Love thine enemy?
How satisfaction with the Government and Prime Minister affects satisfaction with the Leader of the Opposition

Roger Mortimore & Tomasz Mludzinski
Paper for EPOP Conference, Oxford, September 2012

DRAFT VERSION 3 September 2012: Not for quotation or citation without the written permission of the authors
Satisfaction with Ed Miliband

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Ed Miliband is doing his job as leader of the Labour Party?

August 2012

- Satisfied: 41%
- Dissatisfied: 43%
- Don’t know: 15%

Net = -2

October 2010 – August 2012

Base: 1,007 GB adults 18+, 11-13 August 2012; c. 1,000 GB adults 18+ monthly

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

DRAFT: not for quotation
Ed Miliband (among Labour supporters)

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Ed Miliband is doing his job as leader of the Labour Party?

August 2012

- Satisfied: 60%
- Dissatisfied: 30%
- Don’t know: 11%

Net = +30

October 2010 – August 2012

Base: 346 GB adults 18+ intending to vote Labour, 11-13 August 2012; c. 250-350 Labour supporters monthly

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

DRAFT: not for quotation
Satisfaction with Ed Miliband

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Ed Miliband is doing his job as leader of the Labour Party?

% satisfied

Labour supporters

All

Base: c. 1,000 GB adults 18+ monthly

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

DRAFT: not for quotation
Satisfaction with Ed Miliband 2010-12

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Ed Miliband is doing his job as leader of the Labour Party?

- Satisfied: 35%
- Dissatisfied: 45%
- Don’t know: 20%

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor
Base: c. 1,000 GB adults 18+ monthly, October 2010-August 2012

DRAFT: not for quotation
Satisfaction with Ed Miliband

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Ed Miliband is doing his job as leader of the Labour Party?

Satisfied with government

- Satisfied: 41%
- Dissatisfied: 42%
- Don’t know: 17%

Dissatisfied with government

- Satisfied: 33%
- Dissatisfied: 49%
- Don’t know: 18%

Base: c. 1,000 GB adults 18+ monthly, October 2010-August 2012

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

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Satisfaction with Ed Miliband

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Ed Miliband is doing his job as leader of the Labour Party?

Satisfied with Cameron

- Satisfied: 40%
- Dissatisfied: 43%
- Don’t know: 17%

Dissatisfied with Cameron

- Satisfied: 34%
- Dissatisfied: 50%
- Don’t know: 16%

Base: c. 1,000 GB adults 18+ monthly, October 2010-August 2012

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

*DRAFT: not for quotation*
Leader Satisfaction: conceptual schema

Political/partisan perspective

Satisfied or dissatisfied with Ed Miliband as leader of the Labour Party?

Disposition: generosity

Objective: performance

Objective: character

Comparative assessment (zero-sum)

Objective: performance

Objective: character

Attitudes to political system/politicians in general

*DRAFT: not for quotation*
# Satisfaction with Opposition Leaders

*Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way ... is doing his job as leader of the ... Party?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Satisfied with government</th>
<th>Dissatisfied with government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miliband</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Smith</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hague</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base: c. 1,000 /2,000 GB adults 18+ monthly, aggregated

