

CAP 26

Comparative Agendas Project Conference
17–19 June 2026 · Sciences Po, Paris

Schedule & Detailed Program

Schedule at a Glance

Parallel panel sessions run simultaneously in three rooms: K011, K008, and B001. Detailed panel listings begin on the following pages.

Wednesday, 17 June

11:00 AM	Registration opens	Entrance · 1 Place Saint-Thomas
12:00–1:15 PM	Lunch	Cloître
1:15–2:45 PM	Session 1	K011 · K008 · B001
2:45–3:00 PM	Coffee break	Cloître
3:00–4:30 PM	Session 2	K011 · K008 · B001
4:30–5:00 PM	Coffee break	Cloître
5:00–6:30 PM	Plenary — Book Projects	Amphithéâtre Jean Moulin

Thursday, 18 June

8:30 AM	Registration	Entrance · 1 Place Saint-Thomas
from 8:30 AM	Morning coffee	Cafétéria
9:30–11:00 AM	Session 3	K011 · K008 · B001
11:00–11:15 AM	Coffee break	Cafétéria
11:15 AM–12:45 PM	Session 4	K011 · K008 · B001
12:45–2:30 PM	Lunch	Cafétéria
2:30–4:00 PM	Session 5	K011 · K008 · B001
4:00–4:30 PM	Coffee break	Cafétéria
4:30–6:30 PM	Plenary — Keynote & Roundtable	Amphithéâtre Jean Moulin
7:00 PM	Conference dinner buffet	Cloître

Friday, 19 June

8:30 AM	Registration	Entrance · 1 Place Saint-Thomas
from 8:30 AM	Morning coffee	Cafétéria
9:30–11:00 AM	Session 6	K011 · K008 · B001
11:00–11:30 AM	Coffee break	Cafétéria
11:30 AM–1:00 PM	Closing plenary	Amphithéâtre Jean Moulin

Detailed Program

Wednesday, 17 June

1.1 · Agenda Dynamics & Political Attention I

Wednesday 17 June · 1:15–2:45 PM · K011 · Chair: Edella Schlager · Discussant: Will Jennings

Herschel Thomas, Diego Romero

Democracy and Media Attention Dynamics

Recent comparative scholarship on punctuated equilibrium shows that governing conditions and regime types shape the dynamics of legislative and budgetary change, with authoritarian-leaning regimes exhibiting more disjointed and episodic policy activity (Baumgartner et al. 2018, Lam and Chan 2014, Frantzeskaki and Bech Seeberg 2022). In this paper, we extend this literature by assessing the dynamics of policy related attention in news media and test the extent to which variations in democracy shape inputs to the policy process. We expect that more democratic regimes, as a result of civil society capacity, citizen mobilization, and government information transparency, will more smoothly attend to domestic policy issues over time. We leverage new data from the Machine Learning for Peace project, spanning 1m+ news articles reporting in 5 countries (two imperfect democracies, two autocracies, and one backsliding democracy) and implement Sebastian et al. (2024)'s fine-tuned, multi-lingual LLM to classify articles in the CAP topic scheme. We estimate month-country panel models (N=780) to test our hypothesis.

Connor Dye

Agenda Diversity and Policy Entrepreneurship in the Federal Bureaucracy

Why do some agencies successfully assert jurisdiction over emerging policy domains while others remain confined to their traditional mandates? Existing research focuses on how legislative directives shape regulatory expansion, but fails to explain how agencies claim authority in the absence of new laws. I argue that diverse policy portfolios provide agencies with more flexible interpretive frameworks that enable them to credibly frame emerging problems as extensions of existing authority. To test this theory, I analyze an original dataset of 959,325 regulations enacted across 105 federal agencies in the US bureaucracy from 1970 to 2024, coded by major topic using the Policy Agendas Project classification system. I measure agenda diversity using the Shannon entropy of an agency's regulatory portfolio and track expansion by identifying the introduction of novel tokens within specific policy topics over time. I find that agencies with a broader issue portfolio are more likely to expand their authority into novel issues. These findings suggest that the structure of the bureaucracy shapes how governments adapt to new problems.

Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Javier Martínez Cantó

Personal or Partisan Agendas? Strategic Issue Selection in Parliamentary Written Questions

Most parliaments allow legislators to submit written questions to the government, a key instrument for monitoring executive action and ensuring accountability. Existing research shows that legislators use written questions to advance personal agendas, including the representation of constituents or specific social groups. Yet we still know little about how legislators strategically select policy topics when using this instrument, and how personal and partisan incentives interact in shaping this behavior. In this article, we develop a framework that links written questions to legislators' career motivations—reselection, reelection, and advancement—by distinguishing between partisan priorities and individual-level sources of expertise and electoral incentives. We argue that MPs are more likely to engage with policy areas that are salient to their party and electoral district, but that this partisan logic is conditioned by individual characteristics such as pre-parliamentary professional experience and committee membership, which lower information costs and foster issue specialization. We test these expectations using an original dataset of nearly 940,000 CAP-coded written questions submitted in the Spanish Congreso de los Diputados between 1996 and 2023.

