

Organised by
Dr Hannah Bunting,
Hannah Grant, Chloe
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Elections, Public Opinion & Parties Conference University of Exeter 2025

4th - 6th September Streatham Campus



Welcome

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 and Xfi 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 Reed 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."





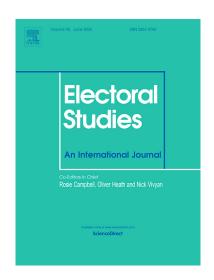
EPOP 2025 schedule

Thursday 4th September				
12.30pm	1-2.30pm	3-4.30pm		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		9	Panel session 4
11.30am -1pm	Panel session 2		Panel session 5	
1-2pm	Lunch Women in the discipline meetup		E	Lunch POP AGM
2-3.30pm	Plenary session 1 EPOP's The Long View: Social Justice			ary session 2 nents in Methods
4-5.30pm	Panel session 3		Pan	el session 6
6.30pm	Reception at the City Gate Hotel		Recepti	on at Reed Hall

With thanks to our sponsors













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

Overview of EPOP 2025

Thursday 12noon - Saturday 12.30pm: Registration open in Xfi, follow signs for EPOP 2025

Thursday 12noon - 1pm: Lunch, Xfi

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, Xfi 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 12noon - 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, Xfi 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, Dr Patrick English (YouGov) and Laura Hood (The Conversation) to discuss methodological developments such as AI and LLMs, the challenges in opinion polling, the growing reluctance of certain demographics' participation in research, and how we communicate our methods to the public. 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 and reception, Reed Hall

Join us at the University of Exeter's Reed Hall for a drinks reception, meal and the announcement of this year's EPOP prize winners. You'll also hear from Marie Le Conte, our after dinner speaker.



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

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-Driver

Panel 1.2 - 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 Höller

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



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

Panel 1.3 – Campaigns and Voting

Location: Constantine Leventis Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Raluca Popp

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

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

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



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

Panel 2.2 – Populism, Authoritarianism and the Radical Right

Location: Pearson Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Jess Smith

Navigating uncertainty: The impact of moving on populist attitudes

María Ruiz Hernández

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

Positions on European integration and affective polarization in the European Union

William Oliver

Panel 2.3 – Exogenous Shocks, Context and Elections

Location: Constantine Leventis Seminar Room, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Travis Coan

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

Ebrahim Rezaei Rad

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

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

followed by

Welcome reception 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: Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One

Chair: Silke Goubin

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: Al and LLMs

Location: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One

Chair: Stephen Fisher

New Tech, New Threat? Explaining Demand for Al 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 session 1: Friday 9.30-11am

Panel 1.3: Support for Democracy

Location: Constantine Leventis, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Elizabeth Simon

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

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

Intergenerational gender differences in electoral psychology: How attitudes towards elections and voting motivate political behaviour Laura Serra, Michael Bruter, Sarah Harrison, Sandra Obradovic

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

Damjan Tomin

Panel 1.4: Social and traditional media Location: Kolade, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Laszlo Horvath

Social Media Interactions and the Moralization of Politics 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 session 1: Friday 9.30-11am

Panel 1.5: Measuring class and ideology Location: Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Ralph Scott

Dimensional issue salience and left-right self-placement. Joelle Tasker

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

Interpretation in Inductive Quantitative Research. Lucy Barnes

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: Oliver Heath

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: Lotte Hargrave

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 Fernández-Roldán & Klara Müller

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: Stuart Fox

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

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 and elite behaviour Location: Kolade, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Lawrence McKay

Does independent regulation of MP's pay and expenses improve political trust? Evidence from a survey experiment.

Helen Bramah

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

The Politics Within: How Factions Lobby Their Own Parties.

Rozemarijn van Dijk; Ann-Kristin Kölln

Panel session 2: Friday 11.30am-1pm

Panel 2.5: Turnout and voting motives

Location: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One

Chair: Lucy Barnes

Compulsory voting and the congruence of the vote: Evidence from a

quasi-experiment.

Dieter Stiers

Does local news coverage impact local election turnout? Evidence from Britain 2020-2024.

Travis Coan, Tristan 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: Raluca Popp

The hidden societal resilience against gender backlash. Monika Kovacs, Boglarka Adorjan, Florian Stoeckel

Making the First Vote Count – A Field Experiment to Boost Youth Electoral Engagement.

Laura Serra, Michael Bruter, Sarah Harrison, Sandra Obradovic

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

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

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: Nick Vivyan

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.

