# **EPOP 2017**

## #epop2017

## Annual conference of the Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (EPOP) specialist group of the Political Studies Association

## University of Nottingham 8-10 September 2017

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# Summary of the conference programme

## Friday 8 September

- 10.30-12.30: Pre-Conference Workshop The Media in Context Project: What We Learned about Voters, Parties and Media from GE2017
- 12.00 onwards: Registration
- 12.30-13.30 Lunch
- 13.30-15.00: Panel Session 1
- 15.00-15.30: Tea/Coffee
- 15.30-17.00: Panel Session 2
- 17.15-18.30: Reflections on the 2017 General Election
- 19.00: Reception & Dinner (followed by EPOP Quiz), East Midlands Conference Centre, University Park Campus
  - Reception and quiz sponsored by YouGov

## Saturday 9 September

- 9.00-10.30: Panel Session 3
- 10.30-11.00: Tea/Coffee
- 11.00-12.30: Panel Session 4
- 12.30-13.30: Lunch and EPOP AGM
- 13.30-15.00: Panel Session 5
- 15.00-15.30: Tea/Coffee
- 15.30-17.00: Panel Session 6
- 17.15-18.15: British Election Study Session: BES Update and Q&A
- 18.45: Coaches to Nottingham City Centre
- 19.15: Reception & Dinner, The Council House, Old Market Square
  - $\circ$   $\;$  Reception sponsored by BMG Research

#### Sunday 10 September

- 9.30-11.00: Panel Session 7
- 11.00-11.30: Tea/Coffee
- 11.30-13.00: Panel Session 8
- 13.00 End of Conference (Lunch available)

**Sponsors and exhibitors** 





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Political Studies Association



# **Pre-conference workshop**

# The Media in Context Project: What We Learned about Voters, Parties and Media from GE2017

Friday 8 September 10.30-12.30 Lenton Grove A22

The snap election called by Theresa May presents a further opportunity to assess and understand the role of media in British politics at a time when a fractured media system is being held at least partly responsible for presenting misleading information to voters. Some of the key findings from a study of the media in GE2015 point to an asymmetry in the Conservative party's ability to influence the media agenda compared to Labour's in 2015, (e.g., economy vs NHS); patterns of intermedia agenda setting are different for coverage of leaders than issues; the extent to which issues are entirely absent from coverage has been overestimated; and Twitter activity often points users to links in traditional and online media. Two years later the context of the general election is quite different – a post-Brexit Britain with a majority Conservative government, different leaders of almost all the major parties, Brexit both the main issue and the ostensible reason the election was called, and a growing distrust of polling data and the media (e.g. 'fake news' and Twitter bots). This provides us an opportunity to re-examine and extend the study of the media through three recent elections. In this pre-conference workshop, we present analysis of media coverage and its effects in GE2017 and draw links between key narratives on the EU referendum and other issue in GE2015, the EU referendum and key narratives in the 2017 campaign. These comparisons should allow us to better understand the extent to which media contribute to the ability of voters to hold governments accountable through the electoral process.

The workshop will be led by Susan Banducci, Daniel Stevens, and Travis Coan (University of Exeter)

# Full conference programme

## **Friday 8 September**

#### 13.30-15.00 Panel Session 1

#### 1.1 Brexit and identity

Humanities A02 Chair: Eric Kaufmann

The role of religion in Brexit Stuart Fox

Connectedness, identity and values: Understanding the divides behind Brexit Paula Surridge, Siobhan McAndrew, and Neema Begum

National identity, social class and attitudes to Brexit in Northern Ireland Jon Tonge

*Ethnic minority support for leaving the European Union* Nicole Martin and Maria Sobolewska

#### 1.2 Wales

Lenton Grove A26 Chair: Justin Fisher

What is your type? The effects of candidate type on their campaign behaviour Siim Trumm

Examining trends in party campaigning at different order elections: Wales 2010-17 David Cutts, Jac Larner, Roger Scully, and Ron Johnston

Measuring public attitudes to devolution Roger Scully

#### 1.3 Voter turnout

Lenton Grove A18/A19 Chair: Susan Banducci

It's a group thing: How voters go to the polls together Ed Fieldhouse, Yosef Bhatti, and Kasper Hansen

Apportioning the blame for turnout decline in Eastern Europe: Changing elections or generational replacement?

