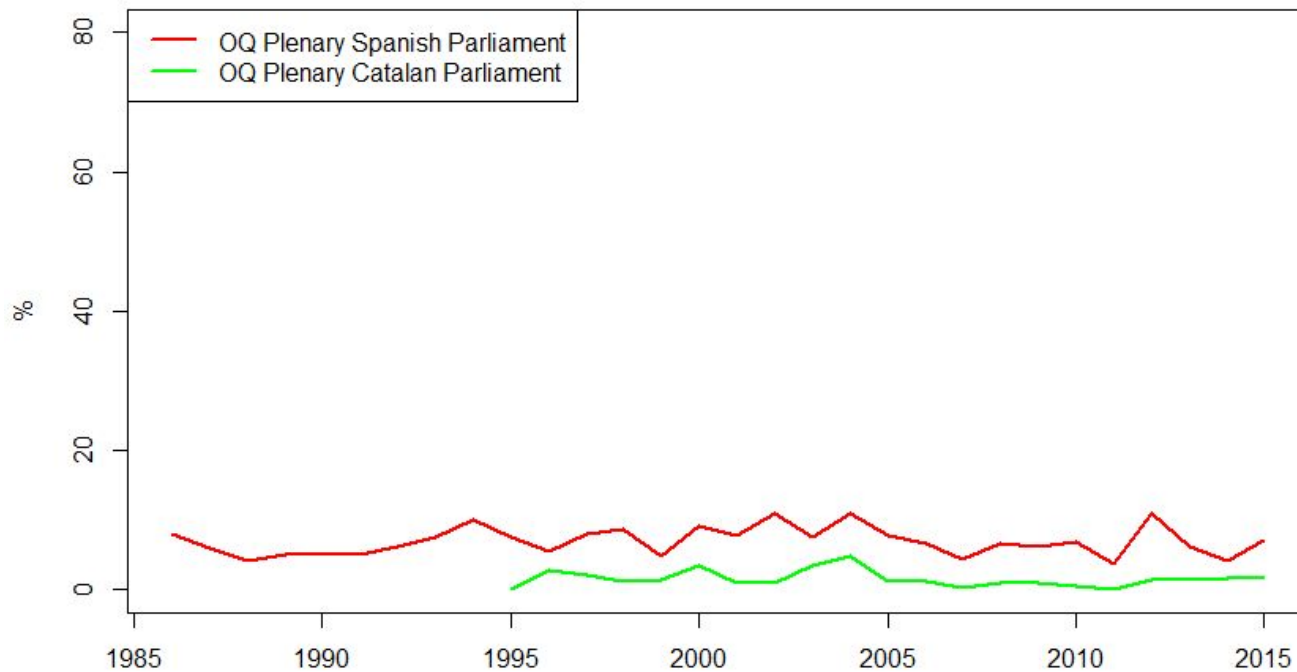


Europeanized Laws and Europeanized Oral Questions: Spanish Parliament (1986-2015)

