

Political Inequality - WiSe 23/24

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Office Hours: Wednesdays: 15-16.30
book a slot by email before!

Seminar Starts: 24h October
Tuesdays: 14.15-15.45
Seminar Location: Ketzertbach 63
October Sessions: Room 00/0180
from November onwards: Room +1/0160

In many countries around the world, poorer citizens are less likely to have an impact on politics. They participate less in politics, they are less likely to be political decision makers, and they are less likely to have their preferences reflected in political outputs. This different impact of poor vs. rich citizens on politics is called political inequality.

In the first part of the seminar, we will get to know key themes in the literature on political inequality. We begin with examining “input political inequality”, namely differences in terms of voting, protesting, or willingness to sell their vote of poor vs. rich voters. Second, we examine characteristics and attitudes of politicians and how these align with different voter groups, irrespective of party affiliation. Third, we look at “output political inequality”, reviewing findings on the alignment of policies with different social classes.

In the second part of the seminar, you will pursue an independent small empirical project on an aspect of female political inequality in a group of 3-4 collaborators. Projects can be quantitative or qualitative (see some ideas below).

i Note

Most of the readings in this seminar use quantitative methods but you do not need to understand and engage with mathematical formulas or details of statistics. You can focus on the narrative of the findings that is always provided in this type of paper.

Assessment

Studienleistung (continuous assessment):

- Present on a theme Weeks 3-9
- Support a research group

Prüfungsleistung (exam): Research Project

Most of this research will be completed during the seminar with help from me. For the eventual grade (Prüfungsleistung) you will have to produce a presentation of your design and findings – based on a template that I will provide.

- Work on research project (during term)
- Present research project (last session)
- Submit slides [following template]
- The grade will reflect the quality of the presentation, the project, and the slides.

! Important

Important Dates FB 03 (These are the dates for Marburg BA/MA students, if you are an international student, relevant dates might be different!)

- bis 02. November 2023: Anmeldung zur **Teilnahme** an Lehrveranstaltungen
- bis 15. Januar 2024. An- und Abmeldung zu **Prüfungen und verbindlichen Studienleistungen**

Schedule Overview

Term Week	Date	Seminar Session	Topic
1	17/10/2023		No seminar (RVL)
2	24/10/2023	1	Introduction
3	31/10/2023	2	Input Inequality 1
4	07/11/2023	3	Input Inequality 2
5	14/11/2023	4	Politicians 1
6	21/11/2023	-	<i>Reading Week</i>
7	28/11/2023	5	Politicians 2
8	05/12/2023	6	Output Inequality 1
9	12/12/2023	7	Output Inequality 2
10	19/12/2023	8	Methods Crash Course for own projects <i>Winter break</i>
11	09/01/2024	9	Presentation Project Ideas
12	16/01/2024	10	In-class work on projects
13	23/01/2024	11	Progress reports
14	30/01/2024	12	In-class work on projects
15	06/02/2024	13	Presentations & Evaluation

Session Content & Readings

Session 1, 24th of October: Introduction

- The problem of unequal democracies
- Framework: input and output political inequality
- Seminar concept
- Requirements
- Presentations

Session 2. 31st of October: Input inequality 1.

Topics

- Who votes and who protests?
- Why does this matter?

Readings

- Schäfer, A., Roßteutscher, S., & Abendschön, S. (2020). Rising start-up costs of voting: Political inequality among first-time voters. *West European Politics*, 43(4), 819–844. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2019.1638141>

- Lavery, Jerry. 2012. “Protest and Political Participation in South Africa: Time Trends and Characteristics of Protesters.” Afrobarometer Briefing Paper 102.5
- Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K. L. (1995). Beyond Ses: A Resource Model of Political Participation. *The American Political Science Review*, 89(2), 271–294. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2082425>

Session 3. 7th of November. Input inequality 2

Topics

- Who participates in participatory budgeting?
- Who engages in clientelism?
- Consequences of input inequality

Readings

- Sheely, R. (2015). Mobilization, Participatory Planning Institutions, and Elite Capture: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Rural Kenya. *World Development*, 67, 251–266. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.10.024>
- Su, C. (2017). Beyond Inclusion: Critical Race Theory and Participatory Budgeting. *New Political Science*, 39(1), 126–142. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2017.1278858>
- Jensen, P. S., & Justesen, M. K. (2014). Poverty and vote buying: Survey-based evidence from Africa. *Electoral Studies*, 33, 220–232. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2013.07.020>
- Stokes, S. (2007). Is Vote Buying Undemocratic? In F. C. Schaffer (Ed.), *Elections for sale: The causes and consequences of vote buying* (pp. 81–99). Lynne Rienner Publishers. [optional]

Session 4. 14th of November. Politicians 1 - Who is representing citizens?

