

LARRY M. BARTELS

# unequal democracy

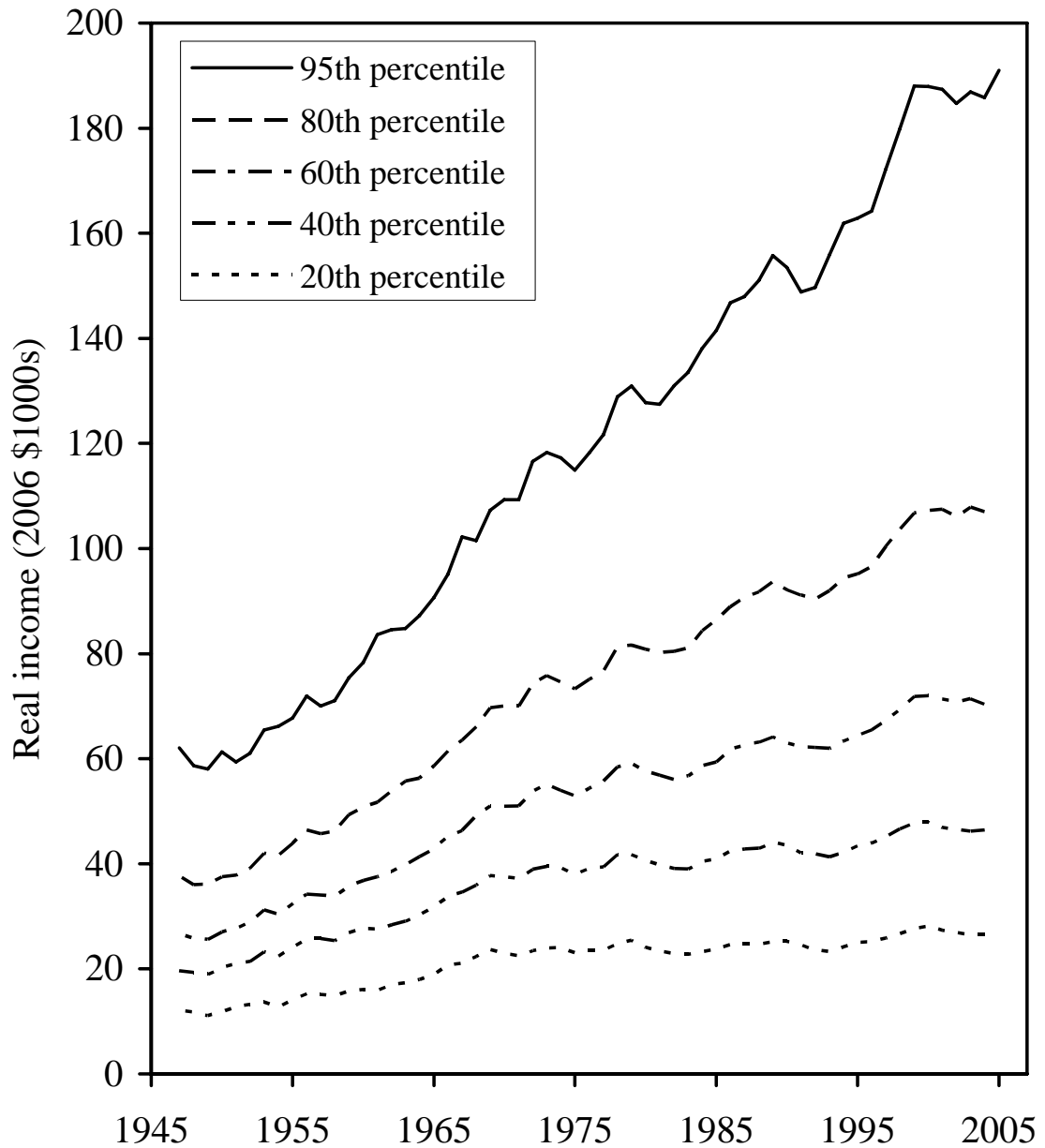
★★★★★★

The Political Economy  
of the New Gilded Age

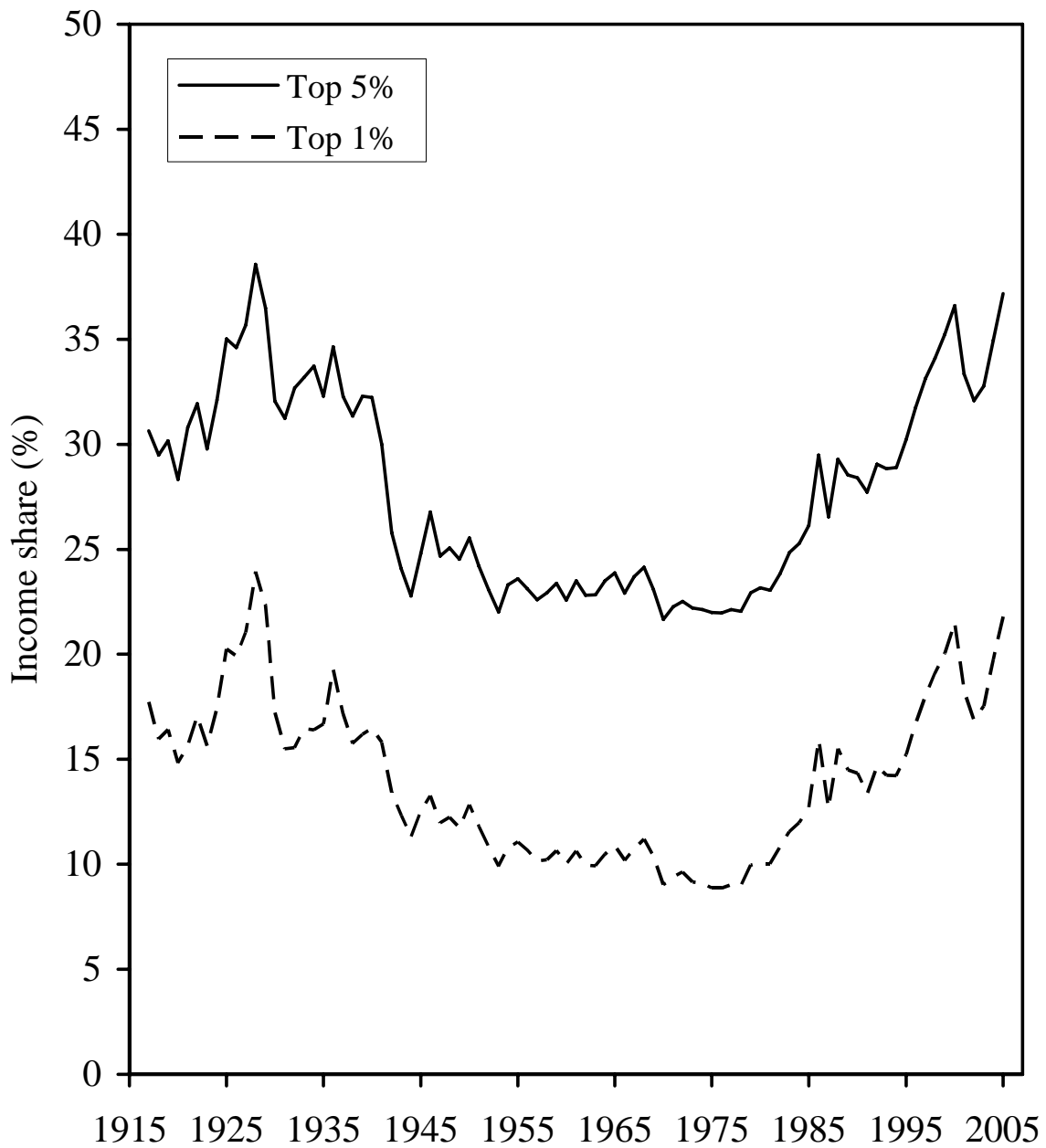
# *Table of Contents*

1. The New Gilded Age
2. The Partisan Political Economy
3. Class Politics and Partisan Change
4. Partisan Biases in Economic Accountability
5. Do Americans Care About Inequality?
6. Homer Gets a Tax Cut
7. The Strange Appeal of Estate Tax Repeal
8. The Eroding Minimum Wage
9. Economic Inequality and Political Representation
10. Unequal Democracy

