Index

accountability, 121, 245-47, 293, 295, 297 active labor market policies, 306, 316, 321, 322 Affordable Care Act (ACA), 119, 153 African Americans. See Black Americans agenda setting, 102 American political system, 15, 99, 107 American politics, 15, 29, 30, 50, 75, 94, 99, 101, 104, 106, 116, 126-28, 134 Antifa, 284, 288, 290 behavioral revolution, 78, 84 biased pluralism, 134 Biden, Joseph R., 123, 287, 288 Black Americans, 120, 292, 293 BLM, 288, 289 blue-collar workers. See class groups, workers Brexit, 278, 298 British Social Attitude Survey (BSAS), 234 business cycle, 246, 247, 252-56, 273, 274 business interests, 87, 139, 144 businesses, 57, 59, 109, 138, 199, 293, 295, 296 campaign contributions, 139, 141, 144, 203 campaign costs, 183, 186 campaign finance, 51, 97, 134, 141, 154, 191 campaign spending, 134, 141 candidate selection process, 179 candidates, 188, 195, 201, 204-5, 249, 277, 278, 283, 284 working-class candidates, 180-82 capital, 52, 54, 58, 62, 63, 67, 70, 73, 75, 103, 105, 145, 164, 170-72, 174, 247, 254, 270, 306

capital mobility, 67, 69 capitalism, 23, 54, 58, 62, 188, 252, 275, 296, 297 cash income, 63 cash transfers, 63, 72 center-left governments, 55 childcare, 307, 310, 322 city residents, 277 civil rights organizations, 124 civil society, 204 class groups high-income citizens, 13, 29-31, 34-36, 38, 39, 41, 48, 49, 52, 81, 88 high-income households, 19 high-income individuals, 244 income groups, 11, 18, 20, 25, 40, 81, 90, 92-94, 138, 245, 250, 253, 255-57, 261, 264, 268-70, 274, 275, 301, 312 low-income citizens, 13, 30, 31 low-income voters, 19, 20 middle class, 23, 50, 54-57, 59-61, 65, 67-72, 75, 76, 86-88, 92, 93, 140, 197, 246, 251, 275, 288, 302-4, 306, 307, 311-16, 318, 321 middle-income citizens, 13, 30, 31 middle-income people, 91 middle-income voters, 19, 20 nonrich citizens, 274 the poor, 1, 14, 20, 22, 30, 55, 67, 76, 80, 85, 133, 134, 137, 138, 140, 198, 201, 204, 205, 208, 211, 214, 227, 228, 231, 235, 241, 258, 315 poor people, 86, 92, 198

class groups (cont.) the rich, 1, 9, 12, 20, 54-57, 59, 60, 65, 66, 70, 75, 76, 85-87, 91, 109, 113, 134, 137, 138, 176, 197-99, 201, 204, 205, 213, 214, 227, 230, 232, 235, 246, 248, 250-53, 255-57 rich citizens, 197, 198 small business owners, 312 workers, 103, 105, 204, 252, 255, 259 working class, 16, 23, 24, 44, 177, 304, 312, 314, 315, 320, 321 working-class people, 177-79, 182-84, 186, 188, 191, 194 working-class voters, 302, 303, 305, 308, 313 class interests, 56, 58, 60, 76, 251, 252, 305 Comparative Manifestos Project, 186, 187 comparative political economy, 3, 15, 25, 57 comparative politics, 3, 20, 31, 114 congruence, 77-85, 89, 91, 93-95, 102, 178, 198, 301-5, 307-9, 312, 315, 318-22 opinion congruence, 13, 25, 320 conscientiousness, 159 conservative bias, 157, 203 conservative religious groups, 119 conspiracy theories, 284 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), 138 coordinated market economies, 254 corporate donations, 141 corporate performance, 257, 258, 261, 272 corporate tax rate, 143 cosmopolitanism, 44 councilors, 163, 164 COVID, 287, 293 cross-national surveys, 223, 226, 232, 234 cultural grievances, 116 decommodification, 108, 110, 112, 124 deconcentration, 108, 109, 112, 123, 125, 127 deindustrialization, 103 democratic theory, 77, 83, 95 democratic values, 79 Democrats, 15, 23, 30, 87, 99, 106, 108, 110, 114, 115, 118, 121-24, 126-28, 153, 277, 280, 287-89, 291, 296, 297 density tax, 118, 122, 123, 127 distributive injustice, 277 distributive politics, 55, 68, 76

