

# The Politics of Inequality (PO4730)

## Lecturer

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Office hours: Tuesdays 11am-1pm (or by appointment)

## Michaelmas Term Meetings\*

Tuesdays, 3–4pm, Room 3126, Arts Building

Wednesdays, 9–11am, Room 3, College Green

## Hilary Term Meetings

Mondays, 4–5pm, Room 3106, Arts Building

Mondays, 5–7pm, Room 3020, Arts Building

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## Course Description

In 2008, the top 10% of the US population received 46% of all income while in Sweden the figure was 28%. The current economic climate sees governments needing to rebalance their budgets — often dramatically. This can be achieved both by cutting spending that is often aimed more at the poor or increasing taxes that are often paid more by the rich. Unsurprisingly, then, inequality is currently very politically salient, but politics as a subject more generally has been described as the study of ‘who gets what, when, and how’. During this course, we will investigate the politics of inequality both across ‘developed democracies’ and within them. The aim is to develop an understanding of inequality in terms of its contemporary and historical patterns, its causes (both political and otherwise), and its consequences for political participation and policy outcomes.

## Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of this module students should be able to:

- identify and describe empirical trends in inequality in the advanced industrial countries;
- identify and describe the economic and political causes of differences in inequality;
- identify and describe the economic and political consequences of inequality;
- critically read and evaluate social scientific arguments and evidence;
- formulate a social scientific argument and employ empirical evidence to test/support it.

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\*Each student will be expected to attend 2 hours of class per week in both terms.

## Class Participation and Assessment

Note, well. I will give perhaps only two or three lectures during the whole module. This module is intended to be primarily seminar-based, with extensive in-class discussion. Consequently, the readings are even more important than for most modules you will have taken so far. **You are reminded that this module will only work if everyone completes the assigned reading before class and participates in class discussions.**

In each class, you should expect to be ready to discuss all of the required readings. You are also very welcome to raise issues from the further readings. These further readings are intended to provide you with avenues to explore, should you wish. Some topics have many more than others — perhaps reflecting some of my own biases. For the exam, I will not expect you to be able to provide detailed discussion of *all* further readings for those topics that have very many of them.

### **Response Papers (approx 2 pages) Due midday of the day before the relevant class**

You will be assigned two topics from each term on which to write a critical response to one or more of the required readings (and further readings if you wish). The aim of these papers is not simply to provide a summary of the readings. Instead, you should focus on analyses of contradictions both within and between papers, methodological short-comings, and conceptual discrepancies. In developing such critiques, you may conclude that some arguments or pieces of evidence are more persuasive than others — which is likely to make for more interesting class discussion!

The assignments will be spread across the different topics so that each week we have (hopefully) at least one person in the class who has written a paper. Depending on the final numbers in the class, I may direct each of you to focus on particular readings so as to ensure that we have sufficient coverage each week. When it is ‘your’ week, you will be expected to participate in the seminar discussion to an even greater extent than usual.

I will also assign ‘discussants’ for each paper-writer whose task will be to discuss the issues raised in the response paper. The aim is to encourage you all to engage with each others work and ideas *in a collaborative way*. Discussion of the work of others should be sensitive and respectful but *bfseries* I will press you to be critical.

A grade will not be provided for these response papers, although I will read at least one per student per term and provide comments and feedback. Of course, you will also receive verbal feedback from both me and your colleagues within the class. Furthermore, I will arrange for all response papers to be posted online so that they are (only) accessible to all members of the class. Technology allowing, I may even find a way to make my written feedback on these papers similarly available. **I want you to read each others work and learn from each other.**

Finally, while these papers are not graded, you must complete both of them in order for me to grade the assessed written work described below. These response papers should be completed before the relevant class so that you have the full experience of having them discussed.

**N.B. To be clear, failure to complete two response papers each term will result in a zero grade for either or both of the assessed assignments.**

### **20% — Michaelmas Term: ‘Op-Ed’ Article (1,000 words) Deadline to be agreed by collective class decision**

The idea behind this assignment is that you will write an ‘op-ed’ (opinion/editorial) from the perspective of a social scientist — i.e. in an evidence-based and theoretically-motivated way. This much is similar to other essays you may have written during your undergraduate career. However, for this assignment, you should also write in a style that is accessible to a general readership, untrained to the level that you are. The goal is that you will learn to bridge the gap between the academic study of social science and the popular understandings of such issues.

**N.B. This is not an opportunity to simply write down a series of prejudices or unsubstantiated claims!**

You may have ideas about what to write on yourself, and that is fine. If you do not have ideas, initially, you may like to take an existing ‘op-ed’ article/column from a newspaper (or possibly a news-based magazine) that relates to the issue of inequality and then write your own op-ed in response. Again, you should *use the theories, evidence, and further data that you have been introduced to during the module*. You may find it helpful to approach this by taking an explicitly comparative stance — discussing how claims made for one country stand-up to evidence in others.

Whatever you choose to write on, *you must confirm this with me before you write your paper*. Please do so in good time. If you are having trouble selecting an article, I will be happy to make suggestions. You should find good fodder in all variety of large-circulation newspapers on either side of the Atlantic.

## **20% — Hilary Term: Essay (up to 3,000 words)** **Deadline to be agreed by collective class decision**

You are very largely free to choose the topic of your essay — but not on a topic that you have written your op-ed on. While you have freedom on the topic, you are required to develop an argument of your own relating to the politics of inequality — either generally or with respect to specific cases. You should then provide comparative (and possibly historical) evidence in support of your argument. During the course, you will be directed towards various data sets that you may find useful for the empirical component of the essay.

*I strongly suggest that you see me no later than the end of week 8 of Hilary term to discuss this assignment. You are very welcome to talk to me about it at any time during the course, though.*

## **60% — Summer Exam**

A comprehensive exam on the content of the module.

## **Additional Details**

### **Plagiarism**

All late work, unless excused in advance by the course lecturer, or justified by medical certificate or tutors note, will be penalised at a rate of 5 marks per working day. Under no circumstances will work be accepted after the set work has been marked and handed back to other students, or after the end of the second lecture term.

To be sure that you are not inadvertently plagiarising, see the department’s undergraduate handbook at [http://www.tcd.ie/Political\\_Science/undergraduate/handbook.php](http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/undergraduate/handbook.php). This also gives guidelines about how to plan and write an essay, what the markers are looking for, what qualities a good essay possesses, and what factors can result in low marks.

