### **EPOP CONFERENCE, 9-11 SEPTEMBER 2016**

# Friday 9th September

# Pre-conference workshops

10.30-12.30 Experimental political science (led by Ray Duch, Oxford; details)

10.00-12.30 Qualitative research methods (organised by PSA Qualitative Research Specialist

Group; details)

Reception of delegates (Atrium, Keynes College)

11.00-

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12.30-13.30 Lunch (Keynes Atrium)

Welcome from Julia Goodfellow, Vice Chancellor

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13.30-15.00 **SESSION** 1

# (1.1) Analysing the EU referendum using new data sources

Room: Keynes seminar room 14; Chair: Michael Turner

Clifton van der Linden and Harry Carr

Orders of magnitude: Big Data applications in political science

Marcel van Egmond, Rob Johns, Heinz Brandenburg, Maarja Lühiste and Laura Sudulich #Brexit. Analyzing tweets, surveying tweeters to understand public opinion dynamics during the EU Referendum campaign

Stephen Ward, Rachel Gibson, Liam McLoughlin and Ros Southern MPs, Twitter and the EU Referendum Campaign

## (1.2) Public attitudes towards government

Room: Keynes seminar room 16; Chair: Ann-Kristin Kölln

Caroline McEvoy

Mind the Gap! Assessing the Impact of Public Perceptions of a Democratic Deficit on Citizens' Political Engagement in European Democracies.

Edward Morgan-Jones and Matthew Loveless

Constitutional Rules and Citizen Evaluations: Do constitutional rules governing early election calling shape perceptions of democratic quality?

#### Stuart Fox and Sioned Pearce

How deep is the Divide? Generational Trends in Euroscepticism

#### Fernando Casal Bértoa and Till Weber

Party System Change in Times of Crisis

# (1.3) Voting for fringe and radical parties I: The UK

Room: Keynes seminar room 15; Chair: Paul Whiteley

### Eric Kaufmann

The 'Left Behind'? Reconciling individual and aggregate UK Independence Party voting

### Geoff Evans and Jon Mellon

UKIP: Immigration, Europe and the rise of ethno-nationalism

### John Meadowcroft and Elizabeth Morrow

Leadership, incentives and the decline of the English Defence League

# (1.4) Party campaigning

Room: Keynes seminar room 17; Chair: Tom Quinn

### David Cutts and Tristan Hotham

Facebook and Big Data: Has it changed party campaigning in Britain forever?

### Justin Fisher, David Cutts, Ed Fieldhouse and Bettina Rottweiler

The Evolution of District-Level Campaigning in Britain: the Resilience of Traditional Campaigning?

### Caitlin Milazzo and Jesse Hammond

Negative Messaging in 2015 General Election Leaflets

# Giordano Neuenschwander and Florian Foos

Mobilizing Party Activism: A Field Experiment with Party Members and Sympathizers

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15.00-15.30 Coffee/tea

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15.30-17.00 SESSION 2

## (2.1) 2015 general election I: findings from the BES

Room: Keynes seminar room 15; Chair: Caitlin Milazzo

### Ed Fieldhouse

The Fragmentation of British Electoral Politics: A Punctuated Equilibrium Perspective on Political Change

### Chris Prosser, Ed Fieldhouse and Jane Green

Reward, blame and guilt by association: How coalition helped the Tories but hurt the Lib Dems

## Jane Green and Chris Prosser

Shocks and ripples: The on-going effects of the 2008 financial crisis on the 2015 British general election

### Cees Van der Eijk and Hermann Schmitt

Evolving boundaries of electoral change in Britain: How long-term evolution of social and political factors transforms the parameters of electoral competition

#### Geoff Evans and Jon Mellon

The collapse of constraint: party identity and voter volatility, 1964-2015

#### (2.2) Electoral administration

Room: Keynes seminar room 14; Chair: Justin Fisher

## Alistair Clark and Toby James

Why Volunteer? The motivations of poll workers on election day

### Davide Tiberti and Katie Hamilton

Electoral registration in 2016: the new system of Individual Electoral Registration