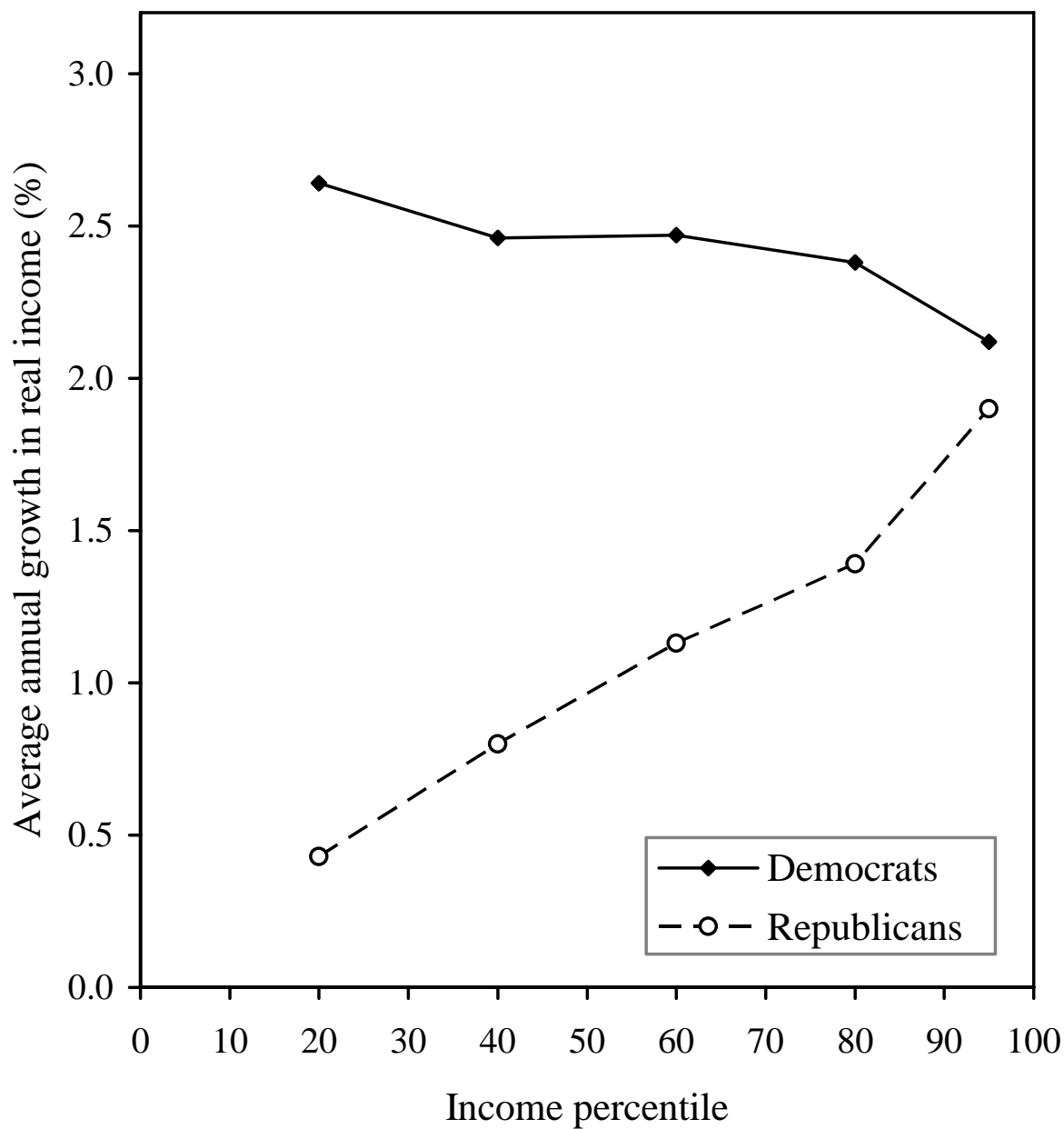
*Figure 1.1*  
**Family Incomes by Income Percentile, 1947-2005**



*Figure 1.4*  
**Income Shares of Top 5% and Top 1%, 1917-2005**



*Figure 2.1*  
**Income Growth by Income Level under Democratic  
and Republican Presidents, 1948-2005**



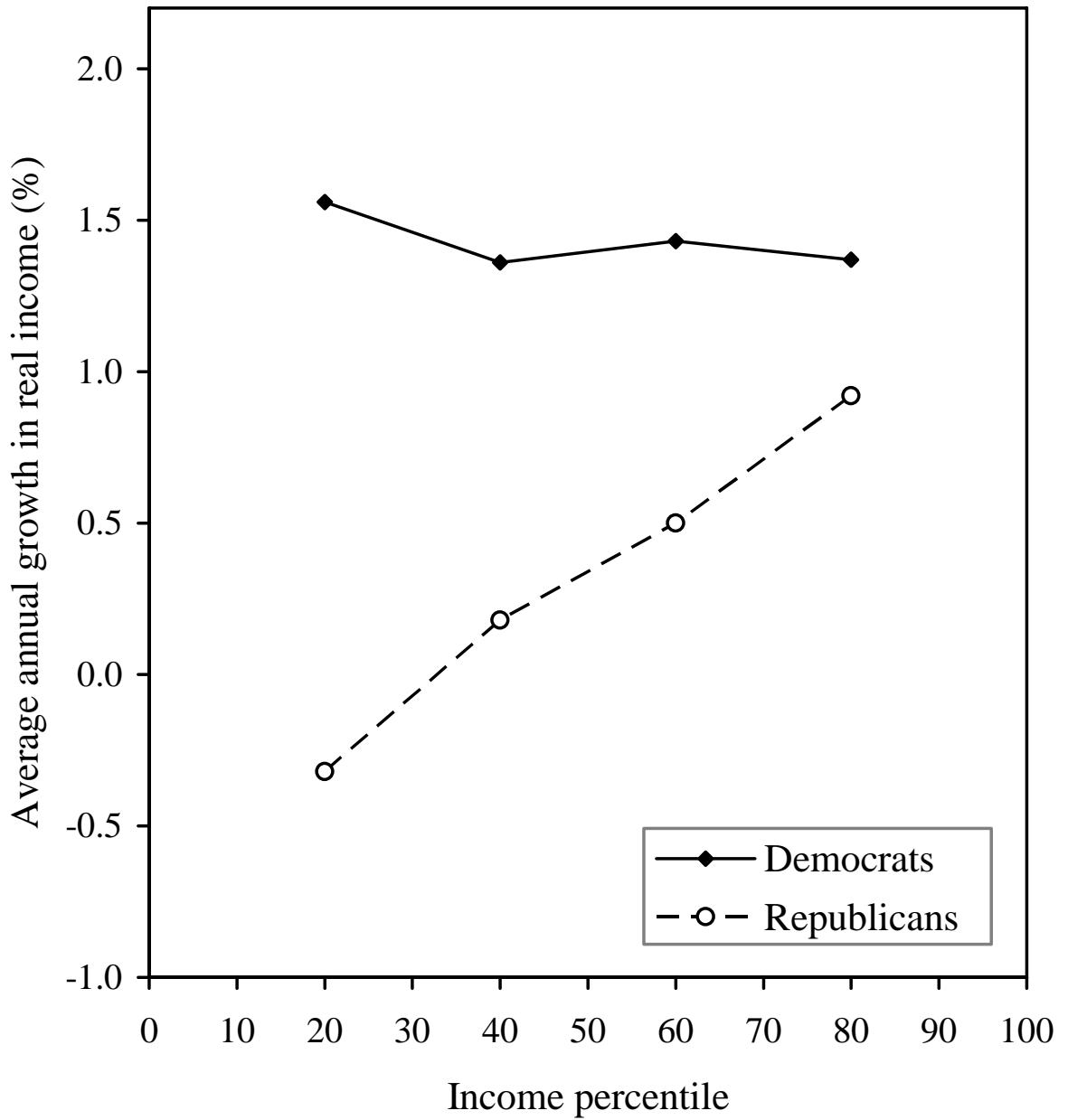
**Table 2.3**  
**Statistical Analysis of Income Growth, 1949-2005**