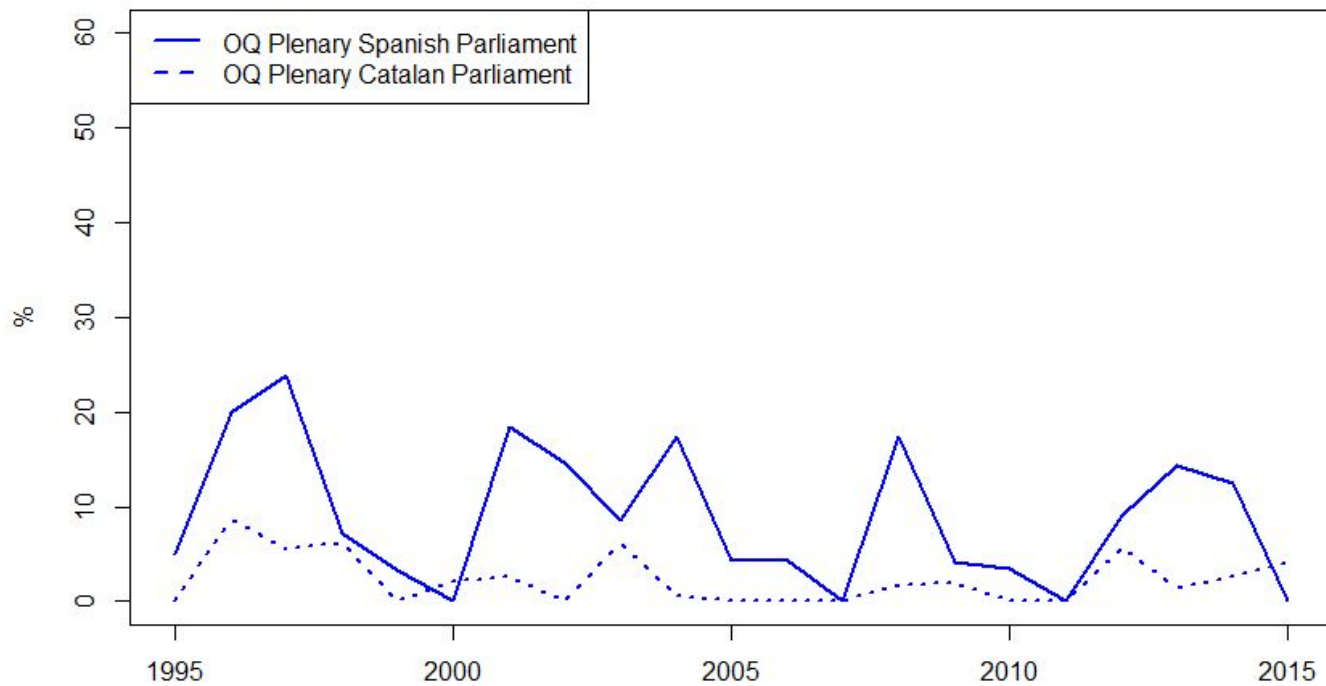


Multilevel dynamics:

Europeanized Oral Questions: Spanish and Catalan Parliament

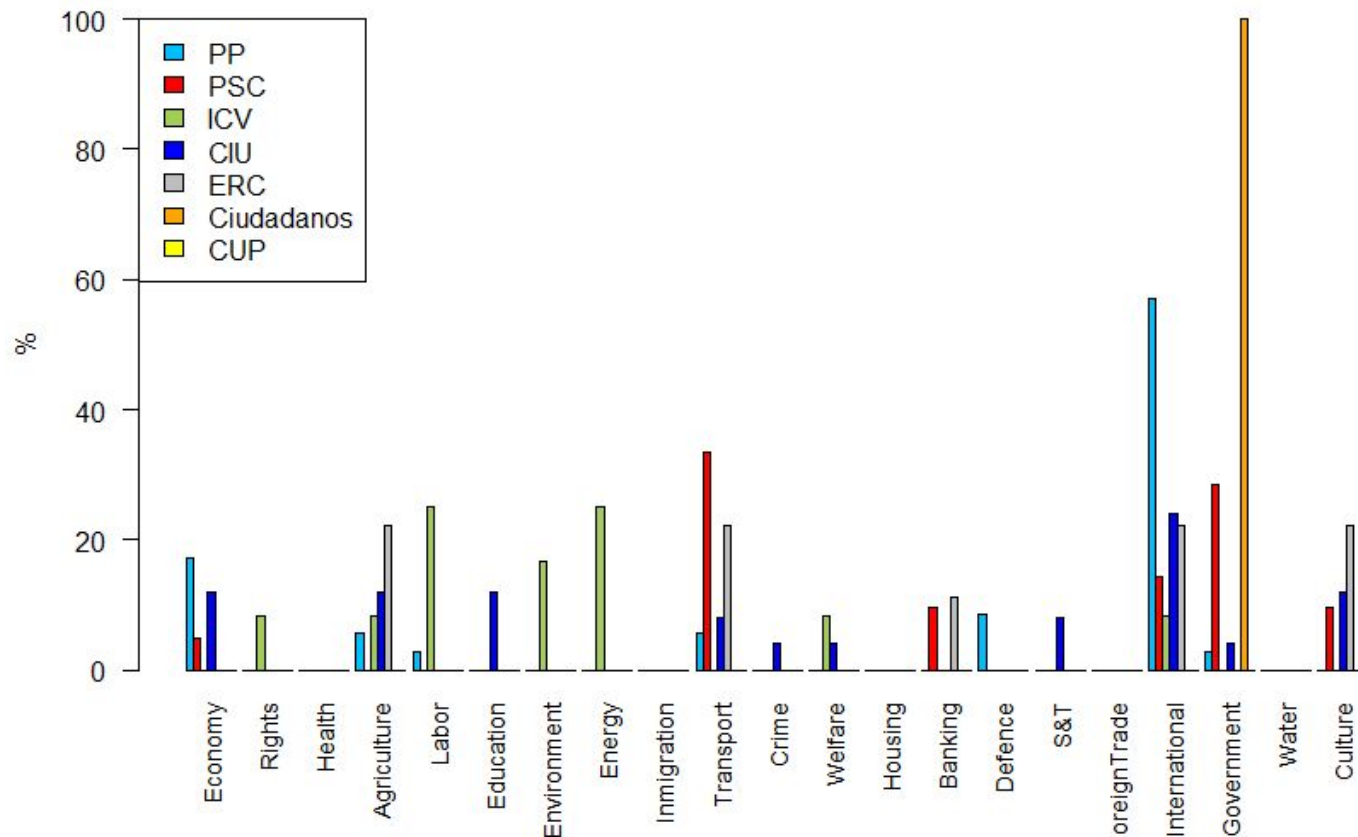


Europeanized Oral Questions