## Katie Hamilton, Emma Noyes and Michael Turner

Is 7 weeks a long time in politics? Comparing public attitudes towards 2016's electoral events

## (2.3) Participation

Room: Keynes seminar room 16; Chair: Kaat Smets

## Timothy Vercelotti

Is Winning Everything? Activism, Campaigns, and Political Efficacy in the UK

# Stuart Fox, Ceryn Evans, Chris Taylor and Gareth Rees

Is it all Relative? Revisiting the Effect of Higher Education on Civic Participation

## Heinz Brandenburg, Zac Greene, Neil McGarvey

Explaining change in turnout with constituency level electoral data: The ephemeral effect of deprivation in the Scottish Referendum

## (2.4) Attitudes to the politics of gender

Room: Keynes seminar room 17; Chair: Edzia Carvalho

### Peter Allen and David Cutts

Blame assignation for women's numeric under-representation in politics: the influence of individual characteristics and political context

Susan Banducci, Laszlo Horvath, Ekaterina Kolpinskaya, and Samuel Vine *Stereotype threat effects on women's political engagement* 

Rosie Campbell and Oliver Heath Candidate effects and the gender gap

## Lisa Keenan

Gender stereotyping and candidate evaluations: evidence from an experimental study of direct and indirect voter bias

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17.00-18.30 Plenary: 'The Future of Opinion Polling'

Room: Keynes Lecture Theatre 4; Chair: Rosie Campbell

Patrick Sturgis, University of Southampton Martin Boon, Director, ICM Joe Twyman, Head of Social and Political Research, YouGov

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19.00 Drinks reception and dinner (followed by quiz and bar) Conference suite, Darwin College

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# Saturday 10th September

9.30-11.00 SESSION 3

### (3.1) EU referendum I

Room: Keynes seminar room 15; Chair: John Curtice

## Geoff Evans and Chris Prosser

Was it always a done deal? Estimating the impact of expectations and leaders on the decision to leave or stay

## Harold Clarke, Matthew Goodwin, Marianne Stewart and Paul Whiteley

What Explains the Referendum Vote on UK Membership of the European Union? A Dynamic Panel Analysis

## Liam Delaney, Ailsa Henderson and Robert Liñeira

Risk and the Brexit Choice

### (3.2) Turnout

Room: Keynes seminar room 14; Chair: Paula Surridge

### Frederico Ferreira da Silva

Fostering turnout? Assessing leaders' capacity to mobilise voters

### **Kaat Smets**

Competing or Complementary? Local and National Competitiveness as Explanatory Factors of Turnout in SMP Systems

## Patrick Kuhn and Nick Vivyan

Reducing Turnout Misreporting by Addressing Psychological Threat

## (3.3) Responsiveness to public opinion I: party policies and issues

Room: Keynes seminar room 16; Chair: Gail McElroy

#### Chitralekha Basu

Choosing Your Battles Wisely? Activist Preferences, Party Size and Issue Selection

### Fraser McMillan

Do political party issue emphases anticipate changes in government expenditure? Reassessing the saliency approach to democratic linkage

## Magdalena Staniek and Carolina Plescia

In the Eye of the Beholder: Voter Perceptions of Parties' Policy Shifts

### Michael Turner and Clive McDonnell

Using Tricked Regression to Re-Estimate Issue Salience in the United Kingdom

## (3.4) Party competition

Room: Keynes seminar room 17; Chair: Lynn Bennie

#### Anne-Kristin Kölln

When size matters: party size and ideological cohesion in Europe

#### Mads Thau

Who represents whom? How parties' changing group appeals influence class-party linkage and the class basis of electoral choice

### Tarik Abou-Chadi and Markus Wagner

Party strategies in post-industrial societies

## Philipp Dreyer

Ideological Congruence, Voter Polarisation and Electoral Participation

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11.00-11.30 Coffee/tea

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11.30-13.00 SESSION 4

# (4.1) Elections and party politics in the devolved systems

Room: Keynes seminar room 14; Chair: Heinz Brandenburg

### Roger Scully

More Welsh than British? Voter Choice in the 2016 Welsh Elections

## Ailsa Henderson, Chris Carman, Rob Johns and James Mitchell

Identity, valence issues and constitutional preference: the 2016 Scottish Parliament elections

## John Coakley, John Garry, Neil Matthews and Brendan O'Leary

Party Images in Northern Ireland: What do citizens think their parties stand for?

