# The Politics of Competence

Parties, Public Opinion and Voters

Jane Green and Will Jennings



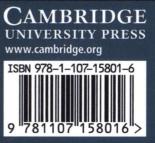
'The Politics of Competence provides a compelling analysis of party competence – its causes, electoral consequences and political significance. This landmark study draws together disparate theories, assembles a prodigious amount of data and uses advanced statistical techniques, to provide a fascinating accounts of the shifting relationship between parties and their electorates. Sophisticated, yet also accessible to the general reader, this book instantly becomes the gold standard in studies of party competence.'

Dr John Bartle, Reader in Politics, University of Essex

'Central to theories of how voters evaluate parties are ideas that one party is better able than another to handle a given issue. But how do voters develop these evaluations? And what is the role of actual performance of a party in government? In this theoretically ambitious, empirically rich and truly comparative book, Green and Jennings break new ground. They show that parties regularly gain and lose 'ownership' on particular issues, that partisanship strongly affects perceptions of performance, that governments inexorably lose support and reputations for competence and they develop a new theoretical perspective towards how voters evaluate parties. Rich with data, comparative in approach and equally theoretical as empirical, this book sets a new standard in the fields of issue ownership on a par with previous works by Donald Stokes, John Petrocik, and William Riker.'

Frank R. Baumgartner, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, co-author of The Politics of Information (2015).

Cover image designed by Mike Addelman



<u>P</u>

## The Politics of Competence

### Parties, Public Opinion and Voters

Jane Green

University of Manchester

Will Jennings

University of Southampton



#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107158016

DOI: 10.1017/9781316662557

© Jane Green and Will Jennings 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-15801-6 Hardback ISBN 978-1-316-61055-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



#### The Politics of Competence

Using decades of public opinion data from the US, UK, Australia, Germany and Canada, and distinguishing between three concepts – issue ownership, performance and generalised competence – Green and Jennings show how political parties come to gain or lose 'ownership' of issues, how they are judged on their performance in government across policy issues, and how they develop a reputation for competence (or incompetence) over a period in office. Their analysis tracks the major events that lead people to re-evaluate party reputations and the costs of governing, and cause electorates to punish parties in power. They reveal why, when and how these movements in public opinion matter to elections. The implications are important for long-standing debates about performance and partisanship, and reveal that public opinion about party and governing competence is, to a great extent, the product of major shocks and predictable dynamics.

Jane Green is Professor of Political Science at the University of Manchester and a co-director of the British Election Study, the UK's leading source of election data since 1964.

Will Jennings is Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of Southampton.

To Bruce and Natalie

#### Acknowledgements

The idea of issue ownership was first introduced to us by Laura Stoker. The challenge to think about what ownership is – and is not – inspired a PhD, subsequent research papers and this book. Laura also inspired the ambition to think more carefully about concepts and measures and the validity of argument, concepts and findings. Our book would also not exist without the inspiration and contributions of Jim Stimson. Our interest in long-term dynamics and context for understanding public opinion, and most of our thinking about the nature and nuances of public opinion, owes in very large part to Jim and his extraordinary generosity of ideas, data and methods. We are also both fortunate in being inspired by Christopher Wlezien, whose drive and quality of scholarship continues to challenge and motivate us. And we are lucky to have been taught by Christopher Hood while we were graduate students at Oxford. We hope to do justice to his example of thoughtfulness, originality and scholarliness. We would like to give credit to Donald Stokes, and to all those people whose work we continually return to, and whose contributions established the standard to which the political science community responds. If we have succeeded in combining novel analysis with political relevance and understanding, there is David Butler's guidance in these pages.

Many brilliant and generous people have kindly given us comments on drafts. The book has benefitted from great comments at many conferences and seminars over the years. Thank you especially to Jim Adams, John Bartle, Shaun Bevan, Ian Budge, Patrick Egan, Bob Erikson, Matt Golder, Eitan Hersh, Mark Kayser, Luke Keele, Kathleen Knight, Matt Lebo, Michael Lewis-Beck, Johannes Lindvall, Thomas Meyer, Caitlin Milazzo, Pippa Norris, Sergi Pardos, Mark Pickup, Henrik Seeberg, Jim Stimson, Laura Stoker, Zeynep Somer-Topcu, Marcus Wagner, Stefaan Walgrave, Christopher Wlezien, and to Rob Johns and Hugh Ward and the reviewers of the *British Journal of Political Science*. We are very grateful to the reviewers of our book proposal and manuscript, and to Cambridge University Press for

supporting it. Giving one's time, ideas and commitment to someone else's project is one of those unsung commitments made by people who prioritise other people's work above their own. The reviews to our proposal and manuscript genuinely helped us make the book far better than it would have been otherwise. We really do appreciate it.