Annual real pre-tax income growth (%) for families at various points in the income distribution. Parameter estimates from Seemingly Unrelated Regression models (with standard errors in parentheses). Partisan control measured from one year following inauguration to one year following subsequent inauguration. “Linear trend” and “Quadratic trend” reflect cumulative change from 1949 through 2005.

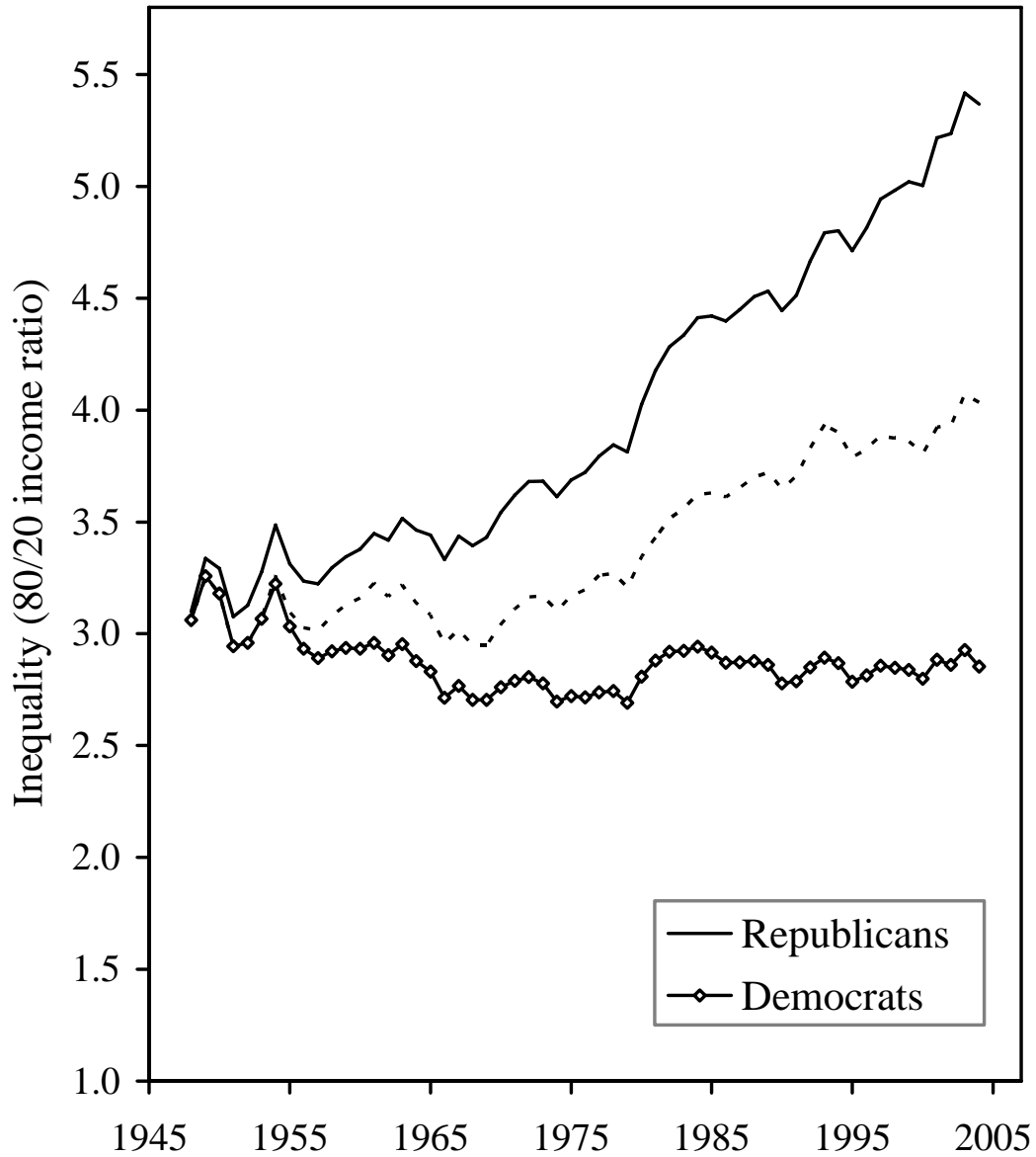
	<b>20th percentile</b>	<b>40th percentile</b>	<b>60th percentile</b>	<b>80th percentile</b>	<b>95th percentile</b>
<b>Democratic president</b>	2.32 (.80)	1.60 (.56)	1.53 (.52)	1.23 (.51)	.50 (.64)
<b>Oil prices (lagged %Δ)</b>	-.032 (.016)	-.031 (.011)	-.035 (.011)	-.030 (.010)	-.032 (.013)
<b>Labor force participation (Δ%)</b>	4.66 (1.44)	4.46 (1.02)	2.95 (.95)	2.69 (.93)	3.58 (1.16)
<b>Lagged growth</b>	-.191 (.084)	-.249 (.074)	-.286 (.077)	-.296 (.090)	-.040 (.114)
<b>Lagged 95th percentile</b>	.395 (.151)	.244 (.111)	.201 (.104)	.187 (.109)	---
<b>Linear trend</b>	-12.84 (5.88)	-13.71 (4.17)	-8.76 (3.88)	-5.30 (3.75)	-4.18 (4.71)
<b>Quadratic trend</b>	9.68 (5.75)	10.18 (4.06)	5.33 (3.78)	2.54 (3.67)	2.83 (4.61)
<b>Intercept</b>	2.68 (1.26)	3.80 (.89)	3.60 (.83)	3.17 (.81)	2.80 (1.01)
<i>Std err of reg</i>	2.89	2.02	1.89	1.84	2.31
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.41	.52	.45	.37	.29
<i>N</i>	57	57	57	57	57

Source: Census Bureau Historical Income Tables.