### Sofia Collignon

A closer look to the effect of decentralization in the stability of party systems: Analysing parties' subnational electoral trajectories

# (4.2) Party membership, supporters and organisation

Room: Keynes seminar room 16; Chair: Alistair Clark

### Tim Bale, Paul Webb, Monica Poletti

Apples and Oranges? Labour's members before and after Corbyn

## Lynn Bennie, James Mitchell and Rob Johns

The Rise of Party Membership in the Wake of Referendum: A New Generation of Members?

### Neema Begum and Paula Surridge

Partisan Dealignment and Ethnic Minorities in Britain

## Patricia Correa Vila and Nicole Bolleyer

Parties and Associations in the UK and Norway: Consequences of State Funding and Regulation in Constraining and Permissive Legal Settings

## (4.3) Voting for fringe and radical parties II: comparative perspectives

Room: Keynes seminar room 15; Chair: Maria Sobolewska

#### Todd Donovan

Right-Wing Populism in the US Compared

### Roland Kappe

Media attention, party positioning and public support for right-wing populist parties: The emergence of the "Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD) party in Germany

### Matthew Goodwin and Eric Kaufmann

Does Diversity Produce Hostility? A Meta Analysis

### (4.4) Responsiveness to public opinion II

Room: Keynes seminar room 17; Chair: Phil Cowley

## Paolo Bellucci and Alessandro Pellegata

Performance, policy preferences and government ideology in Italy, 1968-2015

### John Bartle

Policy representation in the UK, 1945-2015

#### Rebecca McKee

*Is there discrimination in the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to their constituents? Yes: Evidence from a campaign experiment in the UK* 

# Stan Hok-Wui Wong, Harold Clarke and Karl Ho

The Political is Personal: Machine Politics in Hong Kong's District Council Election

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## 13.00-14.00 Lunch (Dolce Vita, Keynes College)

## EPOP AGM (Keynes Lecture Theatre 5)

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14.00-15.30 SESSION 5

### (5.1) EU referendum II

Room: Keynes seminar room 15; Chair: Geoff Evans

Kelvyn Jones, David Manley and Ron Johnston

Forecasting the geography of Brexit: success or failure?

Michael Thrasher, Galina Borisyuk, Colin Rallings, Harry Carr and Michael Turner Estimating local authority level distributions of referendum voting using aggregate and survey-level data

### David Morisi

Choosing the risky option. Campaign arguments and risk propensity in the EU referendum and the Scottish independence referendum

#### (5.2) Electoral rules and electoral behaviour

Room: Keynes seminar room 13; Chair: Roger Scully

## Martin Elff, Spyros Kosmidis and Andrea Murr

Campaign Dynamics and Mixed Incentives for Strategic Voting: The Case of the UK Parliamentary Elections of 2010 and 2015

## Jack Vowles and Shaun Bowler

The New Zealand Party System and Electoral System Change: Testing Duverger's Psychological Effect

# (5.3) The Post-Crisis Irish Voter: Insights from the 2016 Irish National Election Study

Room: Keynes seminar room 14; Chair: Davide Tiberti

#### Michael Marsh

The missing economic vote in the Irish 2016 election

## Gail McElroy

Gender and the Vote

# Kevin Cunningham

Mining the Ballot, Preferences and Transfers

## Theresa Reidy and Jane Suiter

Campaign Dynamics; the air war and the ground war

# (5.4) Candidate effects in the 2015 British general election

Room: Keynes seminar room 16; Chair: Charles Pattie

Caitlin Milazzo and Jennifer van Heerde-Hudson

Competition and Candidate Extremity

Peter Allen, Rosie Campbell, Jennifer Hudson and Chrysa Lamprinakou

The attitudinal and behavioural characteristics of 'super-candidates'

Jennifer Hudson, Wolfgang Rudig and Javier Sajuria

The advantage of the local candidate?

