# Inequality, Democracy and Redistribution

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### **Goals of the talk**

- Explore the impact of *economic conditions* on *attitudes related to democracy*
  - *Individual-level: Household income and social class*
  - National-level: Economic prosperity and income inequality
- Use Word Values Survey data from 193 surveys nested within 66 countries collected between 1990 and 2014
  - Start with some published findings; end with some new results
- Conclusions: Excessive inequality has a profound effect on democratic values
  - Strong class and income effects that differ by both national-level income inequality and economic prosperity

# Why care about rising inequality? (1)

#### 1. Implications for democracy

- Excessive inequality has negative implications for values and behaviours, which are also important for democracy and business
- Wide array of societal ills are related to social trust, which in turn is affected by inequality (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009; Uslaner 2007; Uslaner and Brown 2005)
- Evidence that inequality is associated with distrust of business (Stiglitz 2012)

#### 2. Market failure

- Excessive `rent' extraction at top (esp. CEOs) (Bebchuk, Cremers and Peyer, 2011)
- Poor match between education (esp. skills training) and labour market outcomes (Andersen and Van de Werfhorst 2010), resulting in less efficient markets

BA1 Bob Andersen, 10/09/2018

### Why care about rising inequality? (2) Inequality and Democracy

- Excessive inequality has implications for a wide array of attitudes and behaviours related to democracy
  - Civic involvement (Andersen, Curtis and Grabb 2006)
  - Social trust and tolerance (Andersen and Fetner 2008; Milligan, Andersen and Brym 2013)
  - Trust in institutions (Grabb, Andersen, Hwang and Milligan 2009)
  - Attitudes toward redistribution/government responsibility (Andersen and Curtis 2013; Andersen, Curtis and Brym 2018)
  - Support for democracy (Andersen 2013)
- An over-emphasis on economic growth is unlikely to achieve the goal of a cooperative and inclusive democracy unless how that growth is distributed is also considered

## **Some Theoretical Background Role of self-interest**

- Individual economic position is *negatively* related to support (Blekesuane 2007, Durr 1993, Derks 2004, Fraile and Ferrer 2005, Svallfors 1995, 1997, 2008).
- Near consensus that public support *decreases* with economic prosperity (Blekasuane 2007, Dion and Jaeger 2013, Jaeger 2013).
  - <u>Assumed mechanism</u>: smaller proportion benefits when society is affluent, thus average public opinion is less supportive
- Other research suggests that public opinion is *more supportive* when inequality is high (Meltzer and Richard 1981, Finserass 2009, Joakim and Svallfors 2013, Kelly and Enns 2010, Lupu and Pontusson 2011, Shaw and Gaffef 2012)

# Figure 1

Effect of Household Income on Opinions on Government Intervention

"The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for"



*Source:* WVS data on 2111,748 respondents nested with 193 surveys collected from 66 countries (all those with 2 or more survey) between 1990 and 2014

#### Figure 2 Effect of Household Income on attitudes towards (a) desire for more income inequality and (b) the fairness of wealth inequality



*Source:* Fixed effects regressions using 2001 *World Values Survey* data from 38,683 7 respondents nested within 35 countries (Andersen 2012)

## Figure 3 Effect of Household Income on Support for Democracy

![](_page_8_Figure_1.jpeg)

*Source:* Fixed effects regressions using 2001 *World Values Survey* data from 38,683 respondents nested within 35 countries (Andersen 2012) 8

#### **Figure 4 Ethnic Tolerance**

Economic Prosperity and Income Inequality

![](_page_9_Figure_2.jpeg)

*Source:* Fixed effects model predicting ethnic tolerance from *World Values Survey* data between 1999 and 2008 from 25,507 respondents nested within 31 surveys, 23 countries (Milligan, Andersen and Brym, 2013)

#### **Figure 5 Support for Democracy** *Household Income x Income Inequality*

(a) Established Democracies

(a) Former Communist Countries

![](_page_10_Figure_3.jpeg)

*Source:* Fixed effects regressions using 2001 *World Values Survey* data from 38,683 respondents nested within 35 countries (Andersen 2012)

#### **Figure 6 Government Intervention** *Class Polarization and Income Inequality*

![](_page_11_Figure_1.jpeg)

*Source:* Mixed cumulative logit models fitted to 2001 *World Values Survey* data from 11,470 respondents nested in 44 countries (from Andersen and Curtis, 2012)

### **Some new results:**

How inequality and prosperity interact to effect attitudes toward government intervention

- World Values Survey (Inglehart et al. 2006)
  - Limited to surveys collected between 1990 and 2014 because the surveys of interest were collected during this period, and respondents over 18
  - To account for the diversity of national contexts, we include all 66 countries (193 surveys) for which relevant data are available
  - Limit countries to those with 2 or more survey; sample sizes above 300
- Final *N* of 211,748 people nested within 193 surveys within 66 countries
- Use both mixed models and country fixed effect models to predict attitudes

### Some new hypotheses (1)

- *Hypothesis* **1** Effect of prosperity on attitudes depends on a country's level of income inequality
  - Specifically, prosperity has little effect on attitudes in very unequal countries, but its influence is increasingly negative as inequality grows.
- *Hypothesis 2* The effect of income inequality on attitudes depends on a country's level of prosperity
  - In comparatively poor countries, income inequality matters little.
  - As prosperity grows, however, the impact of income inequality on attitudes toward government intervention becomes increasingly positive.