Ksenia Northmore-Ball and Mark Franklin

Political engagement: Evidence from the UK's longitudinal studies Alison Park and David Church

The Consequences of Increasing Turnout in Low-Salience Elections: Evidence from Concurrent Elections in Germany Arndt Leininger and Lukas Rudolph

## **1.4 Teaching undergraduate quantitative research methods: Software choices** Humanities A22 Chair: Helen Williams

R

Scott Moser

SPSS Raul Gomez

Excel

Helen Williams

#### 15.30-17.00 Panel Session 2

#### 2.1 The 2017 general election I

Humanities A02 Chair: Philip Cowley

*Visiting voters: Leader visits at the 2017 general election* 

Alia Middleton

Leaflet messaging during the 2017 general election campaign

Caitlin Milazzo , Jesse Hammond, and Joshua Townsley

One Show? Exploring whether and how the two major parties reasserted their dominance of news media coverage in the 2017 General Election

Dominic Wring, David Deacon, John Downey, David Smith, and James Stanyer

Digital campaigning at the 2017 general election Kate Dommett and Luke Temple

#### 2.2 Forecasting recent elections

Humanities A22 Chair: Joe Twyman

A postmortem on forecasts for the 2017 British general election Stephen Fisher, John Kenny , and Rosalind Shorrocks

Forecasting the 2017 German election Roland Kappe

Predicting the results of the 2016 US presidential election Martyn Hill

#### 2.3 Party membership

Lenton Grove A18/A19 Chair: Rosie Campbell

The secret of leaving: Who quits their party and why? Grassroots members in the U Tim Bale, Paul Webb, and Monica Poletti

Multi-speed membership parties in practice: A membership survey of Podemos Raul Gomez and Luis Ramiro

Who are the 'crackpots'? Analysing the Democratic Unionist Party's membership and voting base Jon Tonge and Raul Gomez

"It's just a step to the left": Ideology, independence and the 2014 party membership surge in Scotland Lynn Bennie, Rob Johns and James Mitchell

#### 2.4 Winners and losers

Lenton Grove B13 Chair: Daniel Stevens

Having a say or getting what you want: Tax morale, political participation, and losers' consent in a multi-country experiment Jonathan Mellon, Fredrik Sjoberg, Johannes Hemker, and Tiago Peixoto

Voting for losers and support for electoral reform: Evidence from Great Britain Christopher Prosser

Democratic discontent in a majoritarian setting: What kind of democracy do British citizens want (but feel they are not getting)? Ben Seyd

The consequences of repeatedly losing on legitimacy beliefs Ann-Kristin Kölln and Anna Kern

#### 17.15-18.30 Reflections on the 2017 General Election (Humanities A03) 19.00 Reception & Dinner (followed by EPOP Quiz), East Midlands Conference Centre, University Park Campus

• Reception and quiz sponsored by



## Saturday 9 September

#### 9.00-10.30 Panel Session 3

**3.1 What do citizens want from Brexit?** Humanities A02 Chair: Kaat Smets

What "Brexit Means Brexit" means to citizens Sara Hobolt

Red lines and compromises: Identity and public opinion on the Brexit negotiations Lindsay Richards

You can't always get what you want: Studying public opinion on multidimensional policies in the context of Brexit Carolina Plescia and Magdalena Staniek

3.2 Political elites I

Humanities A22 Chair: Tim Bale

The legacy of egalitarian political institutions on support for women politicians Anja Neundorf and Rosalind Shorrocks

Party system institutionalization and choice of cabinet ministers in Asian democracies Don S. Lee and Fernando Casal Bertoa

*Evidence of candidate quality in UK parliamentary elections* 

Jennifer Hudson and Caitlin Milazzo

Who likes independent-minded MPs? Approval of legislator dissent in Austria, Germany, and the United Kingdom