### **Turnitin**

All written work must be submitted via <http://www.turnitin.com/>. This makes it easier to manage submissions, as well as taking advantage of a plagiarism detector. In order to submit your essay on <http://www.turnitin.com/>, you need to register yourself with <http://www.turnitin.com/> using the following information:

Class Name: The Politics of Inequality (P04730) - 2012/2013

Course ID: 5589624

Enrollment Password: morethanme

### **Finding Readings**

- The reading list (below) includes full bibliographic references to each article, chapter, book, or other reading. As such, you should be able to use the library services to find them yourself.

- Where available, I have also included the URL based on the DOI (standing for Digital Object Identifier) of the reading. This will link you to *one* place where the reading is published online.
- The DOI links will only provide you with access when you are connected to the TCD network. If you are off-campus, you should use the Library's off-campus facility by visiting <http://www.tcd.ie/Library/> and clicking on the link for "E-Journals only".
- Note, however, that the DOI link may *not* be the place through which the TCD subscription provides access. (This is not in my control.) If this occurs, you will often find that <http://www.jstor.org/> will work for you, subject to you being on-campus or having explicitly signed-in to the Library's off-campus service.
- Again, where available, I have also tried to provide URLs for readings that are not constrained by off-campus and/or login restrictions. This is often via the web sites of the authors of the readings and will tend to be the easiest way of retrieving items.
- Some readings may only be available in hard copy. In these cases, I will endeavour to make them available as scanned PDFs via the module's Blackboard site found via <http://mymodule.tcd.ie/>. These are marked with the ➡ symbol in the reading list.
- Some of the readings listed below are a little more challenging. I have marked these with the \* symbol.
- Some of the 'readings' in the 'Short/Popular' category are actually podcasts or other types of audio or video. I have marked these with the 🎧 symbol.

## Interesting Texts

- Pontusson, Jonas (2005). *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe vs. Liberal America*. Cornell University Press
- Alesina, Alberto and Glaeser, Edward L. (2005). *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK
- Kenworthy, Lane (2004). *Egalitarian Capitalism: Jobs, Incomes, and Growth in Affluent Countries*. Russell Sage Foundation
- Bartels, Larry M. (2008). *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ

## Interesting Websites

- Cross-national data on income and wealth inequality is available from the Luxembourg Income (and Wealth) Study web site:  
<http://www.lisdatacenter.org/>
- Cross-national and through-time data on 'top incomes' (going back quite a long way) is available at:  
<http://g-mond.parisschoolofeconomics.eu/topincomes>
- Large-scale UN data from the World Income Inequality Database  
[http://www.wider.unu.edu/research/Database/en\\_GB/database/](http://www.wider.unu.edu/research/Database/en_GB/database/)
- Lane Kenworthy's blog, entitled 'Consider the Evidence', covering all sorts of issues relating to inequality, poverty, politics, and social science more generally:  
<http://lanekenworthy.net/>

## Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to the following for their help in preparing this course: Lucy Barnes, Elaine Byrne, Kara Connolly, Michael Gallagher, Jac Hayden, Koji Kagotani, Sam Mealy, Sarah Mulcahy, Tom Pegram, and Will Phelan.

# 1 Introductions, Concepts, and Patterns

## 1.1 Inequality, Poverty, Income, and Wealth

This first week is introductory. The readings cover a few short and interesting tasters of a more ‘popular’ nature. The ‘Summary Readings’ for this week — uniquely this week not denoted as ‘required’ as I will not expect you to be able to discuss them in class — provide overviews of some of the topics that we will go on and cover in more detail during the course. For those of you contemplating whether to take this course, Neckerman and Torche (2007) point to many of the issues that we will cover later.

### Shorter/Popular Readings

- Cox, W. Michael and Alm, Richard (2008). You Are What You Spend. *New York Times*. February 10th.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/10/opinion/10cox.html>
- Kenworthy, Lane (2008c). Income Inequality, Spending Inequality, Wealth Inequality. Consider the Evidence.  
<http://tinyurl.com/cbwm3c9>
- Kenworthy, Lane (2010a). The best inequality graph, updated. Consider the Evidence.  
<http://lanekenworthy.net/2010/07/20/the-best-inequality-graph-updated/>

### Summary Readings

- ➡ Pontusson, Jonas (2005). *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe vs. Liberal America*. Cornell University Press, chapter 3
- Smeeding, Timothy (2006). Poor People in Rich Nations: The United States in Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20(1):69–90.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/089533006776526094>
- Kaufman, Robert R. (2009). Inequality and Redistribution: Some Continuing Puzzles. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42(04):657–660.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096509990060>
- Neckerman, Kathryn M. and Torche, Florencia (2007). Inequality: Causes and Consequences. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33(1):335–357.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131755>
- Morris, Martina and Western, Bruce (1999). Inequality in Earnings at the Close of the Twentieth Century. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25(1):623–657.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.25.1.623>
- Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Soss, Joe (2010). The Politics of Inequality in America: A Political Economy Framework. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13(1):341–364.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.041608.140134>

## 1.2 Mapping Inequality

Before analysing how inequality relates to politics, it is necessary to get an empirical understanding of the concept, itself. This week, we will look at a variety of readings that map out the cross-national and through-time development of inequality. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) point to some of the broader implications of these developments, and so show some reasons why these patterns may be important. The further readings cover a few topics, but many of the readings are concerned with generating estimates of inequality across countries. Of particular interest are Atkinson et al. (2011) on measures of ‘top incomes’ (i.e. the very rich in each country) and the papers by Milanovic and Pinkovskiy and Sala-i Martin on estimating world-wide inequality.

### Shorter/Popular Readings (Required)

- Kenworthy, Lane (2008b). Has Ireland’s Rising Tide Benefited Its Poor? Consider the Evidence. <http://lanekenworthy.net/2008/05/18/has-irelands-rising-tide-benefited-its-poor/>
- Kenworthy, Lane (2008f). Top Incomes in the U.S. and Abroad. Consider the Evidence. <http://lanekenworthy.net/2008/05/11/top-incomes-in-the-us-and-abroad/>

### Required Readings

- Nolan, Brian and Smeeding, Timothy M. (2005). Ireland’s Income Distribution in Comparative Perspective. *Review of Income and Wealth*, 51(4):537–560. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4991.2005.00167.x>
- Brandolini, Andrea and Smeeding, Timothy M. (2006). Patterns of Economic Inequality in Western Democracies: Some Facts on Levels and Trends. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 39(1):21–26. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096506060124>
- Garfinkel, Irwin, Rainwater, Lee, and Smeeding, Timothy (2006). A re-examination of welfare states and inequality in rich nations: How in-kind transfers and indirect taxes change the story. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 25(4):897–919. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/pam.20213>
- ➡ Wilkinson, Richard and Pickett, Kate (2010). *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. Penguin Books, London, UK, second edition, chapter 2