*Figure 2.4*  
**Post-Tax Income Growth under Democratic  
and Republican Presidents, 1980-2003**

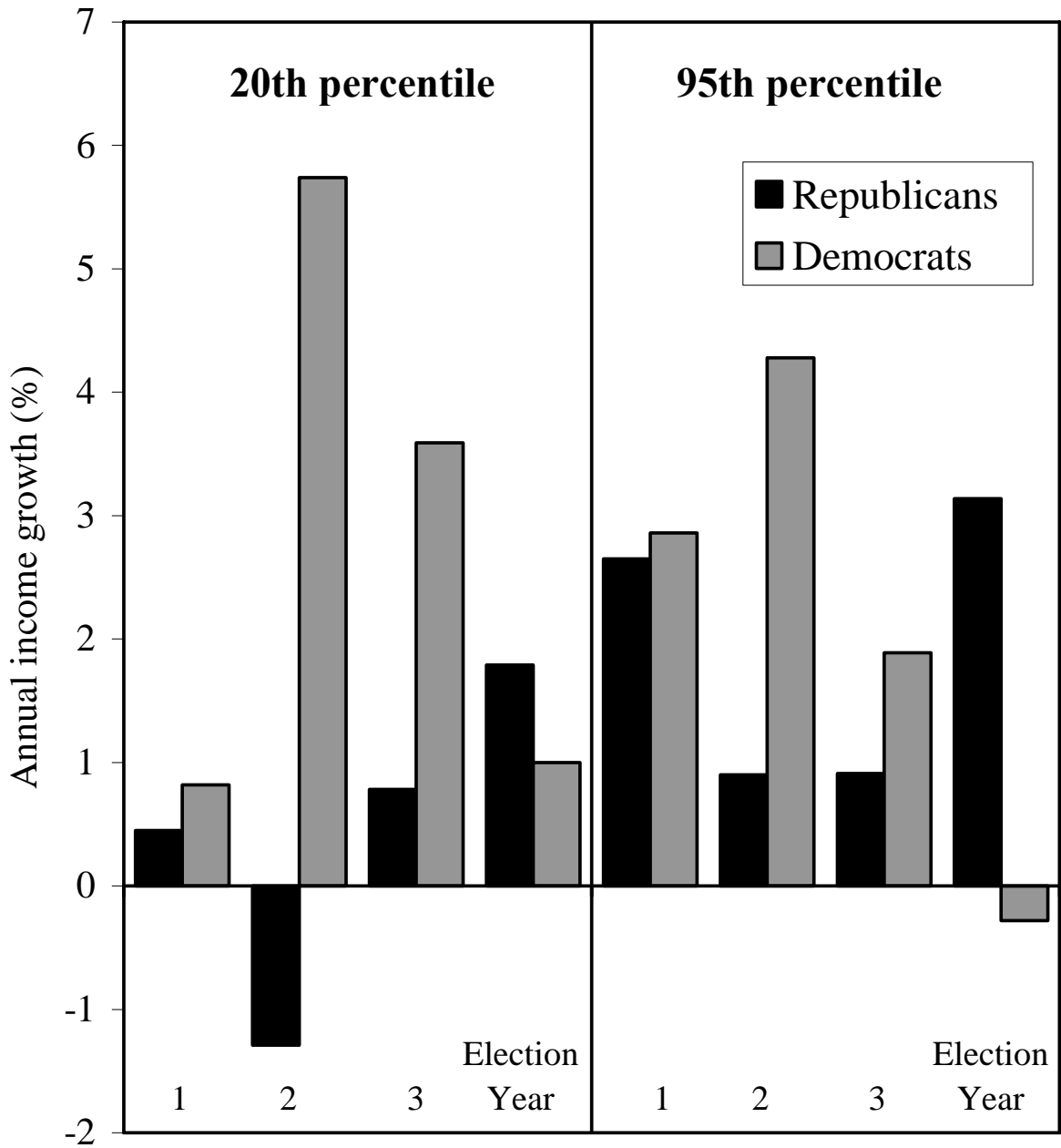


*Figure 2.5*  
**Projected Income Inequality under Republican  
and Democratic Presidents, 1947-2005**

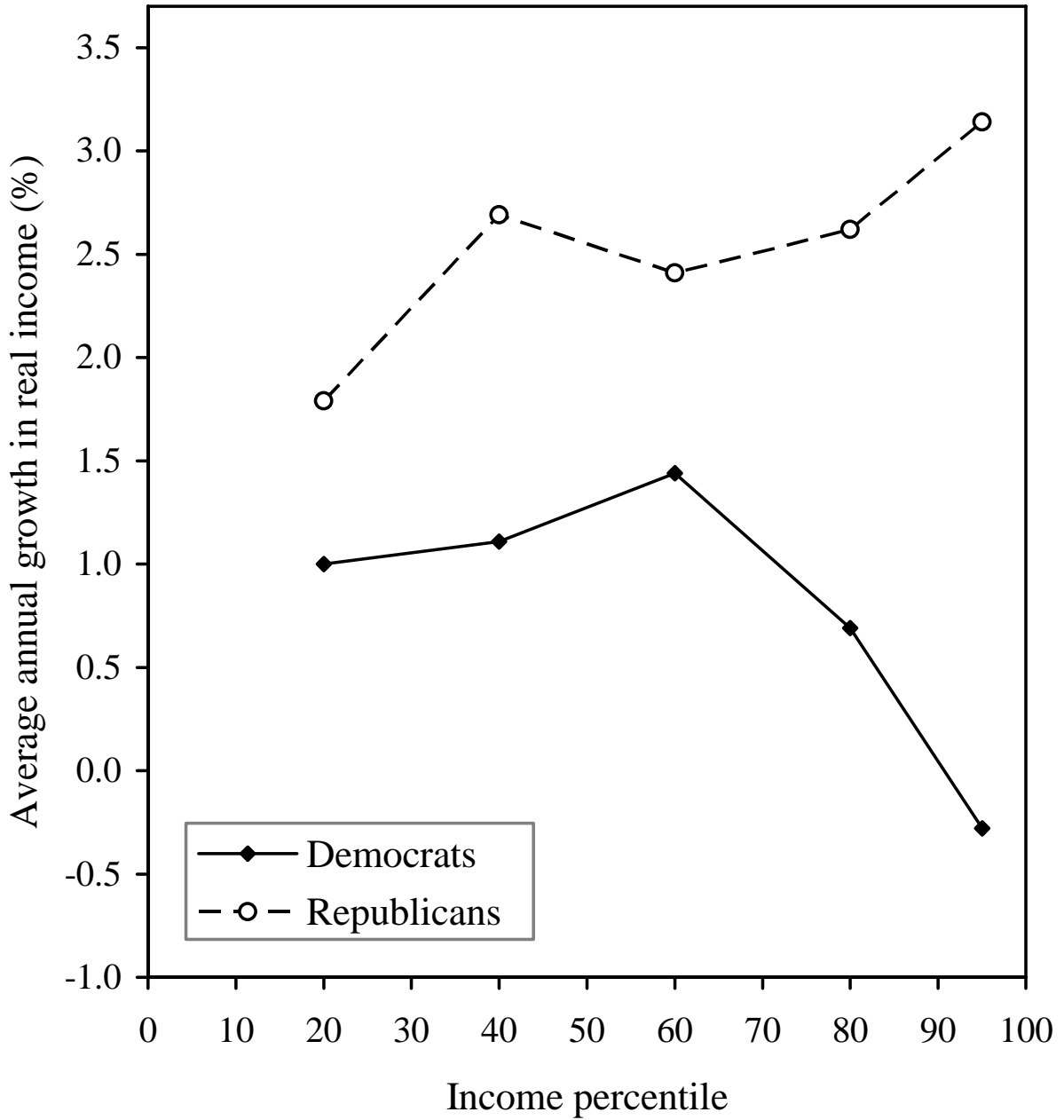




**Figure 4.3**  
**Electoral Cycle in Income Growth under Republican and Democratic Presidents, 1948-2005**



*Figure 4.4*  
**Income Growth in Presidential Election  
Years, by Party, 1948-2004**