Markus Wagner, Nick Vivyan, and Konstantin Glinitzer

#### 3.3 Campaigns I

Lenton Grove B13 Chair: Rob Johns

"How does politics affect perceptions of place? The effect of campaigns on perceptions about immigration Jake Bowers, Ed Fieldhouse, Jane Green, and Cara Wong

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

'Knock-Knock': The role of personal contact between local parties and voters during election campaigns in Britain Joshua Townsley

The information and persuasion effects of accurate and inaccurate claims in advertising Daniel Stevens and Gabriel Katz

#### 11.00-12.30 Panel Session 4

#### 4.1 EU referendum vote choice I

Lenton Grove A18/A19 Chair: Jane Green

Brexit and political choice in Britain Harold Clarke, Matthew Goodwin, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul Whiteley

Old fractures for new generations? The role of social class in young people's vote choice in the Brexit referendum Davide Angelucci

Brexit and the New Labour Legacy: The Partisan and Socioeconomic Roots of the Leave Vote Jonathan Mellon, Christopher Prosser, and Geoff Evans

*An explanation for Brexit* James Dennison, Geoff Evans, and Noah Carl

## 4.2 Political elites II

Lenton Grove A26 Chair: Colin Rallings

Exploring variation in political ambition across a multi-level political opportunity structure Peter Allen and David Cutts

Public profiles and promotions for government ministers in East Asia Don S. Lee and Paul J. Schuler

Ideology and the UK far right John Meadowcroft and Elizabeth Morrow

The role of political elites in lowering support for welfare provision: Evidence from British parliamentary speeches from 1987-2015 Tom O'Grady

#### 4.3 Media and advertising

Humanities A02 Chair: Ed Fieldhouse

What the fact? An experiment on the political persuasiveness of experts' advices Berta Barbet Porta, Antoni-Italo de Moragas and Guillem Vidal

Addressing the conditioning of voters' perceptions of political pluralism in the media: Evidence from a panel study Anne Jadot

Does political advertising mislead voters? Daniel Stevens and Barbara Allen

Pursuing the personal vote on new media: A comparison of parliamentary candidates in the United Kingdom and Japan Sean Vincent

#### 4.4 Defection

Humanities A22 Chair: Debra Leiter

Defecting from the incumbent: motivated reasoning versus economic voting in the Spanish Election of 2015 Javier Martínez-Cantó and Nadja Wehl

Should we stay or should we go? Explaining the role of primary loss on voter defection in the 2017 French presidential elections Jae-Jae Spoon and Zachary D. Greene

*Leaving Labour: Values, valence and vote switching* Paula Surridge

The limits of democratic control: Three decades of retrospective voting in the United Kingdom Konstantin Glinitzer

#### 12.30-13.30 Annual General Meeting of the EPOP Specialist Group (Humanities A03)

#### 13.30-15.00 Panel Session 5

#### 5.1 Measuring ideology

Humanities A22 Chair: Markus Wagner

The changing structure of ideology in Europe Heinz Brandenburg and Zachary Greene

The sources of complexity: Measuring and explaining the dimensionality of party ideological perceptions

Royce Carroll and Hiroki Kubo

Policy Ideology in European Mass Publics, 1981 - 2014

Tom O'Grady, Devin Caughey, and Chris Warshaw

The foundations of the spatial model: Estimating the distance metric Ugur Ozdemir

#### 5.2 Issue positions I

Humanities A02 Chair: Nick Vivyan

Mapping the New Politics: Dimensions of Political Attitudes in Uncertain Times Christopher Prosser and Jonathan Mellon

Strength of party support and perceptions of issue proximity

Philipp Dreyer

Assessing the validity of environmental protection measures in the British Election Study John Kenny

Constraining change or changing constraints? Attitude-predisposition relations after employment status changes Nadja Wehl

#### 5.3 Congruence

Lenton Grove A18/A19 Chair: Geoff Evans

Elite/mass attitudinal congruence before and after Brexit: A case study of representational responsiveness Rosie Campbell, Jane Green, and Jennifer Hudson

Similar yet different: Patterns and causes of gender differences in opinion-policy congruence in Europe Stefanie Reher

The dynamics of representation: A comparative assessment of elite-public opinion interaction on the verge of the economic crisis in Europe Kaat Smets and Pierangelo Isernia

