Parliaments and Citizens

Edited by Cristina Leston-Bandeira

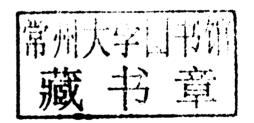
LIBRARY OF LEGISLATIVE STUDIES

SERIES EDITOR: PHILIP NORTON



Parliaments and Citizens

Edited by Cristina Leston-Bandeira





First published 2013 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2013 Taylor & Francis

This book is a reproduction of the *Journal of Legislative Studies*, vol. 18, issue 3-4. The Publisher requests to those authors who may be citing this book to state, also, the bibliographical details of the special issue on which the book was based.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN13: 978-0-415-58969-7

Typeset in Times New Roman by Taylor & Francis Books

Publisher's Note

The publisher would like to make readers aware that the chapters in this book may be referred to as articles as they are identical to the articles published in the special issue. The publisher accepts responsibility for any inconsistencies that may have arisen in the course of preparing this volume for print.

Parliaments and Citizens

The relationship between parliaments and citizens is one of the least studied subjects in legislative studies, yet this is a crucial dimension to understanding parliaments and the role they play in our political systems. Furthermore, this relationship has gained considerable visibility over the last decade thanks in part to the development of new media, but also as a reaction to the trends of political apathy. In a context of increasing political disengagement, parliamentary discourse shifted attention from the traditionally predominant relationship with government to the relationship with citizens. Issues of legitimacy became more directly associated with the link between parliament and citizens, resulting in investment in new and more complex mechanisms for contact with citizens, even in the more centralised systems.

This book looks at a wide range of case studies across Europe and beyond, assessing overall strategies in the move towards stronger engagement with citizens. It assesses the extent to which the shift in discourse has led to actual changes in parliamentary practice.

This book was published as a special issue of the *Journal of Legislative Studies*.

Cristina Leston-Bandeira is a Senior Lecturer in Legislative Studies at the University of Hull.

Library of Legislative Studies

Edited by Lord Philip Norton of Louth, University of Hull, UK.

National Parliaments & the European Union

Edited by Philip Norton

The New Parliaments of Central & Eastern Europe

Edited by David M. Olson & Philip Norton

Members of Parliament in Western Europe

Edited by Wolfgang C. Muller & Thomas Saalfield

The New Roles of Parliamentary Committees

Edited by Lawrence D. Longley & Roger H. Davidson

Conscience and Parliament

Edited by Philip Cowley

Parliaments & Governments in Western Europe

Edited by Philip Norton

Parliaments and Pressure Groups in Western Europe

Edited by Philip Norton

Parliaments in Asia

Edited by Philip Norton & Nizam Ahmed

The Uneasy Relationship between Parliamentary Members and Leaders

Edited by Lawrence D. Longley & Reuven Yair Hazan

Delegation and Accountability in European Integration

Edited by Torbjorn Bergman & Erik Damgaard

Second Chambers

Edited by Nicholas Baldwin & Donald Shell

Parliaments and Citizens in Western Europe

Edited by Philip Norton

The Rise of the Norwegian Parliament

Edited by Hilmar Rommetvedt

The Unseen Hand

Edited by Rinus van Schendelen & Roger Scully

The Scottish Parliaments

Edited by David Arter

From Legislation to Legitimation: The Role of the Portuguese Parliament

Edited by Cristina Leston-Bandeira

Cohesion & Discipline in Legislature Edited by Reuven Y. Hazan

Southern European Parliaments in Democracy

Cristina Leston-Bandeira

Executive Leadership & Legislative Assemblies

Edited by Nicholas Baldwin

The Europeanisation of Parliamentary Democracy

Edited by Katrin Auel and Arthur Benz

Comparing and Classifying Legislatures

Edited by David Arter

The People's Congresses and Governance in China: Toward a Network Mode of Governance

Edited by Ming Xia

Post-Communist and Post-Soviet Parliaments: The Initial Decade

Edited by Philip Norton and David M. Olson

The Internet and Parliamentary Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Study of the Ethics of Political Communication in the Digital Age

