Falling house prices hurt incumbents

Frederik G. Hjorth Martin Vinæs Larsen

Department of Political Science University of Copenhagen

CVAP seminar, May 2015

Key economic feature of post-industrial societies: mass home ownership.

- main form of capital ordinary people have.
- key part of one's control over one's immediate context.
- often the focus of political rhetoric.

Politicized homes?

Key economic feature of post-industrial societies: mass home ownership.

- main form of capital ordinary people have.
- key part of one's control over one's immediate context.
- often the focus of political rhetoric.

→ but: relatively little research on how home ownership shapes political behavior.

Ansell (2014): house price appreciation reduces preferences for social insurance (see also Di Tella, Galiani and Schargrodsky 2007; Lewis-Beck, Nadeau and Foucault 2013)

Ansell (2014): house price appreciation reduces preferences for social insurance (see also Di Tella, Galiani and Schargrodsky 2007; Lewis-Beck, Nadeau and Foucault 2013)

Here: house prices and incumbent government support

Ansell (2014): house price appreciation reduces preferences for social insurance (see also Di Tella, Galiani and Schargrodsky 2007; Lewis-Beck, Nadeau and Foucault 2013)

Here: house prices and incumbent government support

"personal grievance hypothesis": citizens blame (or credit) governments for personal grievances (favor) they experience; specifically, whether local house prices (appreciate) depreciate.

At odds with received wisdom on economic voting:

"The political consequences of economic conditions are not carried by personally experienced hardships. Rather, a citizen's political response to economic conditions is mediated by judgments that are collectively oriented." (Kinder and Kiewiet, 1979, p. 499)

At odds with received wisdom on economic voting:

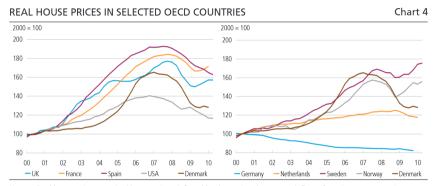
"The political consequences of economic conditions are not carried by personally experienced hardships. Rather, a citizen's political response to economic conditions is mediated by judgments that are collectively oriented." (Kinder and Kiewiet, 1979, p. 499)

However, personal economic hardships previously studied have been

- self-reported, and/or
- 2 short-ranging (e.g. unemployment, reductions in income)

Politicized homes? Empirical setting Data Results Discussion References

In international comparison, DK's housing bubble exceptionally volatile:



Note: Real house prices: nominal house prices deflated by the national accounts deflator for private consumption. Source: OECD House Price Database.

• for individual home, unobserved outside of purchase/sale

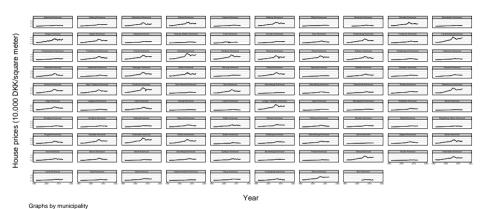
- for individual home, unobserved outside of purchase/sale
- plausible proxy: realized house prices in local context

- for individual home, unobserved outside of purchase/sale
- plausible proxy: realized house prices in local context
 context effect and personal experience

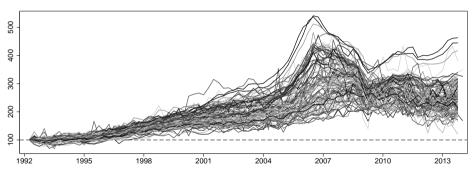
- for individual home, unobserved outside of purchase/sale
- plausible proxy: realized house prices in local context

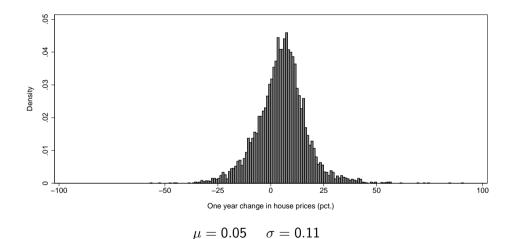
Data on municipal selling prices from the Danish Mortgage Banks' Federation covering twenty years (1992:2013).