### Further Readings

- Heady, Christopher, Mitrakos, Theodore, and Tsakoglou, Panos (2001). The distributional impact of social transfers in the European Union: evidence from the ECHP. *Fiscal Studies*, 22(4):547–565. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5890.2001.tb00052.x>
- Mahler, Vincent A. and Jesuit, David K. (2006). Fiscal redistribution in the developed countries: new insights from the Luxembourg Income Study. *Socio-Economic Review*, 4(3):483–511. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwl003>
- Atkinson, Anthony B., Piketty, Thomas, and Saez, Emmanuel (2011). Top Incomes in the Long Run of History. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 49(1):3–71. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/jel.49.1.3>
- Milanovic, Branko (2002). True World Income Distribution, 1988 and 1993: First Calculation Based on Household Surveys Alone. *Economic Journal*, 112(476):51–92. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1468-0297.0j673>
- Pinkovskiy, Maxim and Sala-i Martin, Xavier (2010). Parametric estimations of the world distribution of income. <http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/4508>

### 1.3 Welfare Regimes

This week, we spend a little time studying the nature and structure of welfare states in comparative perspective. Various “welfare regimes” have been proposed or identified in the literature. Some of this may be revision from previous modules you have taken, but it provides a helpful baseline from which we can all work for the rest of the module.

#### Required Readings

- Introduction and Chapter 1 of Esping-Andersen, Gösta (1989). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Polity Press
- Castles, Francis G. and Mitchell, Deborah (1992). Identifying Welfare State Regimes: The Links Between Politics, Instruments and Outcomes. *Governance*, 5(1):1–26.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.1992.tb00026.x>  
<http://www.lisproject.org/publications/liswps/63.pdf>
- Orloff, Ann Shola (1993). Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States. *American Sociological Review*, 58(3):303–328.  
<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~iversen/PDFfiles/Orloff1993.pdf>
- Arts, Wil and Gelissen, John (2002). Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 12(2):137–158.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0952872002012002114>  
<http://tinyurl.com/d89p9cp>

#### Further Readings

- Lewis, Jane (1992). Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2(3):159–173.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/095892879200200301>

### 1.4 (A Diversion to Quantitative Methods)

As readings are light for the Welfare Regimes topic, I also take the opportunity to give a lecture on the interpretation of quantitative analysis. Many of the readings in the rest of the module use regression and other similar techniques. My aim is to provide you with the intuition of what these techniques do so that you can engage more clearly with this work. The readings listed here are intended to provide a selection of helpful resources should you still not feel comfortable with the material after my lecture.

#### Helpful Readings

- ➡ Sections 2.1–2.3 of Moore, David S. and MacCabe, George P. (2005). *Introduction to the Practice of Statistics*. W.H. Freeman, New York, NY
- Chapter 3 of Tufte, Edward R. (1974). *Data Analysis for Politics and Policy*. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.  
<http://www.edwardtufte.com/tufte/dapp/> (available for free online)
- ➡ Anscombe, F.J. (1973). Graphs in Statistical Analysis. *The American Statistician*, 27(1):17–21
- ➡ Chapter 7 of Pollock III, Philip H. (2003). *The Essentials of Political Analysis*. CQ Press, Washington, DC

## 1.5 Social Mobility and Inequality

Related to inequality is the concept of social mobility. Should we be concerned about inequality if individuals and/or families-through-generations rise and fall through the income or class rankings over time? How might we measure social mobility? What, exactly, is its relationship to inequality — both theoretically and empirically?

### Shorter/Popular Readings (Required)

- Toynbee, Polly (2011a). Class still matters: Q&A with Polly Toynbee. *The Guardian*. August 31st. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/aug/31/polly-toynbee-class-q-and-a>
- Kenworthy, Lane (2008d). Is the U.S. a High-Inequality Country if Mobility Is Taken into Account? Consider the Evidence. <http://tinyurl.com/d88dvo4>
- Kenworthy, Lane (2008a). Can Mobility Offset an Increase in Inequality? Consider the Evidence. <http://tinyurl.com/ceaca65>

### Required Readings

- ➡ Hills, John (2004). *Inequality and the State*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, chapter 5
- Solon, Gary (2002). Cross-Country Differences in Intergenerational Earnings Mobility. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 16(3):59–66. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/089533002760278712>
- Erikson, Robert and Goldthorpe, John H. (2002). Intergenerational Inequality: A Sociological Perspective. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 16(3):31–44. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/089533002760278695>
- Goldthorpe, John H. (2010). Analysing Social Inequality: A Critique of Two Recent Contributions from Economics and Epidemiology. *European Sociological Review*, 26(6):731–744. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcp046>

### Further Readings

- Bowles, Samuel and Gintis, Herbert (2002). The Inheritance of Inequality. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 16(3):3–30. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/089533002760278686>
- Bowles, Samuel, Gintis, Herbert, and Groves, Melissa Osborne, editors (2005). *Unequal Chances*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ



## 1.6 Trust

It has been suggested the ‘trust’ is an important component of a successful society and even for a successful democracy. What types of trust are important? Trust in other citizens? Trust in government? Does inequality influence either or both of these types of trust and so help explain the relative success of different states in political and broader societal terms?

### Shorter/Popular Readings (Required)

- Byrne, Elaine (2010). To move on we must never forget. *Irish Times*. April 3rd.  
<http://elaine.ie/2010/04/03/to-move-on-we-must-never-forget/>

### Required Readings

- Putnam, Robert D. (1995). Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1):65–78.  
<http://tinyurl.com/c5bn6ln>
- Rothstein, Bo and Uslaner, Eric M. (2005). All for All: Equality, Corruption, and Social Trust. *World Politics*, 58(1):41–72.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wp.2006.0022>
- Uslaner, Eric M. and Brown, Mitchell (2005). Inequality, Trust, and Civic Engagement. *American Politics Research*, 33(6):868–894.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1532673X04271903>
- Anderson, Christopher J. and Singer, Matthew M. (2008). The Sensitive Left and the Impervious Right. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(4-5):564–599.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414007313113>  
<http://falcon.arts.cornell.edu/cja22/AndersonandSinger2008CPS.pdf>
- Jensen, Carsten and Svendsen, Gert Tinggaard (2011). Giving money to strangers: European welfare states and social trust. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 20(1):3–9.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2009.00668.x>

### Further Readings

- Levi, Margaret and Stoker, Laura (2000). Political Trust and Trustworthiness. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3(1):475–507.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.3.1.475>
- Delhey, Jan and Newton, Kenneth (2005). Predicting Cross-National Levels of Social Trust: Global Pattern or Nordic Exceptionalism? *European Sociological Review*, 21(4):311–327.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/esr/jci022>
- Gustavsson, Magnus and Jordahl, Henrik (2008). Inequality and trust in Sweden: Some inequalities are more harmful than others. *Journal of Public Economics*, 92(1-2):348–365.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2007.06.010>
- Nannestad, Peter (2008). What Have We Learned About Generalized Trust, If Anything? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1):413–436.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135412>
- ➡ Wilkinson, Richard and Pickett, Kate (2010). *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. Penguin Books, London, UK, second edition, chapter 4

