Housing Bubbles and Incumbent Support

Martin Vinæs Larsen Frederik Hjorth Peter Thisted Dinesen Kim Mannemar Sønderskov

> Departments of Political Science Aarhus University University of Copenhagen

CVAP Seminar On Political Behavior November 28th 2016

- 1. Local Housing Markets
- 2. The Danish Case
- 3. Precinct-level data
- 4. Individual-level data
- 5. Conclusion

2. The Danish Case

Local Housing Markets

•000

- Precinct-level data
- 4. Individual-level data
- Conclusion



Local Housing Markets

We saw this in the great recession, which was kick-started by a housing bubble.

Local Housing Markets

We saw this in the great recession, which was kick-started by a housing bubble.



Local Housing Markets

We saw this in the great recession, which was kick-started by a housing bubble.





Local Housing Markets

We saw this in the great recession, which was kick-started by a housing bubble.





Potential political effects?

We saw this in the great recession, which was kick-started by a housing bubble.





Potential political effects? \rightsquigarrow Local housing prices drive incumbent support.

Local Housing Markets

Local Housing Markets

Local Housing Markets

Motive might be geo-, ego- or sociotropic.

Local Housing Markets

→ type of rational retrospective voting

Motive might be geo-, ego- or sociotropic.

we are not going to be able to distinguish between different motives.

Motive might be geo-, ego- or sociotropic.

we are not going to be able to distinguish between different motives.

Important: We look at support for incumbent, not preferences for redistribution.

2. The Danish Case

- Precinct-level data
- 4. Individual-level data
- Conclusion

Our case is Denmark ca. 2002 - 2015.

1 In this period DK experienced very volatile housing bubble.

- 1 In this period DK experienced very volatile housing bubble.
- 2 The housing bubble was largely driven by policies instated by gov't in 2002/3.

- 1 In this period DK experienced very volatile housing bubble.
- 2 The housing bubble was largely driven by policies instated by gov't in 2002/3.
- 3 Detailed data from the national registers on local housing markets in this period.

- 1 In this period DK experienced very volatile housing bubble.
- 2 The housing bubble was largely driven by policies instated by gov't in 2002/3.
- 3 Detailed data from the national registers on local housing markets in this period.
- 4 We link the housing market data to voting behavior in two different ways.

- 1 In this period DK experienced very volatile housing bubble.
- 2 The housing bubble was largely driven by policies instated by gov't in 2002/3.
- 3 Detailed data from the national registers on local housing markets in this period.
- 4 We link the housing market data to voting behavior in two different ways.
 - Precinct-level election returns

- 1 In this period DK experienced very volatile housing bubble.
- 2 The housing bubble was largely driven by policies instated by gov't in 2002/3.
- 3 Detailed data from the national registers on local housing markets in this period.
- 4 We link the housing market data to voting behavior in two different ways.
 - Precinct-level election returns
 - Two-wave panel survey of reported voting

- 1. Local Housing Markets
- 3. Precinct-level data
- 4. Individual-level data
- 5. Conclusion

DV is support for gov't parties at precincts across elections in '05, '07, '11, '15. → smallest unit at which election outcomes are observed (3,000 voters on average)

Larsen et al.

DV is support for gov't parties at precincts across elections in '05, '07, '11, '15.

→ smallest unit at which election outcomes are observed (3,000 voters on average)

IV is year-over-year changes in the price of real-estate sold in the precinct's zip code.

→ Data from the Danish Mortgage Federation.

DV is support for gov't parties at precincts across elections in '05, '07, '11, '15. → smallest unit at which election outcomes are observed (3,000 voters on average)

IV is year-over-year changes in the price of real-estate sold in the precinct's zip code. → Data from the Danish Mortgage Federation.

We link precincts to zip-codes by identifying the zip code of the precinct's polling place. we also have information on unemployment and median income in each zip-code.