The analyses in this book draw on tens of thousands of individual survey items. We are indebted to the support of many generous people who provided and helped us access data. Thank you to Michael Alvarez, John Bartle, Eric Belanger, Harold Clarke, Luke Keele, Paul Kellstedt, Matt Lebo, Roger Mortimore, David Sanders, Stuart Soroka, Jim Stimson and Steffen Weiss. Thank you also to Lee Bentley, Stefanie Doebler, Tom Loughran, Emma Kilheeney, Mackenzie Merk, Wasel bin Shadat, Benjamin Tallis and John Jennings for various research assistance throughout the years, and to the Roper Centre and Lois Timms-Ferrara, to Hart Research Associates and Jeff Horwitt, the British Election Study team past and present, the Annenberg Election Study and to the US National Election Study teams.

This project began a long time ago with a seed funding grant from the University of Manchester, and then an Economic and Social Research Council small grant which we used for gathering data, and subsequently support from the Centre for Citizenship, Globalization and Governance at the University of Southampton. These grants have been invaluable for investing in a huge data-gathering project. Our institutions at Manchester and Southampton have, in a variety of ways, facilitated the freedom to focus on our research and address questions and projects we most believe in.

Our thanks go to Mike Addelman, who not only provided much-valued help on the British Election Study along with very timely moral support and encouragement, but who also designed our book cover. Thank you also to Tracy and Derek Willis for making it possible to finish writing.

With the publication of this book comes an opportunity to thank the people who have made our academic careers possible. From the earliest point, thank you to Gary and Janet Streeter, Sam and Mark Graves, Charlie Colchester, David Plummer, Tim and Hannah Davy, Tim Montgomerie and Mark Lancaster. That simple line of thanks doesn't do justice to how much of life's course was changed, but it is good to be able to print it. And for support throughout the years, our fondness and thanks to Jim Adams, Frank Baumgartner, John Curtice, Bob Erikson, Geoff Evans, Ed Fieldhouse, Christopher Hood, Bryan Jones, Martin Lodge, Pippa Norris, Colin Rallings, Graham Smith, Zeynep Somer-Topcu, Jim Stimson, Gerry Stoker, Laura Stoker and Christopher Wlezien.

We are very grateful to John Haslam and Cambridge University Press for being so patient with our manuscript. The writing spanned a general election and a referendum on European Union membership, which gave us fascinating but nevertheless very big disruptions of time on the book.

Our most important thanks go to Bruce Strouts, who kindly, quietly and steadfastly supports an erratic lifestyle and who brings much-needed balance and normality. And to Natalie Jennings for her endless patience and good humour faced with the disruption caused by long and unsociable working hours in front of Stata.

## Contents

	List of Tables	page viii
	List of Figures	xii
	Acknowledgements	XV
1	Introduction	1
2	Conceptual Problems and Solutions	27
3	Three Concepts of Issue Competence	47
4	Explaining Issue Ownership Change	94
5	Government Performance and Oppositions	137
6	Generalised Competence and the Costs of Governing	167
7	Ownership, Performance, Generalised Competence	
	and the Vote	197
8	Conclusion	234
	Appendices	257
	Bibliography	294
	Index	306

## Tables

2.1	Concepts, operationalisation and measures	page	45
3.1	Classification of issue categories		51
3.2	Issue ownership and ownership change, US Republican		
	Party		58
3.3	Issue ownership and ownership change, US Democratic		
	Party		59
3.4	Issue ownership and ownership change, UK Conservative	e	
	Party		60
3.5	Issue ownership and ownership change, UK Labour Part	У	61
3.6	Issue ownership and ownership change, Australian Libera	al	
	Party		62
3.7	Issue ownership and ownership change, Australian Labor	r	
	Party		63
3.8	Issue ownership and ownership change, German Christia	ın	
	Democratic Union		64
3.9	Issue ownership and ownership change, German Social		
	Democratic Party		65
3.10	Ranking of US President George W. Bush evaluations by	7	
	Republican and Democratic Party identifiers		71
3.11	Ranking of UK Conservative Party evaluations by		
	Conservative and Labour identifiers		73
3.12	Persistence in performance evaluations, US President		
	George W. Bush		78
3.13	Persistence in performance evaluations, candidates for th	e	
	Republican and Democratic Party nomination for the		
	US presidency		80
3.14	Persistence in performance evaluations, Labour		
	government and Conservative opposition, UK, 2004–201	. 0	80
3.15	Summary statistics for macro-competence in the United		
	States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Canada and Austral		84
3.16	Granger causation tests between macro-competence and		
	macro-partisanship, US		89