María Alejandra Costa

Talking to Whom, How, and When? Health Regulatory Communication under Political Pressure in Latin America

During the COVID-19 pandemic, public health regulatory agencies (RAs) faced intense political pressure and public scrutiny, making communication a central aspect of regulatory action. This paper examines communication as a strategic bureaucratic resource and asks whether variation in RAs' de facto independence shapes communicative behaviour under crisis conditions. Using an original dataset of more than 8,000 tweets published between 2020 and 2022 by ANMAT (Argentina), ANVISA (Brazil), and COFEPRIS (Mexico), the paper combines egocentric network analysis with computational text classification to examine how agencies engaged with institutional actors and how communication priorities evolved. The findings reveal systematic differences consistent with variation in de facto independence: ANVISA maintained a stable and technically oriented communication profile despite intense politicization, whereas ANMAT and COFEPRIS adopted more adaptive crisis-oriented strategies. The paper contributes by demonstrating that regulatory communication can serve as an observable indicator of de facto independence, and provides comparative evidence from Latin American public health regulators through a combined network and computational text analysis approach.

1.2 · Media, Communication & Public Opinion I

Wednesday 17 June · 1:15–2:45 PM · K008 · Chair: Derek Epp · Discussant: Rens Vliegthart

Annelise Russell

Tweets from the Gallery: Covering Congress in the Digital Age

Congress isn't your typical workplace — unless your office also has TV cameras in the hallways and reporters shouting questions at you. For the reporters whose job it is to ask those questions, Congress is a beat unlike any other where access is unrivaled, Twitter/X remains relevant, and storylines are unending. This book considers how the congressional reporters that drive the deluge of information have adapted to meet the rapid pace of news and digital information.

Daniel Sandvej Eriksen

After Hours, Off Message: How Modern Politicians Communicates in Two Distinct Modes

The modern communication environment enables politicians to communicate directly to the public around the clock — yet little is known about how politicians communicate when they are not at work. Drawing on a novel dataset of over 5.5 million tweets from MPs in UK and Denmark (2015–2022), this article finds that issue ownership is temporally contingent: politicians are significantly more likely to emphasize party-owned issues during work hours and on weekdays, whereas off-duty communication sees a marked decline in alignment with party issue ownership.

Chris Faricy, Miklós Sebők, Nicholas D'Amico, Amber Morris

The Gray Lady and Policy Agendas: Introducing the New York Times Data Set

The New York Times MediaText Dataset is a comprehensive dataset of all New York Times articles spanning 1851 to 2025 — over 15 million articles retrieved from the New York Times API and third-party API services. Articles are coded using a supervised machine learning approach into Comparative Agendas Project major topic categories.

Olga Litvyak, Andrey Shadurskiy

Channels of Power: Presidential Communication and Agenda Dynamics in Russia 2014-2025

This paper focuses on diverse and often overlooked sources—the Annual Presidential Address, the 'Direct Line,' and the yearly press conference—to explore the dynamics of the presidential agenda in Russia from 2014 to 2024, using manual content analysis based on the Comparative Agendas Project coding scheme adapted for Russia.

1.3 · Parties, Elections & Representation I

Wednesday 17 June · 1:15–2:45 PM · B001 · Chair: Rodrigo M. Cordara · Discussant: Marc-Antoine Martel

Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Peter B. Mortensen, Gunnar Thesen

Favorable news Media coverage, issue ownership and party support

Employing a corpus of more than five million news articles in four countries over nearly two decades, this paper offers the most extensive empirical examination of the core issue ownership effect to date. Our conclusion is that positive issue reputations matter to party support, aligning with theories of issue ownership and media priming.

Felix Bäckstedt

Radical-right parties, government-seeking, and welfare politics

This paper studies how and when government inclusion chances affect radical-right parties' welfare politics, arguing that welfare accommodation is contingent on the relative immigration policy distance between a radical-right party and the mainstream right-wing party. The analysis employs a novel dataset covering 30 Western democracies over three decades.

Shruti Khandekar

Unpinning Expertise

Policy experts play an important role in policy processes. Yet recent research suggests that trust in policy experts is polarized. Using a single-profile conjoint experiment, this paper examines survey respondents' use of heuristics in gauging expertise across three policy areas, testing whether perceptions of expertise are sensitive to the issue at hand.

2.1 · Agenda Dynamics & Political Attention II

Wednesday 17 June · 3:00–4:30 PM · K011 · Chair: Andrey Shadurskiy · Discussant: Joe Jupille

Joschua Helmer

How parties invent new issues: The case of digitalisation policy

This paper proposes a remedial issue concept and theorises vote- & policy-seeking parties as agents setting delineations between issues. The framework is empirically applied to the emerging issue of digitalisation policy to explore how new and cross-cutting problems and policies are formed into issues.

