

## **Summary of provisional conference programme (full panel details are below)**

### **Friday 8 September**

- 10.30-12.30: Pre-Conference Workshop - What We Learned about Voters, Parties and Media from the 2017 General Election: Lessons from the Media in Context Project
- 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: Plenary on 2017 General Election (Title TBD)
- 19.00: Reception & Dinner (followed by EPOP Quiz), East Midlands Conference Centre, University Park Campus

### **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 for 2016-2018 and Q&A
- 18.45: Coaches to Nottingham City Centre
- 19.15: Reception & Dinner, The Council House, Old Market Square

### **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 (buffet lunch available)

# Provisional Conference Programme – EPOP 2017

## Friday 8 September

### 13.30-15.00 Panel Session 1

#### 1.1 Brexit and identity

*The role of religion in Brexit*

Stuart Fox

*Connectedness, identity and values: Understanding the divides behind Brexit*

Paula Surridge, Siobhan McAndrew, and Neema Beegum

*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 Winners and losers

*The consequences of repeatedly losing on legitimacy beliefs*

Ann-Kristin Kölln and Anna Kern

*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

#### 1.3 Wales

*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

*Split-ticket voting at the 2016 National Assembly for Wales election*

Jac Larner, David Cutts, and Roger Scully

*Measuring public attitudes to devolution*

Roger Scully

#### **1.4 Forecasting recent elections**

*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

## **15.30-17.00 Panel Session 2**

### **2.1 The 2017 general election I**

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

Alia Middleton

*Leaflet messaging during the 2017 general election campaign*

Caitlin Milazzo

*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 Voter turnout**

*It's a group thing: How voters go to the polls together*

Edward 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

### **2.3 What do citizens want from Brexit?**

*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

*In the Mood for Europe? Mass Opinion About Europe Since 1952*

Chris Anderson

## **2.4 Party membership**

*The secret of leaving: Who quits their party and why? Grassroots members in the UK*

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

## **2.5 Party shifts**

*An ever closer union? How growing Euroscepticism among mainstream political parties influences European integration*

Christopher Williams

*Losing a war on two fronts? Social democratic parties and their new electoral competitors*

Zack Grant

*Deconstructing blurring: party strategy in a multidimensional environment*

Jelle Koedam

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

Thomas Loughran

## **Saturday 9 September**

### **9.00-10.30 Panel Session 3**

#### **3.1 Political elites I**

*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

#### **3.2 Defection**

*Personality and electoral rigidity*

Yves Dejaeghere and Jeroen Joly

*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

#### **3.3 Campaigning**

*'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

*"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

### **3.4 The socioeconomic foundation of referendum vote choice**

*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 Geoffrey Evans

*Globalisation and support for social-democracy: The case of Brexit*

Ruben Ruiz-Rufino and Lee Savage

## **11.00-12.30 Panel Session 4**

### **4.1 EU referendum vote choice I**

*Brexit and political choice in Britain*

Harold Clarke, Matthew Goodwin, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul Whiteley

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

Eric Kaufmann

*An explanation for Brexit*

James Dennison

### **4.2 Media and advertising I**

*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

### **4.3 Political elites II**

*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

### **4.4 Accountability**

*Issue ownership and electoral accountability: How immigration shapes competition in the European Union*

Andrea Fumarola



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

*The governance of elections and the independence of returning officers*  
Ian Graham

*Is there an economic vote in referendums?*  
Arndt Leininger

### **13.30-15.00 Panel Session 5**

#### **5.1 Measuring ideology**

*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 Political elites III**

*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

*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

#### **5.3 Campaigns and the media II**

*The emphasis on local connections in 2015 general election leaflets*  
Caitlin Milazzo and Joshua Townsley

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

*Impact of candidate's gender on press coverage in executive office runs: a case study of the 2016 Conservative leadership election*

Beata Rek

*The Independence Echo: the rise of the constitutional question in Scottish election manifestos and voter behaviour*

Zachary Greene, Fraser McMillan, and Kenneth Stevenson

#### **5.4 Congruence**

*Elite/mass attitudinal congruence before and after Brexit: A case study of representational responsiveness*

Rosie Campbell, Jane Green, and Jennifer Hudson

*Strength of party support and perceptions of issue proximity*

Philipp Dreyer

*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

### **15.30-17.00 Panel Session 6**

#### **6.1 Issue positions**

*Mapping the New Politics: Dimensions of Political Attitudes in Uncertain Times*

Christopher Prosser and Jonathan Mellon

*Assessing the validity of environmental protection measures in the British Election Study*

John Kenny

*A Failure of imagination: How cultural differences impede empathy and the flow of foreign aid*

Patrick Lown, Simone Dietrich, and Hugh Ward

*"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

#### **6.2 The 2017 general election II**

*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, 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

### **6.3 Vote choice**

*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*

Edward Fieldhouse

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

Nadja Wehl

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

James Gilmour

### **6.4 Insights from qualitative research into voting behaviour: The added value of longitudinal designs to tackle politicization, partisanship and campaign effects**

*Understanding electoral excitement (or lack of) through repeated in-depth interviews*

Eric Agrikoliansky, Thibaut Boncourt, and Kevin Geay

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

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 Sécaïl

*Are partisan voters just like loyal sports fans? An exploration of voters' partisanship using QESB data*

Kristi Winters, Edzia Carvalho, and Thom Oliver

## **Sunday 10 September**

### **9.30-11.00 Panel Session 7**

#### **7.1 Elites and Brexit**

*The European debt crisis and the role of Europe in Portugal*

Britta Baumgarten and Vicente Dinis Valentim

*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 Satisfaction with Democracy**

*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

#### **7.3 Populism**

*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

## **7.4 Turnout**

*Income inequality and Voter Turnout in American Elections*

Michele Fenzl

*Ideology and contentious political participation in the United States and Europe: A multilevel analysis*

Raynee Gutting

*Female Participation upon Extension of Women's suffrage: The Role of Industrialization and Ideology Formation*

Jordi Muñoz, Toni Rodon, Francesc Amat and Carles Boix

## **11.30-13.00 Panel Session 8**

### **8.1 Strategic voting**

*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 Maurerer, Paul W. Thurner, and Annemarie Walter

*Tactical Considerations, Political Dissatisfaction and Changes in Vote Intentions during Election Campaigns? Are Campaign Switchers Strategic or Frustrated?*

Simon Willocq

### **8.2 Immigration**

*Explaining variation in public opinion to immigration in Europe*

James Dennison, Andrew Geddes, and Teresa Talò

*Generations and attitudes to immigration in Western Europe*

Maria Grasso

*Generational change and attitudes to immigration in the UK*

Lauren McLaren and Ian Paterson

*The roots of Brexit: How British parties have rationalised public opinion on immigration since 1997*

Kenny Stevenson

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

*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 cross-national perspective*

Rosalind Shorrocks and Roosmarijn de Geus

### **8.4 Electoral competition**

*Long-term and short-term evolution of electoral competition in Britain*

Cees van der Eijk

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

Florian Foos and Daniel Bischof

*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

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