Edited by Xiudian Dai and Philip Norton

Parliamentary Opposition in Old and New Democracies

Edited by Ludger Helms

Post-Communist Parliaments: The Second Decade

Edited by David M. Olson and Gabriella Ilonszki

Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament

Edited by Shirin M. Rai

The Roles and Function of Parliamentary Questions

Edited by Shane Martin and Olivier Rozenberg

Post-Communist Parliaments

Change and Stability in the Second Decade

Edited by David M. Olson and Gabriella Ilonszki

Parliaments and Citizens

Edited by Cristina Leston-Bandeira

Legislatures of Small States

A Comparative Study

Edited by Nicholas D. J. Baldwin

Citation Information

The chapters in this book were originally published in the *Journal of Legislative Studies*, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012). When citing this material, please use the original page numbering for each article, as follows:

Chapter 1

Introduction: Studying the Relationship between Parliament and Citizens Cristina Leston-Bandeira

Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4
(September-December 2012) pp. 265-274

Chapter 2

The Finnish Eduskunta: Still the Nordic 'Vatican'? David Arter Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012) pp. 275-293

Chapter 3

Far Away, So Close: Parliament and Citizens in France
Olivier Costa, Pierre Lefébure, Olivier Rozenberg, Tinette Schnatterer and
Eric Kerrouche
Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4
(September-December 2012) pp. 294-313

Chapter 4

The Bundestag and German Citizens: More Communication, Growing Distance
Thomas Saalfeld and Ralf Dobmeier
Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4
(September-December 2012) pp. 314-333

CITATION INFORMATION

Chapter 5

The Paradoxes of Parliament-Citizen Connections in Hungary: A Window on the Political System

Gabriella Ilonszki and Zsófia Papp

Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4

(September-December 2012) pp. 334-350

Chapter 6

Parliament and Citizens in Italy: An Unfilled Gap Federico Russo and Luca Verzichelli Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012) pp. 351-367

Chapter 7

A Least Likely Case: Parliament and Citizens in the Netherlands Rudy B. Andeweg Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012) pp. 368-383

Chapter 8

Developing Links Despite the Parties – Parliament and Citizens in Portugal Cristina Leston-Bandeira and Tiago Tibúrcio Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012) pp. 384-402

Chapter 9

Parliament and Citizens in the United Kingdom
Philip Norton
Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012) pp. 403-418

Chapter 10

Parliaments and Citizens in Sub-Saharan Africa Elisabete Azevedo-Harman Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012) pp. 419-440

Chapter 11

Parliaments and Citizens in Latin America
Jason Ross Arnold
Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4
(September-December 2012) pp. 441-462

Chapter 12

Parliament and Citizens in Asia: The Bangladesh Case

CITATION INFORMATION

Nizam Ahmed *Journal of Legislative Studies*, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012) pp. 463-478

Chapter 13

Do Legislative Petitions Systems Enhance the Relationship between Parliament and Citizen?
Richard Hough
Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4
(September-December 2012) pp. 479-495

Chapter 14

How Are Parliaments Using New Media to Engage with Citizens? Jeffrey Griffith and Cristina Leston-Bandeira Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4 (September-December 2012) pp. 496-513

Chapter 15

Conclusion: Parliaments' Endless Pursuit of Trust: Re-focusing on Symbolic Representation
Cristina Leston-Bandeira
Journal of Legislative Studies, volume 18, issue 3-4
(September-December 2012) pp. 514-526

Notes on Contributors

Nizam Ahmed is Professor of Public Administration at the University of Chittagong, Bangladesh. He held the post of Chairman of the Department of Public Administration and is a member of the Academic Council of the University of Chittagong. Dr Ahmed has published widely on parliament, party politics and local government in reputed international journals. He has authored/edited a number of books. His most recent publications include Aiding the Parliament of Bangladesh (2011) and Bureaucracy and Local Politics in Bangladesh: A Study in Roles and Relationships (2010).

Rudy B. Andeweg is Professor of Political Science at Leiden University and a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. His research interests include political representation, executive–legislative relations, and coalition government. He recently co-authored *Governance* and Politics of the Netherlands, 3rd ed. (2009) and co-edited Puzzles of Government Formation; Coalition Theory and Deviant Cases, Routledge (2011). His articles have appeared in journals such as European Journal of Political Science, Journal of Legislative Studies, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Party Politics, Electoral Studies, and Political Psychology.

Jason Ross Arnold is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Virginia Commonwealth University's L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs, Virginia, USA. He has recently published work on political corruption, citizen political awareness, and the 'left turn' in Latin America. He is currently working on a book about government secrecy and transparency in the United States.

