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# Jorge M. Fernandes

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## Academic Positions

- 2023- Ramón y Cajal Research Fellow, CSIC, Madrid, Spain
- 2020-2022 Assistant Research Professor, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal.
- 2017-2020 Post-Doctoral Fellow, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal.
- 2014-2017 Post-Doctoral Fellow, University of Bamberg, Germany.

## Education

- 2013 Ph.D. in Social and Political Sciences  
European University Institute, Florence, Italy  
Thesis Title: Power Sharing in Legislatures: Mega-Seats in Twelve European Parliamentary Democracies  
Committee: Stefano Bartolini (co-chair), Kaare Strøm (co-chair), Shane Martin, Mark N. Franklin
- 2010 M.Res. in Social and Political Sciences  
European University Institute, Florence, Italy
- 2009 M.Phil. in Comparative Politics  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal.
- 2007 B.A. in International Relations  
University of Minho, Braga, Portugal.

## Publications

### Refereed journal articles

- 21. Fernandes, J. M., Lopes da Fonseca, M. and Won, M. (2024). "Political Competition and the Effectiveness of Gender Quotas: Evidence from Portugal.", *The Journal of Politics*, 86(1):
- 20. Fernandes, J.M. and Won, M. (2023). "The Unintended Consequences of Amplifying the Radical Right on Twitter.", *Political Communication*, 40(6): 742-767.
- 19. Fernandes, J. M., Lopes da Fonseca, M. and Won, M. (2023). "Closing the Gender Gap in Legislative Debates: The Role of Gender Quotas", *Political Behavior*, 45: 897-921.
- 18. Won, M. and Fernandes J.M. (2022) "Analyzing Twitter Networks Using Graph Embeddings: An Application to the British Case", *Journal of Computational Social Sciences*, 5: 253-263 .
- 17. Fernandes J.M., Saalfeld, T. and Schwemmer, C. (2022) "The Politics of Select Committee Assignments in the British House of Commons", *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 47(2): 329-360.
- 16. Fernandes, J. M., Debus, M. and Back, H. (2021) "Unpacking the Politics of Legislative Debate", *European Journal of Political Research*, 60(4):1032-1045.
- 15. Fernandes, J. M., Won, M. and Martins, B. (2020) "Speechmaking and the Selectorate: Persuasion in Nonpreferential Electoral Systems", *Comparative Political Studies*, 53(5): 667-699.

14. Fernandes, J.M., and Magalhães, P.C. (2020) "The 2019 Portuguese general election", *West European Politics*, 43(4): 1038-1050.
13. Fernandes, J. M., Goplerud, M. and Won, M. (2019). "Legislative Bellwethers: The Role of Committee Membership in Parliamentary Debate". *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 44(2): 307-343.
12. Fernandes, J.M., Geese, L., and Schwemmer, C. (2019) "The Impact of Candidate Selection Rules and Electoral Vulnerability on Legislative Behavior in Comparative Perspective", *European Journal of Political Research*, 58(1): 270-291.
11. Fernandes, J.M., Riera, P., and Cantú, F. (2019) "The Politics of Committee Chairs Assignment in Ireland and Spain", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 72(1): 182-201.
10. Fernandes, J. M., Leston-Bandeira, C., and Schwemmer, C. (2018) "Election Proximity and Representation Focus in a Party-Constrained Environment", *Party Politics*, 24(6): 674-685.
9. Fernandes, J. M., Magalhães, P.C. and Santana-Pereira, J. (2018) "Portugal's Leftist Government: From Sick Man to Poster Boy?", *South European Society and Politics*, 23(4): 503-524.
8. Moury, C., and Fernandes, J. M. (2018), "Minority Government and Pledge Fulfilment: Evidence from Portugal", *Government & Opposition*, 53(2): 335-355.
7. Fernandes, J. M., Meinfelder, F., and Moury, C. (2016), "Wary Partners: Strategic Portfolio Allocation and Coalition Governance in Parliamentary Democracies", *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(9): 1270-1300.
6. Fernandes, J. M., Pereira, M. M., and Plescia, C. (2016), "Strategic Voting in Local Elections: Evidence from Portugal(1979-2013)", *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties*, 26(3): 312-335.
5. Fernandes, J. M., and Magalhães, P.C. (2016), "Government Survival in Semi-Presidential Regimes", *European Journal of Political Research*, 55(1): 61-80.
4. Fernandes, J. M., and Jalali, C. (2016), "A Ressurgent Presidency? Portuguese Semi-Presidentialism and the 2016 Elections", *South European Society and Politics*, 22(1):121-138.
3. Fernandes, J. M. (2016) "The Seeds for Party System Change? The 2015 Portuguese General Election", *West European Politics*, 39(4): 890-900.
2. Fernandes, J. M. (2016) "Intra-Party Delegations in the Portuguese Legislature: Assignment Committee Chairs and Party Coordination Positions", *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 22(1): 108-128.
1. Fernandes, J. M. (2011), "The 2011 Portuguese Election: Looking For a Way Out", *West European Politics*, 34(6): 1296-1303.