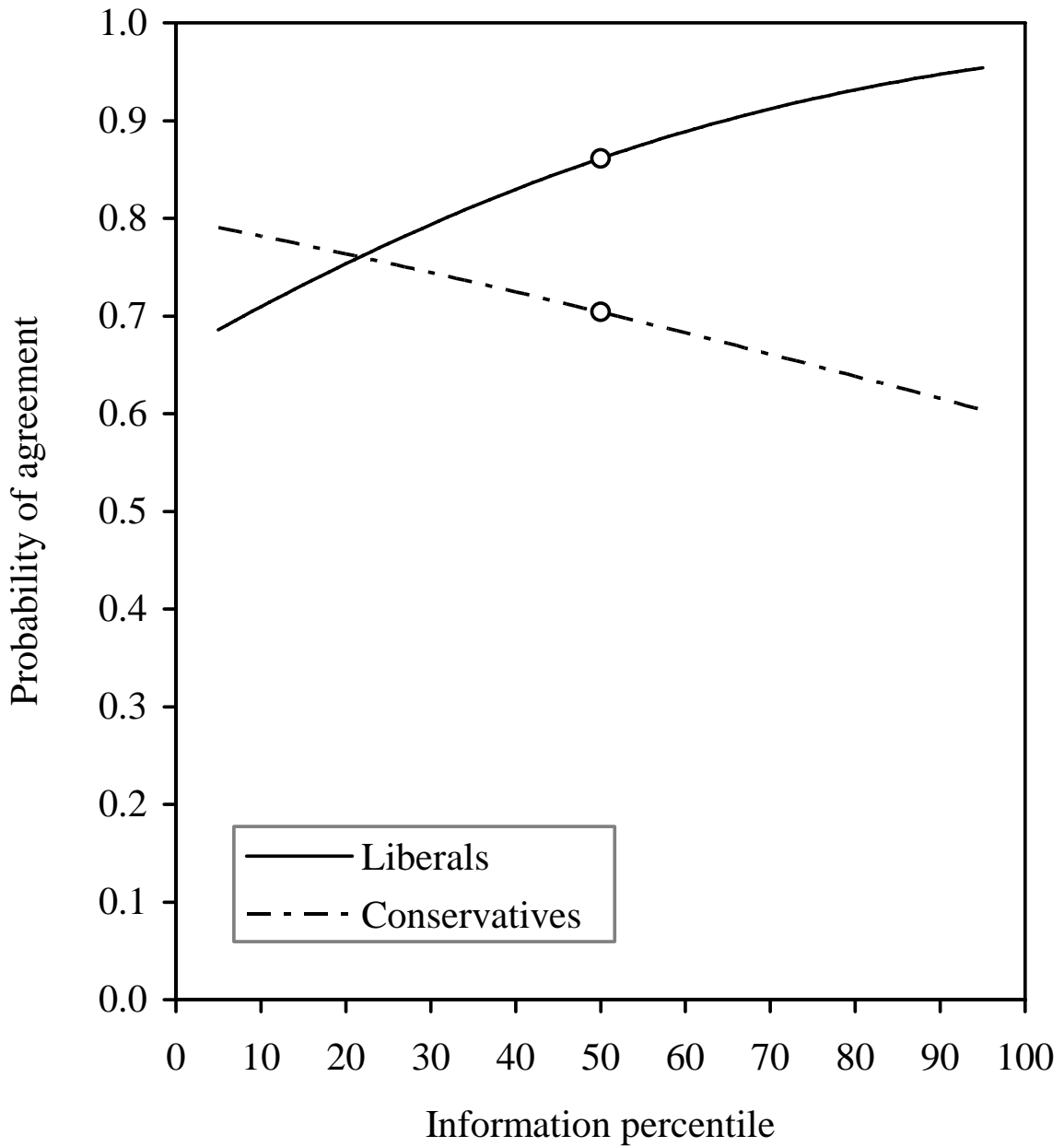
**Table 5.1**  
**Public Support for Egalitarian Values**

	<b>Agree strongly</b>	<b>Agree somewhat</b>	<b>Neither; DK</b>	<b>Disagree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree strongly</b>
Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed					
	60.2%	27.5%	5.3%	5.0%	2.0%
If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems					
	30.5%	34.0%	13.7%	15.5%	5.6%
One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance					
	21.6%	29.7%	14.1%	23.8%	10.9%

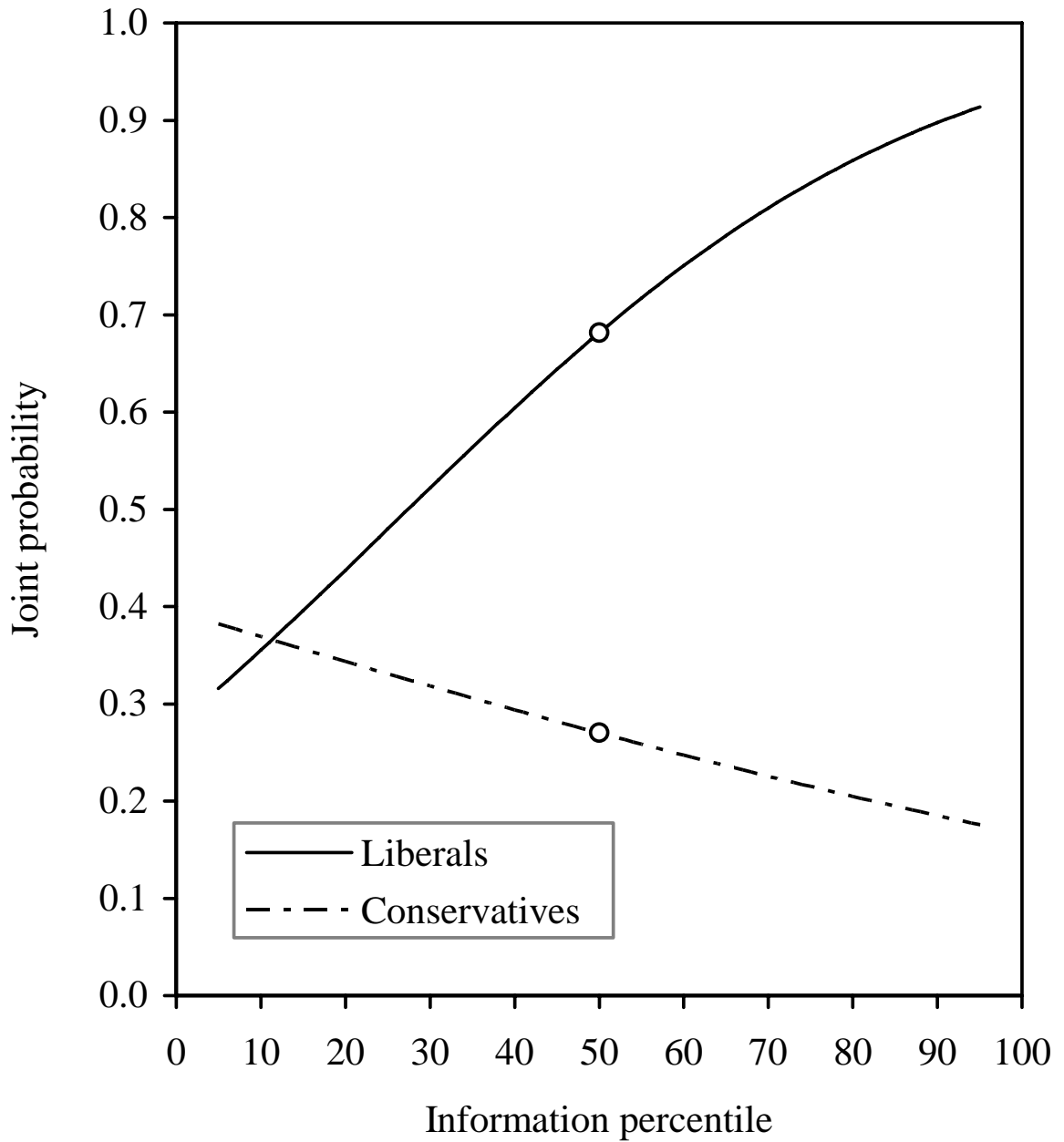
**Table 5.4**  
**“Feeling Thermometer” Ratings for Selected Social Groups, 2004**  
Ratings on 0 (least favorable) to 100 (most favorable) “feeling thermometer.”