The mandate divide: Examining representative responsiveness in the devolved UK Alex Parsons

#### 5.4 Political elites III

Lenton Grove B13 Chair: Sara Hobolt

Does 'May's law' apply to 21st century British political parties? Peter Allen, Tim Bale, Rosie Campbell, Jennifer Hudson, Chrysa Lamprinakou,

Monica Poletti, and Paul Webb

Electoral violence and partisan advantage: The Turkish case Emre Toros and Sarah Birch

The UK Co-operative Party and New Labour: Three models of policy influence Sean Kippin

Jobs for the boys? How MPs' pre-parliamentary career affect their frontbench prospect Wang Leung Ting

## 15.30-17.00 Panel Session 6

**6.1 Campaigns II** Humanities A22 Chair: Heinz Brandenburg

Candidate-centred campaigning in the 2015 general election Caitlin Milazzo, Joshua Townsley, and Jesse Hammond

Do issue primes affect vote choice? Results from a field experiment in the 2017 General Elections Florian Foos and Peter C. John

The Independence Echo: the rise of the constitutional question in Scottish election manifestos and voter behaviour Zachary Greene, Fraser McMillan, and Kenneth Stevenson

# 6.2 Insights from qualitative research into voting behaviour

Humanities A21 Chair: Jennifer Hudson

Popular leader evaluations across two UK general elections: A qualitative analysis of focus group data using Crowdflower

Kristi Winters, Thom Oliver, and Edzia Carvalho

When and how do voters tune in – or out? Social and political biases in the reception of the (eventful!) 2017 French presidential election Anne Jadot, Pierre Lefébure, and Claire Sécail

Are partisan voters just like loyal sports fans? An exploration of voters' partisanship using QESB data Kristi Winters, Edzia Carvalho, and Thom Oliver

## 6.3 Vote choice II

Humanities A02 Chair: Cees van der Eijk

Having a say or getting your way: The impact of expressive and instrumental political choice Sara Hobolt, Julian Hoerner, and Toni Rodon

On being a voter: Developing survey measure of expressive voting Ed Fieldhouse

Do Remainers move to Islington? Partisan residential sorting in the UK Eric Kaufmann

*Effects of candidates' names on voting patterns in the Scottish local government elections in 2012 and 2017* 

James Gilmour

## 6.4 The 2017 general election II

Lenton Grove B13 Chair: Michael Thrasher

*Voter experience at the (many) 2017 elections* Phil Thompson

Twice in a row? UK party members' campaign activity in the 2015 and 2017 general elections compared

Tim Bale, Paul Webb, and Monica Poletti

The Liberal Democrats and the 'Brexit Election': If they can't win now, when can they win? David Cutts and Andrew Russell

An analysis of the constituency results for the 2017 British general election John Curtice, Patrick English, Stephen Fisher, and Robert Ford

## 17.15-18.15 British Election Study Session: BES Update and Q & A (Humanities A03) 18.45 Coaches depart from East Midlands Conference Centre to Old Market Square 19.15- Reception & Dinner, The Council House, Old Market Square

o Reception sponsored by



## Sunday 10 September

## 9.30-11.00 Panel Session 7

**7.1 Elites and Brexit** Humanities A22 Chair: Stuart Fox

British MPs after the EU membership referendum: Principles, party politics and public opinion Chris Stafford

Fighting the 'Federasts': Assessing the Impact of Eric Forth's Euroscepticism, 1979-2006 Mark Stuart

Parties, Parliament and the Brexit Process Richard Whitaker, Philip Lynch, and Adam Cygan

#### 7.2 Populism

Humanities A02 Chair: Caitlin Milazzo

*Two of a kind? Populism and political cynicism compared* Irene Esteban and Koen Abts

Attitudes to Democracy and Support for Radical Parties in Europe Caroline McEvoy

Can narratives of white identity reduce support for Hard Brexit and Trump? Eric Kaufmann

Do populist parties increase turnout? Maurits Meijers and Arndt Leininger **7.3 Party positions** Lenton Grove B14 Chair: Annemarie Walter