# Some new hypotheses (2)

- **Hypothesis 3** Although we expect a negative relationship between household income and attitudes in all societies, the strength of this relationship will vary by economic prosperity and income inequality.
  - It will be *weakest in poor countries*, where many low-income earners become inured to the incapacity and/or unwillingness of their governments to mitigate economic conditions and most people understand that wealthy citizens are lightly taxed.
  - In poor countries, the effect of income will be similar regardless of the level of inequality.
  - In richer countries, however, the negative effect of household income will be more pronounced in countries with high income inequality.

Model 1	
(Mixed effects)	
-0.138***	
0.035***	
0	
-0.469	
-0.039	
-1.156**	
-0.536	
-1.025	
-0.026	
0.047	
-0.035	
-0.168***	
0.137***	

	Model 1 (Mixed effects)	Model 2 (Mixed effects)
Income	-0.138***	-0.138***
Survey year	0.035***	0.033***
Continent		
North America	0	0
South America	-0.469	-0.513
Europe	-0.039	0.049
Asia	-1.156**	-1.223**
Africa	-0.536	-0.614
Oceania	-1.025	-1.071
Country-level variables		
Ethnic diversity	-0.026	-0.053
Communist legacy	0.047	0.372
Democracy	-0.035	-0.039
GDP PPP per capita	-0.168***	-0.107**
GINI coefficient	0.137***	-1.425
Interaction terms		
GDP x GINI		0.132***
Income x GDP		
Income x GINI		
Income x GDP x GINI		

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	(Mixed effects)	(Mixed effects)	(Mixed effects
Income	-0.138***	-0.138***	-0.156***
Survey year	0.035***	0.033***	0.032***
Continent			
North America	0	0	0
South America	-0.469	-0.513	-0.642*
Europe	-0.039	0.049	-0.137
Asia	-1.156**	-1.223**	-1.501***
Africa	-0.536	-0.614	-0.673
Oceania	-1.025	-1.071	-1.303*
Country-level variables			
Ethnic diversity	-0.026	-0.053	-0.353
Communist legacy	0.047	0.372	0.492*
Democracy	-0.035	-0.039	-0.486*
GDP PPP per capita	-0.168***	-0.107**	0.371***
GINI coefficient	0.137***	-1.425	0.236***
Interaction terms			
GDP x GINI		0.132***	0.327***
Income x GDP			-0.095***
Income x GINI			-0.008
Income x GDP x GINI			-0.040***

	Model 1 (Mixed effects)	Model 2 (Mixed effects)	Model 3 (Mixed effects)	Model 4
	(Mixed effects)	(Mixed effects)	(Mixed effects)	fixed effects)
Income	-0.138***	-0.138***	-0.156***	-0.144***
Survey year	0.035***	0.033***	0.032***	0.030***
Continent				
North America	0	0	0	
South America	-0.469	-0.513	-0.642*	
Europe	-0.039	0.049	-0.137	
Asia	-1.156**	-1.223**	-1.501***	
Africa	-0.536	-0.614	-0.673	
Oceania	-1.025	-1.071	-1.303*	
Country-level variables				
Ethnic diversity	-0.026	-0.053	-0.353	
Communist legacy	0.047	0.372	0.492*	
Democracy	-0.035	-0.039	-0.486*	-0.010
GDP PPP per capita	-0.168***	-0.107**	0.371***	-0.097
GINI coefficient	0.137***	-1.425	0.236***	0.251***
Interaction terms				
GDP x GINI		0.132***	0.327***	0.283***
Income x GDP			-0.095***	-0.028***
Income x GINI			-0.008	-0.015***
Income x GDP x GINI			-0.040***	-0.030***

#### Figure 7 Effect of Economic Prosperity by Income Inequality (Model 4)

![](_page_19_Figure_1.jpeg)

#### Figure 8 Economic Prosperity, Income Inequality, and Income

![](_page_20_Figure_1.jpeg)

# Conclusions

- Economic conditions have profound effect on attitudes considered important to democracy
  - Individual conditions and national conditions interact
- New Findings:
  - *Income inequality* has little effect in poor countries, but large positive effect in rich countries
  - Economic prosperity has little effect in highly unequal countries, but strong negative effect in relatively equal countries
  - Income has strongest effect in relatively rich and unequal countries
    - Here lower classes tend to be most likely to want government intervention