- Dinesen, Peter Thisted and Sonderskov, Kim Mannemar (2012). Trust in a Time of Increasing Diversity: On the Relationship between Ethnic Heterogeneity and Social Trust in Denmark from 1979 until Today. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, pages no–no.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2012.00289.x>
- Wollebæk, Dag, Lundåsen, Susanne Wallman, and Trägård, Lars (2012). Three Forms of Interpersonal Trust: Evidence from Swedish Municipalities. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, pages no–no.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2012.00291.x>

## 2 The Income-Based Models of Politics and Policy

### 2.1 The Median Voter Theory of Redistribution

We might expect that the poorer sections of society would be more in favour of redistribution than the richer. A famous theory, commonly attributed Meltzer and Richard (1981), formalises this insight into predictions about when and why state redistribution will occur/increase/decrease. This week, we discuss this theory, and then examine some of the empirical evidence that has been brought forth to test it.

#### Shorter/Popular Readings (Required)

- Epstein, Richard (2010). The Tea Party Meets The Median Voter. *Forbes*. September 20th.  
<http://tinyurl.com/cxkdhz1>
- “” Corn, David (2012). SECRET VIDEO: Romney Tells Millionaire Donors What He REALLY Thinks of Obama Voters. Published by ‘Mother Jones’.  
<http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2012/09/secret-video-romney-private-fundraiser>

#### Required Readings

- ➡ Alesina, Alberto and Glaeser, Edward L. (2005). *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, chapter 3
- Milanovic, Branko (2000). The median-voter hypothesis, income inequality, and income redistribution: an empirical test with the required data. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 16(3):367–410.  
[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0176-2680\(00\)00014-8](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0176-2680(00)00014-8)
- Kenworthy, Lane and McCall, Leslie (2008). Inequality, public opinion and redistribution. *Socio-Economic Review*, 6(1):35–68.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwm006>
- Finseraas, Henning (2009). Income Inequality and Demand for Redistribution: A Multilevel Analysis of European Public Opinion. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 32(1):94–119.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2008.00211.x>

#### Further Readings

- \* Meltzer, Allan H. and Richard, Scott F. (1981). A Rational Theory of the Size of Government. *Journal of Political Economy*, 89(5):914–927.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1830813>  
<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~iversen/PDFfiles/Meltzer%26Richard1981.pdf>
- McCall, Leslie and Kenworthy, Lane (2009). Americans’ Social Policy Preferences in the Era of Rising Inequality. *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(03):459–484.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592709990818>
- Milanovic, Branko (2010). Four critiques of the redistribution hypothesis: An assessment. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 26(1):147–154.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2009.10.001>
- Borge, Lars-Erik and Rattsø, Jørn (2004). Income distribution and tax structure: Empirical test of the Meltzer-Richard hypothesis. *European Economic Review*, 48(4):805–826.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2003.09.003>

## 2.2 Does Income (Inequality) Structure the Electorate?

For the Meltzer and Richard (1981) model to work, income inequality needs to be *the* dimension on which politics is structured. Do we see evidence of this? As such, does economic inequality — in the form of the relative position of individuals on the income distribution — explain party/political preferences? Does this vary?

### Required Readings

- ➡ Frank, Thomas (2005). *What's the Matter with Kansas?: How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*. Holt McDougal, chapter 1
- Bartels, Larry M. (2006b). What's the Matter with What's the Matter with Kansas? *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 1(2):201–226.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.561/100.0000001>  
<http://www.bsos.umd.edu/socy/vanneman/socy789b/Bartels06.pdf>
- Gelman, Andrew, Shor, Boris, Bafumi, Joseph, and Park, David (2007). Red State, Blue State, Rich State, Poor State: What's the Matter with Connecticut. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2:345–367.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1561/100.00006026>  
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- Bafumi, Joseph and Shapiro, Robert Y. (2009). A New Partisan Voter. *Journal of Politics*, 71(01):1–24.  
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- Fiorina, Morris P. and Abrams, Samuel J. (2008). Political Polarization in the American Public. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1):563–588.  
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## 2.3 Explaining ‘Market’ Inequality

Perhaps the most obvious source of inequality revolves around the differences in wages and income more generally received by different individuals. What determines these ‘market’ (or before tax-and-transfer) inequalities? There are economic reasons that we must be aware of, but it has also been argued that there are political reasons.

### Shorter/Popular Readings (Required)

- Milanovic, Branko (2011a). More or Less: Income inequality has risen over the past quarter-century instead of falling as expected. *Finance & Development*, pages 6–11.  
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2011/09/pdf/milanovi.pdf>  
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<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/pvcast.aspx#inequality>

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- Johnson, George E. (1997). Changes in Earnings Inequality: The Role of Demand Shifts. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 11(2):41–54.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/jep.11.2.41>
- DiPrete, Thomas A. (2007). What Has Sociology to Contribute to the Study of Inequality Trends? A Historical and Comparative Perspective. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(5):603–618.  
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- Richardson, J. David (1995). Income Inequality and Trade: How to Think, What to Conclude. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 9(3):33–55.  
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[http://dss.ucsd.edu/~mnaoi/page4/POLI227/files/page1\\_33.pdf](http://dss.ucsd.edu/~mnaoi/page4/POLI227/files/page1_33.pdf)

## 2.4 Explaining Post-Redistribution Inequality

While governments may have the ability to influence pre-tax-and-transfer inequality, it's even more natural to consider that they have the ability to influence post-tax-and-transfer inequality. How influential are the redistributive actions of the state and why do they arise?