Rosie Campbell, Phil Cowley, Nick Vivyan and Markus Wagner

Explaining voter preferences for local legislators using experimental evidence

## (5.5) Public opinion towards minority groups, immigrants and terrorism

Room: Keynes seminar room 17; Chair: Donley Studlar

Jonathan Mellon

Experimentally Testing the Effect of Economic Threat on Anti-Immigrant Sentiment

### Patrick English, Manlio Cinalli and Steven Van Hauwaert

The Limits of Desire: Policy Making and Public Opinion toward the Integration of Muslims in the United Kingdom and France

### Maria Sobolewska, Rob Ford, Paul Sniderman

Democratic Resilience: How some individuals resist the threat of terrorism and maintain their core values of tolerance

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Testing public response to migrants	s and migration:	An agent-based approach
<del></del>	15.30-16.00	Coffee/tea

#### (6.1) EU referendum III

Room: Keynes seminar room 15; Chair: Michael Thrasher

Stephen Fisher and Alan Renwick

Public opinion change in referendum campaigns: how did the UK EU referendum compare?

Ece Atikcan, Richard Nadeau and Éric Bélanger

Framing the Choice in the Brexit Referendum

Sara Hobolt, Thomas Leeper and James Tilley

Social Identity Cues and Policy Preferences: An experimental study of the British referendum on EU membership

## (6.2) Political representation

Room: Keynes seminar room 14; Chair: Nick Vivyan

Rosie Campbell, Sarah Childs & Joni Lovenduski

Gender and elite/mass attitudinal congruence

Maria Sobolewska, Patrick English, Laura Morales, Marc van de Wardt, and Steven van Hauwaert

Mobilization, Counter-Mobilization and Access to Power: Does descriptive Representation follow the anti-immigration mood?

Peter Allen and Sarah Childs

Capturing critical actors: the benefits of structural topic modelling

Maria Sobolewska, Rosie Campbell and Rebecca McKee

Representation of minorities: how voters' and candidates' attitudes compare

### (6.3) Electoral behaviour

Room: Keynes seminar room 16; Chair: Colin Rallings

Alia Middleton

More than a vote on the government? The changing nature of by-elections in the UK political system

Roderick Kiewiet, Michael Alvarez and Lucas Nunez (CalTech)

**Protest Voting** 

Ron Johnston, Kelvyn Jones and David Manley

Has there been a 'Big Sort' in recent US electoral geography?

## (6.4) Political communication

Room: Keynes seminar room 17; Chair: Susan Banducci

### Florian Foos

Enabling Persuasion Experiments in Cash-Strapped Environments: Two Cluster-Randomized Experiments based on Canvassing Data

# Lamprini Rori

Party organizations in the light of professionnalization of political communication: A comparative analysis among socialist parties in Europe

Ekaterina Kolpinskaya, Gabriel Katz, Susan Banducci, Travis Coan and Daniel Stevens The effect of post-electoral communication frames on attitudes towards government: Evidence from a survey experiment after the 2015 British election

Sarah Tiplady	<b>V</b>					
Changes to Campaign Strategy in US Presidential Elections.						
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18.45	Coaches to Canterbury Cathedral Lodge					
10.43	Coaches to Canterbury Cathedral Louge					
19.00	Drinks reception and conference dinner					
	Speaker: Daniel Hannan, MEP					
	Canterbury Cathedral Lodge					
	Canterbary Cathearar Boage					

# Sunday 11th September

09.30-11.00 SESSION 7

## (7.1) 2015 general election II

Room: Keynes seminar room 15; Chair: Christopher Prosser

#### Nicole Martin

Ethnic minority voters in 2015: A breakthrough for the Conservative party?

# Heinz Brandenburg and Robert Thomson

Does it matter what they promised? Election pledges, valence politics and vote choice in the British General Election 2015

### Paula Surridge

Identity, Values and Valence: Understanding support for parties in a fragmenting system

#### David Cutts and Andrew Russell

Did they see it coming? Why did the Liberal Democrats really lose so badly in those seats they were defending from the Conservatives?

