

Location: • IE University - IE Tower

Friday, October 24, 2025

OPENING REMARKS - The One that Starts the MESS (Room: T-15.02, Time: 9:30 - 9:45)

Panel 1A - The One About Electoral Accountability (Room: T-14.03, Time: 10:00 - 11:30)

Discussants: Michael Becher & Guillermo Toral

- Does Democracy Die in Darkness? Electricity Outages & Electoral Accountability.
 Morgan Wack
- When do voters accept democratic backsliding?

A conjoint analysis of distinct types of backsliding on diverse dimensions of democracy.

Piotr Zagórski, Jan Rovny, Ben Stanley, & Marta Vukovic

- Unpacking Accountability in Multi-layered Organizations.
 - Carlos Sanz, Ricardo Alonso, Monica Martinez-Bravo, Gerard Padró i Miquel, & Silvia Vannutell
- Strategic Responses of Voters, Candidates, and Parties after the UK Parliamentary Expenses Scandal.

 Nicolas Motz, Philipp Denter, Luis Martínez, & Carlos Sanz

Panel 1B - The One About Gender and the Radical Right (Room: T-15.02, Time: 10:00 - 11:30)

Discussants: Mariana C. Duarte & Irene Pañeda-Fernández

- The Gendered Consequences of Fear: Exploring the Links Between Insecurity and Sexism.

 María Alonso Hervada
- Who Breaks the Stigma? How Higher-Income Voters Drive the Normalization of the Radical-Right.

 *Tarek Jaziri-Arjona**
- The Meloni Effect: Female Far-Right Leaders and Gender Norms.

Vicente Valentim, Francesca Bramucci, & Tarek Jaziri Arjona

Panel 1C - The One About Voting Behavior and Cleavages (Room: T-17.01, Time: 10:00 - 11:30)

Discussants: Jorge M. Fernandes & Francisco Villamil

Equality and the vote.

Mafalda Pratas & Pedro Magalhães

• Airbnb and voting: the political economy of tourism.

Fernando Martin

• New parties and electoral viability: evidence from two repeat elections.

Carlos Victoria-Lanzón

• The electoral consequences of factory farming.

Álvaro Sánchez-García & Javier Martínez-Cantó

COFFEE BREAK: The One That Wakes You Up (Room: T-HUB 22, Time: 11:45 - 12:15)





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Panel 2A - The One About Repression, Migration, and Gender (Room: T-14.03, Time: 12:15 - 13:45)

Discussants: Amalia Alvarez & Klaudia Wegschaider

• Immigration checks, perceptions of discrimination and political trust.

Paolo Velásquez & Mariña Fernández-Reino

• Gender-based violence and female migration in Africa.

Irene Pañeda-Fernández

• When girls are taken: How gendered abductions shape attitudes toward gender equality and women's political participation in Nigeria.

Pilar Sanchez Bellosta

• Safe City, Silent Opposition: How Digital Surveillance Transforms Protests and Repression in Russia.

Héctor Martínez Pérez

Panel 2B - The One About Surveys and Measurement (Room: T-15.02, Time: 12:15 - 13:45)

Discussants: Patrick Kraft & D.J. Flynn

• Measuring emotions in open-ended survey responses: A comparative validation approach.

D.J. Flynn & Nina Wiesehomeier

• Measuring Income in the World Values Survey: Rank-based Imputation using Income Distributions.

Marco Pastor Mayo

Bridging Structure and Perception: How Subjective Well-Being Mediates Trust in Institutions.

Iñigo Ruiz Hilera

Optimism about human pro-sociality correlates with higher confidence in free markets.

Raúl Lopez & Diego Santamaría

Panel 2C - The One About the European Union (Room: T-17.01, Time: 12:15 - 13:45)

Discussants: Nikitas Konstantinidis & Piotr Zagórski

• Strategic Europeanisation:

Political Party Discourse and EU Politicisation in European Parliament Elections.

Aleksandra Sojka

• The Sources of Public Support for European Courts:

ECs as Last Resort for the Losers of Domestic Systems?

Juan A. Mayoral, Marco Pastor, & Mikael Rask Madsen

Foreign Tourism into EU-27 Regions and Local Residents' Views of the EU.

Juan J. Fernández

The Dublin Game: A theoretical model of EU asylum policy.

Marco Serena & Martin Hagen

LUNCH BREAK: The One to Meet and Mingle (Room: It's up to you! Check out the IE Cafeteria in -3. To get there, go to the ground floor and switch to the elevators on the other side of the reception, Time: 13:45 - 15:15)





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Panel 3A - The One About Political Economy and Elections (Room: T-14.03, Time: 15:15 - 16:45)

Discussants: Dan Kselman & Nicolas Motz

• Electoral Rules, National identity, and Political Responses to Trade Wars.

Irene Menéndez González & Michael Becher

The Political Economy of Place-Based Industrial Policy in Africa.