Julia Fleischer

From state domains to issue areas: Government activities in the long-term

This paper advances a process-oriented account linking the evolution of policy areas to the dynamics of agenda setting, jurisdictional expansion, and administrative development. Drawing on a novel longitudinal quantitative dataset covering all formal ministerial units in Prussia and Germany, France, Japan, Norway, and the United Kingdom from the early 19th century until the 1960s.

Laura de Castro Quaglia

The Policy Content of Oversight: GAO Activity Through the Comparative Agendas Lens

This paper introduces a new dataset linking the U.S. Government Accountability Office's oversight activity to policy attention using the CAP coding framework, leveraging more than 50,000 GAO reports and over 70,000 agency-directed recommendations.

Will Jennings, Shaun Bevan

The Hierarchy of Needs and the Public Agenda: How Crises and the Economy Drive the 'Most Important Issue'

This paper develops a theory of when and how issues 'crowd out' attention to other issues, driven by a 'hierarchy of needs' where physical safety and economic concerns supersede concern about social organization and post-material issues. The analysis draws on a monthly time series of survey data on the 'Most Important Issue' in the UK, with 458 monthly observations from 1977 to 2024.

Zsolt Boda, Orsolya Ring

Emotions and policy punctuations: an exploration using large language model analysis

This paper engages into exploratory research using an AI-powered tool to identify emotions in policy discourse. Analyzing data from the Hungarian Comparative Agendas Project, the paper asks: does the distribution of emotions follow a leptokurtic distribution? Can we link emotional storms to external focusing events?

2.2 · Media, Communication & Public Opinion II

Wednesday 17 June · 3:00–4:30 PM · K008 · Discussant: Florin Zai

Christian Breunig

Citizens and politicians hold shared perceptions of power and deservingness of needy groups

This paper surveys citizens and nationally elected politicians in Canada, Germany, Luxembourg and Norway in 2022 to test shared perceptions of deservingness and power. A model-based cluster analysis compares responses between citizens and politicians, and an experimental design tests if social benefits are assigned based on fairness and/or ingroup considerations.

Alexandra Feddersen, Jonas Baur and Anna-Lena Nadler

Does the dog watch? When and how the media reports on political elites' repositioning

This paper presents the first study on when and how the media report on issue position changes of political elites, using a large corpus of Swiss news articles from the past 20 years. The study develops a typology of issue position changes applied to the entire corpus using a transfer learning approach.

Rhonda Evans, Christine Bird; Sierra Rowe

Explaining Media Attention to New Zealand Supreme Court Cases

This article examines case-level characteristics that drive media attention to decisions of the New Zealand Supreme Court (NZSC). Drawing on cue theory and scholarship on news values, we analyze whether and how case characteristics and case participants shape both the likelihood and duration of newspaper coverage, drawing on the New Zealand Supreme Court Database and a comprehensive dataset of New Zealand Herald articles from 2004 to 2017.

Selma Sarenkapa

From media discourses to policy: The imprint of group constructions in the media on policy choices affecting them

This paper develops a theoretical argument on how media framing and representation drive policy change via public opinion, drawing on NLI models to measure social constructions of groups in French and German newspaper coverage from 1995 to 2023. The analysis focuses on three groups: women, immigrants, and investors.

Yannick Léonard, Stefaan Walgrave

Playing the Crowd: Linguistic strategies of politicians

Drawing on in-depth interviews with 82 politicians from Flanders, Belgium, this paper investigates how political actors describe their own language adaptation strategies across various communicative contexts, with special attention to regional accents, dialects, and informal registers.

2.3 · Policy Content & Specific Domains I

Wednesday 17 June · 3:00–4:30 PM · B001 · Chair: Jonathan Colner · Discussant: Javier Martínez-Cantó

Delphine Deschaux-Dutard, Jean Joana, Friderike Richter

Questioning Defence Policy in the French Parliament: A Study of Parliamentary Questions on Military Operations (2012–2025)

This paper examines how French MPs engage with defence policy through parliamentary questions in the Assemblée nationale between 2012 and 2025, analysing patterns and functions of parliamentary scrutiny in the field of defence and how defence priorities are negotiated under increasing strategic and budgetary constraints.

David García-García, Laura Chaqués-Bonafont

AI Policy Advice Systems: Accessibility, Equity, and Multidisciplinary Collaboration

This paper examines the conditions under which AI policy advice systems (AIPAs) are more likely to adopt a multidisciplinary composition and collaborative framework. Using a mixed-methods approach, we compare 73 AIPAs through both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Sarah Reckhow, Alexandra Stinson and Drayton Willey

US Education Policy and Party Politics

This paper codes and analyzes longitudinal data on changes in party positions, congressional hearings, and executive action on education. Results show that attention to education policy has receded on the congressional agenda, while growing attention from the executive branch and increasing partisan polarization have shifted the policy image of education away from standards and accountability.

