

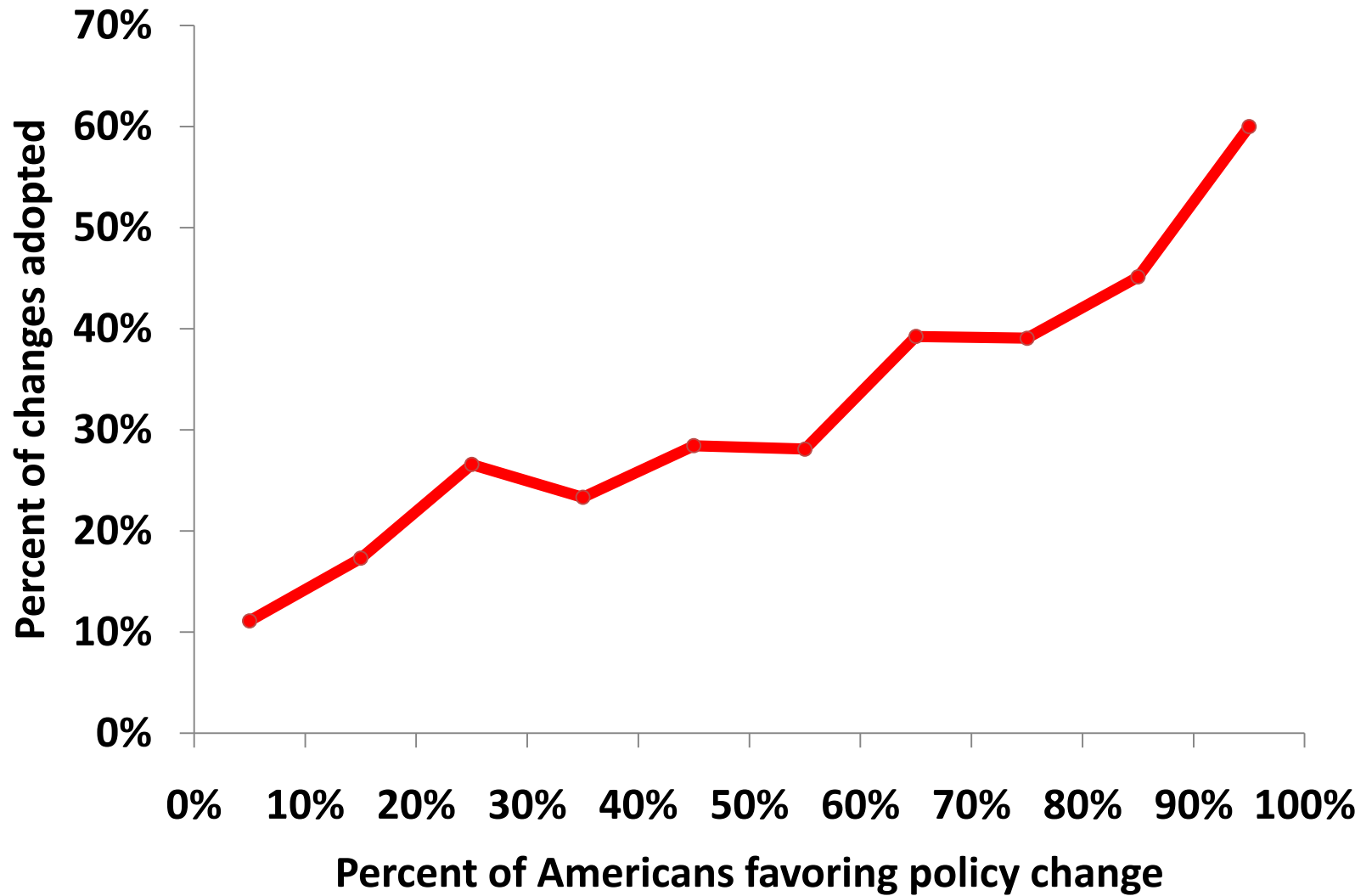
Affluence & Influence

Economic Inequality and Political Power in America

Martin Gilens

Department of Politics

