

## EPOP CONFERENCE, 9-11 SEPTEMBER 2016

### Friday 9<sup>th</sup> 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)  
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13.30-15.00 **SESSION 1**

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

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**

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?*

Tom Holbrook and James Garand

*Identity and Information Gaps in Perceptions of Local and State-Level Corruption in the United States*

Stuart Fox and Sioned Pearce

*How deep is the Divide? Generational Trends in Euroscepticism*

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

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*

Matthew Goodwin and Eric Kaufmann

*Does Diversity Produce Hostility? A Meta Analysis*

### **(1.4) Party campaigning**

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**

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**

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**

Aleksandra Cichocka

*What inverted U can do for your country: Is there a curvilinear relationship between system justification and political engagement?*

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*

Judith Sijstermans

*Young (Inter)Nationalists: Understanding the Impact of Young People's Transnational Political Activism*

## **(2.4) Attitudes to the politics of gender**

Peter Allen and David Cutts

*Blame assignment 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'**

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

Location: Keynes Lecture Theatre 4 (ground floor)

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19.00        Drinks reception and dinner (followed by quiz and bar)  
Darwin conference suite

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**Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> September**

9.30-11.00     **SESSION 3**

**(3.1) EU referendum I: Findings from the ESRC's EU Referendum study**

Chair: Anand Menon (Kings London)

Geoff Evans, Ed Fieldhouse, Jon Mellon and Chris Prosser  
*The psychology and economics of the vote: identity versus the pocket book*

*Risking it for Brexit?*

*Referendum Fallout: Democratic disaffection or loser's consent?*

*Was it always a done deal? The demographic structuring of the vote*

*Brexit: the revenge of the repressed ethnocentric?*

**(3.2) Turnout**

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*

James Dennison  
*Westminster constituency-level political supply and individual turnout dynamics*

Patrick Kuhn and Nick Vivyan  
*Reducing Turnout Misreporting by Addressing Psychological Threat*

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

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**

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**

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' sub-national electoral trajectories*

### **(4.2) Party membership, supporters and organisation**

Chair: Alistair Clark (Newcastle)

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**

Todd Donovan

*Right-Wing Populism in the US Compared*

James Downes

*'Crisis Rewards Salience': Extreme Right-Wing and Centre Right Party Competition at the Onset of the 2008 Economic Crisis*

Raul Gomez

*Is populism just for populists? Populist attitudes and support for populism in Latin America*

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*

#### **(4.4) Responsiveness to public opinion II**

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)  
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14.00-15.30 **SESSION 5**

**(5.1) EU referendum II**

Kelvyn Jones, David Manley and Ron Johnston  
*Forecasting the geography of Brexit: success or failure?*

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

Liam Delaney, Ailsa Henderson and Robert Liñeira  
*Risk and the Brexit Choice*

David Morisi  
*Leaving or staying in the EU? The impact of Brexit arguments in the EU referendum*

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

Jon Fiva and Helene Lie Røhr  
*A Personal Affair: Incumbency Effects in Open-List Proportional Representation*

Neil Matthews  
*Constituency-level campaigning in Northern Ireland: personalisation in a hyper-party environment or donkeys wearing collarettes?*

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**

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**

Caitlin Milazzo and Jennifer vanHeerde-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 Savier

*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**

Lauren McLaren

*Framing the immigration debate*

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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15.30-16.00    Coffee/tea  
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16.00-17.30    **SESSION 6**

**(6.1) EU referendum III**

Stephen Fisher and Alan Renwick

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

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*

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**

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**

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

Roderick Kiewiet  
*Toward a political seismology*

Ron Johnston, Kelvyn Jones and David Manley  
*Has there been a 'Big Sort' in recent US electoral geography?*

John Ault  
*'Split Ticket Voting': Explaining voter choice between Constituency and List ballots in Wales 2016*

## **(6.4) Political communication**

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 professionalization 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

*Changes to Campaign Strategy in US Presidential Elections.*

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18.45 Coaches to Canterbury Cathedral Lodge

19.00 Drinks reception and conference dinner  
Speaker: Daniel Hannan, MEP  
Canterbury Cathedral Lodge

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## Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> September

09.30-11.00    **SESSION 7**

### **(7.1) 2015 general election II**

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**

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*

Avril Keating

*Participatory methods and political research on youth: challenges, benefits and lessons*

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**

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**

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

*Two-Party Dynamics, Executive Formation and the UK Party System*

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**

Einion Dafydd

*Rebels or Party Poodles? Legislative Voting in the National Assembly for Wales*

Mariken van der Velden

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

Martin Battle

*Committee Membership Strategies in the Scottish Parliament*

#### **(8.2) Media effects**

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**

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**

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 Voter Persuasion*

Christopher Prosser and Jonathan Mellon

*Does (lowering) crime pay? Accountability voting at the 2016 Police and Crime Commissioner elections*

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13.00-14.00    Lunch and depart.

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