Herschel Thomas, Chris Koski, Samuel Workman, EJ Fagan, Jiyeon Lee

The Policy Agenda of Social Scientific Research: Assessing Institutional Alignment, Funding Bias, and Disparities Across Disciplines

This paper introduces a new dataset of more than 12 million abstracts from peer reviewed journals across all social science disciplines since 1945, coded for their policy content using the Comparative Agendas Project classification system. The paper explores how topics are distributed across disciplines, the role of funders in biasing the topics explored by academics, and the relationship between the academic agenda and the policy agendas of formal institutions and think tanks in the US.

Plenary — Book Projects

Wednesday 17 June · 5:00–6:30 PM · Amphithéâtre Jean Moulin · Chair: Bryan Jones

Florence Faucher, Director of the CEE · Emiliano Grossman, Director of the CDSP

Welcome address

Isabelle Guinaudeau

Of Promises and Power. How Political Influence Shapes Mandate Representation

Do elections bind governments to what they promised, or do constraints and organized power fundamentally limit the scope for mandate representation? This book revisits this foundational question by analyzing governing executives' pledges in France from 1995 to 2022. Combining large-N evidence with process-tracing case studies, the book rethinks mandate representation as a real but structurally unequal mechanism.

Amy McKay, Beth Leech, Joost Berkhout, Patrick Bernhagen, and Adam Chalmers

What Matters: Public and Private Agendas in Cross-National Perspective

This book develops a picture of the policy agendas of the public, interest groups, and the government across four countries—Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States—drawing together original data from nearly 400 interviews with interest groups, original public opinion surveys, and analysis of national government budgets, legislation, and executive speeches.

Peter Bjerre Mortensen, Jens Ledet Jensen and Søren Serritzlew

Understanding Policy Changes. The Mixture Model of Politics

This book offers a new theoretical and methodological approach to the study of policy changes, drawing inspiration from research on physical systems such as earthquakes and waves, and presenting the comparative distributional method as a statistical tool to analyse policy change.

Thursday, 18 June

3.1 · Agenda Dynamics & Political Attention III

Thursday 18 June · 9:30–11:00 AM · K011 · Chair: Beth Leech · Discussant: Zsolt Boda

André Santana da Silva, Alvino Oliveira Sanches Filho

The Reflected Attention Gradients Index (RAGI): Toward an Integrated Strategy for Quantifying Attention to Public Policies

This paper proposes a strategy for the integrated quantification of aggregates of attention through an initial exercise in modeling a synthetic index—the Reflected Attention Gradients Index (RAGI)—based on a subset of variables: formal authorization acts, administrative acts, budget execution, and occurrence of discourse related to the policy.

Eric Montpetit, Antoine Lemor

Is scientific expertise at the service of public policy inertia, while emotions act as drivers of change?

This paper proposes an empirical test of whether expertise and emotion may be closely associated during both periods of policy inertia and periods of policy change. Using classifiers trained to recognize CAP policy categories and references to scientific evidence in parliamentary debates in Quebec since WWII, the paper tests the hypothesis that expertise is mobilized to trigger positive emotions during periods of inertia and negative emotions during periods of change.

Jon Bøe Valgermo

Substitute venues? Policy production beyond organizational responsibilities

This paper examines to what extent the personal traits of cabinet ministers explain the production of policy bills outside of their ministry's core tasks. Several binomial regression models are run on a dataset containing all parliamentary bills presented to the Norwegian Storting, 1985–2024.

Jonathan Colner

The Who, What, When and Where of Municipal Policy Attention in California Cities

This paper introduces a new database of every city council agenda item from every incorporated city in California, stretching back as far as records are publicly available. The dataset includes agenda items from over 200,000 meetings, with each item coded by substantive topic.

3.2 · Media, Communication & Public Opinion III

Thursday 18 June · 9:30–11:00 AM · K008 · Chair: Friederike Richter · Discussants: Julie Sevenans, Evelien Willems

Gauthier Fally

Public Attention & Interest Group Lobbying: A Time Series VAR Study of Citizen and Business Mobilization in the United States

This paper examines the conditional mobilization of U.S. citizen and business interest groups using time series data across issues and years from 1998 to 2023, employing Vector Autoregression (VAR) modeling and Granger causality tests to assess the temporal relationship between public attention and lobbying activity.

Henrik Bech Seeberg, Roman Senninger, Mathias Tromborg

When do politicians respond to interest group requests? A field experiment on politicians' information processing

This paper leverages a novel, large-scale field experiment (pre-registered and ethically approved) collaborating with a real interest group to measure—in an email to 4,000 Danish politicians—whether they attend to its appeal. Using random allocation in a 2x2 factorial design (private-public, anecdotes-statistics), the study helps establish the micro-foundation of politicians' information filtering.

