

**Organised by** Dr Hannah Bunting, Hannah Grant, Chloe Hrycyszyn & Ellie Carter

# **Elections, Public Opinion & Parties Conference** University of Exeter 2025

4th - 6th September Streatham Campus



www.spspa.exeter.ac.uk/events/epop2025/

elections@exeter.ac.uk



The Department of Social and Political Sciences, Philosophy & Anthropology is delighted to be welcoming you to our Streatham Campus for this year's EPOP. The main conference takes place over two days in our Building:One, Xfi and Streatham Court buildings, with a pre-EPOP PhD student presentation day on Thursday. Our receptions will take place at Topsham Brewery, the City Gate Hotel and at The Great Hall.

### Message from the Head of Department, Professor Robert Lamb

"It's a real pleasure to welcome you to the University of Exeter for this year's EPOP conference. As Head of the Department of Social and Political Sciences, Philosophy & Anthropology, I'm proud that we are hosting an event which showcases the depth, diversity, and dynamism of research into elections, public opinion and political parties.

EPOP brings together scholars from across the UK and beyond, working with a range of methods and perspectives to tackle some of the most pressing and fascinating questions in contemporary politics. It's this breadth that makes the conference such a vital space for collaboration, discussion, and inspiration.

Whether you're presenting new research, engaging with others' ideas, or here to make connections, I hope you find the conference both intellectually stimulating and warmly collegial.

On behalf of the department, welcome to Exeter — I wish you a productive and enjoyable few days."





Political Studies Association Elections, Public Opinion and Parties

# EPOP 2025 schedule

Thursday 4th September					
12.30pm	1-2.30pm	1-2.30pm 3-4.3		6.30pm	
Registration opens	PhD Panel session 1	PhD Panel session 2		Reception at Topsham Brewery	
	Friday 5th September			urday 6th ptember	
9.30-11am	Panel session 1		Panel session 4		
11.30am -1pm	Panel session 2		Panel session 5		
1-2pm	Lunch Women in the discipline meetup		Lunch EPOP AGM		
2-3.30pm	Plenary session 1 EPOP's The Long View: Social Justice		EPOP's The Long View: Developments in Metho		-
4-5.30pm	Panel session 3		Pan	el session 6	
6.30pm	Reception at the City Gate Hotel		Recepti	on at The Great Hall	



## With thanks to our sponsors





Centre for Computational Social Science C2S2









University of Exeter Department of Social and Political Sciences, Philosophy & Anthropology (SPSPA)

## **Overview of EPOP 2025**

### Thursday 12.30pm - Saturday 12.30pm: Registration open in Xfi, follow signs for EPOP 2025

Thursday 1pm - 4.30pm: Pre-EPOP PhD presentations, Xfi and Building:One

### Thursday 6.30pm: Welcome drinks reception and The Elections Centre 40th Birthday Bash, Topsham Brewery

Please join us to celebrate the success of Centre, established in 1985 by Professors Rallings and Thrasher at the University of Plymouth, and now at the University of Exeter where Dr Hannah Bunting is Co-director. With a complementary drink provided, it is also an opportunity to socialise with colleagues before the main conference begins.

#### Friday 9.30am - 1pm: Panel sessions 1 and 2, Xfi and Building:One

#### Friday 1 - 2pm: Lunch, Streatham Court Women in the Discipline Meet-up, Xfi Conference Rooms 1-2

### Friday 2 - 3.30pm:

### EPOP's The Long View: Social Justice, Henderson LT, Xfi

Join Professors Thomas Prosser (Cardiff University), Helen Berry (University of Exeter) and Dr Eve Worth (University of Exeter) in a plenary session in the style of Radio 4's The Long View. They will be discussing the evolution of social justice and social mobility from 1600 to the present day, in light of Prosser & King's (2026) new monograph 'Beyond Woke and Anti-woke' published by Bristol University Press.

### Friday 4 - 5.30pm: Panel session 3, Xfi and Building:One

### Friday 6.30pm: Dinner, reception and quiz, City Gate Hotel

Join us at the historic City Gate Hotel for a delicious informal dinner, drinks and the customary EPOP quiz. This event is kindly supported by YouGov.

#### Thursday 12.30pm - Saturday 12.30pm: Registration open in Xfi, follow signs for EPOP 2025

Saturday 9.30am - 1pm: Panel sessions 4 and 5, Xfi and Building:One

Saturday 1 - 2pm: Lunch, Streatham Court EPOP AGM, Henderson Lecture Theatre, Xfi

#### Saturday 2 - 3.30pm: Developments and Challenges in Methods for the Study of EPOP, Henderson LT, Xfi

Join Lord Mark Pack and a series of expert academics and practicioners to discuss methodological developments such as AI and LLMs, the challenges in opinion polling, and the growing reluctance of certain demographics' participation in research. This panel is sponsored by the Centre for Computational Social Science (C2S2).

#### Saturday 4 - 5.30pm: Panel session 6, Xfi and Building:One

#### Saturday 6.30pm:

### Gala dinner, reception and quiz, The Great Hall

Join us at the University of Exeter's Great Hall for a three course meal and the announcement of this year's EPOP prize winners.