David Arter is Professor of Politics at the University of Tampere, Finland. He has previously held chairs at Leeds Metropolitan University and the University of Aberdeen. Arter has written on aspects of Nordic and European politics over many years. His recent research has focused on West European 'successor parties', the dynamics of intra-party competition in preferential voting systems and the True Finn Party as a populist radical right party. He is presently co-authoring a book entitled *Parliaments, Citizens and Democracy in Scandinavia: A Comparative Audit.*

Elisabete Azevedo-Harman is Deputy Director of the Political Studies Institute of the Catholic University of Portugal, and is also coordinator of the Political Science programmes of the Catholic University of Mozambique. currently coordinating research on the formation of the Portuguese-speaking parliaments. Her research interests include democratisation and political transitions, contemporary African Politics and political institutions. mainly parliaments. Her doctoral dissertation on parliaments and citizens in Africa was completed at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. The thesis analyses public opinion data on parliaments from 18 African countries, focusing on the Mozambican parliament and its role in democratisation in that country. Recent publications include 'Parliaments in Africa: Representative Institutions in the Land of the "Big Man", Journal of Legislative Studies (2011) and De Inimigos a Adversários Públicos? O Parlamento e os parlamentares em Mocambiaue (Texto Editora, 2012).

Olivier Costa has been Senior Research Fellow at the CNRS (National Center for Scientific Research) since 1999, working at the Centre Emile Durkheim, University of Bordeaux, He is also Visiting Professor at the College of Europe (Bruges) and the Université Libre de Bruxelles. He is coordinating the research project 'LEGIPAR' (Parliamentary Legitimisation at French and EU levels) funded by the French Agence Nationale de la Recherche. His priorities in research include parliamentary representation, the French Parliament, the European Parliament and EU policy making. He recently published: Le Parlement européen, La Documentation franc aise, 2nd ed., with F. Saint Martin (2011); 'Diverging Views of Europe: The EU against Itself?', with Nathalie Brack, in Journal of European Integration (special issue, 2012); The Europeanization of Domestic Legislatures. The Empirical Implications of the Delors' Myth in Nine Countries, with S. Brouard and T. König (Springer, 2012).

Ralf Dobmeier graduated from the University of Bamberg with an MSc dissertation on the way German MPs use social media to communicate with their voters. He now works as a trainee in a leading German corporate communications agency.

Jeffrey Griffith is Senior Advisor of the Global Centre for ICT in Parliament, a joint office of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the Inter-Parliamentary Union. He is the primary author of the World e-Parliament Report 2010 and the World e-Parliament Report 2008. He was the primary author and Chair of the working group that revised the Guidelines for Parliamentary Websites, a 2009 publication of the IPU. Mr Griffith is the former Associate Director and Chief Legislative Information Officer of the Congressional Research Service, an office of the United States Congress. In 2006 he received a Fulbright Research Fellowship to conduct a comparative study of the legislative information systems of the European Parliament and the US Congress; the results were

published in Beyond Transparency: New Standards for Legislative Information Systems (European Parliament, 2006).

Richard Hough worked for three years as Assistant Clerk to the Scottish Parliament's Public Petitions Committee. He is currently on a career break from his research post at the Scottish Parliament Information Centre. He has published research briefings on legal services (Scottish Parliament, 2009), pleural plaques legislation (Scottish Parliament, 2010) and domestic abuse (Scottish Parliament, 2010).

Gabriella Ilonszki is Professor in the Institute of Political Science, Corvinus University of Budapest, where she heads the Centre for Elite Studies. Her research interests include the working of parliamentary government with a focus on representation, political elites, including gender issues, in a comparative perspective. Recent publications are an edited volume, *Post-Communist Parliaments. Change and Stability in the Second Decade*, with D.M. Olson (Routledge, 2012) and a chapter entitled 'Role Stability in the Context of Institutional and Positional Change' in *Parliamentary Roles in Modern Legislatures* (Routledge ECPR, 2012).

Eric Kerrouche is CNRS Senior Researcher at Emile Durkheim Centre (Sciences-Po Bordeaux). His main interests are parliament, representatives, democratic representation and professionalisation of political careers. He recently published *Political Participation in France and Germany*, edited in collaboration with O. Gabriel and S. Keil (ECPR, 2012); *Family, Ambition, Locality and Party. A Study of Professionalization in the Activation and Apprenticeships of Local Councillors in Europe*, with T. Verhelst and Lex Localis (2012); *Are French Laws Written in Brussels? The Limited Europeanization of Law-Making in France and Its Implications*, with S. Brouard and O. Costa, in *The Europeanization of Domestic Legislatures* (Springer, 2012); and 'Les deux Sénats', with S. Brouard, E. Helbig and T. Schnatterer, in *Pôle Sud* (2011).