Larsen et al.

$$govt_{it} = \Delta price_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

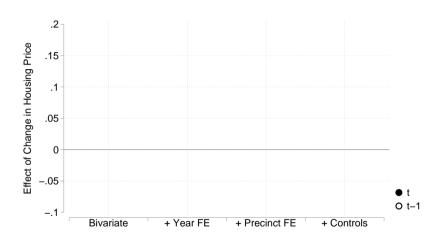
$$govt_{it} = \Delta price_{it} + \gamma_t + \epsilon_{it}$$

$$govt_{it} = \Delta price_{it} + \gamma_t + \pi_i + \epsilon_{it}$$

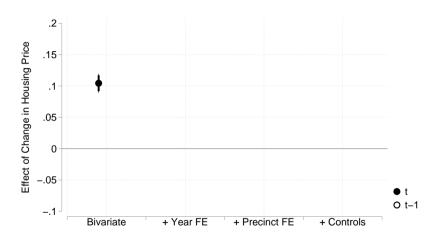
$$govt_{it} = \Delta price_{it} + \gamma_t + \pi_i + econ\beta + \epsilon_{it}$$

$$govt_{it} = \Delta price_{it} + \gamma_t + \pi_i + econ\beta + \epsilon_{it}$$

 $govt_{it-1} = \Delta price_{it} + \gamma_t + \pi_i + econ\beta + \epsilon_{it}$

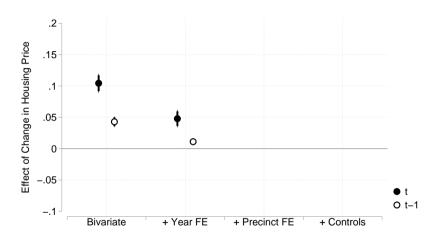


Larsen et al.

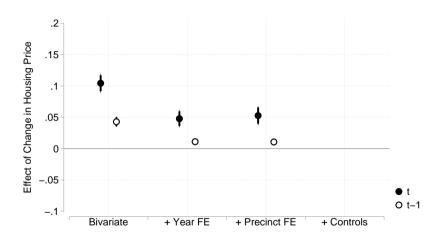


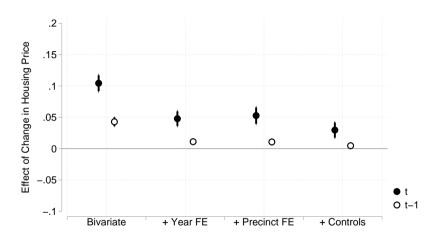
Larsen et al.





Larsen et al.





- 1. Local Housing Markets
- 2 The Danish Case
- Precinct-level data
- 4. Individual-level data
- 5. Conclusion

Use a two-wave panel survey of Danish citizens; interviewed in the aughts, '11.

Use a two-wave panel survey of Danish citizens; interviewed in the aughts, '11.

Use a two-wave panel survey of Danish citizens; interviewed in the aughts, '11. → Link these respondents to the national registers.

Why use this data as well?

Use a two-wave panel survey of Danish citizens; interviewed in the aughts, '11. → Link these respondents to the national registers.

Why use this data as well?

• Replication (/methodological triangulation).

Use a two-wave panel survey of Danish citizens; interviewed in the aughts, '11.

→ Link these respondents to the national registers.

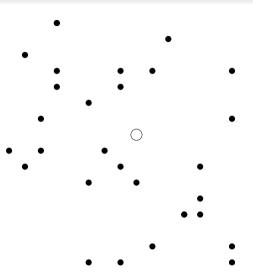
Why use this data as well?

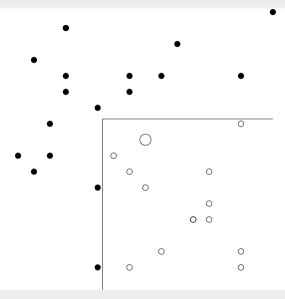
- Replication (/methodological triangulation).
- Explore individual level moderators to get at mechanism.

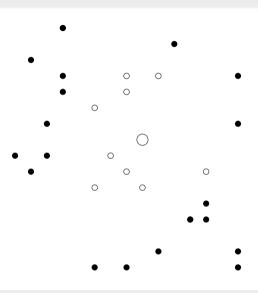
Use a two-wave panel survey of Danish citizens; interviewed in the aughts, '11.
→ Link these respondents to the national registers.

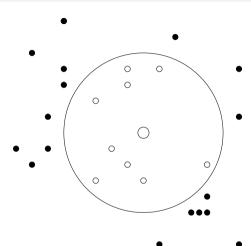
Why use this data as well?

