

**KONSTANZÜRICH
WORKSHOP**

**Public Opinion, Political Behavior, Survey Design, and Polling
April 11th, 2018, Konstanz**



Joint project of the Departments of Political Science of Konstanz and Zurich.

Program

Panel 1: 14.00-15.30, Room Y311

No country for asylum seekers? How short-term exposure to refugees influences attitudes and voting behavior in Hungary

Theresa Gessler (University of Zürich), Gergő Tóth (University College Dublin), and Johannes Wachs (RWTH Aachen).

How does exposure to refugees influence political behavior? We present evidence from Hungary, a country with widespread anti-immigration attitudes, that short term exposure during the 2015 refugee crisis predicts anti-refugee voting and sentiment. We code exposure to refugees at the settlement level using news reports from state media, an independent online news site, and an online social media aggregator. Settlements through which refugees traveled showed significantly higher anti-refugee voting in a national referendum on resettlement in 2016. The effect, estimated between 1.7 and 3.6%, decreases sharply with distance from points of exposure. Using a difference-in-differences model, we find that the far-right opposition party Jobbik gained, while the governing right-wing Fidesz party lost votes in these settlements in subsequent parliamentary elections, suggesting incumbents are punished by voters in these settlements skeptical of immigration regardless of their policy position. Survey data supports this finding of a competition among right-wing parties, as individuals in exposed settlements are more fearful of immigrants and support more restrictive policies, though only if they identify as right-wing partisans.

Discussant: Peter Selb

Information and Migration - A Field Experiment

Sandra Morgenstern (University of Konstanz)

With the recent increase in irregular immigration European governments see themselves confronted with a new priority to act. One technique receiving new recognition is remote migration management in the form of information campaigns. Information campaigns on the topic of migration are implemented in places with high rates of irregular emigration but no legal claim for asylum in Europe. However, until now no rigorous evaluation exists and it is unknown whether and how these information campaigns work. To investigate this, I apply a micro level theoretical framework of the field of political psychology to the field of migration combining prospect theory with the cognitive dual-process approach. I conduct two field experiments, one in a university and the other in a school context in Nigeria. The former applies a pre-post treatment design and the latter a randomized treatment allocation where the treatment is split into two emotional messages. The results show an effect of migration information on migration intentions and that an anxiety type of emotional message fosters this relationship. However, the two field experiments reveal contradicting results regarding migration intentions in general and irregular migration intentions. Still, several analyses are missing and hopefully reveal further insights.

Discussant: Oliver Strijbis

Does the Partisan Ambivalence Construct Travel? Evidence from Switzerland and the U.K.

Marco Steenbergen (University of Zürich)

In *The Ambivalent Partisan*, I argued that, in the United States, partisanship comes in two flavours: ambivalent and univalent. But does this notion travel to multi-party systems? Partisan ambivalence exists when party evaluations conflict with partisan identities. The very concept of partisanship already creates considerable difficulties in multi-party systems, so inquiring about partisan ambivalence may be a bridge too far. We lack, however, empirical evidence on this matter. In this talk, I ask how one might think of partisan ambivalence in multi-party systems. I then offer a number of different operationalisations of the concept and ask to what extent we find effects similar to the USA. Using survey data from the U.K. and experimental evidence from Switzerland, I show that partisan ambivalence exists in those two countries and that the effects from the USA generalise to a considerable extent.

Discussant: Susumu Shikano

Coffee break 15.30-16.00 ☕

Panel 2: 16.00-17.30, Room Y311

So-so or I don't care? Exploring Attitudes towards the EU using Latent Class Analysis

Julian Schuessler and Pirmin Stoeckle (University of Konstanz)

Many researchers and commentators argue that a well-formed opinion towards the EU, perhaps even an European "identity", is either necessary for or a product of successful European integration. Recently, various scholars have proposed that such attitudes may be marked by ambivalence. However, while some steps have been taken in analyzing this phenomenon empirically, analyses

rely on ad-hoc classification of survey items. In this article, we take a more principled approach based on latent class analysis. Based on repeated cross-sectional survey data of attitudes towards the EU regime and policy, we explore whether the European public consists of a small number of distinct groups, and whether these can be mapped into conceptualizations that have emerged in the literature.

Discussant: Marco Steenbergen

Dynamic Responsiveness of Parties and Public Opinion's Issue Position in Direct Democracy

Maxime Walder (University of Zürich)

The link between mass and elites' position is a key to understand position shift over time. Several studies have shown that, to some extent, parties seem to be influenced by the position of the public opinion and the public opinion take cues from parties to position themselves. While evidence tends to show that both of these effects occur, it is not clear why, in some contexts, parties follow their electorate or influence them. This paper aims to contribute to this question with the case of direct democracy in Switzerland. This gives the opportunity to study the responsiveness between parties and public opinion's position on specific issues. The results indicate that, while both effects seem to occur in the direct democratic context, they vary considerably between parties and between issues.