Ilana Shpaizman

The agenda of political advisors in the parliament

This paper examines the role of political advisors in the legislature's agenda, based on a unique dataset of appearances of political advisors before Israeli parliamentary committees from 2013 to 2024, complemented by in-depth interviews with political advisors responsible for relations between the executive and the parliament.

Jonathan Lewallen

The Politics of Attention in U.S. Technology Regulation

This paper argues that emerging technologies and their related policy problems can be placed into three categories based on how those technologies interact with economic sectors and governing arrangements, generating three different patterns of attention and information generation. Data from U.S. congressional hearings and Congressional Research Service reports illustrate the differences across multiple issue areas.

Florin Zai, Regula Hänggli Fricker

From silence to storm: Media agenda dynamics of political failures

This paper investigates media attention dynamics in response to political failures, analyzing 474 cases of political failure in German-speaking Switzerland (April 2019 – April 2020), building on the concept of media storms to understand why attention surges abruptly following punctuated equilibrium dynamics.

3.3 · Budgeting & Public Spending I

Thursday 18 June · 9:30–11:00 AM · B001 · Chair: Chris Koski · Discussant: Thomas Tangen

Eva Hoxha

Budget Amendments as a Channel of Radical Party Influence

This study measures whether and how radical parties influence fiscal policy through budget amendments in France, Sweden, and Denmark. Using text analysis, the paper compares radical party amendments with enacted budget bills to assess how much of their policy agenda is adopted.

Joly, Jeroen, Alessandro Castriotta

Ideology and Defense: An analysis of budgets and troop deployments in 28 European countries from 1995-2024

Introducing a new dataset of defense spending and troop deployments for 28 EU Member States from 1995–2024, this paper examines whether the ideology of governments influences their defense policies.

Marcello Carammia, Frank Baumgartner, Derek Epp

Budgeting Across Regimes: Two and a Half Centuries of Maltese Public Spending

This paper analyzes a unique historical dataset of Maltese public budgets covering roughly 250 years and several regime configurations — from the late confederal theocracy rule of the Knights of the Order of St John through British colonial administration, independence and democratization, and EU membership up to 2020.

Felipe José Miguel Garcia, Gabriel Rodrigues dos Santos; Rodrigo Moura Karolczak; EJ Fagan

Information Processing, Regime Change, and Institution-Building in Brazil (1964–2024)

Using new data on federal budgetary allocations coded by policy content with the Comparative Agendas Project classification system, this article examines how regime change in Brazil is associated with differences in information-processing capacity as reflected in the distribution of budgetary changes over time.

Rodrigo M. Cordara

Punctuated Equilibrium and Budgetary Dynamics in Latin America

This paper presents the first systematic application of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory to the comparative analysis of public budgets in Latin America, drawing on annual central government expenditure data from 14 countries over approximately three decades, classified under the COFOG framework.

4.1 · Agenda Dynamics & Political Attention IV

Thursday 18 June · 11:15 AM–12:45 PM · K011 · Chair: Isabelle Guinaudeau · Discussant: Peter Bjerre Mortensen

Alison Craig, Miranda Sullivan, Max Goplerud, Sean Theriault, Shruti Khandekar

Human Judgment in Hybrid Approaches to Large-Scale Text Classification

Using a large corpus of bill summaries from the U.S. Congress, this paper examines how automated classification performs across topics and how targeted human input can improve those results, demonstrating that focusing human coding efforts on cases where automated models are least certain can substantially improve classification quality.

Charles J. Finocchiaro, Scott A. MacKenzie

Winnowing Washington Work: Individual and Institutional Determinants of Congress's Substantive Agenda

This paper uses original data on bills introduced in the House of Representatives between 1881 and 1931 to show the influence of factors like committee membership and partisan demand on bill reporting patterns.

Emiliano Grossman

Agenda Sensitivity and Political Information Processing in Comparative Perspective

Using comparative data on lawmaking across 25 democracies, this paper examines whether patterns of punctuated attention can capture differences in how political systems address emerging challenges, proposing a more systematic approach to measuring disproportionality and exploring whether this variation correlates with institutional features including Lijphart's executive-parties dimension, regime durability, and electoral system characteristics.

Stefaan Walgrave, Jonas Lefevere, Karolin Soontjens

Party, Politician, Issue and Voter Determinants of Policy Congruence

Based on the ongoing work of the POLPOP consortium, this paper leverages a dataset spanning 14 countries and numerous policy issues, systematically comparing levels of policy congruence across countries and issues, examining party features, citizen preferences, and individual politician stances.