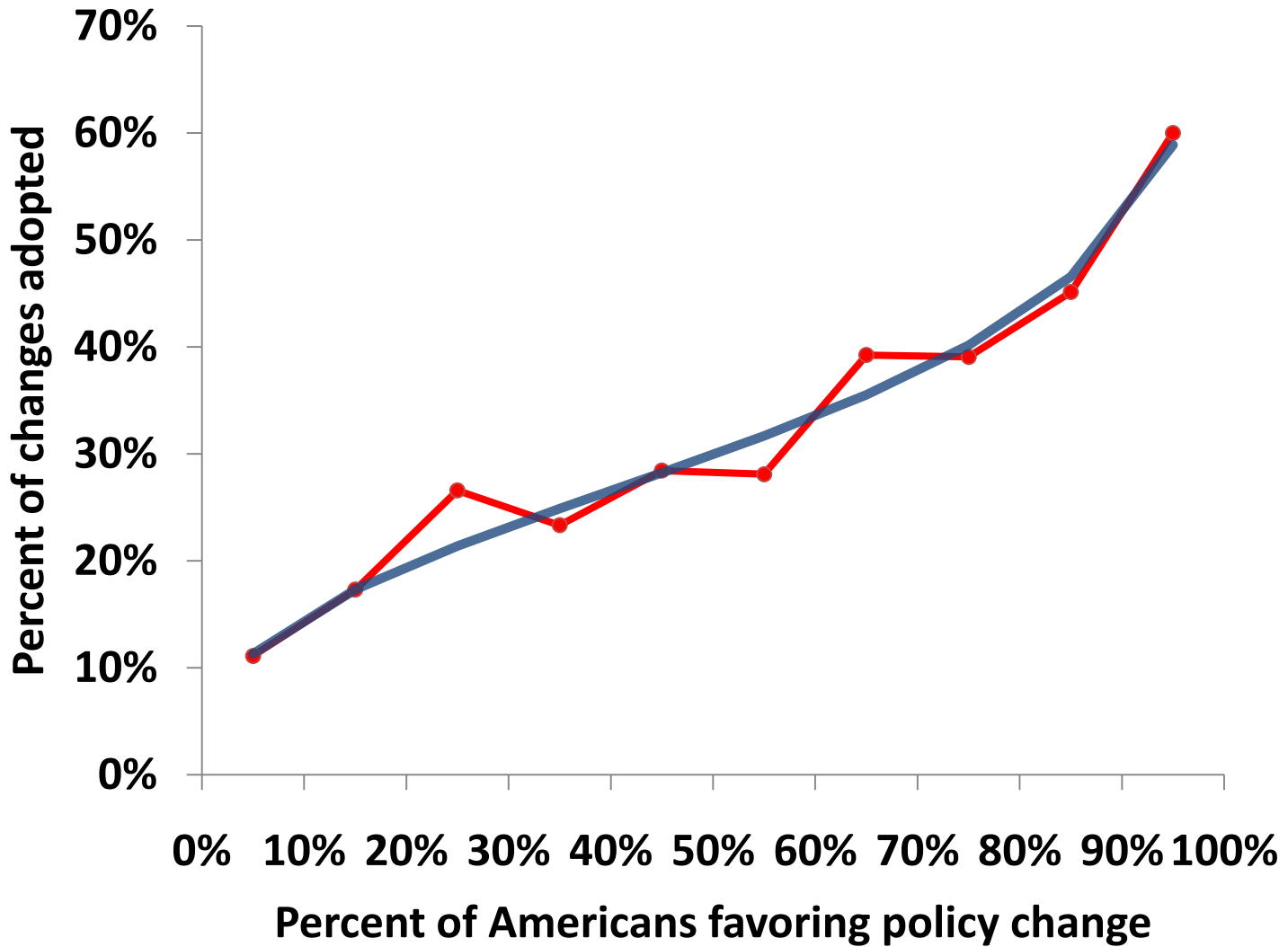
Princeton University

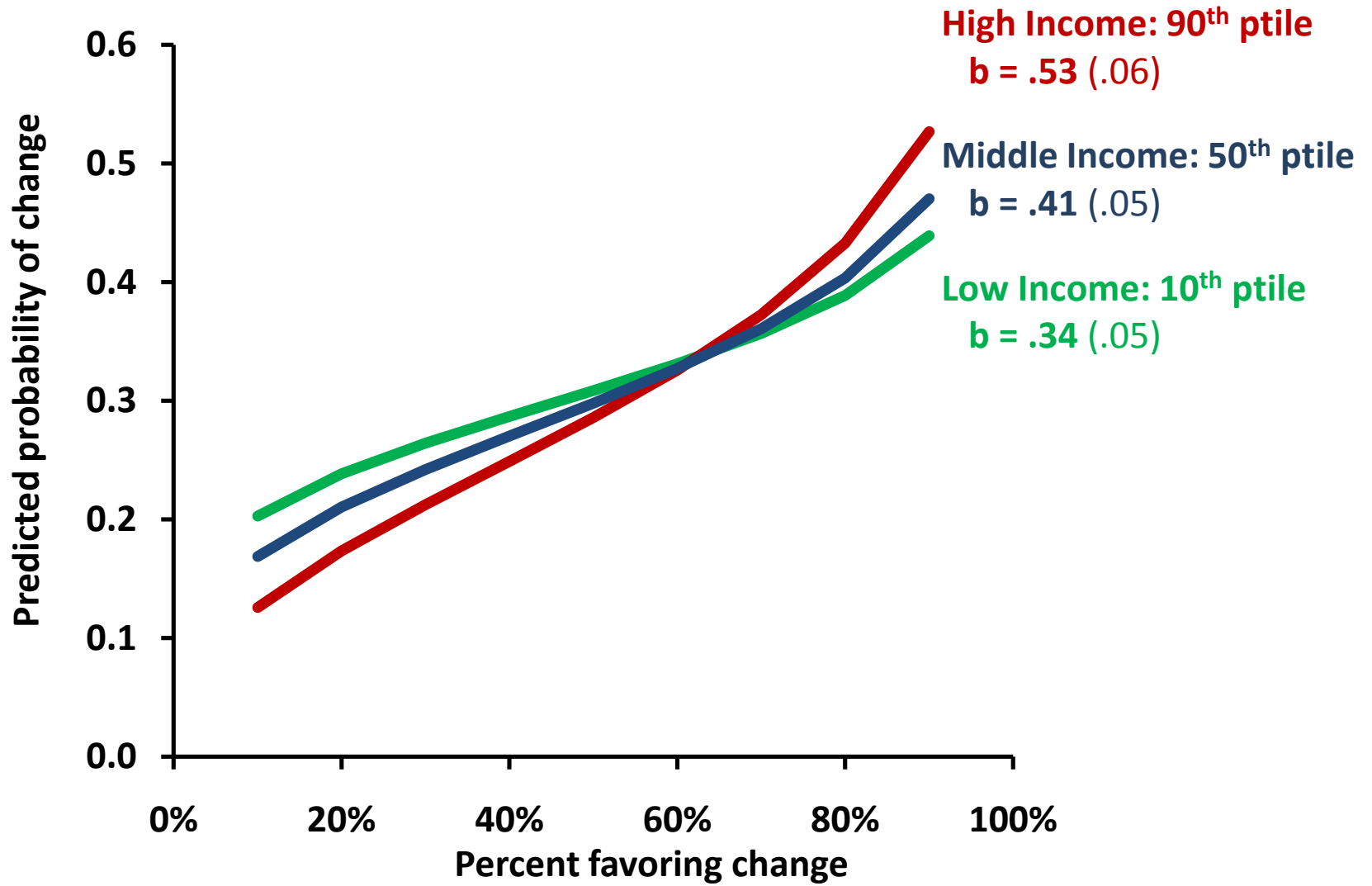


$$\text{prob}(Y_i = 1) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-z_i}}$$