### Shorter/Popular Readings (Required)

- Lansley, Stewart (2006). The tax-free lifestyle of Britain's new mega-wealthy is impoverishing us all. *The Guardian*. April 1st.  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/apr/01/comment.politics>

### Required Readings

- ➡ Hills, John (2004). *Inequality and the State*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, chapter 8
- Korpi, Walter and Palme, Joakim (1998). The Paradox of Redistribution and Strategies of Equality: Welfare State Institutions, Inequality, and Poverty in the Western Countries. *American Sociological Review*, 63(5):661–687.  
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- Mahler, Vincent A. (2004). Economic Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Income Inequality in the Developed Countries. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(9):1025–1053.  
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- Moller, Stephanie, Huber, Evelyne, Stephens, John D., Bradley, David, and Nielsen, François (2003). Determinants of Relative Poverty in Advanced Capitalist Democracies. *American Sociological Review*, 68(1):22–51.  
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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055403000789>
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- Rueda, David (2008). Left Government, Policy, and Corporatism: Explaining the Influence of Partisanship on Inequality. *World Politics*, 60(3):349–389
- Beramendi, Pablo and Cusack, Thomas R. (2009). Diverse Disparities: The Politics and Economics of Wage, Market, and Disposable Income Inequalities. *Political Research Quarterly*, 62(2):257–275.  
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- Schmitt, John and Mitukiewicz, Alexandra (2012). Politics matter: changes in unionisation rates in rich countries, 1960–2010. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 43(3):260–280.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2338.2012.00675.x>

## 2.5 Patterns of Redistributive Preferences

As noted above, redistributive policies are an obvious implication of economic inequality and so it seems natural to assume that the poorer will be more in favour of redistribution than the richer. Does this assumption stand up to cross-national empirical evidence? Can we explain these patterns of preferences?

### Required Readings

- Svallfors, Stefan (1997). Worlds of Welfare and Attitudes to Redistribution: A Comparison of Eight Western Nations. *European Sociological Review*, 13(3):283–304.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/522616>
- Osberg, Lars and Smeeding, Timothy (2006). “Fair” Inequality? Attitudes toward Pay Differentials: The United States in Comparative Perspectives. *American Sociological Review*, 71(3):450–473.  
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- Dallinger, Ursula (2010). Public support for redistribution: what explains cross-national differences? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 20(4):333–349.  
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- Kelly, Nathan J. and Enns, Peter K. (2010). Inequality and the Dynamics of Public Opinion: The Self-Reinforcing Link Between Economic Inequality and Mass Preferences. *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(4):855–870.  
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### Further Readings

- Fong, Christina (2001). Social preferences, self-interest, and the demand for redistribution. *Journal of Public Economics*, 82(2):225–246.  
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- \* Alesina, Alberto and Guiliano, Paula (2009). Preferences for Redistribution. NBER Working Paper No. 14825.  
<http://www.nber.org/papers/w14825>
- Dion, Michelle L. and Birchfield, Vicki (2010). Economic Development, Income Inequality, and Preferences for Redistribution. *International Studies Quarterly*, 54(2):315–334.  
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## 2.6 The Welfare State as Insurance

So far, we have largely assumed that the welfare state is wholly or predominantly about redistributing money from one set of people to another. Is that really the right way of thinking about it? Does it make more sense to think of it as like a set of insurance policies protecting against risks that people face?

### Required Readings

- Moene, Karl Ove and Wallerstein, Michael (2003). Earnings Inequality and Welfare Spending: A Disaggregated Analysis. *World Politics*, 55(4):485–516.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wp.2003.0022>
- Estevez-Abe, Margarita, Iversen, Torben, and Soskice, David (2001). Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State. In Soskice, Peter A. Hall & David, editor, *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, chapter 4, pages 145–183. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK
- Cusack, Thomas, Iversen, Torben, and Rehm, Philipp (2006). Risks at Work: the Demand and Supply Sides of Government Redistribution. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 22(3):365–389.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grj022>
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### Further Readings

- Iversen, Torben and Cusack, Thomas R. (2000). The Causes of Welfare State Expansion: Deindustrialization or Globalization? *World Politics*, 52(3):313–349.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wp.2000.0009>  
<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~iversen/PDFfiles/wp2000.pdf>
- \* Moene, Karl Ove and Wallerstein, Michael (2001). Inequality, Social Insurance, and Redistribution. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4):859–874.  
[http://dev.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/667\\_\\_wallerstein1.pdf](http://dev.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/667__wallerstein1.pdf)
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<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~iversen/PDFfiles/SocialPreferences.pdf>
- Mares, Isabela (2003a). *The Politics of Social Risk: Business and Welfare State Development (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics)*. Cambridge University Press
- Mares, Isabela (2003b). The Sources of Business Interest in Social Insurance: Sectoral versus National Differences. *World Politics*, 55(02):229–258.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wp.2003.0012>  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100003075>
- Mares, Isabela (2005). Social Protection Around the World: External Insecurity, State Capacity, and Domestic Political Cleavages. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(6):623–651.  
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- Esarey, Justin, Salmon, Tim, and Barrilleaux, Charles (2012). Social Insurance and Income Redistribution in a Laboratory Experiment. *Political Research Quarterly*, 65(3):685–698.  
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- \* Rehm, Philipp, Hacker, Jacob S., and Schlessinger, Mark (2012). Insecure Alliances: Risk, Inequality, and Support for the Welfare State. *American Political Science Review*, 106(02):386–406.  
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### 3 Beyond Income-Tax-and-Spend Models

#### 3.1 Does Public Opinion Influence (Welfare State) Policy?

We have looked at patterns and determinants of public opinion regarding redistribution and welfare state policy. We have also looked at cross-national patterns of welfare state provision. Are these policies influenced in any meaningful way by the preferences of the electorate? In a sense: does democracy ‘work’ in this sphere of policy-making?

#### Required Readings

- Stimson, James A., Mackuen, Michael B., and Erikson, Robert S. (1995). Dynamic Representation. *American Political Science Review*, 89(3):543–565.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2082973>
- Burstein, Paul (1998). Bringing the Public Back in: Should Sociologists Consider the Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy? *Social Forces*, 77(1):27–62.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3006009>
- Brooks, Clem and Manza, Jeff (2006b). Social Policy Responsiveness in Developed Democracies. *American Sociological Review*, 71(3):474–494.  
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#### Further Readings

- Wlezien, Christopher (1995). The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending. *American Journal of Political Science*, 39(4):981–1000.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2111666>
- Myles, Johns (2006). Comment on Brooks and Manza, ASR, June 2006: Welfare States and Public Opinion. *American Sociological Review*, 71(3):495–498.  
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- Brooks, Clem and Manza, Jeff (2006a). Reply to Myles: Theory and Methods for Comparative Opinion/Social Policy Research. *American Sociological Review*, 71(3):499–502.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/30039002>
- Hakhverdian, Armèn (2010). Political Representation and its Mechanisms: A Dynamic Left-Right Approach for the United Kingdom, 1976–2006. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(4):835–856.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S000712341000013X>
- Hobolt, Sara Binzer and Klemmensen, Robert (2008). Government Responsiveness and Political Competition in Comparative Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(3):309–337.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414006297169>
- Powell, G. Bingham (2004). Political Representation in Comparative Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7(1):273–296.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.7.012003.104815>

## 3.2 Turnout

Perhaps the most symbolically important democratic act is to vote. Not all eligible voters take advantage of this right. Can inequality be an explanation for low turnout amongst some (groups of) people? Can low turnout explain variation in the size of the welfare state? Can we disentangle these two potential effects?