Topics

- Class and political office around the world
- Do voters prefer high class politicians?

Readings

- Carnes, Nicholas, and Noam Lupu. 2016. “Do Voters Dislike Working-Class Candidates? Voter Biases and the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class.” *American Political Science Review* 110 (4): 832–44. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055416000551>.
- Garrido-Vergara, Luis. 2020. “Political, Social, and Cultural Capital in the Chilean Political Elite, 1990–2010.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 62 (1): 121–41. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lap.2019.48>.

Session 5. 28st of November. Politicians 2 -> Consequences of class composition of parliaments

Topics

- Class belonging of politicians and political views
- Class belonging and substantive representation

Readings

- Hemingway, Alexander. 2022. “Does Class Shape Legislators’ Approach to Inequality and Economic Policy? A Comparative View.” *Government and Opposition* 57 (1): 84–107. <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2020.27>.
- Weschle, Simon. n.d. “Politicians’ Private Sector Jobs and Parliamentary Behavior.” *American Journal of Political Science* n/a (n/a). Accessed September 5, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12721>.
- O’Grady, Tom. 2019. “Careerists Versus Coal-Miners: Welfare Reforms and the Substantive Representation of Social Groups in the British Labour Party.” *Comparative Political Studies* 52 (4): 544–78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018784065>.

Session 6. 5th of December. Output Inequality 1

Topics

- whose preferences are reflected in policy output?
- whose attitudes are congruent with those of policy-makers?

Readings

- Gilens, M., & Page, B. (2014). Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens. *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(3), 564–581.
- Lupu, N., & Warner, Z. (2022). Affluence and Congruence: Unequal Representation Around the World. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(1). <https://doi.org/10.1086/714930>
- Elsässer, L., Hense, S., & Schäfer, A. (2021). Not just money: Unequal responsiveness in egalitarian democracies. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 28(12), 1890–1908. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1801804>
- Bartels, L. M. (2017). Political Inequality in Affluent Democracies: The Social Welfare Deficit. *CSDI Working Paper*, 5.

Session 7. 12th of December. Output Inequality 2. Explanations

Topics

- What explains output inequality?

Readings

- Lupu, N., & Warner, Z. (2022). Why are the affluent better represented around the world? In *European Journal of Political Research* (Vol. 61, Issue 1, pp. 67–85).
- Persson, M., & Sundell, A. (2023). The Rich Have a Slight Edge: Evidence from Comparative Data on Income-Based Inequality in Policy Congruence. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123423000066>

Session 8. 19th of December. Method Crash Course for Own Research Projects & Group Formation

- In this session, I will provide information on simple approaches to generating and analysing data for an example qualitative and quantitative project - or only one of these, depending on what participants' prefer. This objective is to help you understanding what is involved with pursuing a particular type of project and to be ready to choose one when we are back in January.
- We will also form groups for the research projects. Make sure to attend this session.

Session 9: 9th of January: Presentation of basic project ideas

- be ready to present the (very) basic idea that your group wants to pursue in their project (no slides needed but you can bring some if you want to)
- we will assist each other in developing a feasible project and timeline

Session 10: 16th of January: work on projects

- groups will work on their projects during class time with assistance from me

Session 11: 23rd of January: Progress report

- groups present current state of research projects

Session 12: 30th of January: work on projects

- groups will work on their projects during class time with assistance from me

Session 13: 6th of February: Project Presentations

- project presentations
- evaluation

Research Projects

💡 Some Ideas for Projects

You can choose/ adapt one of these or identify your own project.

Input inequality

- Which forms of participation are most strongly affected by social class? Where? (Analysis of survey data (e.g. WVS))
- Does class affect the views on redistribution and/ or other topics (e.g. gender equality or immigration)? (Analysis of survey data (e.g. WVS))

Politicians

- What is the class background of high-ranking politicians? Own data gathering effort, e.g. of prime ministers/ president around the world. Simple analysis
- How representative are parliaments in terms of social class (Data on MPs: Bundestag, Brazil, South Africa)? / or one country over time
- Social class and conflict of interest -> Are “lower class” MPs less/more likely to have extra income while being MPs? (*Simple Quanti*, Data on MPs in Bundestag)
- Do lower class representatives speak differently about redistribution and wealth than higher class representatives? *Qualitative Content Analysis of speeches*.

Output inequality:

- Compare latest Allbus political topic responses (by class) to politicians talking about these issues. Are the views of richer citizens talked about more?