House prices in Denmark (1992 is index 100)





Frederik G. Hjorth, Martin Vinæs Larsen

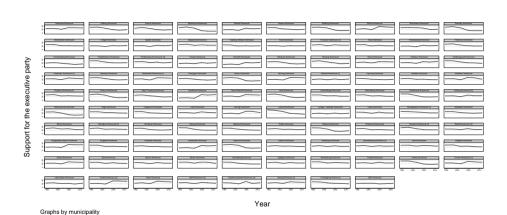
For incumbent support, two data sets:

For incumbent support, two data sets:

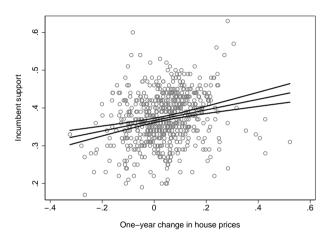
- Municipality-level election returns from the six national elections for which we have the housing data
 - → behavioral outcome measure

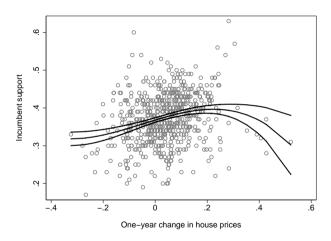
For incumbent support, two data sets:

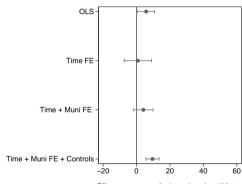
- Municipality-level election returns from the six national elections for which we have the housing data
 - → behavioral outcome measure
- A set of nine surveys
 - ightharpoonup intense coverage around the time of the housing-bubble in 2005-2010
 - → individual-level controls



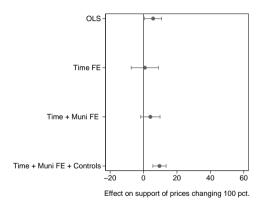
Frederik G. Hjorth, Martin Vinæs Larsen

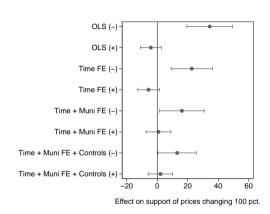


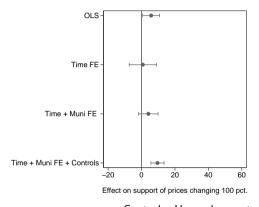


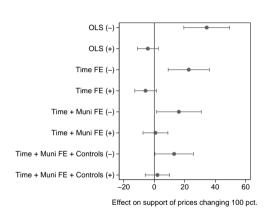


Effect on support of prices changing 100 pct.

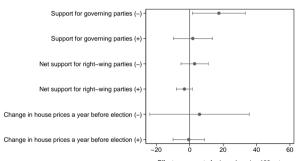




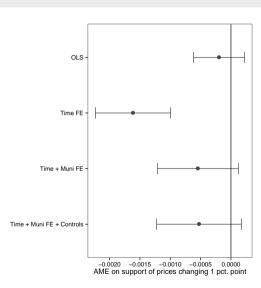




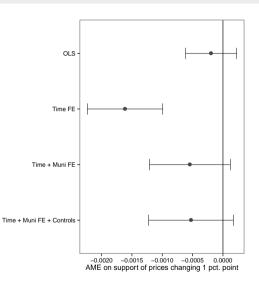
Controls: Unemployment, tax-level, violent crime, theft.

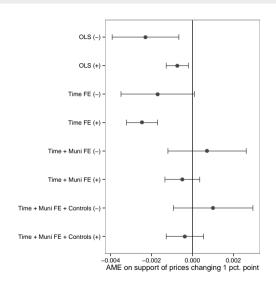


Effect on support of prices changing 100 pct.



Frederik G. Hjorth, Martin Vinæs Larsen





We have shown evidence suggesting that falling - but not rising - house prices hurt incumbents in Denmark.

We have shown evidence suggesting that falling - but not rising - house prices hurt incumbents in Denmark.

- is this convincing?
- what other analyses would you like to see?
- which interesting (theoretical and real world) implications do you think this has?
- do you think this is a case where personal economic grievances matter?

- Ansell, Ben. 2014. "The political economy of ownership: Housing markets and the welfare state." American Political Science Review 108(02):383-402.
- Di Tella, Rafael, Sebastian Galiani and Ernesto Schargrodsky. 2007. "The formation of beliefs: evidence from the allocation of land titles to squatters." The Quarterly Journal of Economics pp. 209–241.
- Kinder, Donald R and D Roderick Kiewiet. 1979. "Economic discontent and political behavior: The role of personal grievances and collective economic judgments in congressional voting." American Journal of Political Science pp. 495–527.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S. Richard Nadeau and Martial Foucault, 2013. "The compleat economic voter: New theory and British evidence." British Journal of Political Science 43(02):241-261.