### Required Readings

- Lijphart, Arend (1997). Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma. *American Political Science Review*, 91(1):1–14.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2952255>
- Gomez, Brad T., Hansford, Thomas G., and Krause, George A. (2007). The Republicans Should Pray for Rain: Weather, Turnout, and Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections. *Journal of Politics*, 69(3):649–663.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2007.00565.x>
- Mahler, Vincent A. (2008). Electoral turnout and income redistribution by the state: A cross-national analysis of the developed democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 47(2):161–183.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2007.00726.x>
- Pontusson, Jonas and Rueda, David (2010). The Politics of Inequality: Voter Mobilization and Left Parties in Advanced Industrial States. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(6):675–705.  
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### Further Readings

- Rosenstone, Steven J. (1982). Economic Adversity and Voter Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 26(1):25–46
- Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. (1986). American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 80(1):17–43.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1957082>
- Jackman, Robert W. (1987). Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 81(2):405–424
- Crepez, Markus M.L. (1990). The impact of party polarization and postmaterialism on voter turnout. *European Journal of Political Research*, 18(2):183–205.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1990.tb00228.x>
- \* Nagel, Jack H. and McNulty, John E. (1996). Partisan Effects of Voter Turnout in Senatorial and Gubernatorial Elections. *American Political Science Review*, 90(4):780–793.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2945842>
- Blais, André and Dobrzynska, Agnieszka (1998). Turnout in Electoral Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 33(2):239–261.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00382>
- Gray, Mark and Caul, Miki (2000). Declining Voter Turnout in Advanced Industrial Democracies, 1950 to 1997. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(9):1091–1122.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414000033009001>
- Lassen, David Dreyer (2005). The Effect of Information on Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Natural Experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(1):103–118.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0092-5853.2005.00113.x>
- Blais, André (2006). What Affects Turnout? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9(1):111–125.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.9.070204.105121>

- Larcinese, Valentino (2007). Voting over Redistribution and the Size of the Welfare State: The Role of Turnout. *Political Studies*, 55(3):568–585.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00658.x>  
<http://personal.lse.ac.uk/LARCINES/LarcinesePS.pdf>
- Geys, Benny (2006b). Rational Theories of Voter Turnout: A Review. *Political Studies Review*, 4(1):16–35
- Geys, Benny (2006a). Explaining voter turnout: A review of aggregate-level research. *Electoral Studies*, 25(4):637–663.  
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- Selb, Peter (2009). A Deeper Look at the Proportionality–Turnout Nexus. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(4):527–548.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414008327427>
- Gallego, Aina (2010). Understanding unequal turnout: Education and voting in comparative perspective. *Electoral Studies*, 29(2):239–248.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2009.11.002>
- Hansford, Thomas G. and Gomez, Brad T. (2010). Estimating the Electoral Effects of Voter Turnout. *American Political Science Review*, 104(02):268–288.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000109>
- Anderson, Christopher J. and Beramendi, Pablo (2012). Left Parties, Poor Voters, and Electoral Participation in Advanced Industrial Societies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(6):714–746.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414011427880>
- Barnes, Lucy (2012). Does Median Voter Income Matter? The Effects of Inequality and Turnout on Government Spending. *Political Studies*.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2012.00952.x>

### 3.3 Partisanship

By this stage, we have looked at the Meltzer and Richard (1981) model that explains variation on redistribution with reference to the preferences of ‘the median voter’. We have also looked at the degree to which policy seems to track the preferences of the electorate (in the form of public opinion). Another influential school of thought holds that it is not the median voter that is important, but rather which party gets elected. If ‘the Left’ represent the poorer sections of society and the ‘the Right’ represent the richer, does it make a difference to a range of policies and other outcomes which party (or parties) hold power?

#### Short/Popular Readings (Required)

- The Economist (2010). Leviathan stirs again: The growth of the state. January 1st.  
<http://www.economist.com/node/15328727>
- Toynbee, Polly (2011b). Do we care about 300,000 more children in poverty? *The Guardian*. May 13th.  
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- Hibbs, Douglas A. (1977). Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy. *American Political Science Review*, 71(4):1467–1487.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1961490>  
<http://douglas-hibbs.com/HibbsArticles/APSR%201977.pdf>
- Cameron, David R. (1978). The Expansion of the Public Economy: A Comparative Analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 72(4):1243–1261.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1954537>
- Bradley, David, Huber, Evelyne, Moller, Stephanie, Nielsen, François, and Stephens, John D. (2003). Distribution and Redistribution in Postindustrial Democracies. *World Politics*, 55(2):193–228.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/25054218>  
<http://www.unc.edu/~jdsteph/documents/common/articles/World%20Politics%2003.pdf>
- Allan, James P. and Scruggs, Lyle (2004). Political Partisanship and Welfare State Reform in Advanced Industrial Societies. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(3):496–512.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0092-5853.2004.00083.x>

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- Schmidt, Manfred G. (1996). When parties matter: A review of the possibilities and limits of partisan influence on public policy. *European Journal of Political Research*, 30:155–183.  
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<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2111635>
- Huber, Evelyne and Stephens, John D. (2000). Partisan Governance, Women’s Employment, and the Social Democratic Service State. *American Sociological Review*, 65(3):323–342.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2657460>  
<http://www.unc.edu/~jdsteph/documents/common/articles/ASR2000.pdf>

- Franzese, Jr., Robert J. (2002). Electoral and Partisan Cycles in Economic Policies and Outcomes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5:369–421.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.5.112801.080924>  
<http://tinyurl.com/6jnoz4t>
- Pontusson, Jonas, Rueda, David, and Way, Christopher R. (2002). Comparative Political Economy of Wage Distribution: The Role of Partisanship and Labour Market Institutions. *British Journal of Political Science*, 32(2):281–308.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S000712340200011X>  
<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~polf0050/Rueda%20BJPS.pdf>
- Leigh, Andrew (2008). Estimating the impact of gubernatorial partisanship on policy settings and economic outcomes: A regression discontinuity approach. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 24(1):256–268.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2007.06.003>
- \* Pettersson-Lidbom, Per (2008). Do Parties Matter for Economic Outcomes? A Regression-Discontinuity Approach. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 6(5):1037–1056.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/JEEA.2008.6.5.1037>
- \* Lee, David S., Moretti, Enrico, and Butler, Matthew J. (2004). Do Voters Affect or Elect Policies? Evidence from the US House. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119(3):807–860.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/0033553041502153>
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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00499.x>  
<http://people.iq.harvard.edu/~dhopkins/citypartfinal.pdf>

### 3.4 Political Engagement and Information

The campaign manager of a major political party once explained to a group of campaigners that ‘you can never underestimate the ignorance of the electorate’. Whether people turnout to vote or not, there is the question of how engaged they are with the political process. Do voters possess even a baseline of information from which they may be able to form a view over who to vote for? Are there informational differences across the electorate that are related to, or explained by, economic inequality?