Zoe Ge & Michael O. Allen

Ballot Order Effects in Closed-List PR Systems.

Luis Azores & Pedro Riera

Panel 3B - The One About Rebellion and Insurgency (Room: T-15.02, Time: 15:15 - 16:45)

Discussants: Siyun Jiang & Alejandro López Peceño

Selection into Revolution and Terrorism: Drivers of Radicalization in the Russian Empire.

Julia Zimmermann, Gerda Asmus, Andrei Markevich, & Marvin Suesse

• How State Capacity Prolongs Civil Wars: Rebel Resilience, Selection Effects, and Conflict Duration Evidence from a Multi-Method Research Design.

Ulaş Erdoğdu

• Migrant Remittances and the Violent Contours of Elections: Electoral Violence in Fragile Regimes.

Abdelkarim Laglil Herradi

Panel 3C - The One About Gender and Political Preferences (Room: T-17.01, Time: 15:15 - 16:45)

Discussants: Mafalda Pratas & Oleksandra Cheipesh

• The 'Superwoman Effect' of Female Representation in Animated Series on Gender Roles and Educational Achievements.

Oleksandra Cheipesh & Warn N. Lekfuangfu

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

• Unequal benefits from shared resources:

Examining the gender gap in internal political efficacy within the family context.

Lidia Núñez Alañón







Location: • IE University - IE Tower

Panel 4A - The One About Inequality and Redistribution (Room: T-14.03, Time: 17:00 - 18:30)

Discussants: Luis Miller & Marco Pastor Mayo

• How Sports Nationalism Can Impact Attitudes Toward Economic Redistribution.

Nikitas Konstantinidis, Andrew Bertoli, Zuheir Desai, Laura Jakli, Varun Karekurve-Ramachandra, Emmy Lindstam, & Francisco Villamil

- Redistributing Trust: Zero-Sum Thinking and the Political Consequences of Redistribution Reforms. Tommaso Camilot
- Unfair and contestable? What unions do to beliefs about inequality in Europe and the United States. Michael Becher & Jonas Pontusson

Panel 4B - The One About Race, Ethnicity, and the Nation (Room: T-15.02, Time: 17:00 - 18:30)

Discussants: Zoe Ge & Paola Galano

- Pride and Prejudice: Impact of National Days on Patriotism and Attitudes Toward Immigrants. Laurence Go & Nicolas Fliess
- Conflict and nation: The colonial origins of ethnic exclusion and discrimination in Latin America. Paola Galano, Luis Schenoni, & Raul L. Madrid
- Classifying the Nation: Race, Ethnicity, and Post-Independent Statecraft in Zambia and Zimbabwe.
- Identity and Economy: A Settled Debate? The Drivers of Individuals' Territorial Preferences. Jair Alva-Mendoza

Panel 4C - The One About Education (Room: T-17.01, Time: 17:00 - 18:30)

Discussants: Sergio Galaz & Juan J. Fernández

• The Impact of Raising the Minimum Legal Drinking Age on Academic Achievement and Risky Behaviour: A Difference-in-Discontinuities Approach.

Warn N Lekfuangfu, Julio Cáceres-Delpiano, & Luis Alonso-Armesto

- The Paradox of Openness: Educational Selectivity and the Reproduction of Social Inequality. Dulce Manzano & Héctor Cebolla-Boado
- Unequal dropouts for unequal backgrounds: a full-cohort analysis at Spanish universities. María Fernández Mellizo-Soto & Siro Bayón Calvo

COCKTAIL: The One You Have Been Waiting For (Room: T-HUB 22, Time: 19:00 - 20:30)

• After the cocktail, we are planning to walk to • Mercado de San Leopoldo to grab another drink and/or perhaps a bite to eat. Come join us!







Location: ♥ IE University - IE Tower

Saturday, October 25, 2025

Panel 5A - The One About Discrimination in (Labor) Markets (Room: T-22.01, Time: 9:00 - 10:30)

Discussants: Miguel Alquézar Yus & Felipe Torres-Raposo

• The Role of Physical Attractiveness and Phenotype in Hiring Processes:

Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment with Spanish Recruiters.

Toni Gamundí & Javier Polavieja

Boundary-Making Processes in Multilingual Societies:

A Study of Hiring Discrimination in Multilingual Regions of Spain.

Mariña Fernández Reino & Álvaro Suárez Vergne

• Is it Culture or Color? The Adopted Children Correspondence Study on Racial Discrimination.

Javier Polavieja

Rental Housing Discrimination against Chinese Minorities in Spain:

A New Instant Messaging Correspondence Test.

Javier San Millán Tejedor, Javier García de Polavieja Perera, & Antonio Gamundi López

Panel 5B - The One About Polarization (Room: T-22.02, Time: 9:00 - 10:30)

Discussants: Simon Chauchard & Javier Lorenzo

• Outgroup hostility across six social identity contexts.