Deconstructing blurring: party strategy in a multidimensional environment Jelle Koedam

Capturing Party Policy Shifts: BREXIT, Corbyn and the BES expert survey Thomas Loughran

Defining and identifying the centre party Nick Barlow

#### 7.4 Satisfaction with Democracy

Lenton Grove A26 Chair: Ben Seyd

The consequences of procedural fairness perceptions: The case of the UK's EU referendum Cees van der Eijk

Education, class and democratic satisfaction in UK ethnic minorities Rakib Ehsan

How do post-Soviet citizens view democracy? Democratic knowledge and support in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus Emily Look

Mind this gap, too: Resources, representation, and political orientations of citizens with disabilities Stefanie Reher

#### 11.30-13.00 Panel Session 8

#### 8.1 Electoral competition

Lenton Grove A26 Chair: Jonathan Mellon

Federalism and party system fragmentation: On the unintended consequences of increasing decentralization

Florian Foos and Daniel Bischof

Long-term and short-term evolution of electoral competition in Britain Cees van der Eijk

*Intra-camp electoral competition and electoral performance in authoritarian regimes: Evidence from Hong Kong legislative elections from 2004 to 2016* 

Nick Or and Stan Hok-Wui Wong

The end of the "winner's bonus"? A study of Labour-Conservative marginals at the 2015 UK General Election

Chris Butler

#### 8.2 Issue positions II

Humanities A02 Chair: Jae-Jae Spoon

The European debt crisis and the role of Europe in Portugal

Britta Baumgarten and Vicente Dinis Valentim

Generational change and attitudes to immigration in the UK

Lauren McLaren and Ian Paterson

Explaining variation in public opinion to immigration in Europe James Dennison, Andrew Geddes, and Teresa Talò

### **8.3 EU referendum vote choice II** Humanities A22

Chair: Mark Stuart

Ethnic minority voting behaviour in the 2016 EU referendum and the 2017 general election Neema Begum

How the transmission of parental preference affected vote choice in the EU referendum Stuart Fox

Disaggregating preferences: How referendum voting differs from parliamentary voting Richard Rose

The generational gap in EU support: A crossnational perspective Rosalind Shorrocks and Roosmarijn de Geus

**8.4 Strategic voting** Humanities A21 Chair: Siim Trumm

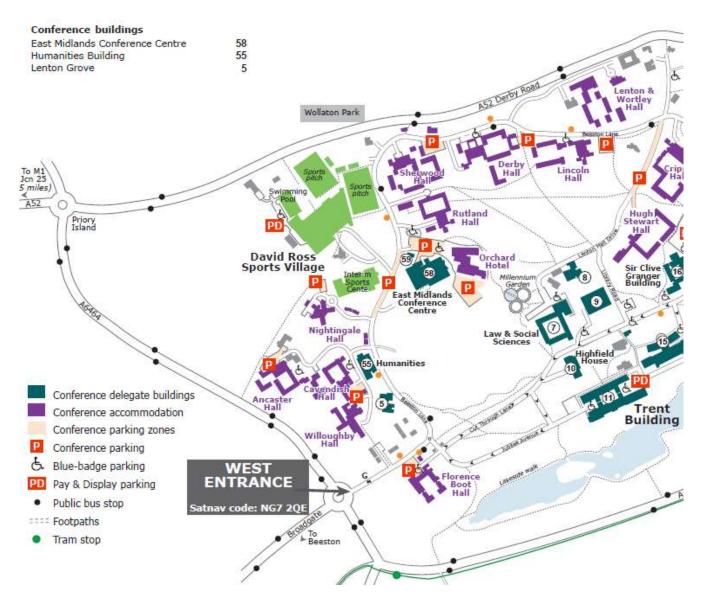
Confounding Duverger: Why don't Indians vote tactically? Oliver Heath

Networks, Turnout, and Strategic Voting in the 2015 Canadian Election Debra Leiter and Jack Reilly

Taking Real Ballots Seriously: Modeling Heterogeneous Choice Sets in the 2015 UK Elections Ingrid Mauerer, Paul W. Thurner, and Annemarie Walter

