

MESS
Madrid Empirical
Social Sciences

2025 Conference Program

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

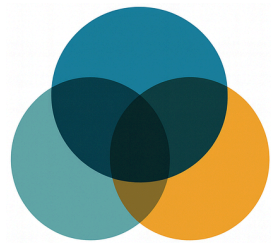
- **The Gendered Consequences of Fear: Exploring the Links Between Insecurity and Sexism.**
María Alonso Hervada
- **Who Breaks the Stigma? How Higher-Income Voters Drive the Normalization of the Radical-Right.**
Tarek Jaziri-Arjona
- **The Meloni Effect: Female Far-Right Leaders and Gender Norms.**
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

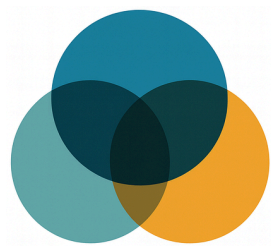
- **Measuring emotions in open-ended survey responses: A comparative validation approach.**
D.J. Flynn & Nina Wiesehomeier
- **Measuring Income in the World Values Survey: Rank-based Imputation using Income Distributions.**
Marco Pastor Mayo
- **Bridging Structure and Perception: How Subjective Well-Being 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: Marco Pastor & 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 Erdoğan
- **Migrant Remittances and the Violent Contours of Elections: Electoral Violence in Fragile Regimes.**
Abdelkarim Laghil 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



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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.**
Yao Lu
- **Identity and Economy: A Settled Debate? The Drivers of Individuals' Territorial Preferences.**
Jair Alva-Mendoza

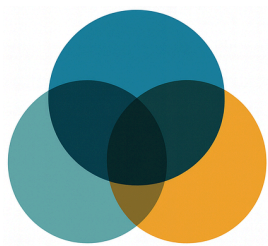
Panel 4C - The One About Education (Room: T-17.01, Time: 17:00 - 18:30)

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!**



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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 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: 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 madridempiricalsocialsciences@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

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Patrick Kraft (CSIC)
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