Luis Miller, Isabel Rodríguez, & Tom Lane

• The Effect of Political Polarization on Accountability.

José Miguel Rojo-Martínez

• The Rural-Urban Divide in Contemporary Europe: New Evidence from the 21st Century.

Alberto de León & Álvaro Sánchez-García

• Vote green or see red? The Political Consequences of Traffic Restrictions: Causal Evidence from Madrid.

Álvaro San Román del Pozuelo & Álvaro Sánchez-García

Panel 5C - The One About Direct Democracy and Participation (Room: T-23.02, Time: 9:00 - 10:30)

Discussants: Aleksandra Sojka & Roeland Endtz

• The Effects of Participatory Democracy on Political Attitudes: Causal Evidence from Citizens' Assemblies.

Mariana C. Duarte, Jorge M. Fernandes, & Miguel M. Pereira

• Deliberation or Cognitive Bias:

Understanding the Mechanism behind Simultaneous Referendum Proposals.

Klaudia Wegschaider

• More work, less politics: The impact of working time increase on political interest.

Raúl Villegas Santana

COFFEE BREAK: The One You'll Really Need (Room: T-HUB 22, Time: 10:30 - 11:00)





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Panel 6A - The One About Social Media (Room: T-22.01, Time: 11:00 - 12:30)

Discussants: Fernando Mello & Morgan Wack

• From Attention to Avoidance: The Temporal Effects of Negative News.

Lucia Cores Sarria, Rasmus Schmøkel, Kim Andersen, & Morten Skovsgaard

- How Do Anti-Misinformation Laws Affect Electoral Campaigns? A Field Experiment with Brazil's Mayors.
 Fernando Mello, Paul Atwell, & Simon Chauchard
- Are European Political Parties Contributing to the Formation of the European Public Sphere during the EPE 2024?

Javier Lorenzo & Alberto de León Concepción

• Political polarization and public opinion in the 2019 Bolivian and 2022 Brazilian elections.

Mario A. Vega Yañez

Panel 6B - The One Where You Get Audited (Room: T-22.02, Time: 11:00 - 12:30)

Discussants: Juan A. Mayoral & Marco Serena

- Institutionalization and Selective Repression: Evidence from Francoist Courts after the Spanish Civil War.

 Siyun Jiang
- Do government audits curb bureaucrats' rent extraction?

Felipe Torres-Raposo & Luis Soto

• How Auditors Develop Knowledge: Client Production Complementarity and Its Impact on Audit Quality. Liwei Zhu, Ting Dong, & Zeping Pan

Panel 6C - The One About Historical Political Economy (Room: T-23.02, Time: 11:00 - 12:30)

Discussants: Pau Vall-Prat & Julia Zimmermann

Mayors as Autocratic Pawns.

Pau Vall-Prat, Albert Falcó Gimeno, and Jaume Magre-Pont

• How Autocratic Regimes Shape Education Systems: Evidence from Francoist Spain.

Cristian Navarro & Ricard Grebol

• When Indoctrination Backfires:

Public Education Expansion and Contentious Politics in 19th-Century France.

Alejandro López Peceño

• Bishops and Ballots: How the Catholic Church Protected Its Privileges in Post-Franco Spain.

Miguel Alquézar Yus, Guadalupe Tuñón, & Viivi Jarvi

KEYNOTE: The One You Don't Want to Miss (Room: T-20.01 + T-20.03, Time: 12:45 - 13:45)

• Guest speaker:

Stuart J. Turnbull-Dugarte (University of Southampton)





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Sign Up for Venue Access

- The IE Tower is only accessible for registered visitors. Whether you are a presenter, discussant, or regular attendee, you should sign up in advance by filling out this form by October 15 in order to ensure smooth access to the tower on the day of the conference. Please **bring an ID** to show at the front desk.
- The sign-up form collects additional (optional) information to facilitate communication at the venue. If you provide your phone number, we are going to add you to a WhatsApp group for the conference that we are going to use to disseminate information and/or answer urgent requests (e.g., regarding check-in).
- Make sure to arrive at the towers at least 20 minutes prior to your panel in order to be able to go through the check in procedure in time.

Information for Paper Presenters

- Please send your paper by October 15 to madridempirical social sciences@gmail.com, so we can share it with your discussants prior to the conference.
- Your presentation should be no longer than 15 minutes in panels with four papers and 20 minutes in panels with three papers to provide enough time for feedback and discussion.

Information for Discussants

- We have assigned two discussants per panel. Discussants may coordinate internally how they want to split up the papers.
- Your comments should be no longer than 5 minutes per paper to provide enough time for a Q&A session with the audience.

The MESS Scientific Committee

Amuitz Garmendia (UC3M) Emmy Lindstam (IE University) Amalia Alvarez-Benjumea (CSIC) Jorge Fernandes (CSIC) Patrick Kraft (CSIC) Sergio Galaz-Garcia (CUNEF)

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