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### Pre-EPOP Panel session 1: Thursday 1–2.30pm

### Panel 1.1 – Institutions, Elites and Political Trust

**Location:** Kolade Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** Hannah Bunting *Does independent regulation of MPs' pay and expenses lead to better outcomes*? Helen Bramah

Health and political trust Edmund Kelly

Does moralised elite rhetoric influence public attitudes towards international organisations? Tiphaine Le Corre

The Repro-masculine Politics of the Populist Far Right in India Nishtha Gosewade

Panel 1.2 – Populism, Authoritarianism and the Radical Right Location: Pearson Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: Raluca Popp Navigating uncertainty: The impact of moving on populist attitudes María Ruiz Hernández

Authoritarian Elections in the 21st Century: How do Authoritarian Regimes Use Elections Strategically? Ebrahim Rezaei Rad

How radical right parliamentary presence impacts mainstream party strategies on democracy Isolde Hegemann

Speak of the Devil: Post-Authoritarian Stigmatization in Parliamentary Speeches Across Europe Chen Zeng

### Panel 1.3 – Campaigns and Voting

**Location:** Constantine Leventis Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** Stuart Fox *The behavioural effects of individual-level messaging during political campaigns* Lennard Metson

Artificial Intelligence, Personalised Persuasion, and Climate Action Elena Pro

Is there more strategic voting under plurality or majority runoff? Survey evidence from presidential elections worldwide Gabriela Aguirre



### Pre-EPOP Panel session 2: Thursday 3–4.30pm

### Panel 2.1 – Issues, Ideology and Voting

**Location:** Kolade Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** Ekaterina Kolpinskaya *Dimensional issue salience and left-right self-placement* Joelle Tasker

Is voting driven by ideology in new democracies? Evidence from pre-electoral coalitions in Global South Presidential Elections Gabriela Aguirre

Determinants and Mechanisms of Pre-Adult Political Socialisation within the Family: Evidence from Britain Benedetta Giocoli

The rank-order distribution of the importance assigned to political issues Andreas Kapounek

### Panel 2.2 – Local Politics Across the World

**Location:** Pearson Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** Laszlo Horvath Beyond the National Referendum: Accountability and Blame-Shifting in Sub-National Elections Stefan Huller

Local Political Histories and Contemporary Divides: The Impact of Historical Party Strongholds and Political Mobilization on Germany,Äôs Electoral Geography Leon Gawenda

Highlands or the World? Place-Oriented Identity Constructions of Scottish Teachers and Their Pedagogical Implications in the Classroom Valeriia Hulkovych

An Analytical Framework for Regional Voting Behaviour based on European and North American Research Calum M. Paterson

### Panel 2.3 – Exogenous Shocks and Elections

**Location:** Constantine Leventis Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** Travis Coan *How Snap Election Calls Shape Vote Intention Uncertainty: A Cross-Country Comparison* Klara Mueller

Do Wartime Casualties Affect Support for the Autocrat? Evidence from Russia Konstantin Bogatyrev

Legacy of mass atrocities and its influence on electoral behaviours in Africa Bright Chimedza

followed by

### Welcome recception and The Elections Centre 40th Birthday Bash, Topsham Brewery, Thursday 6.30pm

### Panel session 1: Friday 9.30-11am

#### Panel 1.1: Voting age and voter ID

**Location:** Syndicate Room B, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair**: TBC *Who supports 'votes-at-16' now?* Thomas Loughran, Jon Tonge, Andy Mycock

*Electoral Integrity Programme Evaluation.* IFF Research, Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG)

Does Voter ID Disproportionately Impact Disabled Voters? Evidence from the British Election Study. Christopher Prosser, Ralph Scott, Stefanie Reher, Ed Fieldhouse

Votes at 16: UK views on lowering the voting age 10 years on from the Scottish experiment. Timothy Vercellotti

Youth Turnout Policies, Public Opinion and the Health of British Civic Culture. Stuart Fox, Manu Savani, Christopher Stafford

#### Panel 1.2: Parties and their factions

Location: Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One Chair: TBC Elite Cooperation and Social Bonds: How Political Alliances Shape Perceptions of Cross-Party Friendships. Lie Philip Santoso

The Politics Within: How Factions Lobby Their Own Parties. Rozemarijn van Dijk; Ann-Kristin Kölln

A Spatio-Temporal Analysis of Bharatiya Janata Party's Electoral Performance in Parliamentary Elections of India from 1984 to 2024. Monika

Beyond Disunity: How Intra-Party Factions Can Boost Electoral Performance. Ann-Kristin Kölln; Leen Lingier

Why do polity-wide parties have different levels of intra-party autonomy at the sub-national level in India? Dishil Shrimankar and Arvind Kumar

### Panel session 1: Friday 9.30-11am

#### Panel 1.3: AI and LLMs

Location: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One Chair: TBC New Tech. New Threat? Explaining Demand for AI Regulation in B

New Tech, New Threat? Explaining Demand for AI Regulation in Britain and the U.S. Zack Grant, Jane Green, Geoffrey Evans

Building a human-centered Large Language Model dataset from Qualitative Election Study of Britian longitudinal data. Kristi Winters, Stephan Linzbach, Yining Wang, Thom Oliver

Machine Minds and Political Divides: How AI-Generated Summaries Shape Our Understanding of Parliamentary Discourse. Zachary Greene, Elise Frelin, James Cross, Derek Greene

Anchoring Fairness: Gendered Perceptions of Bias in Human and Algorithmic Public Sector Hiring. Florian Stoeckel, Adrienn Ujhelyi, Monika Kovacs, Katalin Papp

Artificial Intelligence, Personalised Persuasion, and Climate Attitudes. Elena Pro, Antonio Valentim

#### Panel 1.4: Support for Democracy

**Location:** Constantine Leventis, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC

Is support for liberal democracy conditional on your policy preferences? An original survey experiment in Britain.