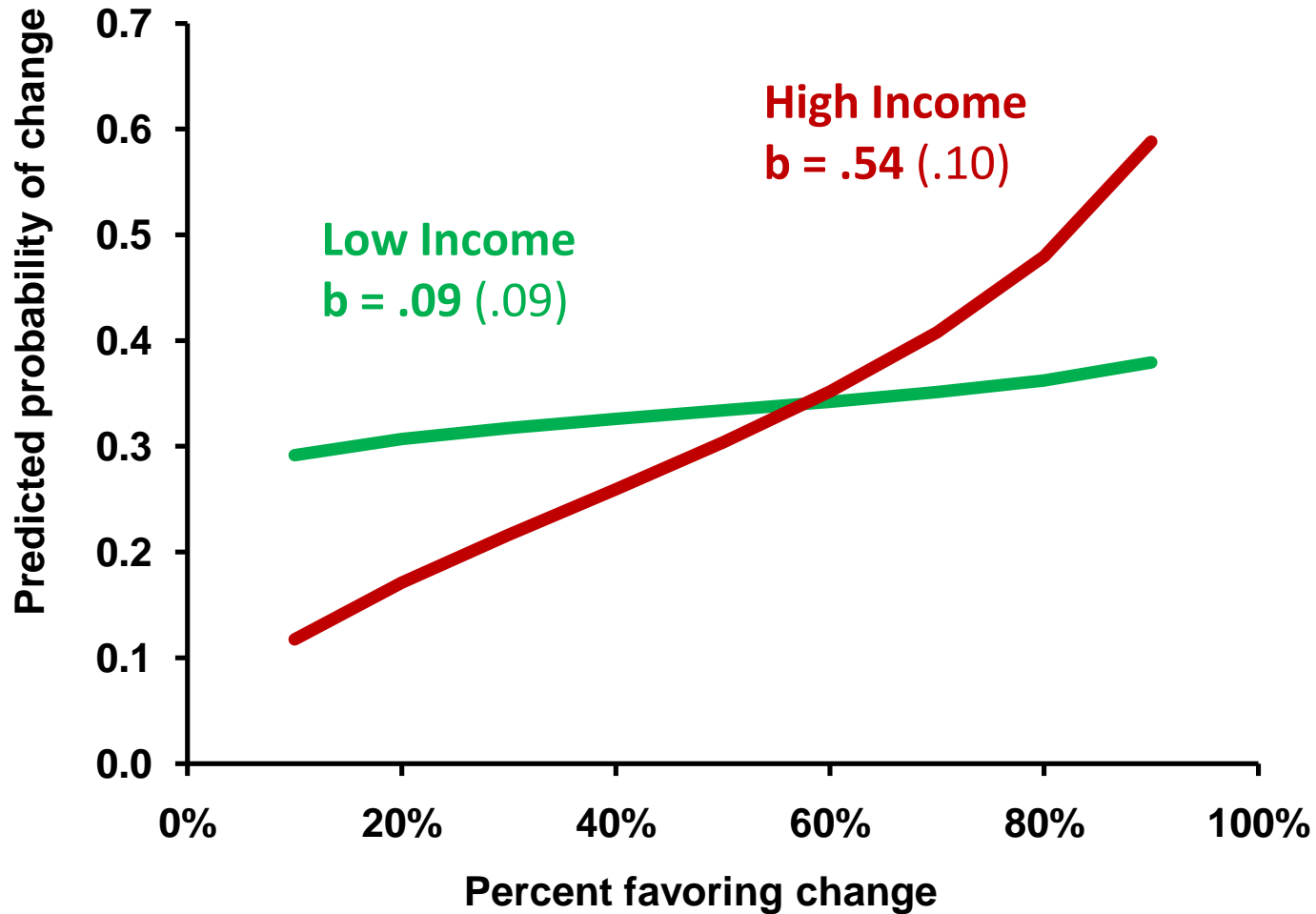
where

$$Z_i = \alpha + \beta \ln \left(\frac{\% \text{ favor}_i}{1 - \% \text{ favor}_i} \right)$$