economic globalization, 161 economic growth, 176, 245, 252, 255, 273, 274 economic information, 245 economic performance, 21, 31, 52, 156, 159, 164, 252, 256, 274 economic polarization, 98, 100 economic segregation, 105, 126 economic sentiment, 260 economic voting, 249, 250 educational gap, 208, 209, 211 efficacy. See political efficacy elderly care, 11, 63 elected officials, 17, 51, 78, 87, 101, 123, 126, 196.205 elections, 13, 17, 51, 79, 113, 123, 125, 136, 141, 152, 154, 157, 159, 162, 165, 176, 181, 182, 188, 189, 202, 203, 249, 250, 284, 303 electoral behavior, 21, 249 Electoral College, 15, 99, 104, 115 electoral fraud, 166 electoral laws, 134 electoral mobilization, 145, 147, 148, 150, 155 electoral politics, 43, 120, 135, 136, 141, 145 electoral rules, 155, 183, 188 electoral selection, 88, 133-35, 139, 141, 143, 153-55 electoral support, 312, 313 electoral systems, 82, 128, 182, 186, 188, 189 majoritarian systems, 141, 165, 304, 308 proportional representation (PR), 107, 154, 155, 157, 162, 165, 178, 182, 183, 188, 189, 193, 198, 303, 304, 307 elite-centered explanations, 16, 156, 157, 160 elites, 2, 17, 24, 53, 81, 94, 100, 110, 121, 126, 176, 251, 276, 277, 298, 300, 302, 305, 306 economic, 134, 139, 144, 147, 197, 248 party, 100, 108, 116, 117, 120, 121, 127 political, 23, 52, 80, 81, 88, 298, 303, 313 emotional stability, 159 environmental issues, 314 equal influence. See influence European Social Survey (ESS), 18, 20, 201, 208, 210, 223, 234, 237-39, 241, 314 European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC), 4 Eurostat, 63 expressive ambition, 179, 182 fairness, 21, 22, 219, 220, 222, 224-26, 228, 232, 242, 244 beliefs, 220, 225, 226, 229, 239, 243, 244

doctrine, 278

norm, 21, 22, 24, 220, 222, 224, 225, 231, 243 reasoning, 219-22, 226, 229-31, 235, 242, 243 federalism, 99, 104, 124, 125 financial crisis, 2, 6, 8-10, 20, 25, 258 financialization, 255, 257, 273 firms, 105, 153, 155, 251 fiscal conservatism, 161 Floyd, George, 22, 279, 280, 282, 284-87, 289 - 97Floyd protests, 290 foreign direct investment, 67 free market, 23, 251, 296 free riding, 108, 222, 223, 229, 231, 233, 237, 238, 241-44 gay rights, 94, 314 GDP growth, 21, 67, 69, 247, 252, 253, 257, 260, 261, 270, 272 GDP per capita, 72, 103 gender, 140, 144, 157, 163, 166, 175, 309 gerrymandering, 115, 118, 123 Gini coefficient, 1, 5, 6, 8 globalization, 13, 58, 62, 67, 70, 161, 258 governance, 79, 101, 102, 118, 127, 199 governing party, 52, 82, 105, 250, 307 government partisanship, 30-35, 40, 41, 43-46, 48, 50, 62, 67, 69, 88 government spending, 5, 11, 44, 49, 54, 61, 70, 74, 80, 87, 90, 120, 138, 198 government transfers, 5, 12, 72 Great Recession, 46, 277 healthcare, 63, 80, 119, 124, 160, 224, 226, 227, 230, 284 household income, 4, 5, 18, 55, 63, 72, 73, 258 housing, 63, 100, 105, 110, 112, 117, 118, 122, 125, 126, 164, 172, 291 housing crisis, 125 humanitarianism, 280 ideological alignment, 101 ideological cues, 57 ideological scales, 80 ideological spectrum, 2, 316, 322, 323 immigrants, 22, 120, 229, 291, 297, 298, 302, 306, 307, 310, 315 immigration, 3, 22, 24, 32, 44, 198, 306, 308, 314, 320, 322 import competition, 103