Christine Bird, Robin Taboni

Legislative Divisiveness and The US Supreme Court's Policy Agenda

Using data measuring attention to policy issues from 1948–2018, this paper finds that the Court's agenda is heavily concentrated in a small number of topic areas, that increased agenda control is associated with more engagement on issues that engender significant conflict in the US Congress, and that in the post-1988 period the Court's willingness to place legislatively divisive issues on its agenda is depressed when congressional and Court preferences diverge.

4.2 · Parties, Elections & Representation II

Thursday 18 June · 11:15 AM–12:45 PM · K008 · Chair: Jiyoung Lee · Discussant: Teresa Cornacchione

Enrico Borghetto, Marcello Carammia, Henrik Bech Seeberg

Generational conflict in parliament: Do narrowly winning young politicians respond more to the issue concerns of the youth?

This paper approaches causal identification by leveraging a regression discontinuity design on the sample of close winners to the European Parliament, 2004–2023, focusing on electoral competition only between pairs of candidates of opposite age (young vs old).

Jonathan Lewallen, Mary R. Anderson

Executive Attention and Gendered Surrogacy: U.S. First Ladies in Focusing Events

This paper investigates contemporary first ladies as surrogates during potential focusing events, analyzing which potential focusing events from 1993 to 2024 saw the first lady make public remarks and comparing how U.S. first ladies and presidents talked about the same event.

Csaba Molnár

The role of the opposition's legislative committee chairmanship in agenda-setting

This paper investigates whether committee chairmen are efficient tools of opposition parties for agenda-setting, analysing the influence of the opposition on the government's legislative agenda in the Central European Visegrád Group (Czechia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) for the period after the democratic transition around 1990 to 2023.

Daniel Little

Retreating from Politics? Union Local Activity in an Era of Union Decline

Leveraging data on expenditures of union locals on political activity, this paper hypothesizes that overall political activity from labor unions in the United States is declining, arguing that local levels of union density are central to this relationship.

4.3 · Policy Content & Specific Domains II

Thursday 18 June · 11:15 AM–12:45 PM · B001 · Chair: Shaun Bevan · Discussant: Simon Persico

David García-García, Xavier Fernández-i-Marín

Mapping AI Governance Portfolios: A Scalable Comparative Method for Classifying Policy Targets and Instruments

This paper applies a policy portfolio approach to examine how artificial intelligence is governed across a diverse set of countries, building a cross-national dataset of AI-related policies classified along two core dimensions: policy targets and policy instruments.

Federico Russo

Descriptive Representation in Bruxelles? An Analysis of the Activities of Members of the European Parliament with a Migratory Background

Leveraging an original dataset compiled within the EUQuest project, this research investigates whether the rise in MEPs with a migratory background has translated into greater advocacy for migrants' rights in the EP during the 8th and 9th legislative periods (2014–2024).

Marc-Antoine Martel, Daniel Sandvej Eriksen

Supplying Issue Attention Without Eroding the Brand: How Parties Emphasize Issues Across Demographic Groups

Using a new cross-national dataset of 121,974 issue-based advertisements from 68 parties in eight Western European and North American democracies, this paper shows that even with the capacity for microtargeting, individual parties present largely similar issue profiles across demographic groups.

Fouad El Haddad

Does Government Participation Change Party Policy Agendas in Authoritarian Settings?

This article examines the question through a within-system comparison centred on Morocco, using an original dataset of 346 legislative proposals submitted by eight parliamentary groups across three legislatures (2002–2016).

5.1 · Polarization, Inequality & Democratic Challenges I

Thursday 18 June · 2:30–4:00 PM · K011 · Chair: Enrico Borghetto · Discussant: Juan Guillermo Vieira

Rens Vliegenthart, Edwin Jans, Sanne Kruikemeier, Emma Turkenburg

Forms of polarization

Employing a longitudinal manual content analysis of parliamentary questions, debates and newspaper articles on climate change, this study assesses the development of polarisation in the Dutch political and media debate between 2010–2021, analysing three distinct forms: ideological, affective, and factual belief polarisation.

Amnon Cavari

When Partisanship Silences Inequality: Polarization and the Erosion of Income-Group Priorities

This paper analyzes four decades of public priorities in the United States (1981–2020) and Israel (1977–2023) to examine whether polarization suppresses the political expression of inequality in public priorities, demonstrating that under acute polarization, partisan affiliation prevails over income-based inequality in shaping the public agenda.

Matt Grossmann

Does Salience Hurt in the Polarized Age?

This paper investigates the mechanisms for the quiet path to successful policymaking, arguing that policy process theory needs updates to reflect when moving a problem higher on the agenda can hurt, rather than help, advance policy. Analyzing data from the Policy Agendas Project and legislative histories of recent bipartisan enactments, the paper demonstrates that successful policy entrepreneurs today invert the traditional logic by aggressively narrowing scope rather than expanding it.