List of Tables ix

3.17	Granger causation tests between macro-competence and	
	macro-partisanship, UK	90
3.18	Granger causation tests between macro-competence	
	and macro-partisanship, Germany	90
4.1(a)	Changes in issue ownership, US, 1976–2013	105
1.1(b)	Changes in issue ownership, UK, 1970–2015	112
4.1(c)	Change in issue ownership, Australia, 1987–2013	117
1.1(d)	Changes in issue ownership, Germany, 1972–2013	118
4.2	Cases of no change in issue ownership	127
5.1	Measures of policy outcomes in the US, the UK and	
	Germany	142
5.2	Summary table of logistic regression models of vote choice	
	in 2005, 2010 and 2015, UK	162
5.3	Summary table of logistic regression models of presidential	
	vote choice in 2000, 2008 and 2012, US	164
6.1	Governing party competence as function of outgoing party	
	competence	180
6.2	The average length of honeymoon period for governing	
	parties	182
6.3	Macro-competence and governing party vote (negativity	
	bias and accumulation)	187
6.4	'Coalition of minorities' and governing party vote	191
	Effect of events on dynamic conditional correlation with	
	party support, Republican Party, US, 1956–2012	227
7.2	Effect of events on dynamic conditional correlation with	
	party support, Conservative Party, UK, 1968–2012	230
8.1	Summary of concepts, measures, theory and implications	246
	Summary statistics for issue handling, US Democratic	
	Party	257
A3.2	Summary statistics for issue handling, UK Conservative	
	Party	257
A3.3	Ranking of ratings of Hillary Clinton by party identifiers,	
	non-partisans and rival partisans	258
A3.4	Ranking of ratings of John Edwards by party identifiers,	
	non-partisans and rival partisans	258
A3.5	Ranking of ratings of Barack Obama by party	
	identifiers, non-partisans and rival partisans	258
A3.6	Ranking of ratings of Rudy Giuliani by party identifiers,	
	non-partisans and rival partisans	258
A3.7	Ranking of ratings of John McCain by party identifiers,	
	non-partisans and rival partisans	259

A3.8	Ranking of ratings of Mitt Romney by party identifiers,	
	non-partisans and rival partisans	259
A3.9	Ranking of ratings of Fred Thompson by party identifiers,	
	non-partisans and rival partisans	259
A5.1	Time series regression model of subjective and objective	
	economic performance effects on handling of the economy,	
	US, 1990–2013	260
A5.2	Time series regression model of subjective and objective	
	economic performance effects on handling of the economy,	
	UK, 2003–2015	260
A5.3	Time series regression model of Labour and Conservative	
	Party support, UK, 2004–2010	261
A5.4	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of party vote choice,	
	British Election Study, 2005	262
A5.5	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of party vote choice,	
	British Election Study, 2010	262
A5.6	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of party vote choice,	
	British Election Study, 2015 (Internet Panel Study, Wave 4	
	and Wave 6)	263
A5.7	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of party vote choice,	
	British Election Study, 2015 (face-to-face survey)	263
A5.8	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of presidential vote	
	choice, American National Election Study, 2004	264
A5.9	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of presidential vote	
	choice, American National Election Study, 2008	264
A5.10	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of presidential vote	
	choice, American National Election Study, 2012	265
A6.1	31 countries used for analysis of costs of governing in	
	aggregate-level vote intention in legislative elections	265
A7.1	Time series error-correction model of competence effects	
	upon party support, US, 1956–2012	266
A7.2	Time series error-correction model of competence effects	
	upon party support, UK, 1968–2012	268
A7.3	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of vote choice, US,	
	2000–2012	270
A7.4	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of vote choice, UK,	
	2005–2015	271
A7.5	Logistic regression model (odds ratios) of vote choice, UK,	
	2015	272
A7.6	Autoregressive distributed lag model of dynamic conditional	
	correlations, Republican Party, US, 1956-2012	274