income disposable, 5-8, 10-12, 63, 70, 73, 74, 76, 219, 247, 260, 261, 265-68, 274 gap, 197, 209, 211 growth, 19-21, 55, 72-76, 249, 250, 253, 261-70 labor, 11, 75 market, 4, 5, 7-12, 60, 63, 64, 67, 70, 220, 221, 224, 228-30, 233, 242-45, 261, 265 net, 58, 66, 70, 71, 76 posttax-and-transfer, 245, 247 pretax, 4, 191, 253, 254, 260, 261, 265-68,270 income classes, 56, 58, 63, 72, 88, 301, 302 income distribution, 1, 2, 4, 5, 19, 21, 33, 35, 37, 38, 49, 51, 53, 55, 67, 70, 72, 73, 76, 86, 89, 91, 138, 144, 147, 191, 249, 260-65, 267-69, 273, 274 income groups high-income groups, 87 incumbents, 20, 21, 249, 250, 275 individualism, 280 inequality, 1-6, 8, 9, 11, 14-25, 55-57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 69, 72, 75-78, 82, 84, 86, 89, 95, 97, 105, 110, 127, 140-42, 148, 158, 178, 199-201, 204, 219, 220, 226, 240, 243, 244, 246-51, 253-59, 270, 272-76, 280, 289, 292 bottom-end, 20, 55, 61, 67, 69, 70 economic, 16, 23-25, 86, 133, 135, 136, 139, 141, 142, 183, 186, 191, 198, 206, 264, 276, 278, 282, 291, 295, 297 income, 2, 4-8, 10-12, 24, 30, 44, 63, 67, 70, 75, 220, 227, 228, 231, 234, 242-45, 255, 256, 270, 272 market, 2, 6-8, 11, 12, 54, 67 political, 15, 23, 25, 77, 78, 82, 84, 85, 87, 89, 94, 95, 97, 133-35, 139, 140, 154-55, 199, 245, 248 racial, 280 structure of, 20 top-end, 4, 5, 12, 20, 22, 59, 60, 66, 69, 70, 75, 258, 270 inflation, 128, 162, 258, 260 influence, 14, 25, 29, 30, 39, 51, 53, 57-60, 62, 70, 76, 77, 84-97, 105, 115, 118, 119, 125, 127, 133-35, 141-43, 147, 151-54, 162, 175, 183, 197-99, 248 infrastructure, 61, 105, 117, 120, 124, 128, 157, 172, 173, 301 in-kind benefits, 11, 70, 72, 226 in-kind services, 61, 63, 64

in-kind transfers, 55, 73 institutional trust, 306 interest groups, 13-17, 24, 50, 52, 85, 87, 94, 96, 107, 122, 133-36, 139, 141-43, 145-47, 153-55, 157, 195, 199 International Monetary Fund, 260 International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), 20, 54, 232, 234, 239-41 investors, 251, 259 journalists, 21, 246, 247, 251-53, 255-58, 272, 274, 283 knowledge economy, 15, 72, 98-100, 102-5, 108, 110, 117, 118, 122, 125-28 labor, 52, 58, 142, 177, 200, 247, 254, 255 force, 4, 67, 182, 184, 186, 191 market, 2, 21, 31, 61, 70, 177, 183, 184, 200, 224, 230, 243, 273, 302, 306, 310, 311, 313, 316, 321, 322 organized, 124, 134, 141, 143, 148 relations, 228, 234, 256 unions, 15, 30, 49, 51, 87, 97, 124, 134, 141, 144, 147, 148, 152, 155, 175, 177, 178, 182, 184-86, 193, 255, 312 law and order, 23, 295, 297 Left governments, 30, 31, 46-50, 53, 157, 260 legislators, 16, 82, 133, 135, 136, 138, 140-44, 146-50, 161, 177, 178, 183, 184, 186-88, 200, 203-5 working-class, 187, 188 legislature, 82, 118, 121, 123, 133, 135, 136, 140-43, 147, 149-51, 153, 158, 162, 177, 178, 183, 184, 186-89, 191, 193, 195, 201 behavior, 16, 135, 148, 149, 154 staffers, 138 state, 114, 121 systems, 81 liberal market economies, 4, 71, 76, 254 lobbying, 2, 15, 88, 133-36, 139, 140, 142-50, 153-55 Luxembourg Income Study (LIS), 4, 5, 54–56, 63, 73, 75 market capitalization, 261, 270, 272 market competition, 58 market forces, 2, 8, 9, 256 market-liberalizing reforms, 162 material welfare, 58, 246, 258 median voter, 30, 91, 94, 140, 158, 203, 244, 303