James David Griffiths, Stuart Perrett, Jane Green, Jack Bailey, Jon Mellon, Ed Fieldhouse, Chris Prosser, Geoff Evans

Understanding the support for democratic backsliding in Latin America: between populism and elitism. Javier Sajuria, Noam Titelman, Lisa Zanotti

How radical right parliamentary presence impacts mainstream party strategies on democracy. Isolde Hegemann

Intergenerational differences in attitudes towards democracy: a growing gender divide? Laura Serra

Normalizing illiberalism: How public consensus and majoritarian legitimization undermine support for minority rights. Damjan Tomin

### Panel session 1: Friday 9.30-11am

Panel 1.5: Social and traditional media

**Location:** Kolade, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Social Media Interactions and the Moralization of Politcs in the UK.* Andrés Bernstein; Marta Cantijoch; Antoni Gomila

Bias in the Bylines: Mapping the News Media Environment of the 2024 US Presidential Election. Lewys Brace and Kaitlin Senk

Cross-platform Strategies of Interest Groups on Social Media: How Affordances Shape Online Advocacy at Election Time. Tom Barton, Anne Rasmussen, Lise Rudland, Irakli Barbakadze

Reframing Text Mining on Social Media as a Survey Research Task: An Application to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. Kostas Gemenis

*Questions and Answers: Audience Questions in Public Participation Broadcasting.* Brian Boyle, Heinz Brandenburg

### Panel 1.6: Measuring class and ideology

**Location:** Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Dimensional issue salience and left-right self-placement.* Joelle Tasker

*Measuring class identity: Beyond none and forced choice.* Paula Surridge, James Griffiths

Party Manifestos as a Basis of Citizen's Left-Right Perceptions. A Study Across 25 European Countries and Over 50 Years. Cees van der Eijk, Hermann Schmitt, Giuseppe Carteny

*Multilevel Mismatch? Identity and Ideology in Scotland.* Fraser McMillan

### Break with refreshments: Friday 11-11.30am

### Panel session 2: Friday 11.30am-1pm

#### Panel 2.1: Attitudes to (Im)Migration

Location: Pearson Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC Residential Location and Attitudes toward Immigration in Great Britain: Compositional or Contextual Effects? Pavlos Vasilopoulos & Haley McAvay

The UK Supreme Court verdict on the Rwanda policy increased individual support for racial and ethnic hierarchies: evidence from a natural experiment. Domantas Undzenas

Does moralised elite rhetoric influence public opinion on immigration? Evidence from a UK survey experiment. Tiphaine Le Corre

*Targets, outcomes and performance politics: The case of Labour and immigration.* Lawrence McKay, Rob Johns and Will Allen

Panel 2.2: Polling Location: Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One Chair: TBC Enhancing MRPs with Geospatial Data. James Ackland, Ana Basiri

Electoral Polling as a Public Service? An Analysis of Spain's CIS Accuracy in Pre-Election Estimates Over Time. Alejandro Fernandez-Roldan & Klara Muller

Where are all the young, non-graduate men? Differential non-response bias as an explanation for recent polling misses. Ralph Scott, Paula Surridge

Do polls underestimate support for rightwing parties? Assessing variation in polling error by party family. Will Jennings, Jonathan Mellon, Stuart Perrett, Christopher Prosser, and Christopher Wlezien

Evaluating election forecasting methods for the UK. Stephen D. Fisher, John Kenny and Rosalind Shorrocks

### Panel session 2: Friday 11.30am-1pm

#### Panel 2.3: Representation

**Location:** Syndicate Room B, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC Closing the Ambition Gap? Experimental Evidence on the Effects of Recruitment Campaigns on Female Citizens. Marta Antonetti

Distrusted and disliked? The role of affect in descriptive representation and gendered leadership perceptions of ethnic minority and women candidates. Sarah Childs, Sofia Collignon, Laura Sjoberg and Kaat Smets

Who (still) opposes gender quotas in Ireland? Lisa Keenan, Gail McElroy

*Fix the system, not the women.* Annabel Mullin, Hannah Stevens, Rosie Trevill

Stands for Me or Acts for Me? Trade-offs between Women's Symbolic and Substantive Representation. Jessica C. Smith, Ana Catalano Weeks, Jorge Fernandes

Panel 2.4: Trust Location: Kolade, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC Does independent regulation of MP's pay and expenses improve political trust? Evidence from a survey experiment. Helen Bramah

(Dis-)Trust in E-Voting: New Realities of a Well Known Paradox. Marina Gorbatiuc

Trust, local governance and the Green vote: an Ostromian analysis of environmental voting in England. Rachel Hart

Health and political trust. Edmund Kelly

Does Disability Really Matter? Investigating the Impact of Disability on Voters' Trust in Political Candidates and Their Abilities to Represent: Evidence from a UK Survey Experiment. Melanie Kennedy-Diver