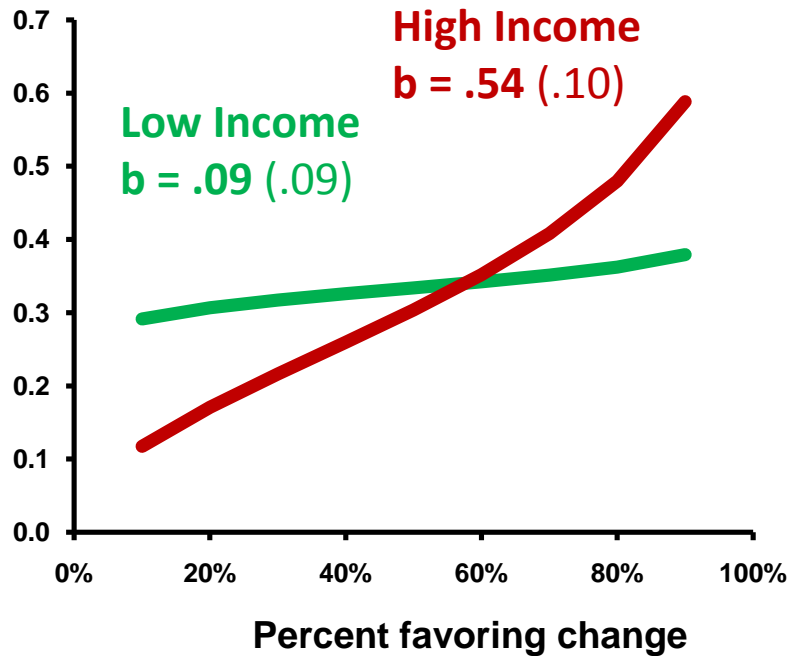


When Low vs. High Income Preferences Diverge

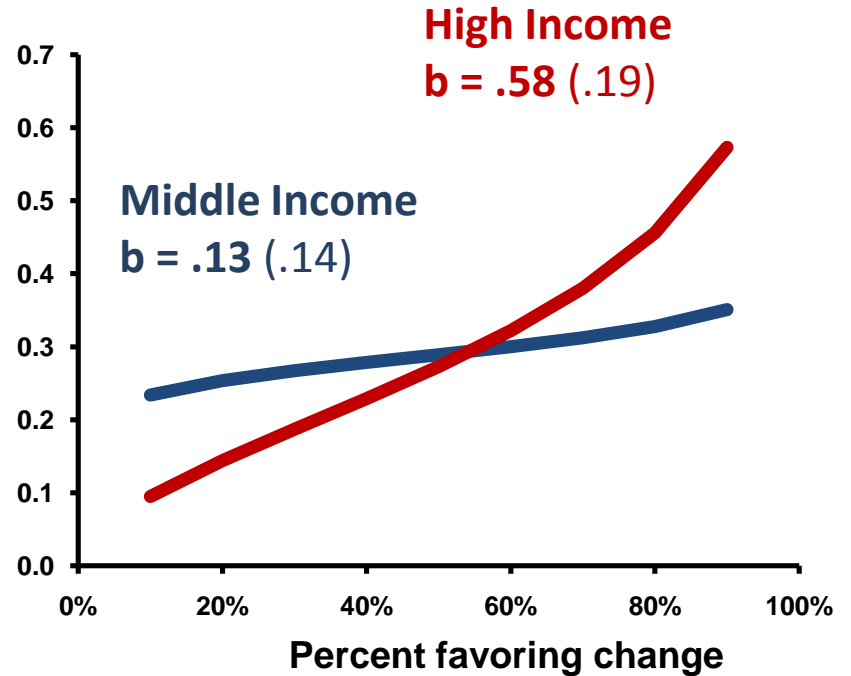


Predicted Probability of Policy Change

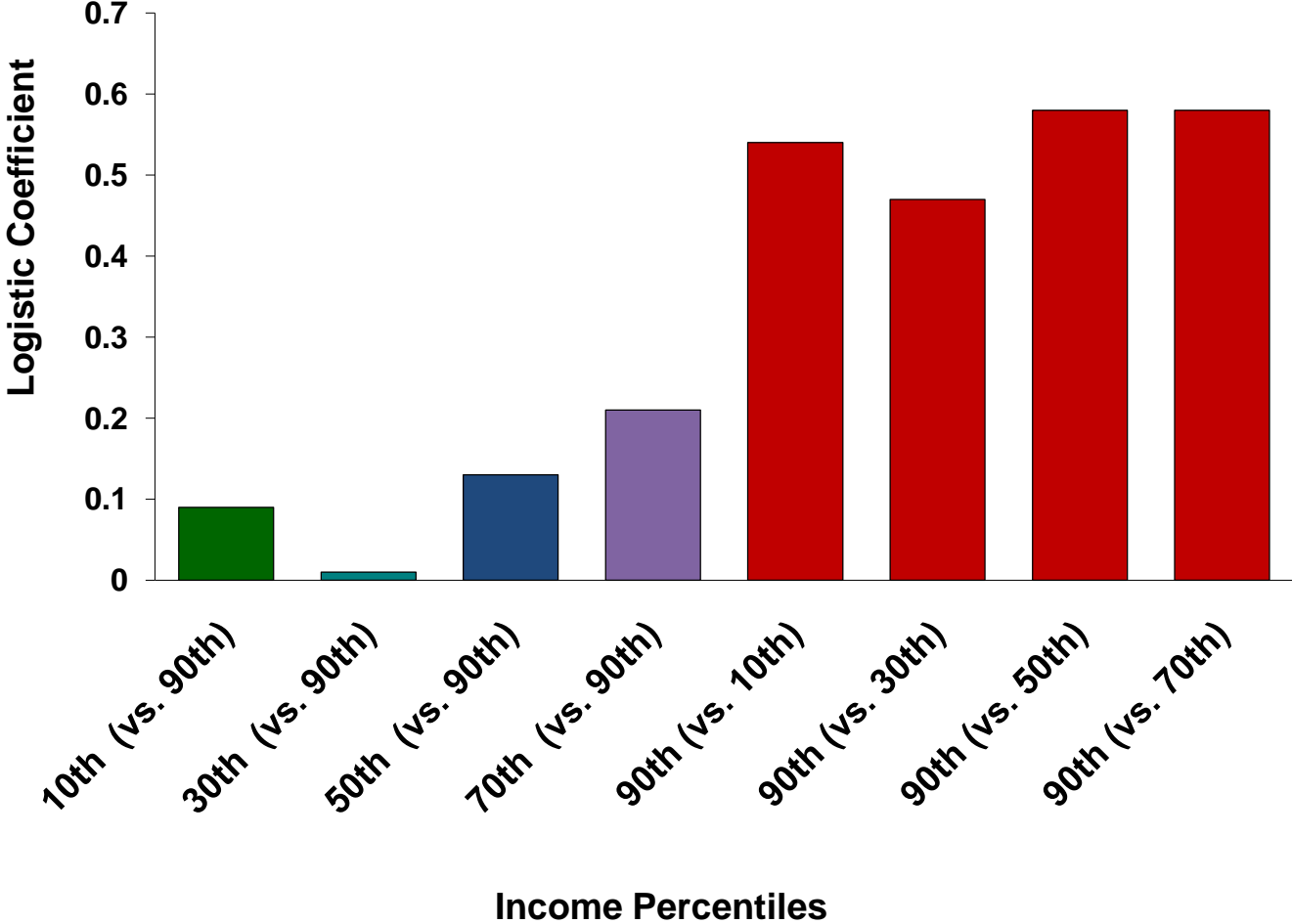
When Low and High Income Preferences Diverge