introduced by CIU: Spanish and Catalan Parliament

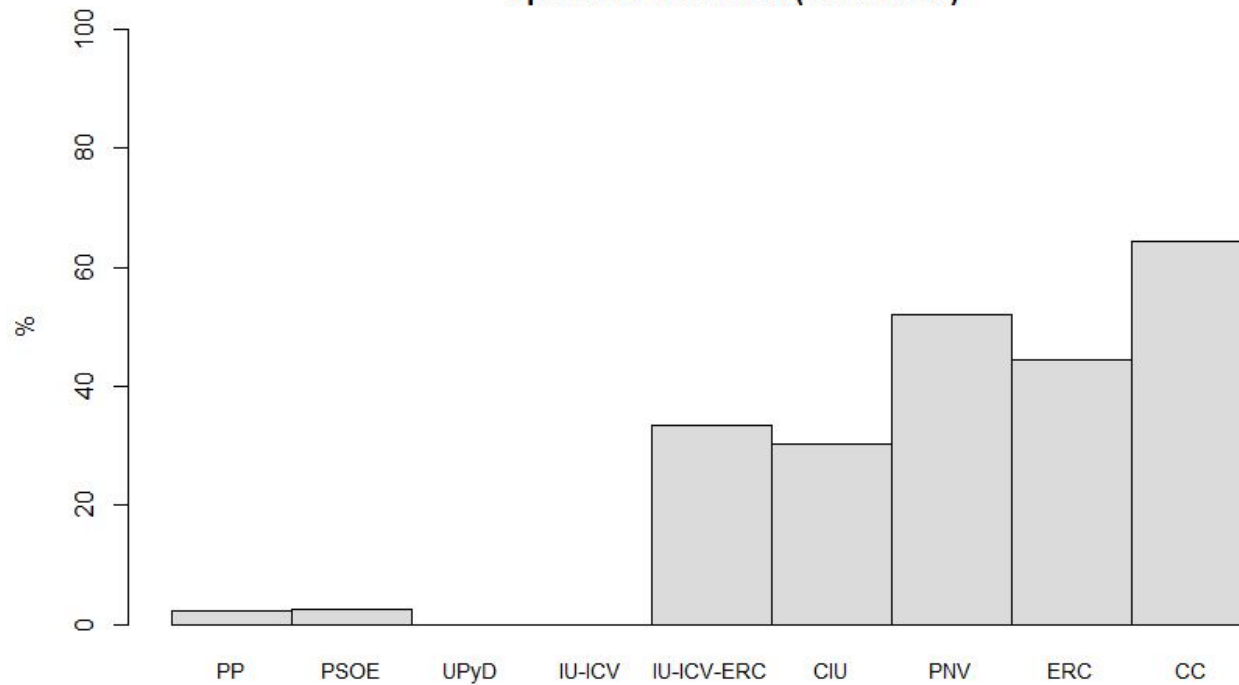


Issue saliency strategies:

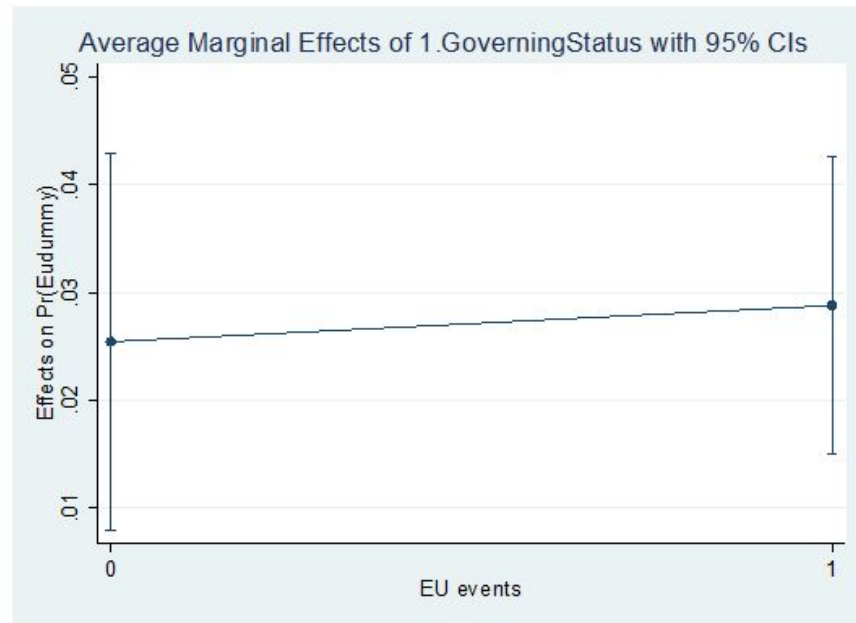
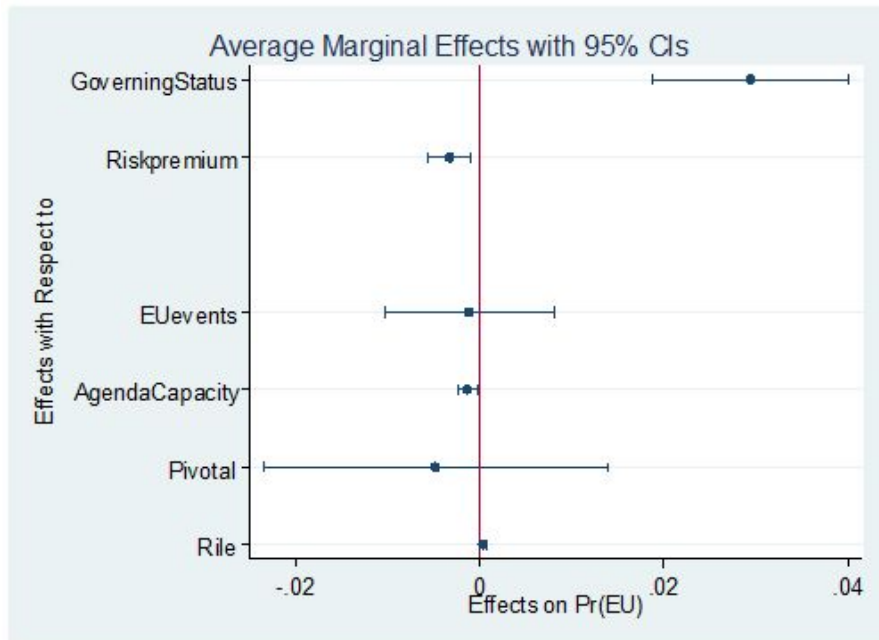
Europeanized Oral Questions: Catalan Parliament (1995-2015)