### Panel session 2: Friday 11.30am-1pm

#### Panel 2.5: Turnout and voting motives

**Location**: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One **Chair**: TBC *Investigating Turnout in the 2024 UK General Election.* Stuart Perrett, James Griffiths, Edward Fieldhouse, Jane Green, Christopher Prosser

Compulsory voting and the congruence of the vote: Evidence from a quasi-experiment. Dieter Stiers

Understanding South Africa's Watershed 2024 Election. Collette Schulz-Herzenberg, Robert Mattes

Does local news coverage impact local election turnout? Evidence from Britain 2020-2024. Travis Coan, Tristain Cann and Hannah Bunting

*Responsible Voters: Voter Motivations in the 2024 Belgian Elections.* Marc Hooghe

#### Panel 2.6: Public attitudes and emotions

**Location:** Constantine Leventis, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *The hidden societal resilience against gender backlash.* Monika Kovacs, Boglarka Adorjan, Florian Stoeckel

Public Perceptions of Politicians with Mental Health Problems. Luca Bernardi, Stefanie Reher, Rob Johns

Affective Congruence: How Anger, Fear & Joy affected Social Media during the US 2024 Presidential Campaign. Ashley Cresswell

Understanding the Dual Pathways of Patriotism: Political Satisfaction and Threat Perception as Predictors of National Pride Across Democratic Contexts. Miaofang Guan

Narrating Constitutional Futures: Comparative Emotional and Identity Dynamics in the Scottish Independence and EU Referendums. Thom Oliver, Kristi Winters

### Lunch: Friday 1-2pm

and

### Women in the Discipline Meet-up

followed by

EPOP's The Long View: Social Justice Friday 2-3.30pm

### Panel session 3: Friday 4pm-5.30pm

Panel 3.1: Campaigns Location: Constantine Leventis, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC Damsels in Distress and Villains: The Impact of Gender Equality Campaigns on Women's and Men's Political Participation. Marta Antonetti

The behavioural effects of individual-level message tailoring: evidence from a field experiment. Lennard Metson

Activating the gender gap: the role of party campaigning in shaping gendered patterns of party support a two country comparison. Anna Sanders, Rosalind Shorrocks, Ceri Fowler and Rosie Campbell

Factories, football and falling off things: understanding the impact of the campaign trail. Alia Middleton

*Mobilization Across Space.* Florian Foos, Peter John, Francisco Tomas-Valiente, Asli Ceren Cinar

### Panel 3.2: Social and biological politics

**Location:** Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Sleeping with the enemy? Dating, Sex, and Politics.* Lala Muradova; Alberto Lopez Ortega

From polarisation to electoral hostility: explaining changing patterns of political antagonism. Laura Serra

*Our brains can synchronize with our coalitions.* Darren Schreiber

Where Are All the Countryside Cosmopolitans? Understanding How Self-Selection and Contextual Effects Structure the Geography of Attitudes in Britain. Elizabeth Simon, Justin Robinson

The Psychology of Political Activism: Do personality traits drive party members' election campaign activity? Paul Webb, Tim Bale and Stavroula Chrona

### Panel session 3: Friday 4pm-5.30pm

Panel 3.3: (Mis)Information, conspiracy and influence Location: Kolade, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC Conspiracy or Public Service: Does Third-Party Fact-Checking on Social Media Influence Conspiracy Beliefs? Justin B. Phillips, Timothy B. Gravelle, Mathew Marques, and Andrea Carson

Beyond Partisanship: The Influence of Cultural References on Misinformation. Mariana Borges Martins da Silva, Marina Pereira Silva, Noam Titelman

Is voting driven by ideology in new democracies? Evidence from pre-electoral coalitions in Global South Presidential Elections. Gabriela Aguirre

Partners and the Gender Gap: How partnerships shape men's and women's vote choices in Western Europe. Ceri Fowler

#### Panel 3.4: Minoritised communities

Location: Syndicate Room B, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC Redistributive Policy Preferences in the Face of Inequality: Unconnected, Uninformed or Undeserving? Silke Goubin

Minority Multidimensionality: Perceived Political Minority Status & (Un)Deservingness of Protection. Damjan Tomic

Inter-Minority Coalition or Conflict? A comparative analysis of the social and political values of Black and Asian communities in the UK and US. Neema Begum, Tanika Raychaudhuri

Margins on the Mercy: Under-representation of Extremely Backward Castes in the Politics of Social Justice. Omprakash Mahato

### Panel session 3: Friday 4pm-5.30pm

Panel 3.5: The economy and economic voting Location: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One Chair: TBC Economic Orientations and Preferences Over Redistributive Taxation. Lucy Barnes

Public Updating of Economic Perceptions: How History Matters. Derek Epp and Christopher Wlezien

Economic Insecurity and Economic Voting: The 2024 US Presidential Election and UK General Election. Jane Green, Zack Grant, Geoffrey Evans

Economic voting and political sophistication: Accuracy of economic perceptions and indicators only for the most sophisticated voters? Chloe De Grauwe

Do economic variables explain the growth of social justice ideology? Thomas Prosser and John Peirce

#### Panel 3.6: Age

**Location:** Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC Assessing the interaction of age, institutional trust, strong-leadership preference and protest in Ukraine. Cressida Arkwright

Intergenerational Differences in the Gender Gap in Political Engagement Across Forms of Participation. Maria Grasso, Liran Harsgor, Rosalind Shorrocks