migrants, 306, 308, 310-13, 315, 319, 322 minimum wage, 121, 137, 152 minorities, 22, 75, 82, 86, 115, 188, 289, 291 minority rights, 79 mobility, 58, 61, 65, 70, 76, 158, 242 monied interests, 15, 16 moral hazard, 233, 242 moral system, 220, 221, 223-26 motivated reasoning, 100 multiparty systems, 155 nascent ambition, 179, 181, 182 New Deal, 123 news media, 21, 33, 101, 153, 199, 245-47, 250, 252, 253, 255-62, 265, 272, 273, 275 economic news, 20, 21, 199, 246, 247, 250-53, 255-65, 267, 269, 270, 272-74 media market, 279 news coverage, 21 news outlets, 21, 250-52, 259, 260, 273, 274.298 news tone, 21, 246, 247, 257-62, 264-66, 268, 270, 272, 274, 275 right-wing media, 119 talk radio, 22, 278-80, 282-84, 287, 297, 298 talk radio stations, 279, 280 oligarchies, 214 openness to experience, 159 parliament, 67, 80, 82, 204, 205, 208, 303 parliamentary systems, 14 participation gap, 17, 197, 201, 211, 214 partisanship, 3, 13, 14, 41, 87, 104, 110, 113, 120, 123, 139, 140, 142, 149-53, 157, 251 party coalitions, 15, 100, 112, 123, 124, 127, 128 party competition, 106, 274, 308 party polarization, 135, 142, 147, 152, 154 party systems, 116, 123, 127, 129, 196, 201, 308, 310-13, 315-21 pensions, 4, 5, 230, 261, 301, 302, 306, 307, 310, 315, 319, 321 policy, 177 conservative, 16, 157, 160, 162, 168, 174, 175 distributive, 249, 300, 306 economic, 14, 23, 24, 31, 35, 43, 46-48, 52, 53, 87, 94, 100, 119-22, 124, 161, 199, 245, 275, 299, 319 education, 306

meritocracy, 161, 258

expansionary, 161 fiscal, 54, 70, 87, 110, 140, 156, 157, 162, 164, 165, 169, 170, 173-76 immigration, 306 Kevnesian, 173 predistribution, 221, 227, 228, 247 redistributive, 1, 2, 7, 8, 12, 19, 22, 49, 137, 219-21, 226, 242, 243, 245, 258, 297 regimes, 112, 117 social compensation, 302 social consumption, 59, 301, 305, 306, 308-10, 312, 313, 315, 319 social investment, 31, 59, 302, 305, 306, 309, 310, 312, 313, 315, 319, 321 social, 23, 31, 43, 100, 110, 124, 127, 128, 161, 222, 224, 243, 245, 298, 300-2, 304-9, 311-13, 315, 317, 320-23 welfare, 35, 46-48, 52, 53, 161, 301, 312, 313, 319, 321 policy feedback, 117 political donations, 203 political efficacy, 142, 206-8, 211 political equality, 15, 84, 134-36, 139, 141, 148, 154, 196, 213, 247 political influence. See influence political institutions, 15, 99, 100, 112, 115, 122, 127, 158, 180 political participation, 17, 50, 78, 197, 199-201, 203, 205, 207, 208, 214, 300 unequal political participation, 139, 196, 199, 207 political parties, 12, 14, 56, 96, 141, 155, 166, 180, 182, 195, 201, 204, 208, 211, 305, 307, 321 Center-Right parties, 50 Democratic party, 23, 104, 110, 117, 118, 122-28, 197 Dutch Labor Party, 46 German Social Democrats, 46 GOP. See political parties, Republican Party Green parties, 33, 41 Left parties, 13, 31, 33, 34, 41-43, 45, 48-50, 52, 62, 67, 157, 175, 182, 183, 186, 187, 307, 317 liberal parties, 188 mainstream parties, 50, 52, 175, 308 nationalist parties, 188 nonmainstream parties, 307 Norwegian Social Democrats, 44, 46 populist parties, 137 Progress Party, 44 Republican Party, 100, 109, 113-16,