	<b>Average rating</b>	<b>Percentage over 50</b>	<b>N</b>
Working class people	82.3	92.7%	1,056
Middle class people	76.7	86.3%	1,051
Poor people	73.2	79.4%	1,049
Business people	69.2	74.7%	1,047
Rich people	59.9	54.9%	1,043
The Democratic Party	57.7	55.2%	1,178
Labor unions	57.7	54.9%	1,048
People on welfare	55.9	47.4%	1,045
Big business	55.7	51.9%	1,045
The Republican Party	54.2	50.8%	1,176

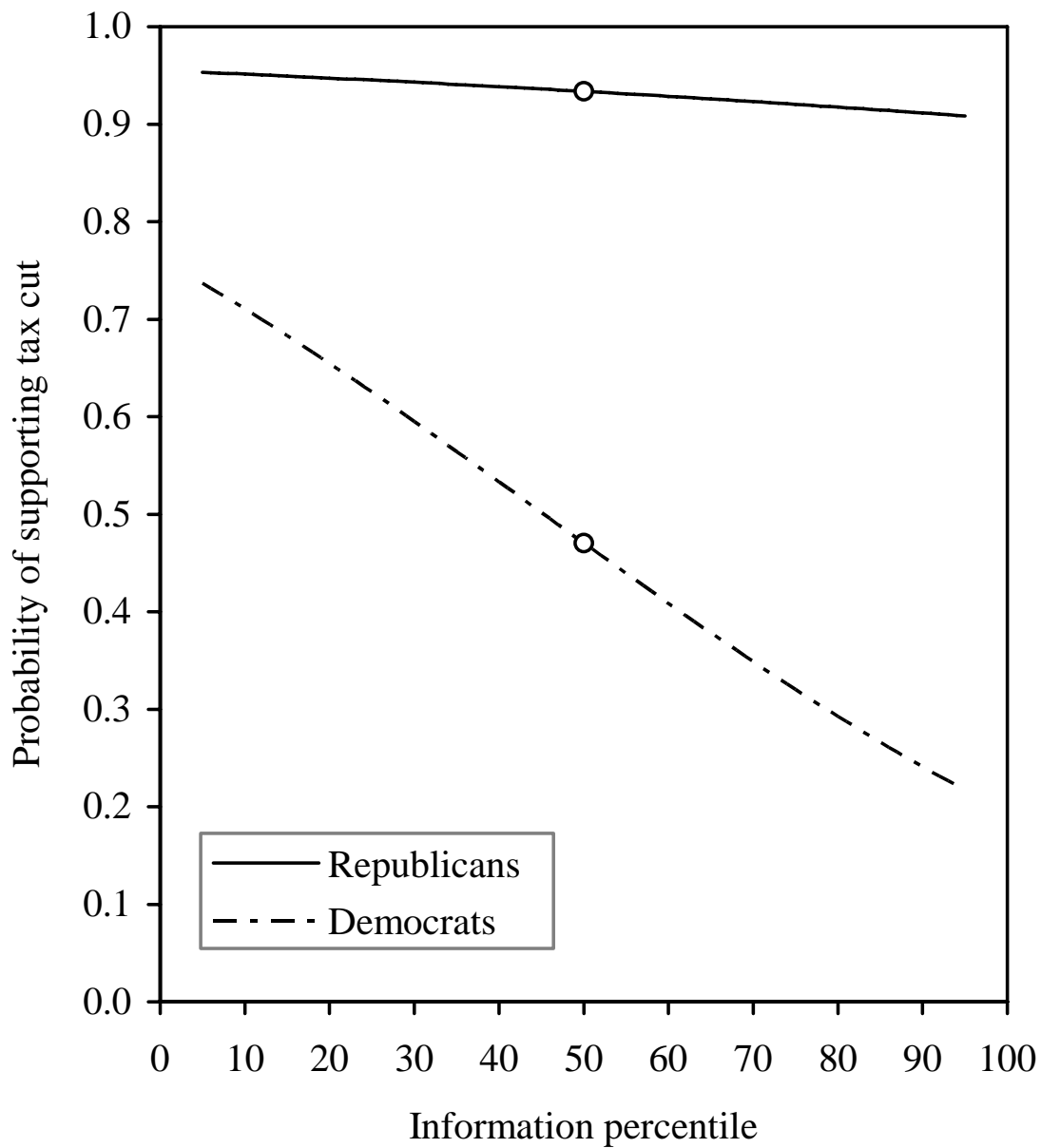
*Figure 5.2*  
**Perceptions of Increasing Income Differences  
by Ideology and Information Level**



*Figure 5.3*  
**Probability of Recognizing *and* Regretting  
Increasing Income Differences**



*Figure 6.2*  
**Support for the 2001 Tax Cut  
by Partisanship and Information Level**