To Know the Queen is to Love the Queen: An Age-Period Cohort Analysis of Monarchism in the UK. Joseph B. Phillips; Jac M. Larner

Navigating uncertainty: The impact of moving out on populist attitudes. Maria Ruiz Hernandez

#### Panel 3.7: Scottish Election Study user consultation

**Location:** Syndicate Room C, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Developing the next round of the SES* Ailsa Henderson

> followed by Reception and dinner at The City Gate Hotel Friday 6.30pm

### Panel session 4: Saturday 9.30-11am

Panel 4.1: Neighbourhoods and rural-urban differences Location: Constantine Leventis, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC The Rural-Urban Geographies of the Trump heartland: County level data from 2000 – 2024. Conor Judge, Michael Woods

Explaining urban-rural divides in diffuse political support in Europe, 1973-2024. Lawrence McKay, Viktor Valgardsson, Will Jennings

Fight, flight, adaptation, or perishment: how residents react to shifts in local public opinion. Denis Cohen, Daniel Auer, Sandra Morgenstern

Neighbourhoods, income inequalities and partisanship. George Melios; Joost van Spanje

Where is Reform UK winning? The emerging electoral geography of a disruptive party. Michael Woods, Conor Judge

#### Panel 4.2: Historical legacies in political behaviour

**Location:** Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Legacies of the Marshall Plan in Post-War Italy.* Sienna Nordquist, Simone Cremaschi, Catherine De Vries, and Mattia Cecchi

*Changing Political Cleavages in Britain, 1885-2024.* Oliver Heath, Chris Prosser, Humphrey Southall, Paula Aucott

Local Political Histories and Contemporary Divides: The Impact of Historical Party Strongholds and Political Mobilization on Germany's Electoral Geography. Leon Gawenda

Legacy of mass atrocities and its influence on electoral behaviours in Africa. Bright Chimedza

Analysing the changing relationship between political attitudes and gender in Britain: 1955-2024.

Rosie Campbell, Will Jennings, John Kenny, Andra Roescu, Rosalind Shorrocks, Stuart Smedley

### Panel session 4: Saturday 9.30-11am

**Panel 4.3: Socialisation and early political development Location:** Kolade, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Youth Volunteering and Political Participation in Early Adulthood.* Stuart Fox

Determinants and Mechanisms of Pre-Adult Political Socialisation within the Family: Evidence from Britain. Benedetta Giocoli

The Enduring Relationship Between Residential Environment in Young Adulthood and Political Behaviour Later in Life. Haley McAvay, Justin Robinson, Pavlos Vasilopoulos

The effect of higher education on political attitudes: A meta-analysis of the causal evidence. Ralph Scott

Euroscepticism and support for right-wing populist parties among young Europeans. Davide Angelucci, Kaat Smets

#### Panel 4.4: Populism

**Location:** Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC A Study of Populist Narratives and it's influence on the Electoral Behavior of voters in 2018 General Election in Pakistan. Muhammad Idrees

Gendered Supply and Demand in the Reform UK vote. Louise Luxton and Rosalind Shorrocks

Do theories of spatial far-right voting apply in Eastern Europe? A Bayesian analysis of the Lithuanian case. Domantas Undzenas

The media and Northern European left-populism; A case study on the breakthrough and decline of Sinn Fein. Jamie McClenaghan

### Panel session 4: Saturday 9.30-11am

Panel 4.5: EU support Location: Syndicate Room B, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC A tale of four crises: Quasi-experimental evidence on the relationship between economic adjustments and EU support. Ruiz-Rufino

Positions on European integration and affective polarization in the European Union. Raul Gomez and Will Oliver

The causal effect of foreign language education on Euroscepticism: Evidence from the end of compulsory language-learning in English secondary schools. Roland Kappe, Nicole Martin

The alignment of the constitutional value space in Scotland. Marta Miori

#### Panel 4.6: Methods and measurement

**Location:** Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Interpretation in Inductive Quantitative Research.* Lucy Barnes

*Survey measures of Affective Polarisation.* Alexandra Jabbour

What Do(n't) Women Know? Understanding Patterns and Implications of Gender Differences in Survey Non-Response. Lotte Hargrave, Ceri Fowler, Jessica C. Smith, Hannah Bunting and Anna Sanders

*Talking About Gender, Changing Minds? Survey Effects on Feminist Identification.* Florian Stoeckel, Eszter Csordâs, Monika Kovacs

Comparing random probability and online panel surveys: the case of the 2022 World Values Survey in the UK. Roger Mortimore, James Wright, Paolo Morini, Bobby Duffy, Kirstie Hewlett

### Break with refreshments: Saturday 11-11.30am

### Panel session 5: Saturday 11.30am-1pm

Panel 5.1: Conflict and political support

**Location:** Kolade, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Balancing Identity and Policy in Post Conflict Representation.* Raluca Popp, Edward Morgan-Jones, Laura Sudulich, Neophytos Loizides

Authoritarian Elections in the 21st Century: How Do Ruling Parties Maintain Power? (Case Study of Turkmenistan). Ebrahim Rezaei Rad

Do Wartime Casualties Affect Support for the Autocrat? Evidence from Russia. Nikita Savin, Georgy Tarasenko, Konstantin Bogatyrev

Diaspora and Homeland Peacebuilding: A Comparative Study of Afghan and Iraqi Diaspora Engagement with External Support amidst Post-9/11 and its Impact on Peacebuilding. Abdul Ghani Amin