## Special Issues

1. Fernandes, J.M., Garoupa, N. (George Mason), Hierro, M. J. (Yale), Vasilopoulou, S. (York) (editors). Forthcoming. The Makeover of Southern Europe: Fifty years after Portugal, Spain, and Greece's Transitions to Democracy. *South European Society and Politics*.

## Edited Volumes

3. Fernandes, J.M., Magalhães, P.C., and Pinto, A.C. (2022) (editors). *Oxford Handbook of Portuguese Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2. Back, H., Debus, M., and Fernandes, J.M. (2021) (editors). *The Politics of Legislative Debates*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
1. Fernandes, J.M. and Leston-Bandeira, C. (2019) (editors). *The Iberian Legislatures in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.

## Book Chapters

11. Fernandes, J.M., Shomer, Y., and Shugart, M. S. (2024). "The Personal Vote". In
10. Fernandes, J.M. (2022). "Minority Governments in Portugal: Institutions as Solutions to Historical Legacies". In B. Field and S. Martin (editors) *Minority Governments in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
9. Fernandes, J.M. (2022). "Electoral System". In J.M. Fernandes, P.C. Magalhães, A.C. Pinto (editors) *Oxford Handbook of Portuguese Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
8. Fernandes, J. M. and Magalhães, P.C. (2020). "Does Economic and Political Integration Undermine Representative Democracy? Lessons from the 2008 Economic Crisis in the European Union". In R. Rohrschneider and J. Thomassen (editors). *Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
7. Fernandes, J.M. (2019). "Portugal: The prevalence of right-wing coalitions". In M. Evans (editor). *Coalition Government as a Reflection of a Nation's Politics and Society: A Comparative Study of Parliamentary Parties and Cabinets in 12 Countries*. London: Routledge.
6. Fernandes, J.M. (2019). "Introduction". In J. M. Fernandes and C. Leston-Bandeira (editors). *The Iberian Legislatures in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.
5. Fernandes, J.M. (2019). "Conclusion". In J. M. Fernandes and C. Leston-Bandeira (editors). *The Iberian Legislatures in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.
4. Fernandes, J.M. and Riera, P. (2019). "Committee Systems in Portugal and Spain". In J. M. Fernandes and C. Leston-Bandeira (editors). *The Iberian Legislatures in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.
3. Moury, C., Nicolò Conti and Fernandes, J.M. (2019). "Italy". In E. Naurin, T. J. Royed and R. Thomson (editors). *Party Mandates and Democracy: Making, Breaking, and Keeping Election Pledges in Twelve Countries*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
2. Leston-Bandeira, C., and Fernandes, J. M. (2015) "Parliamentary Investiture Rules in Portugal's Semi-Presidential Democracy". In B. E. Rasch, S. Martin, and J.A. Cheibub (editors), *Parliaments and Government Formation: Unpacking Investiture Rules*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
1. Fernandes, J. M., and Willumsen, D. M. (2015) "Representing without Governing". In F. Mueller Rommel and F. Casal-Bertoa (editors), *Party Politics and Democracy in Europe: Essays in Honour of Peter Mair*. London: Routledge.

## Visiting Positions

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|-----------|--|
| 2021-2022 | Visiting Fellow<br>Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI<br>Sponsor: Daniele Caramani    |
| 2018-2019 | Visiting Scholar<br>Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University              |
| 2012      | Visiting Graduate Student<br>Department of Political Science, UC San Diego<br>Sponsor: Kaare Strøm |

## Ongoing Research

9. "The implementation of decentralisation reforms in multi-level systems" (with Javier Martínez-Canto) (*R&R Journal of European Public Policy*).