Europeanized Oral Questions mentioning regional interests: Spanish Parliament (1986-2015)

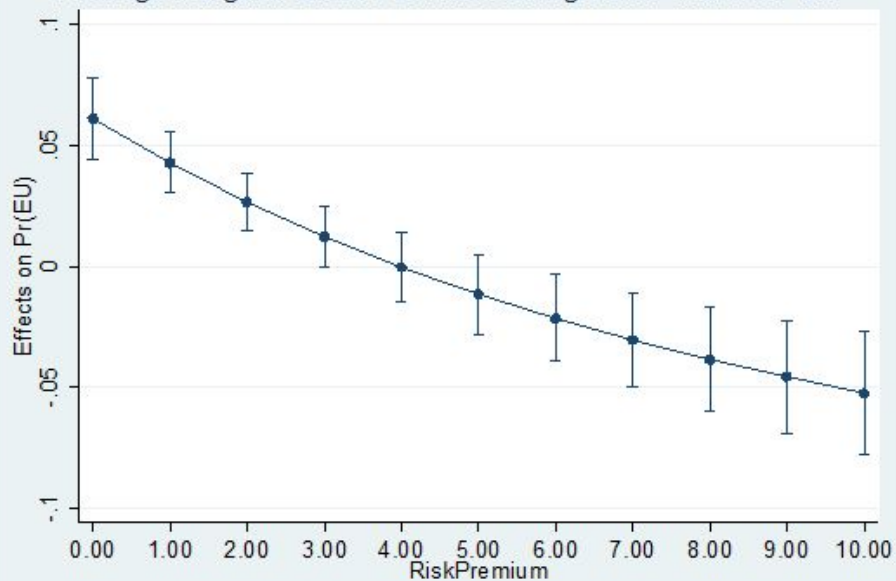


Regression results: parliamentary questions

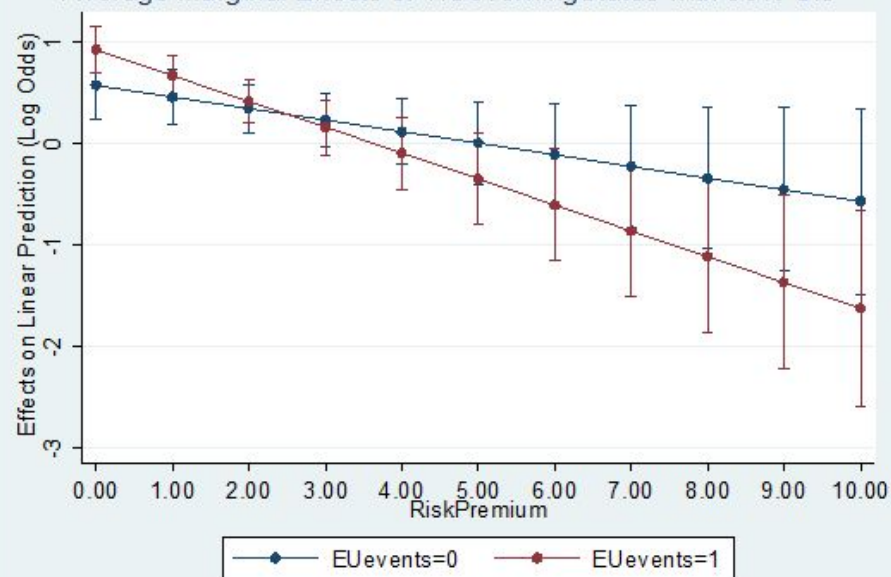


Regression results: parliamentary questions