#### Panel 5.2: Climate politics and protest

**Location:** Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Culture wars and the symbolic representation of the rights of women, LGBTIQ+, future generations and migrants.* Laura Morales

The Political Polarisation of Climate Policy-Relevant Attitudes in Britain. Gidon Cohen and Nick Vivyan

Controlling the Parental Identity to Prompt Climate Concern: An Experiment Testing the Effectiveness of Priming vs Framing. Sienna Everett

The Protesters in Our Heads: American (Mis)Perceptions About Who Engages in Disruptive Expression. Nicole Huffman, Soren Jordan, B. Kal Munis, Joseph B. Phillips, Michael J. Soules

When do voters support local development? Insights from a conjoint experiment. Paula Szewach, Lawrence McKay, Jason Reifler, Amy McKay

### Panel session 5: Saturday 11.30am-1pm

Panel 5.3: Electoral systems, party systems and fragmentation

**Location:** Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Party System Fragmentation or Just Party Proliferation?* Jack Bailey

A generative model of party systems. Chris Hanretty

Long-term effects of electoral system history on strategic voting. How and why vote splitting varies in Germany, New Zealand and Scotland. Heinz Brandenburg, Fraser McMillan

*Is there more strategic voting under plurality or majority runoff? Survey evidence from presidential elections worldwide.* Gabriela Aguirre

Independents Day; Understanding the success of independent and minor party candidates in the 2024 UK general election. Nicole Martin

#### Panel 5.4: Issues, policy and public opinion

**Location:** Syndicate Room B, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Public Opinion on Trade-offs in Social Care Reform.* Anthony Kevins, Naomi Lightman

China's perceived rise and public preferences for cooperating or confronting strategies in France, Germany, and UK: Survey and experimental evidence. Matthias Mader, Jason Reifler, Catarina Thomson, Harald Schoen

*British public opinion toward foreign policy: continuity or change?* Timothy B. Gravelle, Thomas J. Scotto, Jason Reifler

*The rank-order distribution of the importance assigned to political issues.* Andreas Kapounek, Peter Bossaerts , Lee de-Wit

### Panel session 5: Saturday 11.30am-1pm

Panel 5.5: Participation

Location: Constantine Leventis Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC Trend of Gender Gaps in Political Participation in Ghana: Evidence from Nine Waves of Afrobarometer surveys. Gladys Ama Konadu

Do civic technologies increase political engagement? Evidence from a cross-platform experiment. Laszlo Horvath

Digitalization and Women's Political Participation in Pakistan: A Case Study of the 2024 Elections. Sanwal Hussain Kharl and Parveen Akhtar

We all speak different languages: Political participation in multilingual spaces. George Melios, Yara Sleiman

#### Panel 5.6: Polarisation

**Location**: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Liberal Society Under Threat: The Obstinate Hope of Social Democracy.* Nick Stevenson

From Top to Bottom: Explaining the relationship between elite polarisation and mass polarisation. Alex Hartland

Electoral District Magnitude and Political Polarization. Zsuzsanna Magyar

Horseshoe Theory' and Vote Transfers: Evidence from 2024 EP in Ireland. Eoin O'Malley, Alex Baturo

Coalition formation in Scottish local government: Local, national or both? Jonathan Parker

### Lunch: Friday 1-2pm and EPOP AGM

### followed by

Challenges and developments in political science methods Saturday 2-3.30pm

#### Panel 6.1: Religion and voting

**Location:** Syndicate Room C, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Religious cross-pressures and electoral decision-making.* Yara Sleiman and Maria Grasso

Religion and voting in UK General Elections: The story of continuity and change. Ekaterina Kolpinskaya, Stuart Fox

Abortion Flip-flopping and Strategic Ambiguity After Dobbs: Republican Candidate Campaign Strategies in the US 2024 Congressional District Races. Daniel Schulte and Liz Ralph-Morrow

Religious and Linguistic Cleavages in Party Support: The Case of Interwar Latvia. Olga Jerjomina

#### Panel 6.2: Parliaments and speeches

Location: Contantine Leventis, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC Speak of the Devil: Post-Authoritarian Stigmatization in Parliamentary Speeches Across Europe. Chen Zeng, Riccardo Di Leo, Elias Dinas

Expressing Diversity within Institutions? How Electoral Institutions Exacerbate and Alleviate Biases in Parliamentary Speech. Maarja Luhiste, Zachary Greene

The causes and consequences of perceived budget fairness, 1952-2024. John Bartle, Anthony McGann, Nicholas Allen, Sebastian Dellepaine-Avallenda

Issues of High Potential: A Novel Methodology to Uncover Unactivated Public Policy Demands. James Breckwoldt

Panel 6.3: Violence and mental health

Location: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One Chair: TBC Wartime Well-Being and Peace Expectations Under External Shocks: Panel Evidence from Ukraine. Philipp Chapkovski, Ivan Grigorie

Stressful Politics? The Effects of Politics as a Stress Factor for Mental Health in Britain and the United States. Luca Bernardi, Jonathan Roiser, Emma Bridger, Rowan Board, Yumeya Yamamori, James Gross, Jack Blumenau

"Not even to them": Affective polarisation, multilevel politics, and tolerance of abuse towards politicians. Rob Johns, Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Graeme Davies, Reed Wood and Christopher Carman