8. "Parties and coalition governance in presidential democracies" (with Joris Thijm) (*R&R Political Research Quarterly*).
7. "The Effects of Participatory Democracy on Political Attitudes: Causal Evidence from Citizens' Assemblies" (with Mariana Carmo Duarte and Miguel M. Pereira) (*Under Review*).
6. "The Electoral Implications of Candidate Selection Democratization" (with Alon Yakter and Yael Shomer) (*Under Review*).
5. "The Electoral Implications of Candidate Selection Democratization" (with Alon Yakter and Yael Shomer) (*Under Review*).
4. "Thinly Veiled: The Use of Femonationalist Speech in European Parliaments" (with Bonnie M. Meguid and Ana Catalano Weeks) (*Close to submission*).
3. "After the enfranchisement: Legislative elites reactions to womens inclusion" (with Laurence Brandeberger and Sophia Schlosser) (*In preparation*).
2. "The Diversity Illusion? Explaining Resistance to Inclusive Representation in Brazil" (with Malu Gatto and Ana Catalano Weeks) (*In preparation*).
1. "Winning Over Women? The Effects of Security- and Rights-Based Femonationalist Appeals on Voter Support" (with Bonnie M. Meguid and Ana Catalano Weeks) (*In preparation*).

## Funded research projects and grants

**Total amount of external funding: 778.941,26 Euros**

### As PI or co-PI

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|-----------|---|
| 2023-2025 | Losers of Representation (PI). <b>100.000</b> . Funding: Spanish National Research Council.   |
| 2023-2026 | Losers of Representation (PI). <b>249.187,62 Euros</b> . Funding: Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.   |
| 2018-2022 | Into the 'Secret Garden' of Portuguese Politics: Parliamentary Candidate Selection in Portugal, 1976-2015 (PI). <b>100.000 Euros</b> Funding: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos.                     |
| 2017-2022 | Into the 'Secret Garden' of Portuguese Politics: Parliamentary Candidate Selection in Portugal, 1976-2015 (co-PI). <b>239.324,27 Euros</b> . Funding: Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology. |

### As member of the research team

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|-----------|---|
| 2021-     | POLPOP: Elites' Perceptions of Public Opinion. PI: Stefaan Walgrave. Funding: ERC <b>90.000 Euros</b> funding to University of Lisbon.  |
| 2017-     | Corruption and Economic Crisis, a Poisonous Combination: Understanding Process-Outcome Interactions in the Explanation of Public Support for Democracy. PIs: Luís de Sousa and Pedro Magalhães. Funding: Foundation for Science and Technology. |
| 2014-2018 | PATHWAYS: The Political Representation of Citizens of Immigrant Origin in Seven European Democracies. PIs: Thomas Saalfeld, Laura Morales, Jean Tillie, Manlio Cinalli. ORA+ Project. Funding: DFG, ESRC, ANG, NWO.                             |
| 2014-2017 | From Representation to Legitimacy? Political Parties and Interest Groups in Southern Europe. PI: Marco Lisi. Funding: Foundation for Science and Technology.  |
| 2011-2014 | Varieties of Democracy (Country Coordinator for Italy). PIs: Michael Coppedge and Staffan I. Lindberg. Funding: Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, ERC, NSF, Swedish Research Council.  |

### As Research Assistant

- 2011-2014 Portugal in EU Decision-Making. PIs: Alexander Trechsel and Richard Rose. Funding: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos.
- 2008-2009 Choosing Fair Elections in Democratization Processes. PI: Nancy Bermeo. Funding: Nuffield College, University of Oxford.

## Additional Training

- 2023 Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis.  
Quantitative Methods for Causal Inference and Policy Evaluation.  
Adam Zelizer (University of Chicago)
- 2016 ECPR Winter School in Methods and Techniques.  
Game Theory for Social Scientists.  
Florence So (Aarhus University)
- 2015 ECPR Winter School in Methods and Techniques.  
Advanced Discrete Choice Modelling.  
Paul W. Thurner (LMU, Munich)
- 2012 Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis  
Advanced Multivariate Data Analysis.  
Alejandro Quiroz Flores (University of Essex)
- 2011 Teaching Skills Certificate.  
European University Institute.  
Neil McLean (LSE)
- 2010 ECPR Summer School on Parliaments.  
University of Bamberg, Germany

## Conference Participation

European Political Science Association Conference, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2023  
ECPR Joint Sessions, 2012, 2016  
American Political Science Association Annual Meeting 2014, 2016, 2018, 2022, 2023  
ECPR Standing Group on Parliaments Conference, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2022, 2023  
Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2018  
ECPR General Conference, 2013,  
Visiting Scholars Seminar, Center for European Studies Harvard, 2018.