Ceri Fowler, Anna Sanders, Rosalind Shorrocks 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: Rosie Campbell

The Psychology of Political Activism: Do personality traits drive party members' election campaign activity?

Paul Webb, Tim Bale and Stavroula Chrona

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

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

Ceri Fowler

Panel session 3: Friday 4pm-5.30pm

Panel 3.3: Minoritised communities

Location: Syndicate Room B, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Maria Sobolewska

Redistributive Policy Preferences in the Face of Inequality: Unconnected,

Uninformed or Undeserving?

Silke Goubin

Balancing Identity and Policy in Post Conflict Representation.
Raluca Popp, Edward Morgan-Jones, Laura Sudulich, Neophytos Loizides

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

Panel 3.4: The economy and economic voting

Location: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One

Chair: Paula Surridge

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?

Chloé De Grauwe

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

Panel session 3: Friday 4pm-5.30pm

Panel 3.5: Age

Location: Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Peter John

Intergenerational Differences in the Gender Gap in Political Engagement Across Forms of Participation. Maria Grasso, Marco Giugni

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 3.6: Scottish Election Study user consultation Location: Syndicate Room C, Level 2 of Building:One

Developing the next round of the SES Ailsa Henderson

followed by

Reception, dinner and quiz 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: Rob Ford

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

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: Chris Hanretty

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: Ceri Fowler

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, Elizabeth Simon

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: Nicole Martin

Gendered Supply and Demand in the Reform UK vote.

Louise Luxton and Rosalind Shorrocks

Why have Nigel Farage's parties done so well in Wales but so badly in Scotland?.

James Breckwoldt

Do theories of spatial far-right voting apply in Eastern Europe? A Bayesian analysis

of the Lithuanian case.

Domantas Undzenas

Panel session 4: Saturday 9.30-11am

Panel 4.5: EU support

Location: Syndicate Room B, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Heinz Brandenburg

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: Patrick English

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

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: Climate politics and protest Location: Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Travis Coan

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 5.2: Electoral systems, party systems and fragmentation

Location: Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One

Chair: Christopher Prosser

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 session 5: Saturday 11.30am-1pm

Panel 5.3: Issues, policy and public opinion Location: Kolade, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Ekaterina Kolpinskaya

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

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

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

Panel 5.4: Participation

Location: Constantine Leventis Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Will Jennings

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

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

Investigating Turnout in the 2024 UK General Election.
Stuart Perrett, James Griffiths, Edward Fieldhouse, Jane Green, Christopher Prosser

Panel session 5: Saturday 11.30am-1pm

Panel 5.5: Polarisation

Location: Bateman LT, Level 1 of Building:One

Chair: Tim Bale

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

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

Lunch: Friday 1-2pm and EPOP AGM

followed by

Challenges and developments in methods for the study of EPOP Saturday 2-3.30pm



Panel session 6: Saturday 4pm-5.30pm

Panel 6.1: Religion and voting

Location: Syndicate Room C, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Charles Pattie

Religious cross-pressures and electoral decision-making.

Yara Sleiman

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

Panel 6.2: Parliaments and speeches

Location: Contantine Leventis, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Jess Smith

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: Deiter Stiers

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 session 6: Saturday 4pm-5.30pm

Panel 6.4: Vote choice and vote seeking Location: Matrix LT, Level 1 of Building:One

Chair: Jack Bailey

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

How Snap Election Calls Shape Vote Intention Uncertainty: A Cross-Country Comparison.

Klara Müller, Alejandro Fernández-Roldán

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

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

Gabriela Aguirre

Panel 6.5: Regions and sub-national politics

Location: Pearson, Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Michael Woods

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

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

Valeriia Hulkovych

Panel session 6: Saturday 4pm-5.30pm

Panel 6.6: Populism, the radical right and countering narratives

Location: Kolade Level 2 of Building:One

Chair: Florian Foos

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

Repro-masculinity: Far-right populism, Democratic Desires and Authoritarian Control