Pierre Lefébure is Assistant Professor at University Paris-13 and member of the CERAL research unit. As a Research Fellow at this University's Communication et Politique center, his research focuses on public opinion, political communication, trust and reasoning about institutions, and political participation. Among his recent publications are 'Les apports des entretiens collectifs à l'analyse des raisonnements politiques', Revue française de science politique (2011); 'Citizens' Expectations: Is What Matters Only What Works?', In Search of Legitimacy (Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2009). He was coordinator of the 'Citizens' Perception of Parliament' research task in the LEGIPAR project (France 2009–12). He is one of the principal investigators of the first voting advice application experiment conducted in France during the last presidential campaign (La Boussole présidentielle, 2012).

- Cristina Leston-Bandeira is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Hull, UK, which she joined in 2001. Her current main research interest is parliaments and public engagement, namely looking at the effectiveness and management of processes of public engagement. She has developed research more broadly in the area of the relationship between parliament and citizens, with a particular focus on the use of the Internet and parliamentary reform. She is the coordinator of an ESRC funded project on Managing Parliament's Image (RES-000-22-4072). Her publications include Southern European Parliaments in Democracy (Routledge, 2004), From Legislation to Legitimation (Routledge, 2004), 'The Impact of the Internet on Parliaments: A Legislative Studies Framework', Parliamentary Affairs (2007) and 'Towards a Trustee Model? Parliamentary Representation in the Internet Era', Parliamentary Affairs (2012).
- Philip Norton (Lord Norton of Louth) is Professor of Government and Director of the Centre for Legislative Studies at the University of Hull. He specialises in legislative studies, with special reference to the British Parliament, as well as British politics. He is the author or editor of 28 books. He is a member of the House of Lords and was the first Chairman of the House of Lords Select Committee on the Constitution.
- **Zsófia Papp** is Junior Research Fellow at the Centre for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and PhD candidate and Lecturer at Corvinus University of Budapest. Her research interests include the electoral connection, personal vote, voting behaviour and parliamentary elites.
- Olivier Rozenberg is Associate Research Professor at Sciences Po, Paris, where he develops research on legislatures and legislators in Europe (http://cee.sciences-po.fr/en/le-centre/research-team/63-olivier-rozenberg.html). His research focuses on the study of legislators' roles and behaviour. He is also interested in the European activities of national parliaments and is responsible for the French team of the European network on this (http://opal-europe.org). He is developing on-going research on the use of open data and informatics for analysing the legislative process within the French Parliament. He edited *Parliamentary Roles in Modern Legislatures* with Magnus Blomgren (Routledge, 2012) and *The Roles and Function of Parliamentary Questions* with Shane Martin (Routledge, 2012).
- **Federico Russo** worked for four years as a Research Fellow at the University of Siena and he is now Research Fellow at Eupolis Lombardia. His main research interest focuses on parliaments and political representation. He is author of the book *Gli Onorevoli* (Il Mulino, 2013).
- **Thomas Saalfeld** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Bamberg. Previously, he held academic positions at the University of the Federal Armed Forces Munich, the University of Hull, Dresden Technical

University and the University of Kent at Canterbury. His research interests include questions of democratic representation, coalition government in European democracies, parliamentary voting cohesion and legislative organisation in Germany. His recent publications include *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies*, co-edited with K. Bird and A.M. Wüst (Routledge, 2011). A full list of publications can be viewed at http://unibamberg.de/comparpol/lehrstuhlteam/thomas-saalfeld/.

Tinette Schnatterer is a PhD candidate at the Centre Emile Durkheim in Bordeaux and works as a research assistant for a project on the French Senate. She participates in several research projects on parliamentary representation in France and Europe. Her research interests include parliamentary behaviour, agenda setting, and political communication. She recently published 'Les deux Sénats: mode de scrutin et profil des sénateurs français', with E. Kerrouche, S. Brouard and E. Deiss-Helbig, *Pôle Sud*, 35 (2011).