#### Shorter/Popular Readings (Required)

- Simic, Charles (2012). Age of Ignorance. New York Review of Books Blog.  
<http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2012/mar/20/age-of-ignorance/>

#### Required Readings

- Gilens, Martin (2001). Political Ignorance and Collective Policy Preferences. *American Political Science Review*, 95(02):379–396.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3118127>  
[http://unibaker.com/media/Political\\_Ignorance.\\_Martin\\_Gilens.pdf](http://unibaker.com/media/Political_Ignorance._Martin_Gilens.pdf)
- Bartels, Larry M. (2005). Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(01):15–31.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592705050036>
- Lupia, Arthur, Levine, Adam Seth, Menning, Jesse O., and Sin, Gisela (2007). Were Bush Tax Cut Supporters ‘Simply Ignorant’? A Second Look at Conservatives and Liberals in ‘Homer Gets a Tax Cut’. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(04):773–784.  
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- Bartels, Larry M. (2007). Homer Gets a Warm Hug: A Note on Ignorance and Extenuation. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(04):785–790.  
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- Solt, Frederick (2008). Economic Inequality and Democratic Political Engagement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(1):48–60.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00298.x>

#### Further Readings

- Downs, Anthony (1957). An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy. *Journal of Political Economy*, 65(2):135–150.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1827369>  
<http://tinyurl.com/5t624rz>
- Galston, William A. (2001). Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4(1):217–234.  
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- \* Bullock, John G. (2011). Elite Influence on Public Opinion in an Informed Electorate. *American Political Science Review*, 105(03):496–515.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055411000165>  
<http://bullock.research.yale.edu/papers/elite/elite.pdf>
- \* Matsusaka, John G. (1995-07-01). Explaining voter turnout patterns: An information theory. *Public Choice*, 84(1):91–117.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF01047803>  
[http://www-bcf.usc.edu/~matsusak/Papers/Matsusaka\\_PC\\_1995.pdf](http://www-bcf.usc.edu/~matsusak/Papers/Matsusaka_PC_1995.pdf)

### 3.5 Media Manipulation?

If political information is important, then shouldn't we also look at who provides that information?

#### Required Readings

- Druckman, James N., Fein, Jordan, and Leeper, Thomas J. (2012). A Source of Bias in Public Opinion Stability. *American Political Science Review*, 106(02):430–454.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000123>
- Gerber, Alan S., Karlan, Dean, and Bergan, Daniel (2009). Does the Media Matter? A Field Experiment Measuring the Effect of Newspapers on Voting Behavior and Political Opinions. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 1(2):35–52.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/app.1.2.35>
- DellaVigna, Stefano and Kaplan, Ethan (2007). The Fox News Effect: Media Bias and Voting. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 122(3):1187–1234.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/qjec.122.3.1187>
- Ladd, Jonathan McDonald and Lenz, Gabriel S. (2009). Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2):394–410.  
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[http://dl.dropbox.com/u/7536991/exploiting\\_rare\\_shift.pdf](http://dl.dropbox.com/u/7536991/exploiting_rare_shift.pdf)

#### Further Readings

- Ho, Daniel E. and Quinn, Kevin M. (2008). Measuring Explicit Political Positions of Media. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 3:353–377.  
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<http://tinyurl.com/c82sbhn>
- Lenz, Gabriel S. and Lawson, Chappell (2011). Looking the Part: Television Leads Less Informed Citizens to Vote Based on Candidates' Appearance. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(3):574–589.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00511.x>  
[http://dl.dropbox.com/u/7536991/looking\\_the\\_part.pdf](http://dl.dropbox.com/u/7536991/looking_the_part.pdf)
- Larcinese, Valentino, Puglisi, Riccardo, and Snyder Jr., James M. (2011). Partisan bias in economic news: Evidence on the agenda-setting behavior of U.S. newspapers. *Journal of Public Economics*, 95(9–10):1178–1189.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2011.04.006>
- \* Chiang, Chun-Fang and Knight, Brian (2011). Media Bias and Influence: Evidence from Newspaper Endorsements. *Review of Economic Studies*, 78(3):795–820.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/restud/rdq037>
- Groseclose, Tim and Milyo, Jeffrey (2005). A Measure of Media Bias. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(4):1191–1237.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/003355305775097542>  
<http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/content/120/4/1191.abstract>
- Groseclose, Tim (2011). *Left Turn: How Liberal Media Bias Distorts the American Mind*. St Martin's Press
- For a symposium on the Groseclose book, start try the following and its accompanying papers Farrell, Henry (2012). Does the US Media Have a Liberal Bias? *Perspectives on Politics*, 10(03):772–774.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592712001399>

### 3.6 Group Power

Inequality may impact the political process not by turnout or intellectual disengagement, but by privileging certain groups. Do governments respond equally to all types of citizen? If not, can economic inequality explain this? How important is organisation for the projection of political power?

#### Shorter/Popular Readings (Required)

- Woodley, Tony (2007). Ending the Labour-union link would benefit only the Tories. *The Guardian*. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/jul/13/comment.politics1>
- Cowen, Tyler (2012). Affluence and Influence. Published on marginalrevolution.com. <http://marginalrevolution.com/marginalrevolution/2012/07/affluence-and-influence.html>

#### Required Readings

- Hacker, Jacob S. and Pierson, Paul (2005). Abandoning the Middle: The Bush Tax Cuts and the Limits of Democratic Control. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(01):33–53. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592705050048>  
<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/hackerpierson.pdf>
- Gilens, Martin (2005). Inequality and Democratic Responsiveness. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 69(5):778–796. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfi058>
- Bartels, Larry M. (2006a). Is the Water Rising? Reflections on Inequality and American Democracy. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 39(01):39–42. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096506060057>
- Ura, Joseph Daniel and Ellis, Christopher R. (2008). Income, Preferences, and the Dynamics of Policy Responsiveness. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 41(04):785–794. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S104909650808102X>
- Soroka, Stuart N. and Wlezien, Christopher (2008). On the Limits to Inequality in Representation. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 41(02):319–327. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096508080505>

#### Further Readings

- \* Stigler, George J (1970). Director's Law of Public Income Redistribution. *Journal of Law and Economics*, 13(1):1–10
- Korpi, Walter and Shalev, Michael (1979). Strikes, Industrial Relations and Class Conflict in Capitalist Societies. *British Journal of Sociology*, 30(2):164–187
- Cameron, David R. (1984). Social Democracy, Corporatism, Labour Quiescence and the Representation of Economic Interest in Advanced Capitalist Society. In Goldthorpe, John H., editor, *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*, chapter 7, pages 143–178. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK
- Piven, Frances Fox (2006). Response to 'American Democracy in an Age of Inequality'. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 39(01):43–46. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096506060100>
- Gilens, Martin (2012a). *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ
- Gilens, Martin (2012b). Forum: Under the Influence. *Boston Review*. <http://tinyurl.com/d27tj2t>



### 3.7 Group Identities

So far, we have largely considered redistributive preferences as being derived from the relative position of individuals on a single dimension — the income distribution. What if people identify with particular groups and so feel a greater or lesser affinity for subsets of society? Examples might be based on, say, religion, race, or nationality. How might this impact on redistributive preferences?