5.2 · Parties, Elections & Representation III

Thursday 18 June · 2:30–4:00 PM · K008 · Chair: Mary Anderson · Discussant: Henrik Bech Seeberg

Alison Craig

What Members Do and What They Say: Agenda Divergence in Congress

This paper examines when and why members emphasize different issues in internal and constituent-facing communications, analyzing a large corpus of members' e-newsletters compared to their Dear Colleague letters. Findings show that divergence between public and policymaking agendas is a systematic feature of congressional communication.

Mathias Bukh Vestergaard, Daniel Sandvej Eriksen

Greatest Hits: How Parties Use Social Media to Test and Select their Election Promises

Drawing on data from parties' Facebook communication in Denmark, the United Kingdom, and Austria, this paper shows that policy proposals receiving more engagement, and especially more positive feedback, are significantly more likely to be repeated as election promises.

Miklos Sebok

Bring in the cavalry: Solving CAP minor topic coding with AI agent-systems

This article introduces a novel multi-agent system built on LangGraph StateGraph architecture to address the complexity of CAP minor topic classification. The system deploys an orchestrator agent routing tasks to specialized agents, leveraging an ensemble of generative and non-generative large language models.

Peter Bjerre Mortensen, Anders Leth Nielsen

Mapping national regulation of local governments

This paper presents the results of a systematic mapping of national policy obligations for local councils, content coding all Danish national legislation (1989–2025) aimed at local councils and focusing on how hard it regulates local politics.

5.3 · Policy Content & Specific Domains III

Thursday 18 June · 2:30–4:00 PM · B001 · Chair: Charlotte Halpern · Discussant: Jonathan Lewallen

Annika Ness, EJ Fagan, Chris Koski, Michael Kaiser-Nyman, Andrea Manning

Executive Agenda-Setting in Subnational Legislatures: Evidence from U.S. State Politics

This paper analyzes whether governors can shape legislative priorities through major agenda-setting speeches, linking the policy content of State of the State addresses to all bills introduced in the Illinois General Assembly from 1996–2025, coded by the Illinois

Policy Agendas Project.

Julie Sevenans, Željko Poljak, Stefaan Walgrave, Evelien Willems

The emotionality of politicians' social media posts as a predictor of parliamentary attention

This paper relies on a longitudinal dataset of Facebook posts by Belgian politicians (2010–2022), coded by CAP topic and emotion, using time-series analyses to test whether the degree of emotionality surrounding an issue predicts subsequent parliamentary attention.

Sean M. Theriault

The Popes' Policy Priorities

This paper examines whether the policy priorities of Pope Francis differ from his predecessors, teasing out public policy priorities through annual messages to the Holy See's diplomatic corps since the early 1960s.

Simon Persico, Florent Gougou, Malo Jan, Blaise Moutn, Théodore Tallent

"Up and Down with the Ecology": salience and the transformation of public opinion

This paper adopts a longitudinal perspective to assess changes in public opinion on environmental issues in Western Europe, suggesting that the salience of environmental issues and the support for environmental protection have generally increased over time, while becoming increasingly polarized along ideological lines.

Plenary — Keynote & Roundtable

Thursday 18 June · 4:30–6:30 PM · Amphithéâtre Jean Moulin · Chair: Stefaan Walgrave

David Levi-Faur, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Keynote lecture

Alice Cavalieri, Chris Koski, Ilana Shpaizman

Roundtable in honor of Bryan Jones

Friday, 19 June

6.1 · Polarization, Inequality & Democratic Challenges II

Friday 19 June · 9:30–11:00 AM · K011 · Chair: Evelien Williams · Discussant: Gunnar Thesen

Rens Vliegthart, Annelien Van Remoortere

Polarization as an Agenda Cue: Issue Salience, Media Framing, and Electoral Choice in the 2025 Dutch Election

This paper examines whether issues presented as polarized in (social) media coverage become more salient to voters and exert a stronger influence on their vote choice. Drawing on a five-wave panel survey (N=3,000) conducted in the run-up to the 2025 Dutch parliamentary elections, the study connects individual-level media diets to the polarization and salience of issues citizens encounter.

Simon Otjes, Joes de Natris; Marijn Nagtzaam

Who gets the say in the coalition agreement? Local programs and municipal coalition agreements in the Netherlands

This paper tests party size and issue salience as explanatory factors for policy payoffs in coalition agreements, examining more than 3,000 parties negotiating in nearly 1,000 Dutch municipality-election dyads between 2014 and 2022.

Vincent Joassin, Tim Haesebrouck & Cindy Du Bois

A tale of two neighbors: Assessing threat perception through political narratives

This paper introduces a framework that incorporates narrative analysis for the modelling of threat perception, leveraging recent statistical techniques from NLP and LLM subfields to quantify narratives through a case study between Belgium and the Netherlands.