When Middle and High Income Preferences Diverge



Preference/Policy Link when Preferences Across Income Levels Diverge



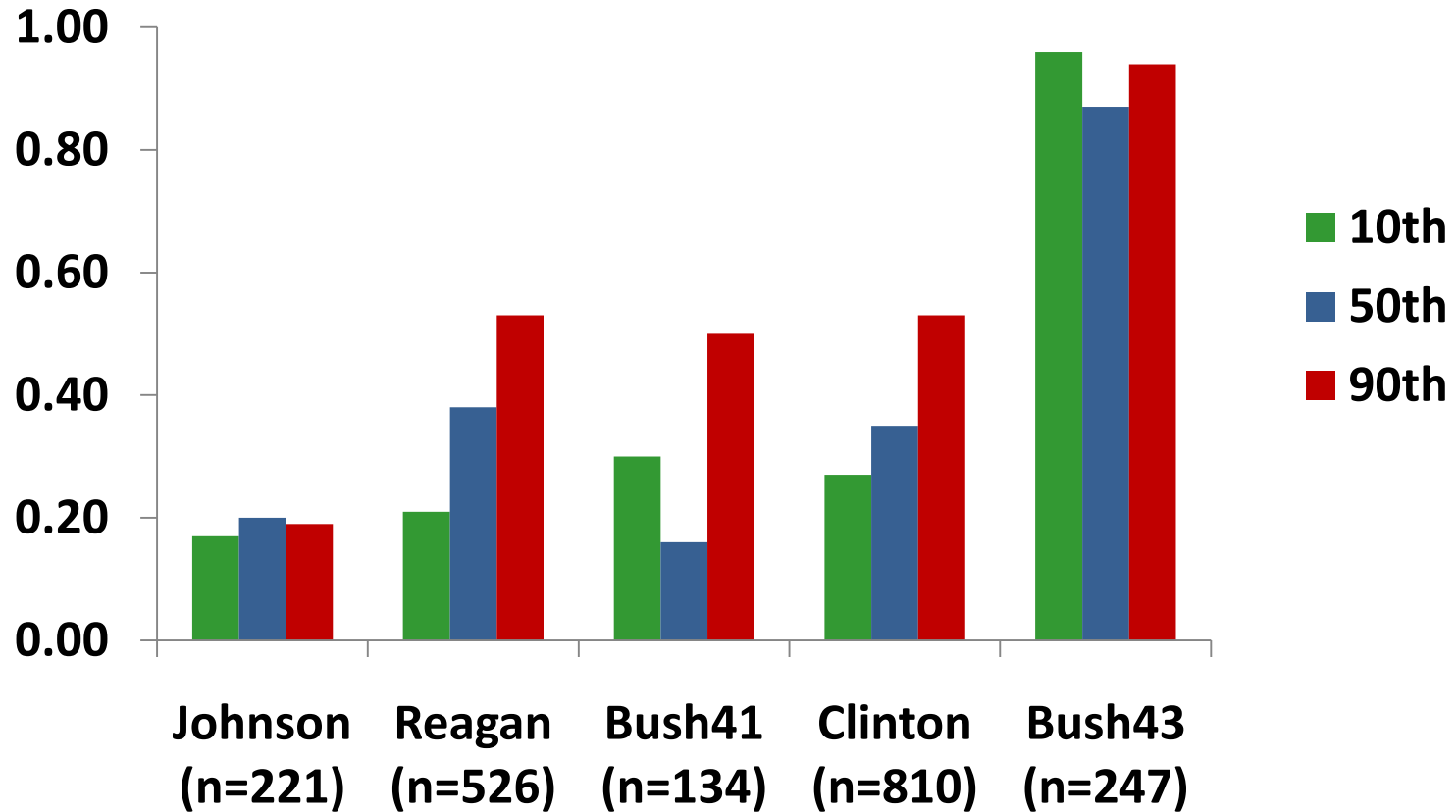
Preference/Policy Link by Year in Presidential Election Cycle

When preferences across income levels diverge

	<u>10th income percentile</u>	<u>50th income percentile</u>	<u>90th income percentile</u>
Non-election years	-.02 (.14)	.02 (.14)	.44 (.16)
Congressional election yrs	-.16 (.22)	.25 (.20)	.30 (.23)
Presidential election yrs	.54 (.25)	.63 (.24)	1.10 (.35)

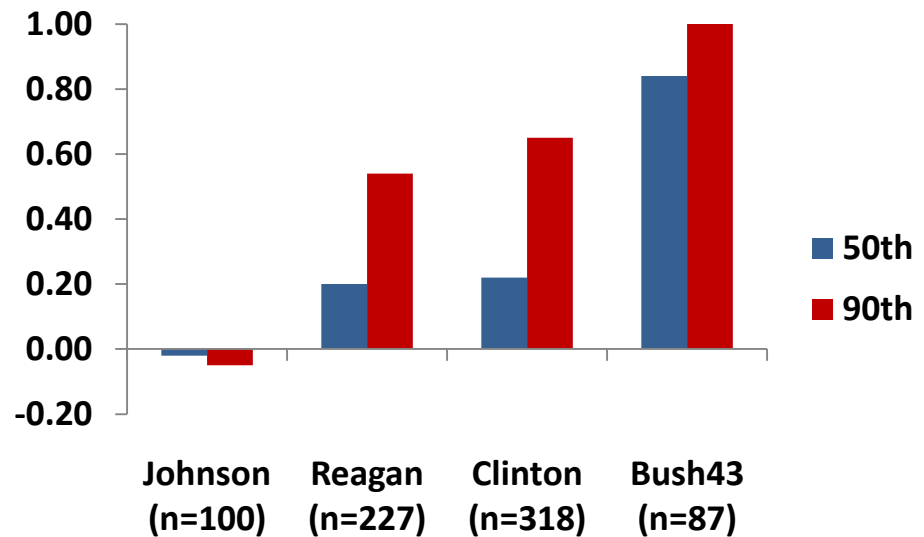
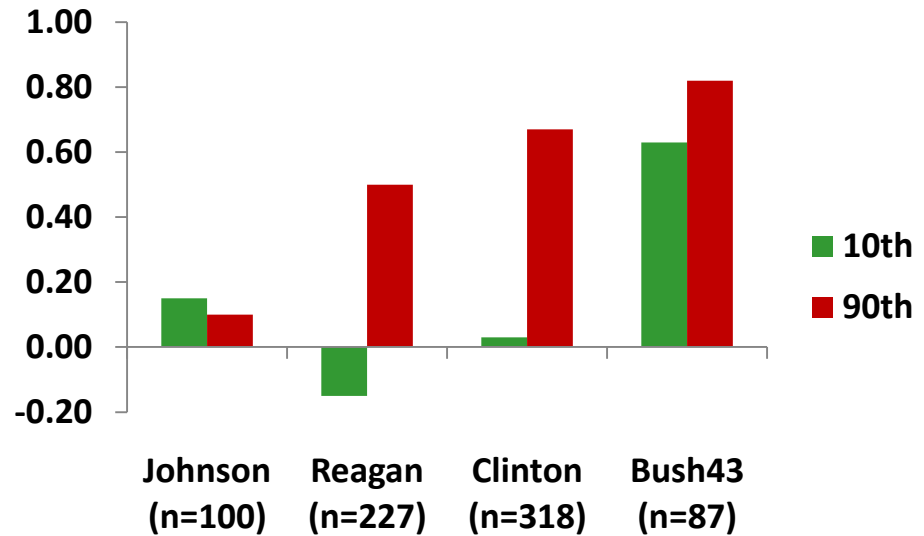
Figures for 90th percentile are average of analyses for 10th v. 90th and 50th v. 90th percentiles.

Preference/Policy Link by Income by President



Preference/Policy Link by Income by President

When preferences across income levels diverge



Difference between Bush and all others is sig. at $p < .05$ for all percentiles; difference between Clinton and Johnson is sig. at $p < .05$ for the 90th percentile.