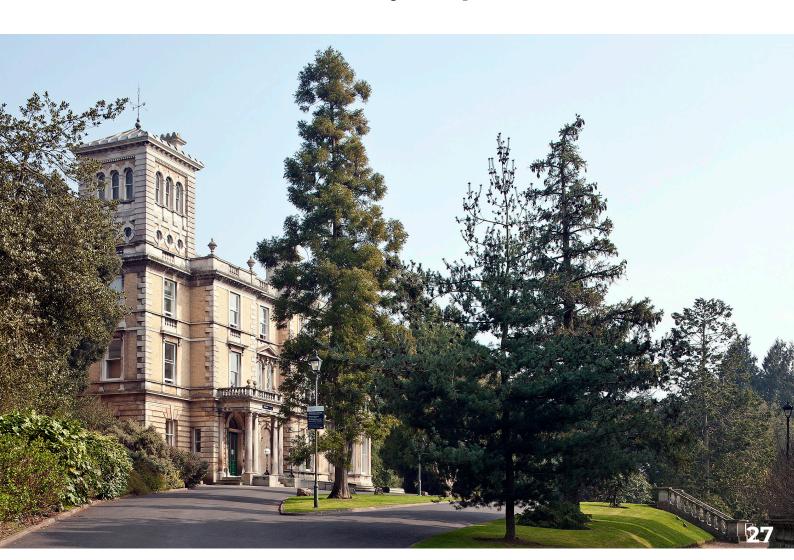
Nishtha Gosewade

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

followed by Reception and dinner at Reed Hall Saturday 6.30pm



Panel Session 1: Friday 9.30am - 11am			
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors	
1.1 – Voting age and voter ID Matrix LT	Silke Goubin	Thomas Loughran, IFF Research (MHCLG), Christopher Prosser, Timothy Vercellotti, Stuart Fox	
1.2 – Al and LLMs Bateman LT	Stephen Fisher	Jane Green, Kristi Winters, Z Greene, Florian Stoeckel, Elena Pro	
1.3 – Support for democracy Constantine Leventis	Elizabeth Simon	James Griffiths, Isolde Hegemann, Laura Serra, Damjan Tomin	
1.4 – Social and traditional media Kolade	Laszlo Horvath	Andrés Bernstein, Kaitlin Senk, Tom Barton, Kostas Gemenis, Heinz Brandenburg	
1.5 – Measuring class and ideology Pearson	Ralph Scott	Joelle Tasker, Paula Surridge, Lucy Barnes, Fraser McMillan	

Panel Session 2: Friday 11.30am - 1pm			
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors	
2.1 – Attitudes to (im)migration Pearson	Oliver Heath	Pavlos Vasilopoulos, Domntas Undzenas, Tiphaine Le Corre, Rob Johns	
2.2 – Polling Matrix LT	Lotte Hargrave	James Ackland, Alejandro Fernandez-Roldan, Ralph Scott, Stuart Perrett, Stephen Fisher	
2.3 – Representation Syndicate Room B	Stuart Fox	Marta Antonetti, Kaat Smets, Lisa Keenan, Jessica C Smith	
2.4 – Trust Kolade	Lawrence McKay	Helen Bramah, Edmund Kelly, Melanie Kennedy-Diver, Rozemarjin van Dijk	
2.5 – Turnout and voting motives Bateman LT	Lucy Barnes	Deiter Stiers, Travis Coan, Marc Hooghe	
2.6 – Public attitudes and emotions Constantine Leventis	Raluca Popp	Florian Stoeckel, Thom Oliver, Laura Serra, Luca Bernardi, Anthony Kevins	

Friday 1-2pm: Women in the discipline meet-up, Xfi Conference Rooms 1-2

Plenary Session 1: Friday 2pm - 3.30pm

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

Chair: Hannah Bunting

Contributors:

<u>Professor Thomas Prosser</u> is a political economist at 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,	Nick Vivyan	Marta Antonetti, Lennard Metson, Rosalind Shorrocks, Alia Middleton, Florian Foos	
3.2 – Social and biological politics Matrix LT	Rosie Campbell	Darren Schreiber, Elizabeth Simon, Tim Bale, Ceri Fowler	
3.3– Minoritised communities Kolade	Maria Sobolewska	Silke Goubin, Damjan Tomic, Neema Begum, Raluca Popp	
3.4 – The economy and economic voting Bateman LT	Paula Surridge	Lucy Barnes, Christoper Wlezien, Jane Green, Chloe De Grauwe, Thomas Prosser	
3.5 – Age Pearson	Peter John	Maria Grasso, Joseph B. Phillips, Maria Ruiz Hernandez	
3.6 – Scottish Election Study user consultation Syndicate Room C	Ailsa Henderson	Ailsa Henderson	