Tiago Tibúrcio completed his Master's degree in Political Science at Lisbon University Institute (ISCTE-IUL). He is the author of the book *The Right to Petition before Parliament* (Wolters Kluwer, 2010). His research interests have focused on political institutions such as parliament and its relation with citizens, more recently in a comparative perspective.

Luca Verzichelli is Professor of Political Science at the University of Siena, Italy, and studied for his PhD in Political Science at the University of Florence. He is Chief Editor of the *Italian Journal of Political Science*, and a member of the editorial board of *Politica in Italia/Italian Politics* and *Journal of Legislative Studies*. His research interests include political institutions and political elites. Among his recent publications are: *Political Institutions in Italy*, with M. Cotta (Oxford University Press, 2007); *Vivere di Politica. come (non) cambiano le carriere politiche in Italia* (Il Mulino, 2010); and *The Europe of Elites*, with H. Best and G. Lengy (Oxford University Press, 2007).

Contents

Citation Information Notes on Contributors	ix xiii
Introduction: Studying the Relationship between Parliament and Citizens Cristina Leston-Bandeira	1
2. The Finnish <i>Eduskunta</i> : Still the Nordic 'Vatican'? <i>David Arter</i>	11
3. Far Away, So Close: Parliament and Citizens in France Olivier Costa, Pierre Lefébure, Olivier Rozenberg, Tinette Schnatterer and Eric Kerrouche	30
4. The <i>Bundestag</i> and German Citizens: More Communication, Growing Distance Thomas Saalfeld and Ralf Dobmeier	50
5. The Paradoxes of Parliament–Citizen Connections in Hungary: A Window on the Political System Gabriella Ilonszki and Zsófia Papp	70
6. Parliament and Citizens in Italy: An Unfilled Gap Federico Russo and Luca Verzichelli	87
7. A Least Likely Case: Parliament and Citizens in the Netherlands Rudy B. Andeweg	104
8. Developing Links Despite the Parties – Parliament and Citizens in Portugal Cristina Leston-Bandeira and Tiago Tibúrcio	120
9. Parliament and Citizens in the United Kingdom <i>Philip Norton</i>	139
10. Parliaments and Citizens in Sub-Saharan Africa Elisabete Azevedo-Harman	155

CONTENTS

11. Parliaments and Citizens in Latin America Jason Ross Arnold	177
12. Parliament and Citizens in Asia: The Bangladesh Case Nizam Ahmed	199
13. Do Legislative Petitions Systems Enhance the Relationship between Parliament and Citizen? <i>Richard Hough</i>	215
14. How Are Parliaments Using New Media to Engage with Citizens? Jeffrey Griffith and Cristina Leston-Bandeira	232
15. Conclusion: Parliaments' Endless Pursuit of Trust: Re-focusing on Symbolic Representation Cristina Leston-Bandeira	250
Index	263

Studying the Relationship between Parliament and Citizens

CRISTINA LESTON-BANDEIRA

The relationship between parliament and citizens has been neglected traditionally by the legislative studies scholarship. And yet this is the area that has seen the most phenomenal developments within the last few decades. As a reaction against increasing levels of political disengagement, and utilising modern tools of communication such as new media, parliaments have in fact considerably developed the possibility of linkages with the public. And yet what we know is still very patchy. This introduction establishes the premises of this collection and the questions it aims to address, in order to identify patterns in the relationship between parliaments and citizens across a wide range of case studies.

Introduction

Over the last decade parliaments around the world have followed paradoxical paths: on the one hand the value of parliamentarism has expanded considerably, on the other, parliaments have become the public face of political disengagement. Whilst the value of parliamentarism has been reinforced, the scepticism towards legislatures has in fact increased. Also paradoxically, whilst trust in parliaments has steadily declined, these institutions have never been more active in developing mechanisms to engage with the public.

The relationship between parliament and citizens is one of the least studied areas in legislative studies yet this is a crucial dimension in understanding parliaments and the role they play in our political systems. What is more, this relationship seems to have gained considerably more visibility over the last decade thanks in part to the development of new media, but also as a reaction to the trends of political apathy. However, the publications focusing on this relationship are not only few and far between, but they also tend to focus on a very few case studies. The book edited by Philip Norton in 2002, *Parliaments and Citizens in Western Europe*, is a unique exception and has made an important contribution towards our understanding of this relationship, but is quickly becoming out of date in light of recent developments such as the growth of popularity of petitions and the expansion of new media. The new millennium has brought renewed