Johnson Administration Policies

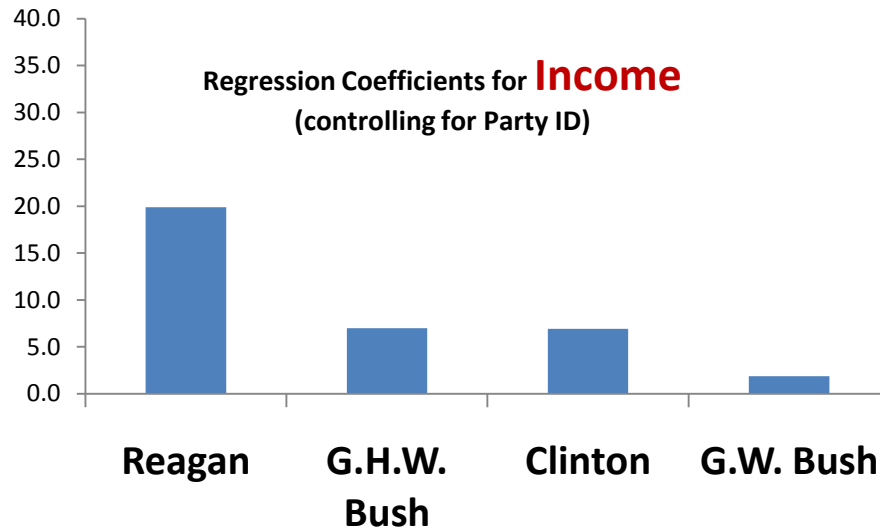
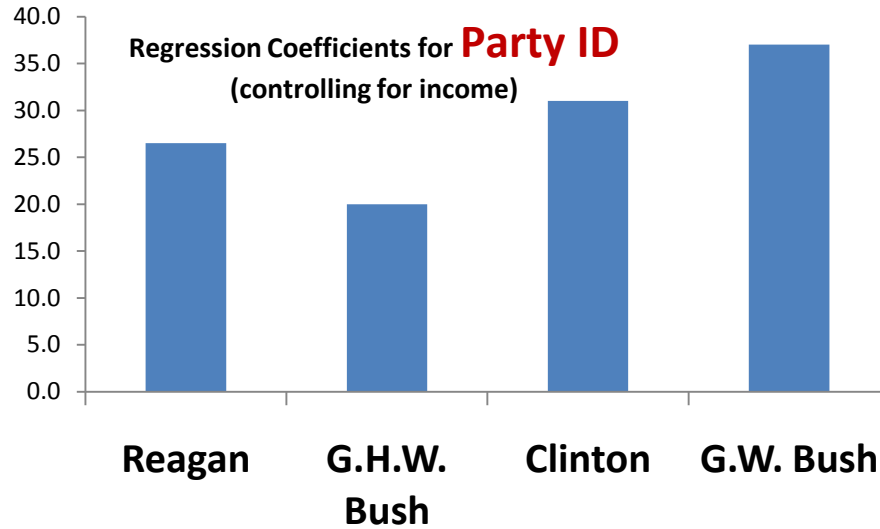
Popular Policies

- Medicare
- Head Start
- Federal aid to education
- Increase in minimum wage
- Voting Rights Act

Unpopular Policies

- Increased spending on cities
- Increased housing aid
- Looser immigration laws
- Vietnam income tax surcharge
- Vietnam escalation

Predictors of presidential approval during July / August of first year in office



Broadly Popular G.W. Bush Administration Policies

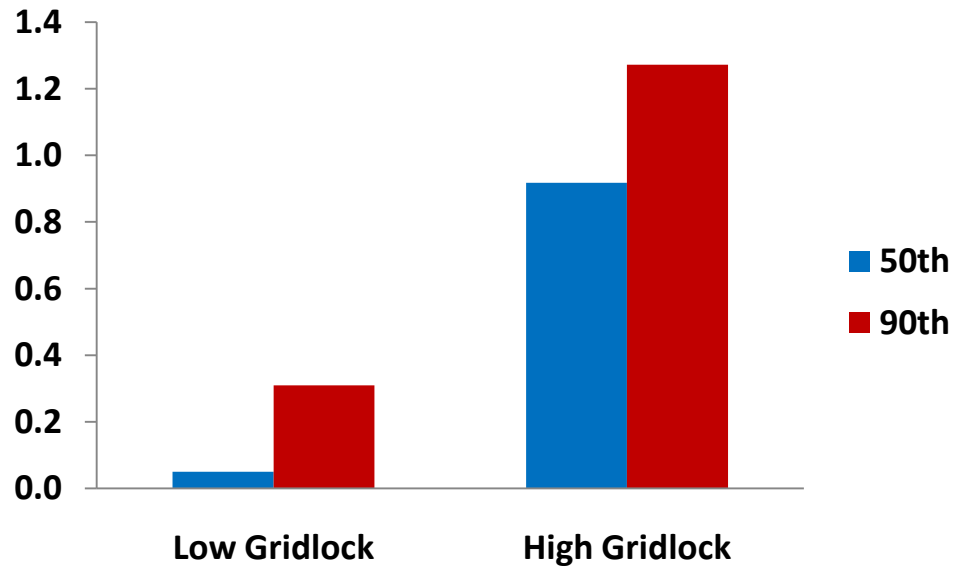
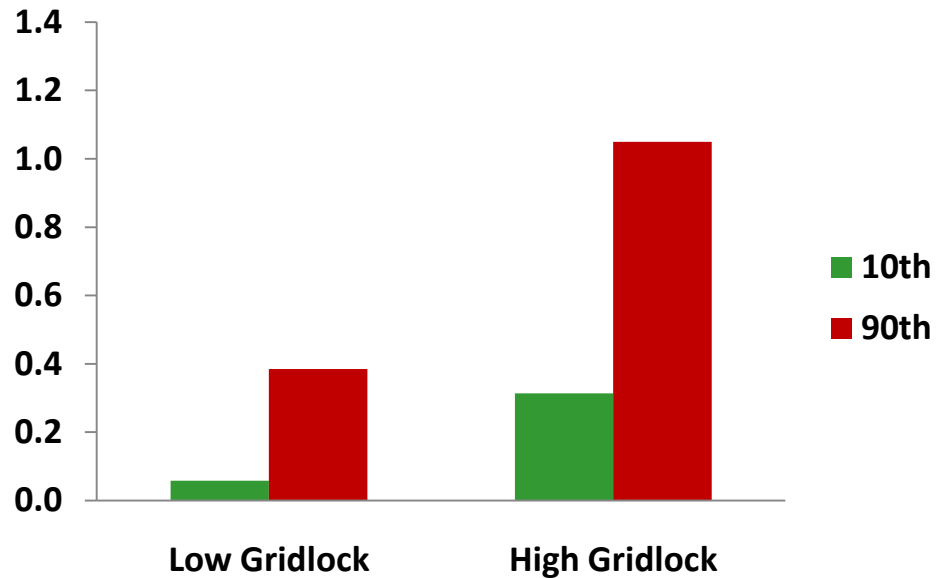
- No Child Left Behind**
- Medicare drug benefit**
- Faith based initiative**
- Compromise on stem cell funding**
- Income tax cuts and estate tax repeal**
- Afghan and Iraq wars**
- War on terror**