Average Marginal Effects of 1.GoverningStatus with 95% CIs

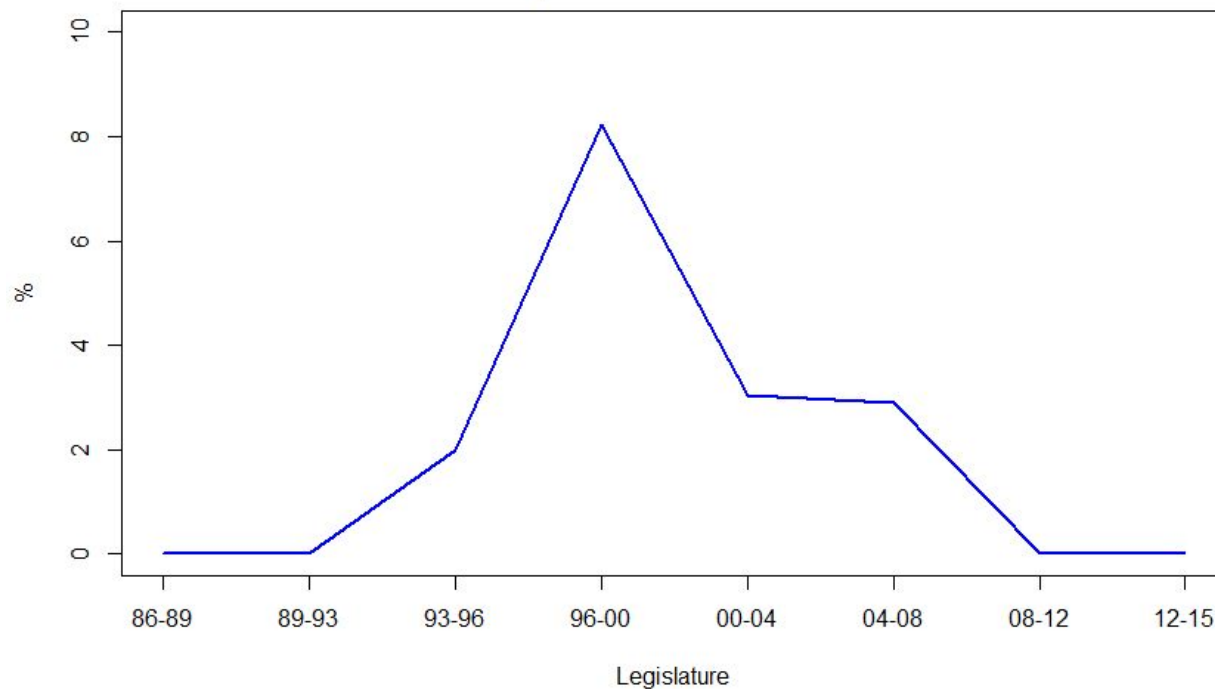


Average Marginal Effects of 1.GoverningStatus with 95% CIs

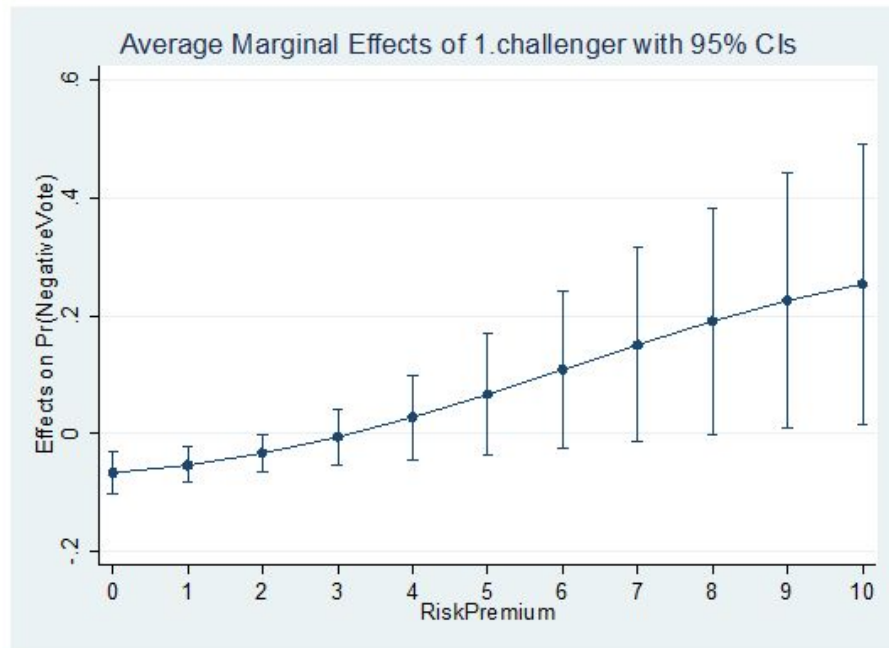
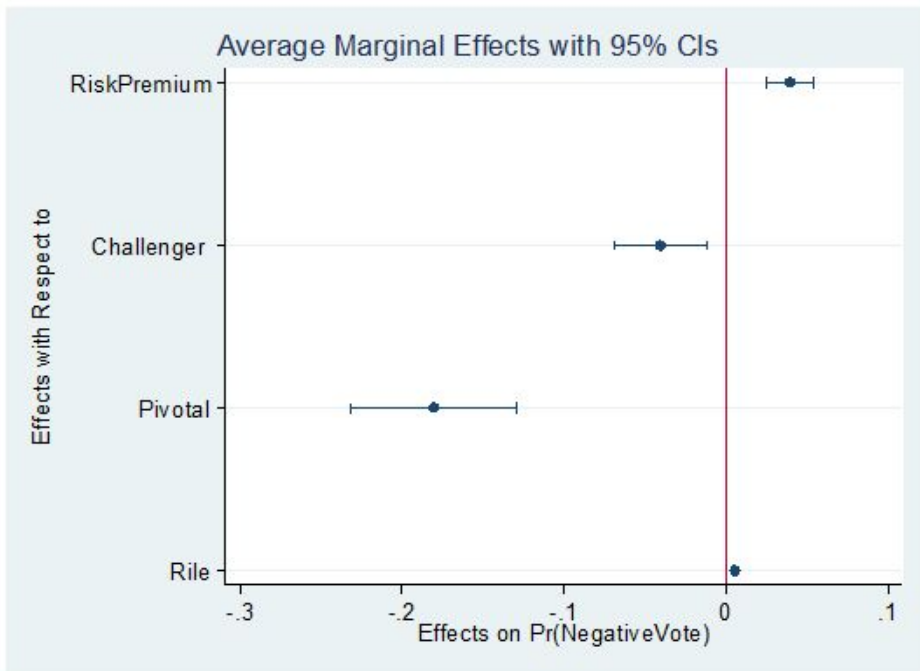