## Organization

- 2019 The Politics of Legislative Debate (with Marc Debus and Hanna Bäck), MZES, Mannheim, Germany (October 23-25).  
The Secret Garden of Politics (with Carlos Jalali), Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal (June 26).
- 2018 Iberian Legislatures Book Project (with Cristina Leston-Bandeira), Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal (May 28).
- 2016 PATHWAYS Conference: Scholars Meet Legislators (with Thomas Saalfeld), Institute for Government, Political Studies Association, London, United Kingdom (February 15).  
PATHWAYS Mid-Project Conference (with Laura Morales and Thomas Saalfeld), University of Leicester, Leicester, United Kingdom (February 16-17).
- 2015 PATHWAYS General Conference (with Thomas Saalfeld and Laura Morales), Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal (January 28-30).
- 2014 PATHWAYS Opening Conference, University of Bamberg, Germany (May 28-29).
- 2011 Politics and Representation Workshop (with Peter Mair and David M. Willumsen), European University Institute, Florence, Italy (May 25-26).

## Awards and Fellowships

- 2023 CSIC, Talent Attraction Fellowship (100K)
- 2022 Ramón y Cajal Fellowship  
Spanish Ministry of Science and Education
- 2021 Fellowship, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Research  
European University Institute
- 2020 Lisbon Academy of Sciences  
(20 best Portuguese scientists under 40, all fields)
- 2020 Estímulo e Reconhecimento da Internacionalização em Ciências Sociais (ERICS)  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (2.126 Euros)
- 2019 Estímulo e Reconhecimento da Internacionalização em Ciências Sociais (ERICS)  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (520 Euros)
- 2018 Fellow, Center for European Studies, Harvard University
- 2017 FCT Post-Doctoral Fellowship (BPD/114665/2016)
- 2012 Pre-doctoral scholarship, European University Institute (14.400 Euros)
- 2012 European University Institute Grant for Essex Summer School (1.700 Euros)
- 2012 FLAD Fellowship for exchange with UC San Diego (1.500 Euros)
- 2012 European University Institute Fellowship for exchange with UC San Diego (3.500 Euros)
- 2010 European University Institute Grant for ECPR Summer School on Parliaments (1.000 Euros)
- 2009 FCT PhD Fellowship (4 years) (BD/60215/2009)
- 2009 PhD Fellowship from the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Office (2 years)

## Professional Service

### Editorial Roles

Editorial Board: Legislative Studies Quarterly (2020-...)

Associate Editor: Frontiers in Political Science (2021-...)

### Referee

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review (2), Análise Social, British Journal of Political Science (6), Business and Politics, Comparative Political Studies (2), Electoral Studies, European Journal of Political Research (7), European Political Science Review, European Politics and Society (3), Governance (3), Journal of Civil Society, Journal of Elections Public Opinion and Parties, Journal of Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly (5), Parliamentary Affairs, Party Politics (5), Political Science Research and Methods, Political Studies (2), Political Studies Review, Political Research Exchange, Political Research Quarterly, Representation (2), Scandinavian Political Studies, Swiss Political Science Review (2), West European Politics (4).

Oxford University Press, Routledge.

### Coordination

ECPR Summer School on Parliaments  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, 2019, 2022.

## Supervision

### PhD

- 2021- Joris Alberdingk Thijm, University of Lisbon.  
Renato Lima, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon.  
Lúcio Hanenberg, University of Lisbon.
- 2020- , University of Lisbon.

### Master's

- 2019 Inês Romão Duarte, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal (not completed, admitted PhD EUI).
- 2018 Raquel Valentim, University of Aveiro, Portugal.

## Teaching Experience

- 2020-2022 Topics in Political Institutions. PhD in Comparative Politics.  
Workshop in Comparative Politics (Coordinator: Marina Costa Lobo)  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon.
- 2020-2022 Comparative Politics and the Comparative Methods. PhD in Comparative Politics.  
Methodology and Research Design (Coordinator: Pedro Magalhães)  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon.
- 2020-2021 Statistical Methods Applied to the Study of Corruption.  
Summer School on Research Methods on Corruption and Corruption Control Analysis.  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon.
- 2016 Anxieties of Democracies. MA in Political Science.  
Co-Taught with Thomas Saalfeld  
University of Bamberg.
- 2013-... Several invited classes at Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (UNL), Universidade do Minho,  
Universidade da Beira Interior, ISCTE-IUL.
- 2010 Hierarchical Linear Modeling. PhD in Political and Social Sciences.  
Teaching Assistant to Mark N. Franklin (with Pedro Riera).  
European University Institute, Florence.

## Service to the University

1. Member of the Scientific Committee of doctoral program in Comparative Politics  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (2020-2022).
2. Member of the admission committee to the doctoral program in Comparative Politics  
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (2019-2022).
3. ECPR Official Representative at the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (2019-2022).
4. Student representative in the admission committee to the doctoral program in Social and Political Sciences  
European University Institute, Florence (2010, 2011).

## Consulting

Portuguese Constitutional Court (2021-2022)