# TAX CUTS....

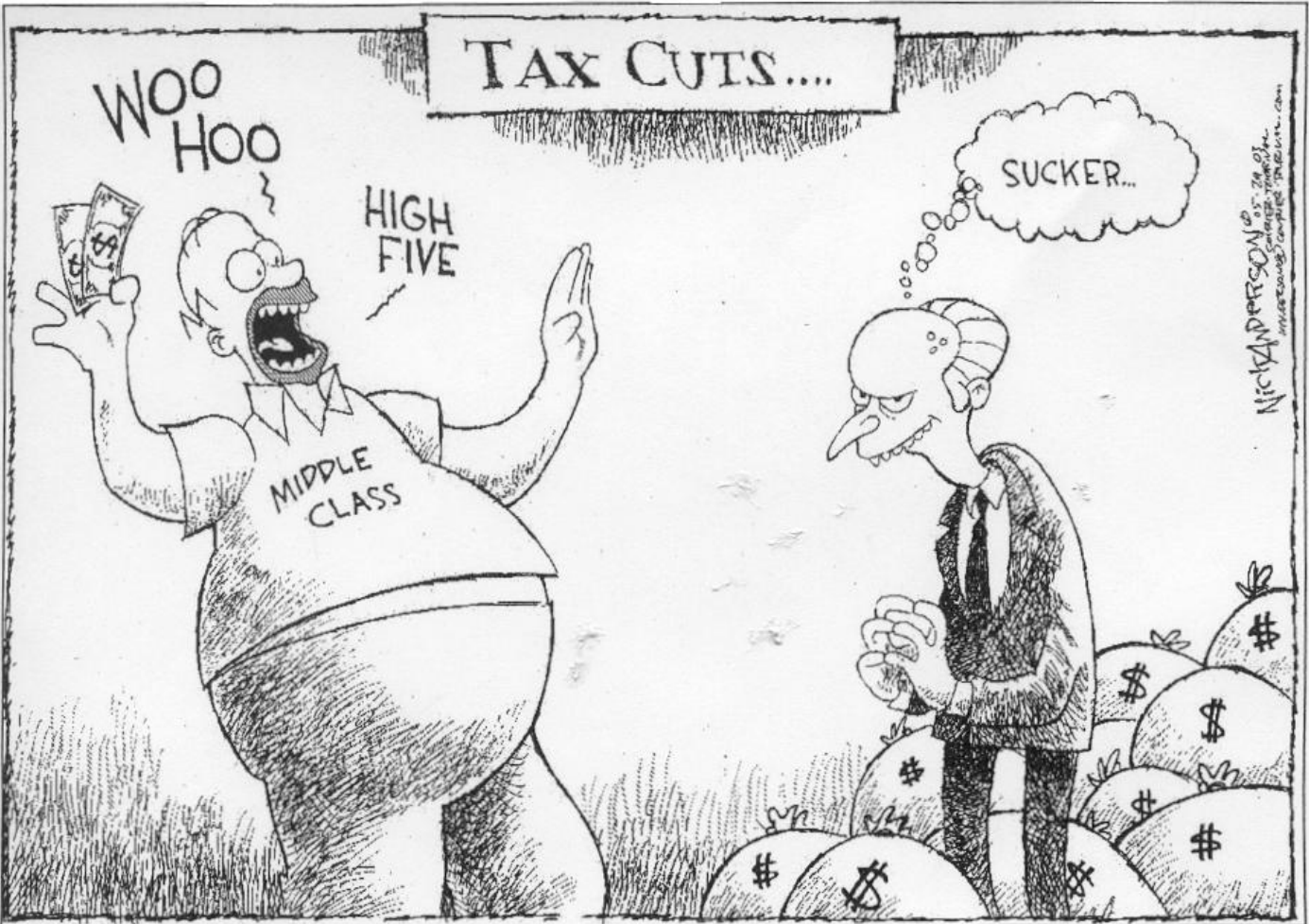
WOO  
HOO

HIGH  
FIVE

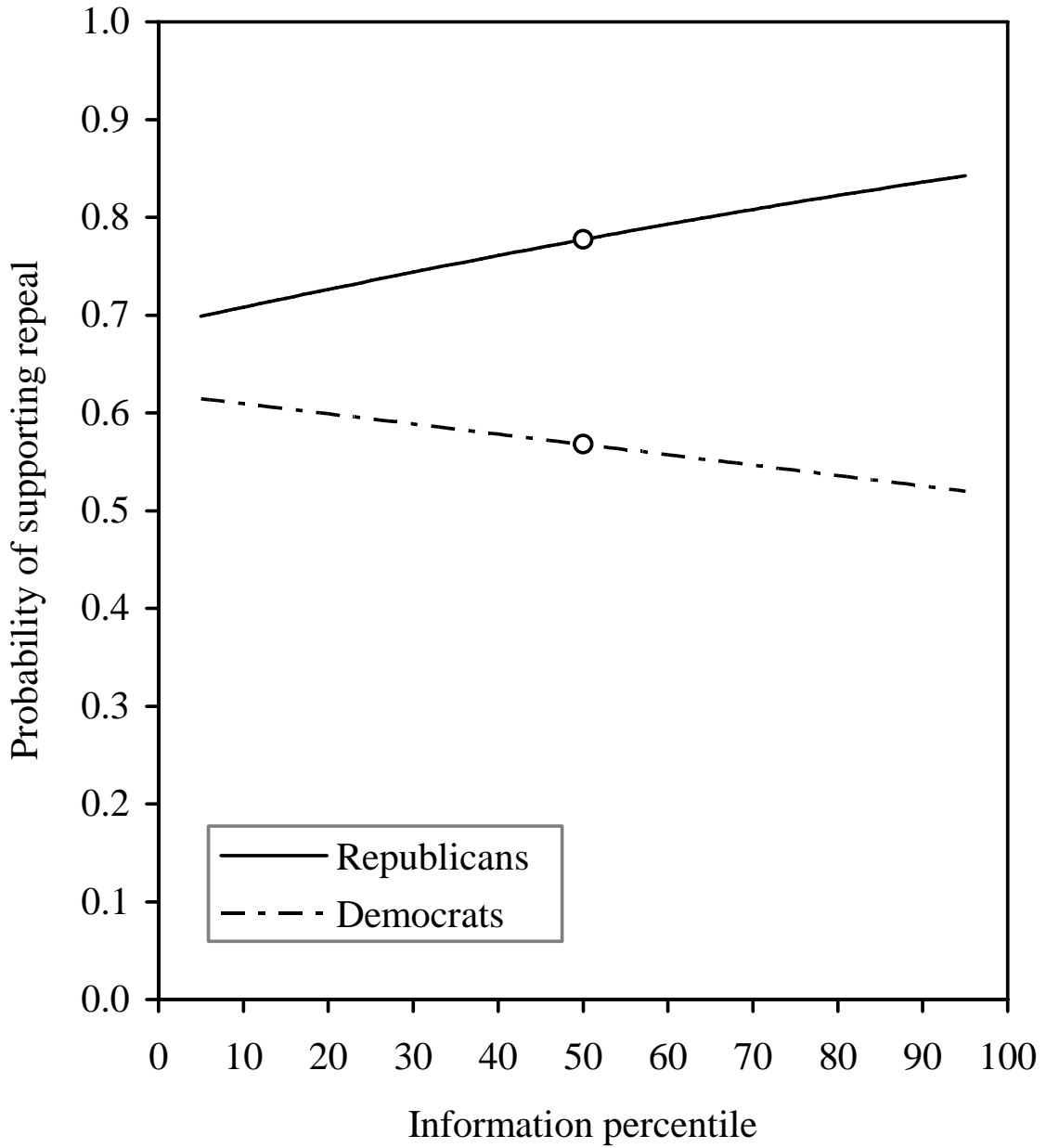
MIDDLE  
CLASS

SUCKER...

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*Figure 7.2*  
**Support for Estate Tax Repeal  
by Partisanship and Information Level**





**Table 7.1**  
**Obtuse Support for Repealing the Estate Tax**

“There has been a lot of talk recently about doing away with the tax on large inheritances, the so-called [‘estate tax’/‘death tax’]. Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE doing away with the [estate tax/death tax]?”

	<b>Favor repeal</b>	<b>Oppose repeal</b>	<i>N</i>
<b><i>Total sample</i></b>	67.6%	27.2%	1,346
<b><i>Among those who . . .</i></b>			
<b>have family incomes of less than \$50,000</b>	62.9%	29.9%	620 (46%)
<b>want more spending on most government programs</b>	66.3%	28.3%	1,232 (92%)
<b>say income gap has increased <i>and</i> that is a bad thing</b>	64.9%	31.9%	596 (40%)
<b>say government policy contributes to differences in income</b>	64.6%	30.1%	813 (63%)
<b>say rich people pay less than they should in federal income taxes</b>	65.2%	31.4%	674 (50%)
<b><i>All of the above</i></b>	63.4%	32.8%	134 (10%)

Source: 2002 National Election Study survey.

# Working people's views about inheritance taxes, 1976

From Jennifer Hochschild's  
*What's Fair? American Beliefs about Distributive Justice*

If I'm working and I'm banking my money, I'm planning for *their* [his children's] future. So hey, if I turn around and pass away, they got every right in the world to get what I worked for.

[I]t's wrong, taking away money from somebody that has earned it. You pay taxes all your life on the money you earn, and then when you pass away and you leave some money to your relatives, you gotta take *more* money out of it. It seems like tax on top of tax.