118-27, 277, 278, 298

Right parties, 13, 31, 43, 67, 70, 187 Social Democratic parties, 14, 31, 33, 41,46 Swedish Social Democrats, 44, 46 political polarization, 98, 148 populist backlash, 105 potential candidates, 179-81 primary deficit, 157, 169 private insurance, 61 pro-affluent bias. See pro-rich bias productivity growth, 258 progressive economic groups, 124 proportionality norm, 21, 22, 222-24, 230, 234, 244 pro-rich bias, 14, 21, 40, 41, 43, 45, 48, 52, 134, 246, 247, 259, 264, 273 protectionism, 161 public employees, 277 public financing, 183, 190, 191, 193 public goods, 55, 58, 61, 63, 72-75, 117, 118, 156, 159, 169 public investment, 105, 112, 122, 170 public opinion, 2, 19, 20, 22, 32, 34, 35, 48, 49, 54, 56, 58, 78, 79, 82, 85, 102, 137, 197, 203, 243, 279, 302 race, 22, 23, 55, 75, 117, 124, 128, 140, 144, 279, 282, 288, 294, 298 racial animosity, 58 racial injustice, 23, 279, 285, 288, 289 racism, 23, 75, 229, 276-80, 282, 284-87, 289, 290, 292-95, 297-99

reciprocity norm, 22, 222–24, 230, 233, 234, 241, 244

redistribution, 1, 3–8, 11–14, 19–23, 31, 44, 49, 50, 55, 59, 61, 62, 70, 73–76, 88, 93, 108, 110, 112, 115, 117, 124, 125, 141, 178, 219, 226, 227, 230, 231, 233–35, 237, 240–42, 248, 276–80, 293, 296–97, 300–2, 314

demand for, 2, 3, 12, 15, 17–24, 49, 76, 160, 161, 198, 201, 219, 220, 222, 226, 227, 230, 231, 235, 243, 244, 248, 249, 276–79, 297

- income, 226, 228, 234, 236, 239, 242
- interregional, 108, 110, 112
- intraregional, 108
- redistributive politics, 39, 49, 50, 56, 57, 75, 220, 221, 244
- within-household, 75
- redistribution preferences. *See* redistribution, demand for rent-seeking, 120, 252