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

*DRAFT: not for quotation*
### Binary logistic regression

**Dependent variable:** Satisfaction with leader of the opposition  
*Table entries are coefficients (log odds)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with govt</strong></td>
<td>+0.20***</td>
<td>+0.35***</td>
<td>+0.52***</td>
<td>+0.54***</td>
<td>+0.92***</td>
<td>+0.66***</td>
<td>+0.57***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with PM</strong></td>
<td>+0.58***</td>
<td>+0.52***</td>
<td>+0.80***</td>
<td>+0.52***</td>
<td>+0.76***</td>
<td>+0.44***</td>
<td>+0.62***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voting intention (ref=Conservative)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>+2.28***</td>
<td>-1.32***</td>
<td>-1.28***</td>
<td>-2.00***</td>
<td>-2.28***</td>
<td>-2.50***</td>
<td>+1.86***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
<td>+0.65***</td>
<td>-1.35***</td>
<td>-1.37***</td>
<td>-1.82***</td>
<td>-1.48***</td>
<td>-2.05***</td>
<td>+0.56***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-1.29***</td>
<td>-1.42***</td>
<td>-2.02***</td>
<td>-2.18***</td>
<td>-2.32***</td>
<td>+0.23***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would not vote</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-1.30***</td>
<td>-1.54***</td>
<td>-2.23***</td>
<td>-2.43***</td>
<td>-2.42***</td>
<td>+0.27***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>+0.24**</td>
<td>-0.91***</td>
<td>-1.28***</td>
<td>-1.71***</td>
<td>-1.99***</td>
<td>-2.08***</td>
<td>+0.46***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>+0.54***</td>
<td>-1.23***</td>
<td>-1.29***</td>
<td>-1.65***</td>
<td>-2.17***</td>
<td>-1.78***</td>
<td>+0.42**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-0.73***</td>
<td>-0.26***</td>
<td>-0.18***</td>
<td>+0.66***</td>
<td>+1.03***</td>
<td>+1.45***</td>
<td>-1.55***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nagelkerke R²**  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>16,784</th>
<th>29,183</th>
<th>13,216</th>
<th>12,810</th>
<th>8,008</th>
<th>28,549</th>
<th>16,406</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.237</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>0.144</td>
<td>0.193</td>
<td>0.254</td>
<td>0.250</td>
<td>0.153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*DRAFT: not for quotation*
## Binary logistic regression: odds ratios

**Dependent variable:** Satisfaction with leader of the opposition  
*Table entries are odds ratios*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with govt</strong></td>
<td>1.22***</td>
<td>1.42***</td>
<td>1.67***</td>
<td>1.71***</td>
<td>2.51***</td>
<td>1.93***</td>
<td>1.77***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with PM</strong></td>
<td>1.79***</td>
<td>1.69***</td>
<td>2.22***</td>
<td>1.69***</td>
<td>2.14***</td>
<td>1.55***</td>
<td>1.86***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voting intention (ref=Conservative)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>9.75***</td>
<td>0.27***</td>
<td>0.28***</td>
<td>0.14***</td>
<td>0.10***</td>
<td>0.08***</td>
<td>6.43***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
<td>1.92***</td>
<td>0.26***</td>
<td>0.25***</td>
<td>0.16***</td>
<td>0.23***</td>
<td>0.13***</td>
<td>1.74***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.28***</td>
<td>0.24***</td>
<td>0.13***</td>
<td>0.11***</td>
<td>0.10***</td>
<td>1.26***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would not vote</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.27***</td>
<td>0.21***</td>
<td>0.11***</td>
<td>0.09***</td>
<td>0.09***</td>
<td>1.31***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>1.27**</td>
<td>0.40***</td>
<td>0.28***</td>
<td>0.18***</td>
<td>0.14***</td>
<td>0.13***</td>
<td>1.59***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>1.72***</td>
<td>0.29***</td>
<td>0.27***</td>
<td>0.19***</td>
<td>0.11***</td>
<td>0.17***</td>
<td>1.51**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.48***</td>
<td>0.77***</td>
<td>0.84***</td>
<td>1.94***</td>
<td>2.81***</td>
<td>4.26***</td>
<td>0.21***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nagelkerke $R^2$**  
0.237  0.089  0.144  0.193  0.254  0.250  0.153

**n**  
16,784  29,183  13,216  12,810  8,008  28,549  16,406

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Conclusions

- The relationships are consistent over time
- There is, as expected, a strong partisan element to assessments of leaders of the opposition
- However, once voting intention has been controlled for, there is also a consistent strong positive relationship between satisfaction with opposition leaders and satisfaction with government/PM
- These factors explain only a fraction of variation in attitudes, but it is arguably a surprisingly high fraction
Thank you

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