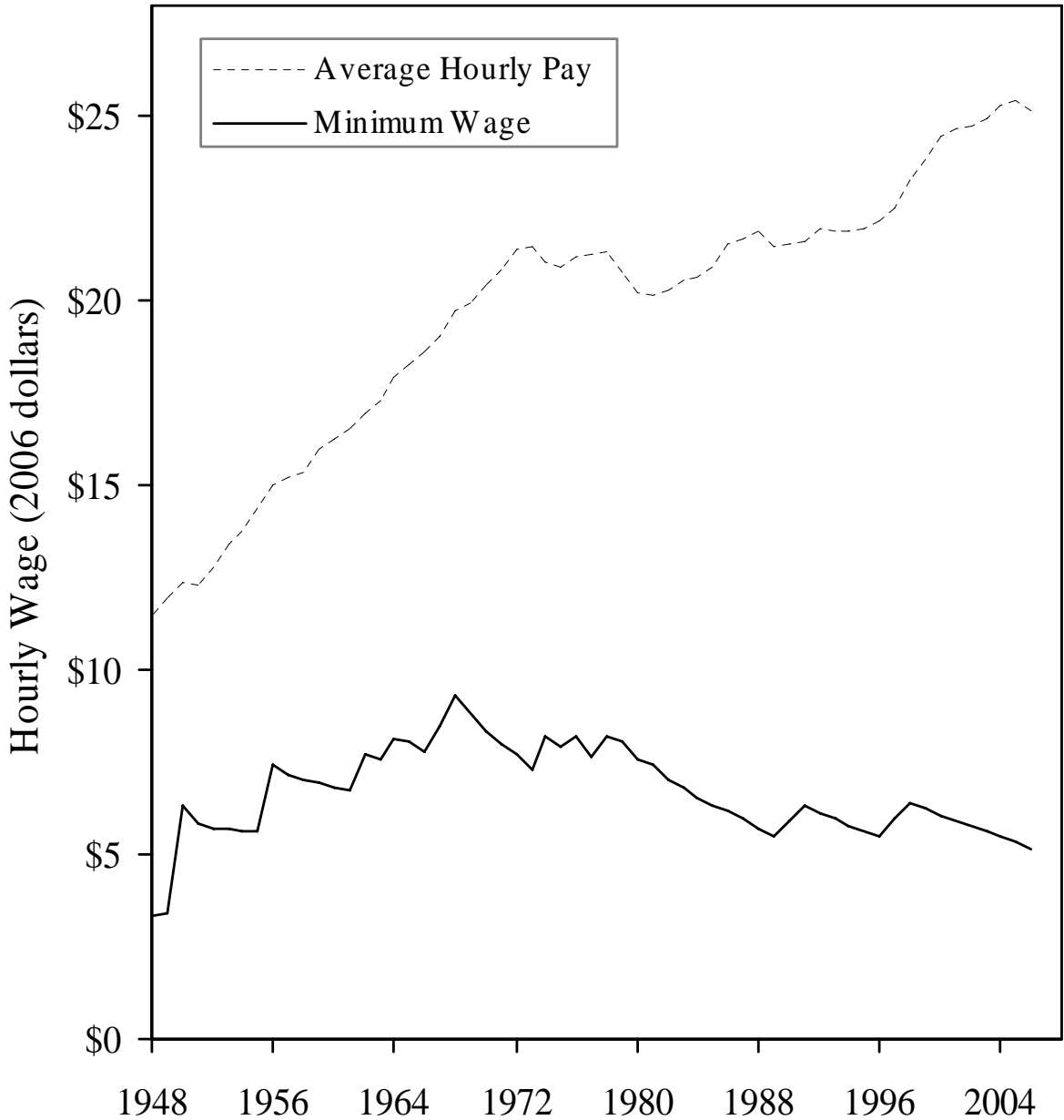
[A]wful, because it's in the family, and the family has a perfect right to hand it down to their children if they want to.

Why should I work all my life and run the risk that three idiots that got jobs out of patronage are going to decide whether my daughter is going to get my money? No way. Before I'll do that, I'll stop working.

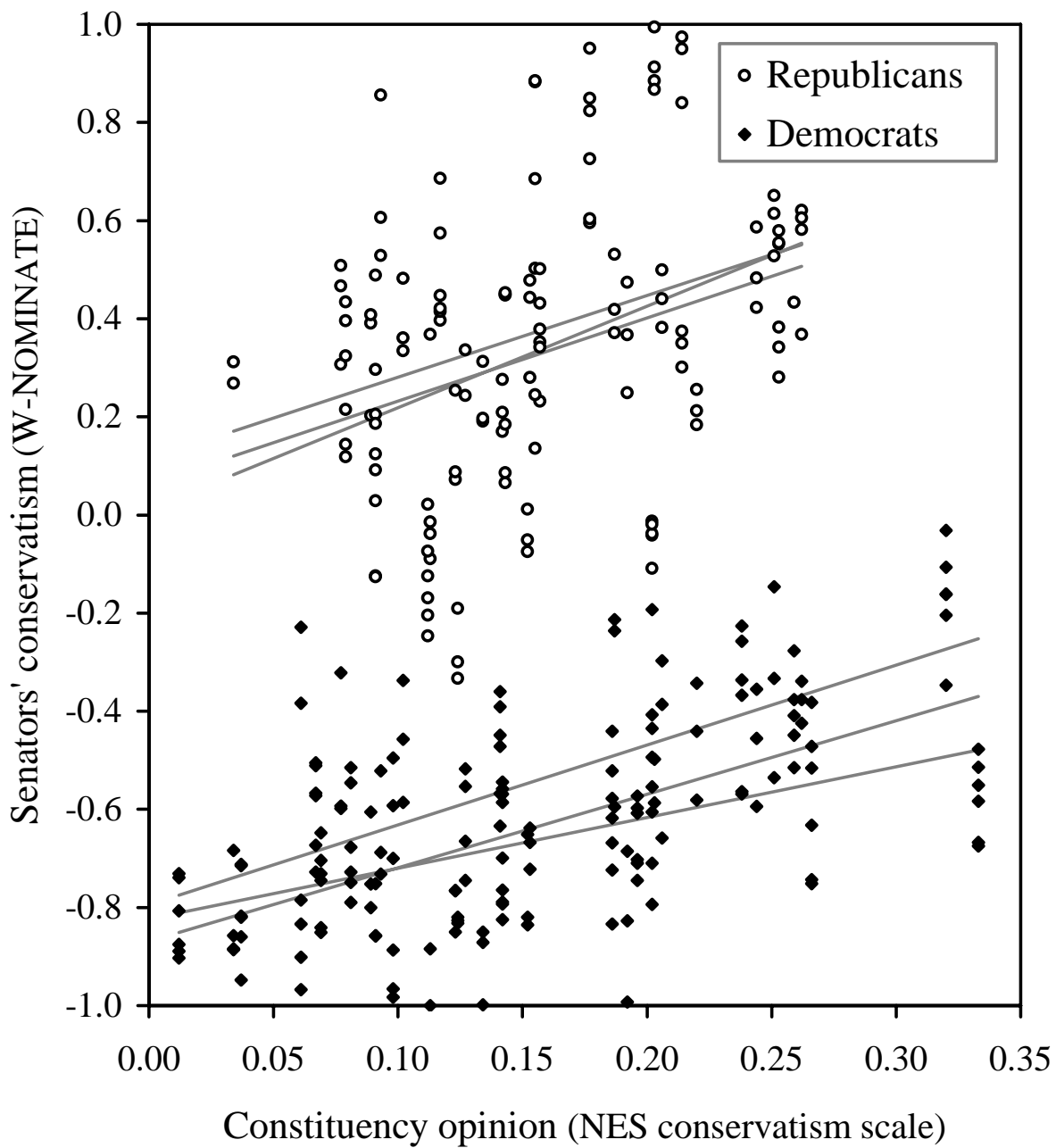
Probably shouldn't be one. It's his money, he can do what he wants.

[These quotations come, respectively, from an unskilled worker, an assembly line maintenance man, a widowed housewife, a chemical manufacturer, and a nineteen-year-old living with his parents and working in his father's corner store.]

*Figure 8.1*  
**The Real Value of the Minimum Wage, 1948-2006**



*Figure 9.1*  
**Constituency Opinion and Senators'  
Roll Call Votes, by Party**



*Figure 9.2*  
**Senators' Responsiveness to Income Groups**  
**(W-NOMINATE Scores)**