- representation, 3, 13–15, 17, 23, 24, 29, 32, 35, 48, 50, 57, 62, 77–79, 82, 87, 90, 93, 94, 99–102, 104–6, 112, 116, 118, 122, 127–29, 134, 137, 149, 152, 158, 160, 177, 179, 180, 186, 197, 201, 203–7,
 - 213, 214, 221, 300–8, 310, 312, 313,
 - 315-17, 320-23
 - coincidental, 95
 - congressional, 78, 81, 86
 - democratic, 78
 - descriptive, 13, 16, 24, 134, 140, 157, 175, 183, 184, 196, 199, 204, 205
 - differential, 91, 204
 - dyadic, 82
 - gap, 17, 204
 - legislative, 106
 - opinion, 82
 - party, 82, 306, 310, 312, 313
 - policy, 305
 - subjective, 304, 311, 313, 315
 - substantive, 136, 150, 176, 178
 - systemic, 301, 313-15, 320
 - territorial, 105
 - unequal, 2–4, 13–16, 24, 30, 31, 49, 94, 133–36, 138, 139, 149, 153–55, 160, 196, 197, 199, 203–7, 211, 213–15, 300–3, 305, 312, 313, 315, 321, 322 working-class, 183, 188, 191, 193, 195
- representational equality, 264, 267
- representative democracy, 133, 144
- Republicans, 15, 23, 30, 87, 99, 107–10, 113, 114, 118–22, 128, 297
- responsiveness, 14, 24, 30, 33–37, 43, 48, 50, 51, 53, 77, 79, 80, 85–91, 93, 95, 96, 99, 136–38, 140, 141, 147, 178, 198, 246, 249, 259, 302, 303
 - differential, 90, 101, 138, 198, 199
 - legislative, 136, 139, 148
 - policy, 14, 16, 24, 29–33, 35, 39–41, 46, 48–53, 93, 178, 300, 302, 312, 320
 - unequal, 13, 14, 29–32, 35, 36, 44, 46–53, 78, 93, 137, 139, 140, 143, 175, 176, 196–98, 206, 207, 312
- Right-leaning governments, 30, 31, 44, 46-49
- rightwing populism, 56, 120
- Robin Hood paradox, 1, 57
- roll-call votes, 79, 152, 204
- rural consciousness, 277, 299
- single-member districts, 81, 82, 99, 104, 106 slavery, 277, 298 social assistance, 5, 7, 9

- social class, 23, 25, 51, 157, 158, 177, 178, 182-84, 200, 303, 305, 307, 311-13, 321 Social Democrats, 34 social insurance, 22, 58, 60-62, 221, 224, 228-31, 234, 243, 261 social justice, 259, 307 social programs, 23, 49, 119, 221, 227, 230 social protection, 144, 160, 302 social safety net, 177 social spending, 13, 20, 31, 43, 51, 75, 85, 88, 89, 93, 109, 198, 224, 227, 235, 243, 305, 321 socialism, 288, 297, 298 state intervention, 177, 251 status-quo bias, 13, 35, 52 stock market, 232, 256 support for redistribution. See redistribution, demand for system satisfaction, 197 tax and spending system, 66 tax and transfer system, 2, 5-8, 11, 22, 48.49 taxation, 23, 43, 49, 54, 58-60, 62, 63, 171, 173, 221, 229, 244, 256, 302 income taxation, 20, 222 progressive taxation, 49, 227, 228, 235, 240 tax cuts, 49, 99, 109, 112, 116, 119-21, 140, 227, 252, 258 tax evasion, 58, 59 tax exemptions, 134 tax system, 160, 235 taxes and transfers, 4, 6, 10-12, 61, 70, 247 Third Way, 31, 46 trade, 58, 67, 69, 70, 120, 255-57 trade openness, 67 trade unions. See labor, unions Trump, Donald J., 120, 278, 281, 283-85, 287, 288, 296 trust in government, 17, 23
- US Capitol, 282, 284, 285, 290, 295, 296
- U.S. Congress, 30, 78, 87, 124, 128, 133, 134, 138, 140, 152, 197, 296
- U.S. Supreme Court, 115
- underemployment, 64
- unemployment, 2, 4, 10, 11, 60, 64, 67, 157, 160, 162, 164, 169, 171, 221, 247, 252, 254, 255, 258, 260, 272, 301, 305
 - benefits, 4, 5, 11, 20, 33, 302, 306, 307, 310, 316, 319, 321

insurance, 11, 230, 234 rate, 160, 162, 169, 254, 257, 260, 261, 270, 272 unequal influence. *See* influence

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), 188 veto players, 69

welfare chauvinism, 305, 306, 308, 310, 320–21 welfare retrenchment, 311 welfare state, 2, 4, 31, 50, 54, 55, 61, 64, 85, 86, 200, 219, 221, 222, 229, 231, 236, 242, 247, 302, 305, 309, 323 white racial identity, 117, 294 white-collar professionals, 177 whiteness. *See* white racial identity working-class officeholding, 178, 179, 181,

183, 184, 190, 191, 194, 195

World Inequality Database (WID), 4, 54, 73, 259, 260

World Values Survey (WVS), 223