#### Required Readings

- Blekesaune, Morten and Quadagno, Jill (2003). Public Attitudes toward Welfare State Policies: A Comparative Analysis of 24 Nations. *European Sociological Review*, 19(5):415–427.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/esr/19.5.415>
- Lupu, Noam and Pontusson, Jonas (2011). The Structure of Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution. *American Political Science Review*, 105(02):316–336.  
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[http://www.noamlupu.com/structure\\_inequality.pdf](http://www.noamlupu.com/structure_inequality.pdf)
- Walsh, Katherine Cramer (2012). Putting Inequality in Its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 106(03):517–532.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000305>
- Finseraas, Henning (2012). Poverty, ethnic minorities among the poor, and preferences for redistribution in European regions. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(2):164–180.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0958928711433655>
- Dahlberg, Matz, Edmark, Karin, and Lundqvist, Heléne (2012). Ethnic Diversity and Preferences for Redistribution. *Journal of Political Economy*, 120(1):41–76

#### Further Readings

- \* Shayo, Moses (2009). A Model of Social Identity with an Application to Political Economy: Nation, Class, and Redistribution. *American Political Science Review*, 103(02):147–174.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055409090194>
- Klor, Esteban F. and Shayo, Moses (2010). Social identity and preferences over redistribution. *Journal of Public Economics*, 94(3-4):269–278.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2009.12.003>
- Hero, Rodney E. (2010). Immigration and Social Policy in the United States. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13(1):445–468.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.041608.135744>
- \* Cruces, Guillermo, Truglia, Perez, Nicolas, Ricardo, and Tetaz, Martin (2011). Biased Perceptions of Income Distribution and Preferences for Redistribution: Evidence from a Survey Experiment.  
<http://ssrn.com/abstract=1817906>

### 3.8 Redistribution and Religion

#### Required Readings

- Kahl, Sigrun (2005). The Religious Roots of Modern Poverty Policy: Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Protestant Traditions Compared. *European Journal of Sociology*, 46(01):91–126.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003975605000044>
- Scheve, Ken and Stasavage, David (2006). Religion and Preferences for Social Insurance. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 1:255–286.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.561/100.0000505>  
<http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/stasavage/qjps.pdf>
- De La O, Ana L. and Rodden, Jonathan A. (2008). Does Religion Distract the Poor? *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(4-5):437–476.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414007313114>
- Solt, Frederick, Habel, Philip, and Grant, J. Tobin (2011). Economic Inequality, Relative Power, and Religiosity. *Social Science Quarterly*, 92(2):447–465.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2011.00777.x>

#### Further Readings

- Stegmüller, Daniel, Scheepers, Peer, Roßteutscher, Sigrid, and de Jong, Eelke (2011). Support for Redistribution in Western Europe: Assessing the role of religion. *European Sociological Review*.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcr011>
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna (2012). Why Comparative Politics Should Take Religion (More) Seriously. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15(1):421–442.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-033110-130442>  
<http://tinyurl.com/8k9fnxq>
- \* Roemer, John E. (1998). Why the poor do not expropriate the rich: an old argument in new garb. *Journal of Public Economics*, 70(3):399–424.  
[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727\(98\)00042-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727(98)00042-5)  
[http://darp.lse.ac.uk/PapersDB/Roemer\\_\(JPubE\\_98\).pdf](http://darp.lse.ac.uk/PapersDB/Roemer_(JPubE_98).pdf)
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. (1996). *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. (1998b). From Pulpit to Party: Party Formation and the Christian Democratic Phenomenon. *Comparative Politics*, 30(3):293–312
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. (1998a). Democracy and Religious Politics: Evidence from Belgium. *Comparative Political Studies*, 31(3):292–320.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414098031003002>

### 3.9 ‘Winner-Take-All Politics’?

This week is a little different from the others. Rather than read a selection of articles from various sources, we will read the contents of a special issue of *Politics & Society*. The editors introduce it with the following:

This special issue of *Politics & Society* addresses the politics of income inequality in the United States over the past thirty years. The Great Recession of 2007–9 has made this an extremely important topic since growing income inequality appears to be a critical factor in the severity of the recent economic and financial downturn. The centerpiece of the issue is an extended article by Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, “Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States.” This article develops an argument that Hacker and Pierson plan to elaborate at greater length in a forthcoming book. Their article is followed by six commentaries [...]. The issue concludes with a rejoinder by Hacker and Pierson.

#### Required Readings

- Hacker, Jacob S. and Pierson, Paul (2010b). Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States. *Politics & Society*, 38(2):152–204.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365042>
- Block, Fred and Piven, Frances Fox (2010). Déjà Vu, All Over Again: A Comment on Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, “Winner-Take-All Politics”. *Politics & Society*, 38(2):205–211.  
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- Brandolini, Andrea (2010). Political Economy and the Mechanics of Politics. *Politics & Society*, 38(2):212–226.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365045>
- Campbell, Andrea Louise (2010). The Public’s Role in Winner-Take-All Politics. *Politics & Society*, 38(2):227–232.  
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- Fligstein, Neil (2010). Politics, the Reorganization of the Economy, and Income Inequality, 1980–2009. *Politics & Society*, 38(2):233–242.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365047>
- Jacobs, Lawrence R. (2010). Democracy and Capitalism: Structure, Agency, and Organized Combat. *Politics & Society*, 38(2):243–254.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365048>
- Kenworthy, Lane (2010b). Business Political Capacity and the Top-Heavy Rise in Income Inequality: How Large an Impact? *Politics & Society*, 38(2):255–265.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365049>
- Hacker, Jacob S. and Pierson, Paul (2010a). Winner-Take-All Politics and Political Science: A Response. *Politics & Society*, 38(2):266–282.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365050>

#### Further Readings

- Hacker, Jacob S. and Pierson, Paul (2011). *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer — And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class*. Simon & Schuster