Violence against politicians in the Republic of Ireland: exploring variation over time and between local and general elections. Lisa Keenan and Fiona Buckley

#### Panel 6.4: Vote choice

**Location:** Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *Clientelism in Pakistan: A Study Voters' Behavior in District Buner.* Usman Ali

Political Sophistication and Differences in Vote Choice Determinants An Analysis of Voting Motives in the 2024 Belgian Elections. Amber Voets, Marc Hooghe & Dieter Stiers

Gender, Sexism, Perceptions of Discrimination, and Vote Choice in the UK: A growing divide? Ceri Fowler, Rosalind Shorrocks, Liz Ralph-Morrow

The Vote Choice of Left-Authoritarians: The Role of Party Competition and Strategic Policy Choices of Social Democratic Parties. Niklas Donth

### Panel 6.5: Regions and sub-national politics

**Location:** Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC *An Analytical Framework for Regional Voting Behaviour based on European and North American Research.* Calum M. Paterson

Beyond the National Referendum: Accountability and Blame-Shifting in Sub-National Elections. Stefan Höller

Differentiating Vote Choice for Sub-State Nationalist and Regionalist Parties: A Longitudinal Analysis of Vote Choice for N-VA and Vlaams Belang (2009-2024). Steven De Keyser

The Rise, Fall and Return of Right-Wing Populism in Wales. James Breckwoldt

Highlands or the World? Place-Oriented Identity Constructions of Scottish Teachers and Their Pedagogical Implications in the Classroom. Valeriia Hulkovych

### Panel 6.6: Populism, the radical right and countering narratives

**Location:** Kolade Level 2 of Building:One **Chair:** TBC Framing the Radical Right: The Effect of Mainstream Party Responses on Voter Perceptions, Moralization, and Political Compromise. Gina Aniano

Clashing with Reform UK: The Labour Party and the UK Local Elections. Stephanie Luke

*The Repro-masculine Politics of the Populist Far-right in India.* Nishtha Gosewade

The "Villain Effect": How Right-wing Female Political Leaders Affect Women's Political Participation. Marta Antonetti, Florian Foos

Recognizing Backlash: Testing Counter-Strategies to Anti-Gender Equality Communication in Poland, Hungary, and Italy. Florian Stoeckel, Monika Kovacs, Eszter Csodas

Panel 6.7: Preparing for government, types of governance and policy options Location: Syndicate Room B, Level 2 of Building:One Chair: TBC What can candidate selection tell us about how parties prepare for government? Chris Butler, Marta Miori, Kenn Rushworth, Rob Ford

How Snap Election Calls Shape Vote Intention Uncertainty: A Cross-Country Comparison. Klara Muller, Alejandro Fernandez-Roldan

How Governance Structures Shape Public Opinion on Performance Evaluation. Jae Bok Lee

Unpacking Public Opinion on Social Care Policy Design. Anthony Kevins, Naomi Lightman

### followed by Reception and dinner at The Great Hall Saturday 6.30pm

Panel Session 1: Friday 9.30am - 11am		
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors
1.1 – Voting age and voter ID Syndicate Room B		Thomas Loughran, Eilidh Macfarlane, Christopher Prosser, Timothy Vercellotti, Stuart Fox
1.2 – Parties and their factions Matrix LT		Lie Philip Santoso, Rozemarijn van Dijk, Monika, Ann-Kristin Kölln, Dishil Shrimankar
1.3 – Al and LLMs Bateman LT		Jane Green, Kristi Winters, Zac Greene, Florian Stoeckel, Elena Pro
1.4 – Support for democracy Constantine Leventis		James David Griffiths, Javier Sajuria, Isolde Hegemann, Laura Serra, Damjan Tomin
1.5 – Social and traditional media Kolade		Andres Bernstein, Kaitlin Senk, Tom Barton, Kostas Gemenis, Brian Boyle
1.6 – Measuring class and ideology Pearson		Joelle Tasker, Paula Surridge, James Griffiths, Cees van der Eijk, Fraser McMillan

Panel Session 2: Friday 11.30am - 1pm		
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors
2.1 – Attitudes to (im)migration Pearson		Pavlos Vasilopoulos, Domntas Undzenas, Tiphaine Le Corre, Rob Johns
2.2 – Polling Matrix LT		James Ackland, Alejandro Fernandez-Roldan, Ralph Scott, Stuart Perrett, John Kenny
2.3 – Representation Syndicate Room B		Marta Antonetti, Kaat Smets, Lisa Keenan, Annabel Mullin, Jessica C Smith
2.4 – Trust Kolade		Helen Bramah, Marina Gorbatius, Rachel Hart, Edmund Kelly, Melanie Kennedy-Diver
2.5 – Turnout and voting motives Bateman LT		Stuart Perret, Deiter Stiers, Robert Mattes, Travis Coan, Marc Hooghe
2.6 – Public attitudes and emotions Constantine Leventis		Florian Stoeckel, Ashley Cresswell, Miaofang Guan, Thom Oliver

#### Plenary Session 1: Friday 2pm - 3pm

Panel and location: EPOP's The Long View: Social Justice, Henderson LT

Chair: TBC

Contributors:

<u>Professor Thomas Prosser</u> is a political economist at the Cardiff University. His work interrogates European social democracy, social policy and party support bases using both qualitative and quantitative methods. His third monograph will be published by Bristol University Press in 2026, examining the rise of social justice ideology and highlighting its distinctiveness.