Friday 6.30pm: Reception, informal dinner and quiz, The City Gate Hotel

Panel Session 4: Saturday 9.30am - 11am			
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors	
4.1 – Neighbourhoods and rural-urban divides Constantine Leventis	Rob Ford	Conor Judge, Lawrence McKay, George Melios, Michael Woods	
4.2 – Historical legacies in voter behaviour Bateman LT	Chris Hanretty	Oliver Heath, Leon Gawenda, Bright Chimedza, John Kenny	
4.3 – Socialisation and early political development Kolade	Ceri Fowler	Stuart Fox, Benedetta Giocoli, Justin Robinson, Ralph Scott, Kaat Smets	
4.4 – Populism Pearson	Nicole Martin	Rosalind Shorrocks, James Breckwoldt, Domantas Undzenas	
4.5 – EU support Syndicate Room B	Heinz Brandenburg	Will Oliver, Roland Kappe, Marta Miori	
4.6 – Methods and measurement Matrix LT	Patrick English	Cees van der Eijk, Lotte Hargrave, Florian Stoeckel, Paolo Morini	

Panel Session 5: Saturday 11.30am - 1pm			
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors	
5.1 – Climate politics and protest Pearson	Travis Coan	Nick Vivyan, Sienna Everett, Joseph B Phillips, Lawrence McKay	
5.2 – Electoral systems, party systems and fragmentation Matrix LT	Christopher Prosser	Jack Bailey, Chris Hanretty, Heinz Brandenburg, Gabriela Aguirre, Nicole Martin	
5.3 – Issues, policy and public opinion Kolade	Ekaterina Kolpinskaya	Anthony Kevins, Jason Reifler, Andreas Kapounek, Konstantin Bogatyrev	
5.4 – Participation Constantine Leventis	Will Jennings	Laszlo Horvath, George Melios, Stuart Perrett	
5.5 – Polarisation Bateman LT	Tim Bale	Nick Stevenson, Alex Hartland, Eoin O'Malley	

Saturday 1-2pm: EPOP AGM, Henderson Lecture Theatre

Plenary Session 2: Saturday 2pm - 3.30pm

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

Chair: Hannah Bunting

Contributors:

<u>Lord Mark Pack</u> is the President of the Liberal Democrats, Member of the House of Lords and author of several books such as *Polling Unpacked: The History, Uses and Abuses of Political Opinion Polls*. He runs two newsletters, including *The Week in Polls* and is host of the *Never Mind the Bar Charts* podcast.

<u>Dr Patrick English</u> is Director of Political Analytics and YouGov's spokesman on political research. He designed and delivered YouGov's industry-leading MRP models and election polling programmes across the last two years including in Spain, Germany, Australia, Canada, and the UK. As well as working on elections, Patrick and leads on research and development on experimental survey designs, data analytics, AI, segmentation models, and MRP products for YouGov's political and public work.

<u>Laura Hood</u> is Senior Politics Editor and Assistant Editor at The Conversation UK. She regularly writes and commissions articles that communicate the latest research and promote evidence-based journalism. She recently hosted the five-part podcast series *Know your place: what happened to class in British politics?*, supported by the National Centre for Social Research.

Panel Session 6: Saturday 4pm - 5.30pm			
Panel and location	Chair	Presenting authors	
6.1 – Religion and voting Syndicate Room C	Charles Pattie	Yara Sleiman, Ekaterina Kolpinskaya, Daniel Schulte, Liz Ralph-Morrow	
6.2 – Parliaments and speeches Constantine Leventis,	Jess Smith	Chen Zeng, Maarja Luhiste, John Bartle, James Breckwoldt	
6.3 – Violence and mental health Bateman LT	Deiter Steirs	Philipp Chapkovski, Luca Bernardi, Rob Johns, Lisa Keenan	
6.4 – Vote choice Matrix LT	Jack Bailey	Amber Voets, Ceri Fowler, Klara Müller, Ann-Kristin Kölln, Gabriela Aguirre	
6.5 – Regions and sub-national politics Pearson	Michael Woods	Calum M Paterson, Stefan Höller, Steven De Keyser, Valeria Hulkovych	
6.6 – Populism, the radical right and countering narratives Kolade	Florian Foos	Stephanie Luke, Nishtha Gosewade, Marta Antonetti, Florian Stoeckel	



Organised by
Dr Hannah Bunting,
Hannah Grant, Chloe
Hrvcvszvn & Ellie Carter

Thank you for attending Elections, Public Opinion & Parties Conference University of Exeter 2025

4th - 6th September Streatham Campus