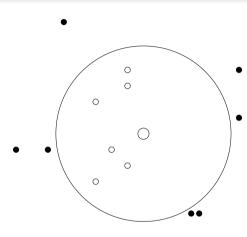
- Replication (/methodological triangulation).
- Explore individual level moderators to get at mechanism.
- Allows us to define context in flexible ways (cf. MAUP).

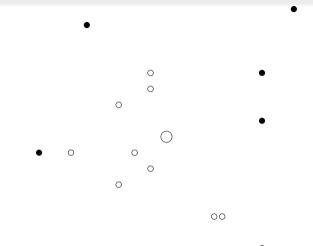












IV is changes in the price of real-estate sold in residential context (dif interpretations).

IV is changes in the price of real-estate sold in residential context (dif interpretations).

We use a linear regr with fixed effects to estimate the effect of local housing prices.

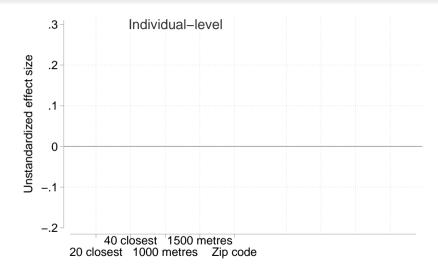
IV is changes in the price of real-estate sold in residential context (dif interpretations).

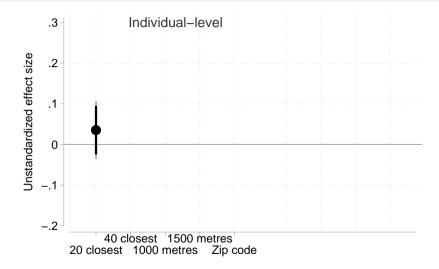
We use a linear regr with fixed effects to estimate the effect of local housing prices.

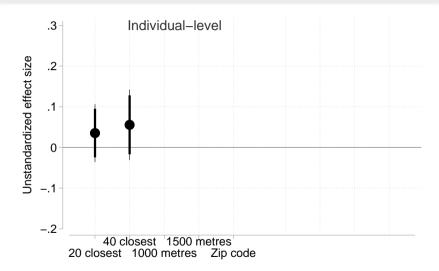
IV is changes in the price of real-estate sold in residential context (dif interpretations).

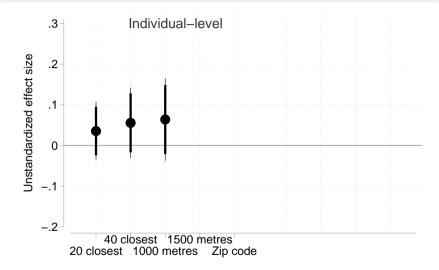
We use a linear regr with fixed effects to estimate the effect of local housing prices.

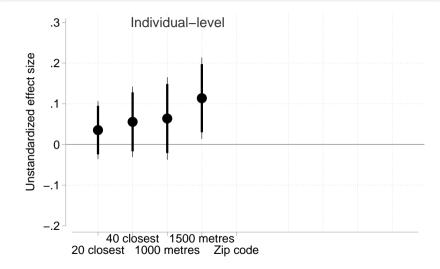
- → Controls: Unemployment, Income (personal, context)
- → Use an LPM as a link function.