HALPERN Charlotte, MANDELLI Matteo

Policy implications of the Green Backlash for the EU Green Deal: comparative analysis of agriculture, consumer protection and transport policies

This paper proposes focusing on the European Green Deal Strategy to analyze how the green backlash shapes its delivery and further development. Drawing on qualitative datasets from three policy areas (common agriculture, consumer protection, and transport), the paper examines how the backlash emerged and its implications for policy dynamics and outcomes.

6.2 · Parties, Elections & Representation IV

Friday 19 June · 9:30–11:00 AM · K008 · Chair: Benjamin Guinaudeau · Discussant: Christian Breunig

Javier Martínez-Cantó, Álvaro Sánchez-García (CEPC, Madrid)

What Matters Where? Urban–Rural Differences in Policy Priorities

This paper explores the rural-urban divide regarding the most important problem in the European context, using more than 300 quarterly surveys from the Spanish Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas between 1996 and 2025, CAP-coded and merged.

Juan Guillermo Vieira

The dynamics of political attention in regime transitions: punctuations and agenda diversity in Colombia and Chile (1958–2025)

This paper analyses a 67-year period in Chile and Colombia to characterise policy change dynamics and the diversity of agendas across regime transitions, employing a statistical approach utilizing primary indicators coded according to the Comparative Agendas Project.

Julie Sevenans, Bart Maes, Stefaan Walgrave

How (statistical) polling information and (episodic) emails from individual constituents jointly influence politicians' personal opinions, public opinion perceptions, and policy intentions

This paper investigates how emails from individual constituents skew representatives' interpretation of representative polling data, relying on survey experiments with national, regional, and local politicians across fourteen countries.

Henrik Bech Seeberg, Daniel Eriksen, Carsten Jensen

Who politicizes the 'left behind'? Party competition and the return of the center-periphery cleavage in European politics

This paper provides a first systematic study of the inside of the politicization of the 'left behind,' identifying geographical references and classifying issue content in parliamentary questions to the minister in Denmark over a 20-year period since 2003.

6.3 · Budgeting & Public Spending II

Friday 19 June · 9:30–11:00 AM · B001 · Chair: Amber Morris · Discussant: Marcello Carammia

Laura de Castro Quaglia, Connor Dye

Outsourced Surveillance: How Congress Subsidizes the Costs of Policy Oversight

This paper argues that committees expand their capacity to perform oversight by subsidizing investigation costs through external actors. Analyzing almost 60,000 recommendations across 51,000 CAP-coded GAO reports published over the past 100 years alongside testimony from federal agencies, the paper shows that agencies targeted by GAO recommendations were significantly more likely to be the subject of committee oversight hearings in the following year.

Alice Cavalieri, Eva Hoxha, Pedro de Lima Marin, Anna M. Palau

"You Can't Always Get What You Want". Budget amendments and the balance of power in Europe and Brazil

This preliminary study aims to compare several countries in Europe and beyond in order to build a comprehensive dataset on budget amendments, analyze trends in budget amendment proposals over time, and assess the impact of institutional and political variables on the volume of budget amendment proposals. Focus cases: Brazil, France, Italy, and Spain.

Eva Hoxha

Issue Ownership in the Budget Arena: How Opposition Parties Allocate Amendment Effort

Budget amendments are proposed every year, yet we know surprisingly little about how opposition parties use them strategically. I argue that opposition parties do not spread their proposals evenly across policy areas. Instead, they concentrate on the issues they own — those where voters already trust them and associate them with distinctive priorities. However, this concentration is not fixed: parties propose more amendments on issues they own when public concern about those issues rises. I test these arguments using an original dataset of budget amendments from France, Sweden, and the Netherlands, translated into English and coded according to the Comparative Agenda Project coding scheme. The study contributes to research on issue ownership by showing that ownership dynamics influence how parties allocate amendment effort in the parliamentary budget process. It also speaks to the legislative behavior literature by arguing that electoral incentives drive opposition amendment strategies.

Thomas Tangen

Exploring the Mountains of Money

Using an extensive dataset comprising budget figures from 1999 to 2024, this article demonstrates how the structure of the Norwegian Fiscal Budget has changed over time, and shows that Norwegian budget policy—much like other countries—is characterised by extended periods of stability interrupted by disjoint and abrupt change.

Claudio Robelo Guzman

Agenda Alignment, Executive–Legislative Rifts, and Change in Public Spending in Argentina

Presenting the first results from the Argentina node of the Comparative Agendas Project, this paper examines the degree of alignment and mismatch between executive and legislative agendas and assesses whether these rifts are associated with greater year-to-year change in actual expenditures.

Closing Plenary

Friday 19 June · 11:30 AM–1:00 PM · Amphithéâtre Jean Moulin · Chair: Emiliano Grossman

Claudio Robelo Guzman

New Country Project: Agenda-setting in Argentina

Frank Baumgartner, Shaun Bevan, Miklós Sebők

Agenda-setting studies in public policy

Annelise Russell, Henrik Bech Seeberg

Concluding remarks and perspectives for CAP