Volatile voters and stuttering centrists: A partycentric approach to explaining rising levels of voteswitching Zack Grant

# **Map of University Park Campus**



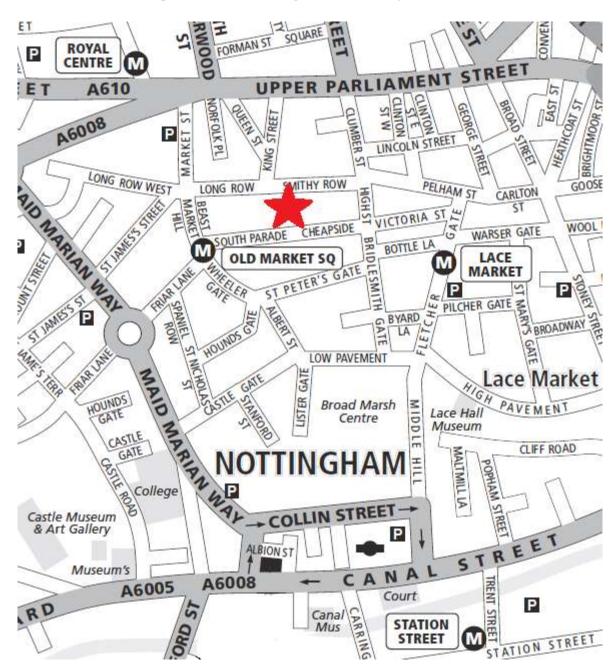
Conference panels will take place in Humanities (no. 55) and Lenton Grove (no. 5). The registration desk will be located in the foyer of Humanities.

Accommodation is available in Ancaster Hall (University accommodation) and the Orchard Hotel.

Parking is available in any of the lots indicated on the map. There are parking lots located next to Ancaster Hall and the Orchard Hotel.

• If you do not have the parking pass sent via email, you can collect one at Registration.

Dinner on Friday evening (followed by the EPOP Quiz) will take place in the East Midlands Conference Centre (no. 58).



## **Map of Nottingham City Centre**

The reception and dinner on Saturday evening will take place in The Council House in Old Market Square (Nottingham City Centre).

Coaches will depart from the East Midlands Conference Centre at 18:45.

# **Useful information**

## Accommodation

Ancaster Hall Check-in: Available from 14.00 Check-out: By 10.00 Orchard Hotel Check-in: Available from 14.00 Check-out: By 11.00

If you would like to store your luggage until check-in, please call at the EPOP Registration desk in the Humanities foyer. The Orchard Hotel also has a luggage storage service.

#### Transportation to campus

Local taxi Services: DG Cars +44(0) 115 950 0500

Buses to campus: Nottingham City Transport (NCT) runs regular buses to the University Park Campus from the City Centre. Take the Orange line 36 from Milton Street by the Victoria Shopping Centre. It is a short walk from the Manton Crescent stop (UN22) to the conference venues and accommodation.

Tram to campus: Nottingham Express Transit runs regular trams to the south edge of campus from Nottingham Train Station and the City Centre. Take the tram towards Toton Lane. From the University Boulevard Stop, it is a 10 minute walk to Ancaster Hall and the conference venues and a 15 minute walk to the Orchard Hotel.

Driving to campus: The West Entrance (Satnav code: NG7 2QE) is the closest entrance to the conference venues and accommodation.

#### Wi-Fi

The University of Nottingham provides short term visitors with free access to the UoN-guest wireless network.

How to connect

- 1. If you are in range, your device should automatically connect to the UoN-guest network. If not, find 'UoN-guest' in the list of wireless connections available and select this network. If it is not listed you are not within range of the hotspot. Please move the device until you are in range.
- 2. The UoN-guest wireless login page will appear.
- 3. If you have already created an account, click the link to log in, otherwise follow the onscreen instructions to register for an account.
- 4. You will be sent two emails: one asking you to confirm your request and another with your username and password. You have 10 minutes grace time to read and confirm your access. If you do not validate your account, then it will be deleted and your device will disconnect once its 10 minutes grace period expires.
- 5. Once you have confirmed your account, you can log in and use the service for 7 days before you will need to re-register.

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