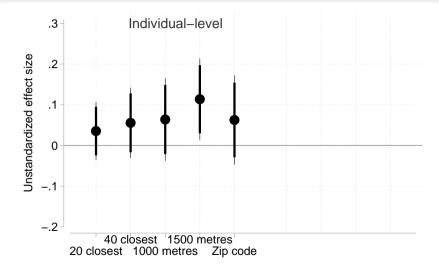


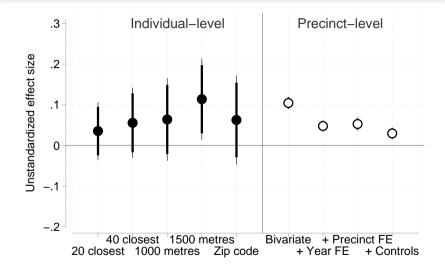


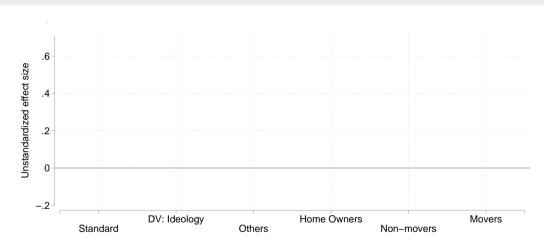


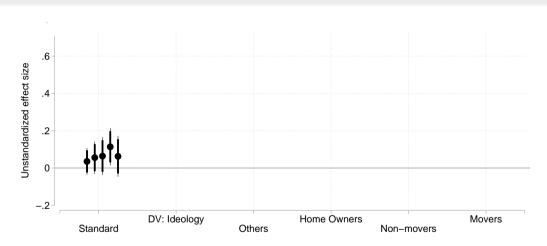


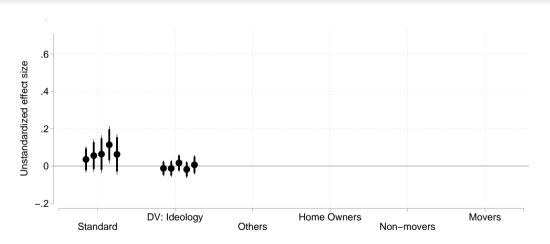


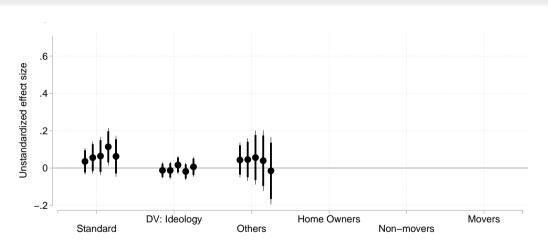


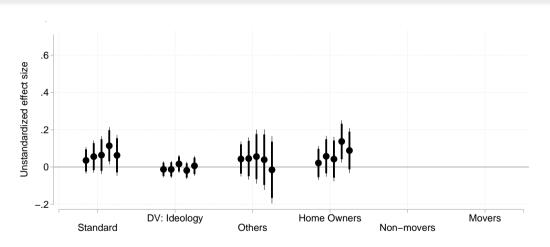


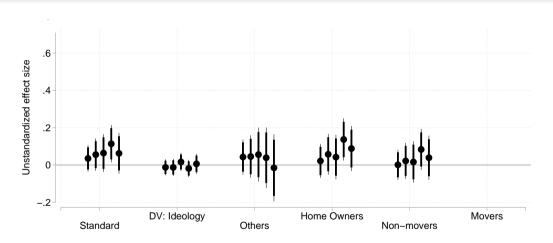


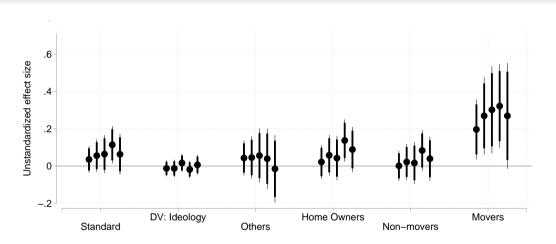












- 1. Local Housing Markets

- 4. Individual-level data
- 5. Conclusion

We find that local housing prices do drive incumbent support. → especially for those who engage with the local housing market. We find that local housing prices do drive incumbent support. → especially for those who engage with the local housing market.

Suggests that local economy matters.

→ especially for those who engage with the local housing market.

Suggests that local economy matters.

People make inferences about pol's based on how local community is doing.

→ especially for those who engage with the local housing market.

Suggests that local economy matters.

- People make inferences about pol's based on how local community is doing.
- Means that pol's need to worry about 'geography of grievances'.

→ especially for those who engage with the local housing market.

Suggests that local economy matters.

- People make inferences about pol's based on how local community is doing.
- Means that pol's need to worry about 'geography of grievances'.

→ especially for those who engage with the local housing market.

Suggests that local economy matters.

- People make inferences about pol's based on how local community is doing.
- Means that pol's need to worry about 'geography of grievances'.

Also suggests that, more broadly, housing markets matter politically.

 \rightsquigarrow voters adapt, focus on new parts of the economy.