Credit claiming strategies: an example

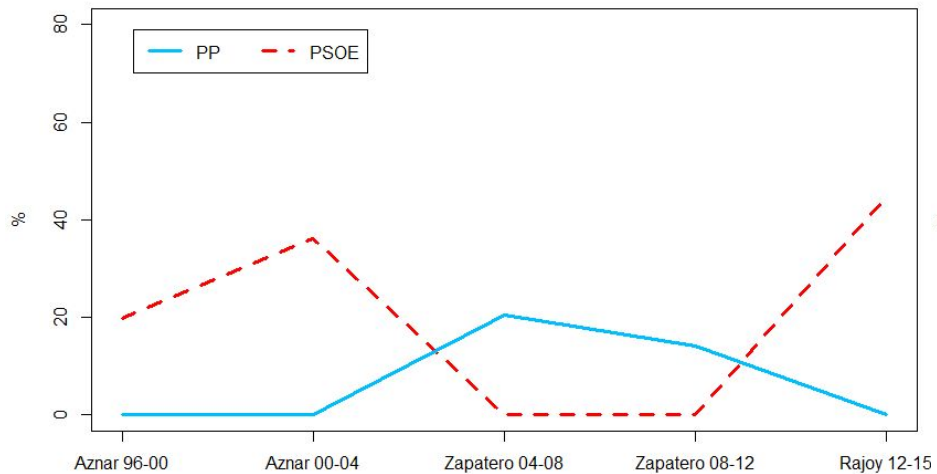
Europeanized Oral Question on economic affairs and banking introduced in the Spanish Parliament: Government MP's



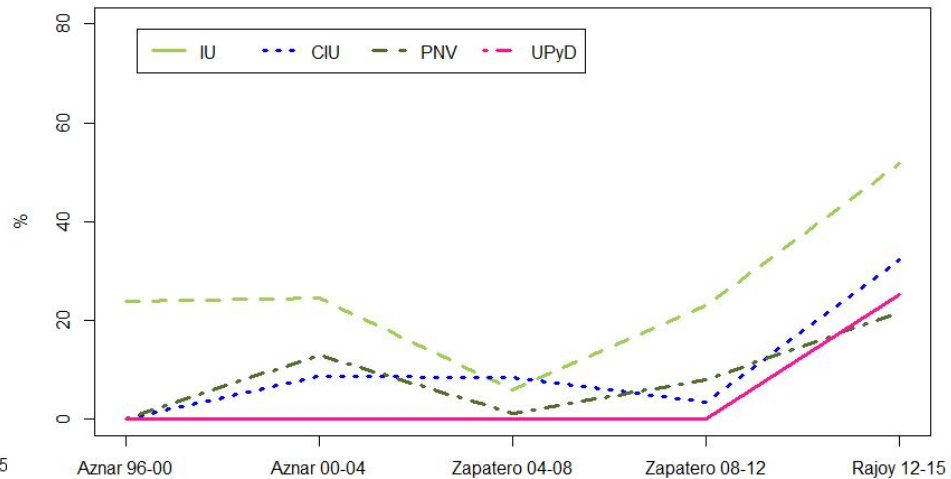
Regression results: voting behavior



**Negative Vote EU Legislation:
Mainstream Parties**



**Negative Vote EU Legislation:
Non-Mainstream Parties**



Conclusions:

- Bad news for democratic accountability: weakness of scrutiny mechanisms
- “Opposition deficit” thesis:
 - ✓ Scrutiny driven by government MP’s
 - ✓ Opposition to EU legislation: a vote against the EU or against the government?
- Parliaments as arenas of party competition: beyond the role of euroscepticism
 - ✓ Europhile parties are not interested on the politicization of european integration but they also use the UE to obtain electoral advantages
 - ✓ New light on the mechanisms through which they implement their electoral strategies
 - ✓ Importance of contextual factors, issues and institutions
- Benefits from combining agenda setting and europeanization literature, and in decentralized states, from adopting a multilevel perspective

Future research:

- Promote **comparative research**:
 - ✓ On the impact of Europe on regional MP's:
 - ✓ Compare regional parliaments with low and high institutional powers
 - ✓ On domestic parties' voting behavior on EU policies:
 - ✓ Research so far mainly develops hypotheses on the basis of parties' euro-scepticism (conflict on EU polity) and the left-right dimension
 - ✓ Longitudinal analysis
 - ✓ Conflict and cooperation on specific issues
- Participation in the CAP and OPEu research networks provides the opportunity for conducting such comparative research in the future