Discussant: Michael Herrmann

Public Responsiveness and Responsibility for Supranational Fiscal Governance

Sebastian Koehler (University of Konstanz), Thomas König, and Xiao Lu (University of Mannheim)

Although governments vary in their fiscal records, most of the literature on fiscal governance applies a country-specific perspective. Distinguishing between weak and strong governments by their office-holding risk for non-compliance, we introduce a government-specific explanation not only for compliance but also for the Commission's decision to enforce compliance. We argue that the Commission as the central monitoring and enforcement agency needs to consider enforcement costs when it attempts to reduce its information deficit about the reasons for non-compliance by starting an Excessive Deficit Procedure, while the violating government knows those reasons and the public reaction on a compliance conflict. Because enforcement costs increase with a stronger public support for overspending and a weaker normative evaluation of fiscal responsibility in the violating country, we show that the Commission will only take action when the enforcement costs are lower than the reputations costs for non-enforcement. Accordingly, a lower reputation of the Commission will foster overspending of other governments, while their public, in particular in countries with higher normative concerns over supranational fiscal responsibility, are more likely to reduce their support for the Eurozone.

Discussant: Tarik Abou-Chadi

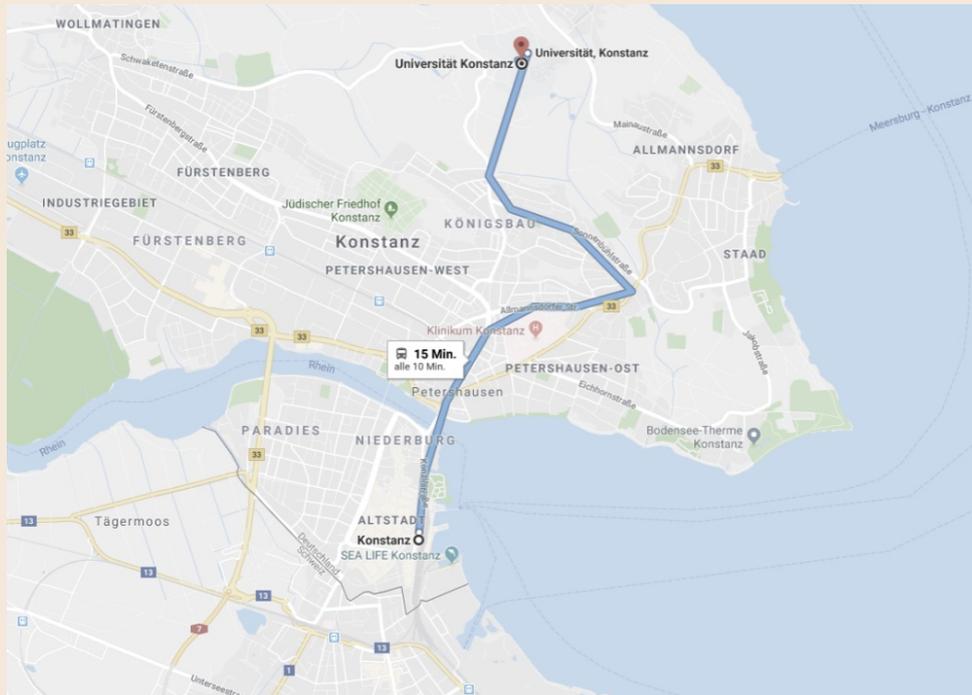
Drinks at the Constanzer Wirtshaus

Confirmed Attendees

- Tarik Abou-Chadi (Z)
- Johannes Besch (Z)
- Matthias Enggist (Z)
- Theresa Gessler (Z)
- Sascha Göbel (K)
- Benjamin Guinaudeau (K)
- Michael Herrmann (K)
- Theresa Küntzler (K)
- Lucas Leemann (Z)
- Hauke Licht (Z)
- Thomas Milic (Z)
- Sandra Morgenstern (K)
- Michael Pinggera (Z)
- Julian Schüssler (K)
- Peter Selb (K)
- Susumu Shikano (K)
- Marco Steenbergen (Z)
- Oliver Strijbis (Z)
- Maxime Walder (Z)
- Thomas Willi (Z)
- Delia Zollinger (Z)

Logistics

- The workshop will meet at the University of Konstanz in room Y311 – there is a direct connection from the train station to the university.



- Each contribution is allocated 30 min and we envision a presentation to last about 15min, a discussion of about 5min, and 10 minutes for open Q&A.
- After the second panel we will head to the Constanzer Wirtshaus to grab a drink. It is close to the train station (<https://www.constanzer-wirtshaus.de/>).
- Papers should be sent to the convenors by April 2nd. They will be made available here: <http://tinyurl.com/y3laxtoa>.
- Do not hesitate to contact us with any questions. Peter Selb (e-mail), Marco Steenberg (e-mail), Lucas Leemann (e-mail).