## (7.2) Qualitative research methods in the study of elections, public opinion and parties

Room: Keynes seminar room 14; Chair: Ekaterina Kolpinskaya

### Kristi Winters, Thom Oliver and Edzia Carvalho

Designing qualitative research for replication and secondary analysis: a case study using the Qualitative Election Study of Britain

#### Iro Konstantinou

Engaging neoliberal subjects in politics: First-time voters and their understandings of politics

## Kristi Winters, Thom Oliver, Edzia Carvalho

Popular Leader Evaluations across two UK General Elections: A qualitative analysis of focus group data

# (7.3) Voter loyalty and decision-making under different electoral rules

Room: Keynes seminar room 16; Chair: Ron Johnston

## Stephen Quinlan and Hannah Schwarz

The Transfers Game': A cross-national multilevel exploration of vote transfers in preferential voting systems

James Gilmour

Voter Loyalty to "Party Pairs" in the STV-PR 2012 Scottish Local Government Elections

#### **Jac Larner**

Strategic Ticket-Splitting at National Assembly for Wales Elections

### Simon Willocq

Why Do They Take Longer to Make up Their Mind? A Comparative Study on Late Deciding Voters in Western Democracies

## (7.4) Party systems

Room: Keynes seminar room 17; Chair: Tarik Abou-Chadi

# Tim Haughton and Kevin Deegan-Krause

Annuals and Perennials: Why Some Parties in Europe Die More Quickly than Others

#### Fernanda Flacco and Dani Marinova

Strong leader effects across old and young democracies: Weighing systemic, party and voter explanations

# Tom Quinn

Party Change in the UK

## Raimondas Ibenskas

Explaining Party Splits: A Comparative Study of 24 European Democracies

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11.00-11.30 Coffee/tea

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11.30-13.00 **SESSION** 8

# (8.1) Legislative behaviour

Room: Keynes seminar room 14; Chair: Alia Middleton

## Mariken van der Velden

"Flirting" for Coalition Participation? Exploring Parties' Communication Strategies in Parliamentary Debates

### Martin Battle

Committee Membership Strategies in the Scottish Parliament

### **David Barrett**

Evaluating the Electoral impact of Party Cohesion: A Newspaper Approach

#### (8.2) Media effects

Room: Keynes seminar room 15; Chair: Ivor Gaber

Susan Banducci, Iulia Cioroianu, Travis Coan, Gabriel Katz, Ekaterina Kolpinskaya and Daniel Stevens

Media Effects in the 2015 British General Election

## Daphne van der Pas

Who's in the news: A comparative analysis of MP visibility in newspapers in six European countries

## Susan Banducci, Travis Coan, Gabriel Katz and Daniel Stevens

Re-Examining the Role of Partisan Media in British Politics

### Loes Aaldering

Mediatized Leader Effects: How Leadership Images in Dutch Media Affect Voters' Leader Perception and Voting Behavior

### (8.3) Public attitudes towards the role of the state

Room: Keynes seminar room 16; Chair: Ben Seyd

## Rosalind Shorrocks and Maria Grasso

Gender and political generations: support for redistribution and spending in the US and Britain

## Ann-Kristin Kölln and Christopher Wlezien

Conjoint Experiments on Political Support for Governmental Spending Profiles

#### John Kenny

Analysing the Impact of Fluctuating Levels of Economic Insecurity on Individuals' Environmental Protection Preferences

### Javier Sajuria and Paolo Morini

Is it simply an issue of Left-Right? Partisanship in the UK and support for Overseas Development Aid

## (8.4) Elections and accountability

Room: Keynes seminar room 17; Chair: Rob Johns

### Martin Okolikj and Johan Elkink

Comparing with Which Neighbours? A Test of Economic Benchmark Voting

### Liisa Talving and Piret Ehin

Economic voting and constraints on government accountability: Are small, open and integrated nations different?

Spyros Kosmidis The Long Term Dynamics of	f Voter Persuasion	
Christopher Prosser and J Does (lowering) crime pay? elections		ting at the 2016 Police and Crime Commissione
<u>-</u>	13.00-14.00	Lunch and depart.