Systematic Influences on Policy Responsiveness

- Gridlock**
- Change in presidential partisan regime**
- Majority party seat advantage**

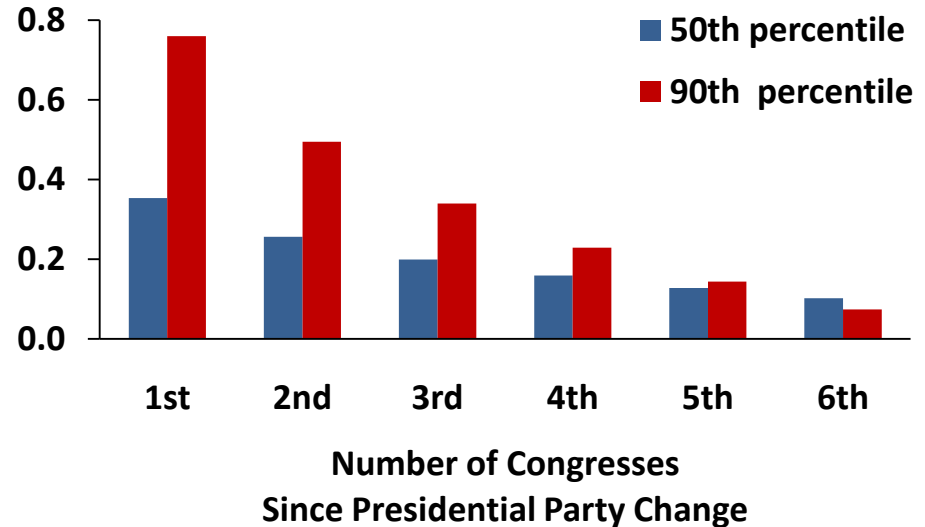
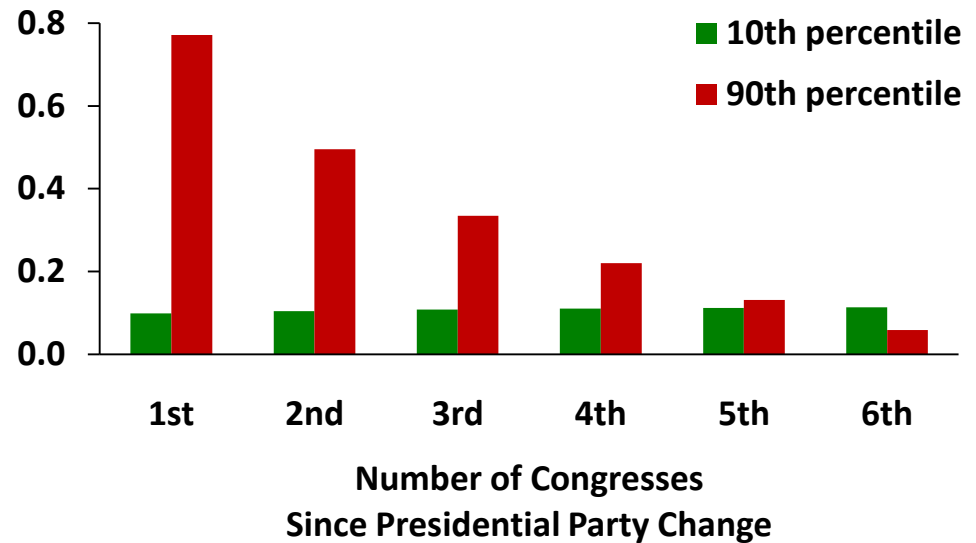
Preference/Policy Link by Income by Gridlock

When preferences across income levels diverge



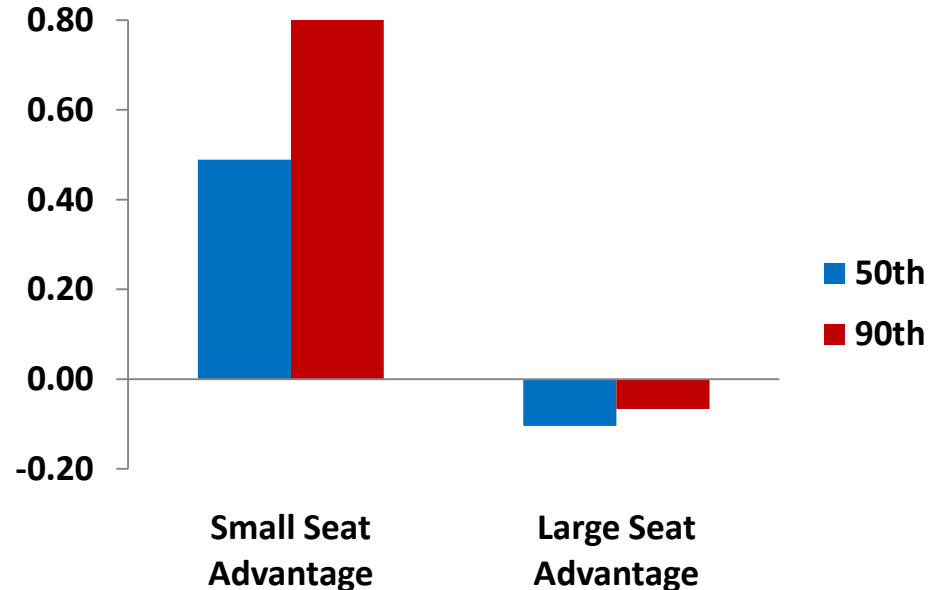
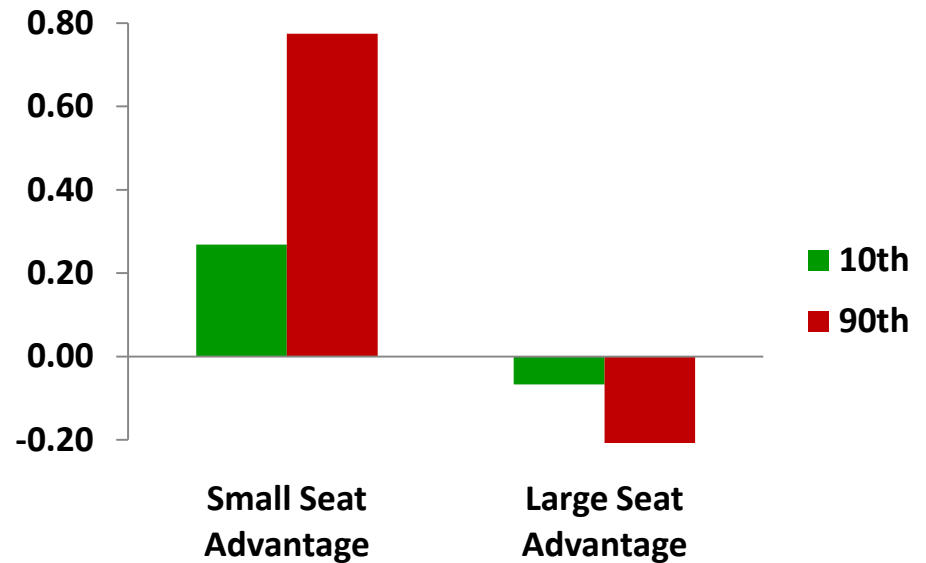
Preference/Policy Link by Number of Congresses since Presidential Party Change