<u>Professor Helen Berry</u> is Deputy Pro-Vice Chancellor in the Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Exeter. She is expert in British History and her research has explored the rise of the mass media and socio-cultural impact of ´fake news' before modern times. In 2020, in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement, she chaired the Vice Chancellor's committee on the legacy of Lord Armstrong, an arms dealer and benefactor of Newcastle University.

<u>Dr Eve Worth</u> is a social and women's historian of Britain since 1945, Lecturer of Modern British History at the University of Exeter and member of the DWP Methods Advisory Group. Her interdisciplinary and mixed-methods research centres the experiences of women to advance understandings of social mobility and structural inequalities.

Panel Session 3: Friday 4pm - 5.30pm			
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors	
3.1 – Campaigns Constantine Leventis,		Marta Antonetti, Lennard Metson, Anna Sanders, Alia Middleton, Florian Foos	
3.2 – Social and biological politics Matrix LT		Lala Muradova, Laura Serra, Darren Schreiber, Elizabeth Simon, Tim Bale	
3.3 – (Mis)Information, conspiracy and influence Kolade		Timothy B Gravelle, Mariana Borges Martins da Silba, Gabriela Aguirre, Ceri Fowler	
3.4 – Minoritised communities Syndicate Room B		Silke Goubin, Damjan Tomic, Neema Begum, Omprakash Mahato	
3.5 – The economy and economic voting Bateman LT		Lucy Barnes, Christoper Wlezien, Jane Green, Chloe De Grauwe, Thomas Prosser	
3.6 – Age Pearson		Cressida Arkwright, Maria Grasso, Joseph B. Phillips, Maria Ruiz Hernandez	
3.7 – Scottish Election Study user consultation Syndicate Room C		Ailsa Henderson	

Panel Session 4: Saturday 9.30am - 11am		
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors
4.1 – Neighbourhoods and rural-urban divides Constantine Leventis		Conor Judge, Lawrence McKay, Denis Cohen, George Melios, Michael Woods
4.2 – Historical legacies in voter behaviour Bateman LT		Sienna Nordquist, Oliver Heath, Leon Gawenda, Bright Chimedza, John Kenny
4.3 – Socialisation and early political development Kolade		Stuart Fox, Benedetta Giocoli, Justin Robinson, Ralph Scott, Kaat Smets
4.4 – Populism Pearson		Muhammad Idrees, Rosalind Shorrocks, Domantas Undzenas, Jamie McClenaghan
4.5 – EU support Syndicate Room B		Ruiz-Rufino, Will Oliver, Roland Kappe, Marta Miori
4.6 – Methods and measurement Matrix LT		Lucy Barnes, Alexandra Jabbour, Lotte Hargrave, Florian Stoeckel, Paolo Morini

Panel Session 5: Saturday 11.30am - 1pm		
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors
5.1 – Conflict and political support Kolade		Raluca Popp, Ebrahim Rezaei Rad, Konstantin Bogatyrev, Abdul Ghani Amin
5.2 – Climate politics and protest Pearson		Laura Morales, Nick Vivyan, Sienna Everett, Joseph B Phillips, Lawrence McKay
5.3 – Electoral systems, party systems and fragmentation Matrix LT		Jack Bailey, Chris Hanretty, Heinz Brandenburg, Gabriela Aguirre, Nicole Martin
5.4 – Issues, policy and public opinion Syndicate Room B		Anthony Kevins, Catarina Thompson, Timothy B Gravelle, Andreas Kapounek
5.5 – Participation Constantine Leventis		Gladys Ama Konadu, Laszlo Horvath, Sanwal Hussain Kharl, George Melios
5.6 – Polarisation Bateman LT		Nick Stevenson, Alex Hartland, Zsuzsanna Magyar, Eoin O'Malley, Jonathan Parker

#### Plenary Session 2: Saturday 2pm - 3pm

Panel and location: Challenges and Developments in Methods for the Study of EPOP

Chair: TBC

Contributors:

Lord Mark Pack is the President of the Liberal Democrats, Member of the House of Lords and author of several books such as Polling Unpacked.

Other contributors TBC.

Panel Session 6: Saturday 4pm - 5.30pm		
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors
6.1 – Religion and voting Syndicate Room C		Yara Sleiman, Ekaterina Kolpinskaya, Daniel Schulte, Liz Ralph-Morrow, Olga Jeriomina
6.2 – Parliaments and speeches Constantine Leventis,		Chen Zeng, Maarja Luhiste, John Bartle, James Breckwoldt
6.3 – Violence and mental health Bateman LT		Philipp Chapkovski, Luca Bernardi, Rob Johns, Lisa Keenan
6.4 – Vote choice Matrix LT		Usman Ali, Amber Voets, Ceri Fowler, Niklas Donth
6.5 – Regions and sub-national politics Pearson		Calum M Paterson, Stefan Holler, Steven De Keyser, James Breckwoldt, Valeria Hulkovych
6.6 – Populism, the radical right and countering narratives Kolade		Gina Aniano, Stephanie Luke, Nishtha Gosewade, Marta Antonetti, Florian Stoeckel
6.7 – Preparing for government, types of governance and policy options Syndicate Room B		Chris Butler, Klara Muller, Jae Bok Lee, Anthony Kevins