When preferences across income levels diverge



Preference/Policy Link by Income by Majority Party Seat Advantage in the US Senate

When preferences across income levels diverge



“There is no precedent in any modern White House for what is going on in this one: a complete lack of a policy apparatus.

What you've got is everything -- and I mean everything -- being run by the political arm. It's the reign of the Mayberry Machiavellis.”

John Dilulio

Preference/Policy Link Under GW Bush

Income Percentiles

	<u>N</u>	<u>10th</u>	<u>50th</u>	<u>90th</u>
<u>All policies</u>				
2001/02	251	.91 (.19)	.90 (.18)	1.01 (.19)
2005/06	188	.09 (.28)	.25 (.29)	.23 (.29)

Preference/Policy Link Under GW Bush

Income Percentiles

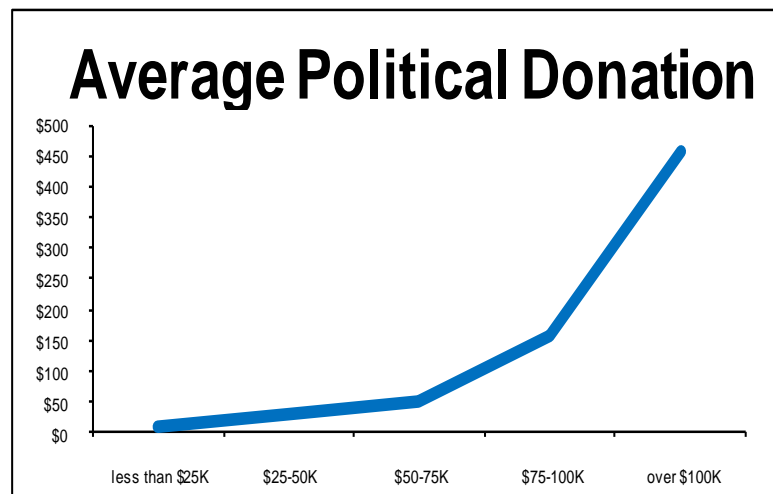
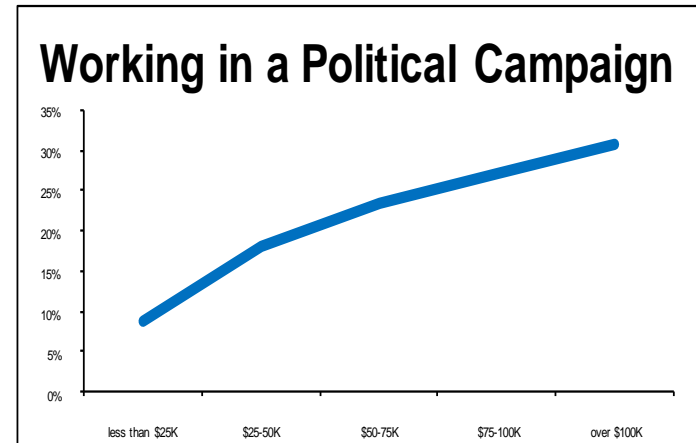
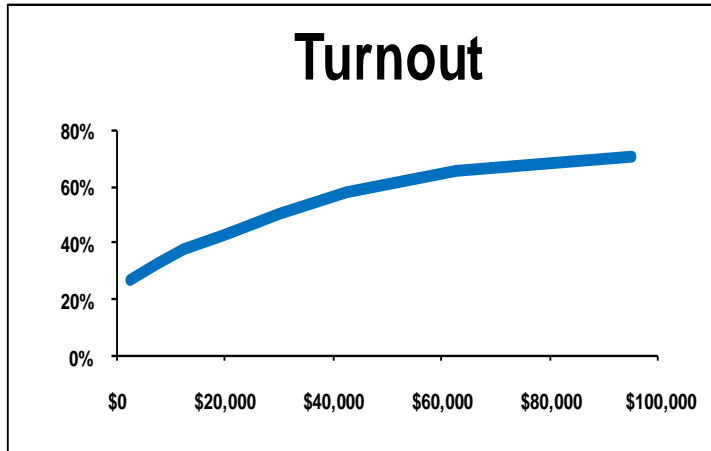
	<u>N</u>	<u>10th</u>	<u>50th</u>	<u>90th</u>
<u>All policies</u>				
2001/02	251	.91 (.19)	.90 (.18)	1.01 (.19)
2005/06	188	.09 (.28)	.25 (.29)	.23 (.29)
<u>Excluding defense & terrorism</u>				
2001/02	193	.61 (.21)	.59 (.21)	.74 (.22)
2005/06	147	-.03 (.31)	-.07 (.32)	-.17 (.33)

Takeaways

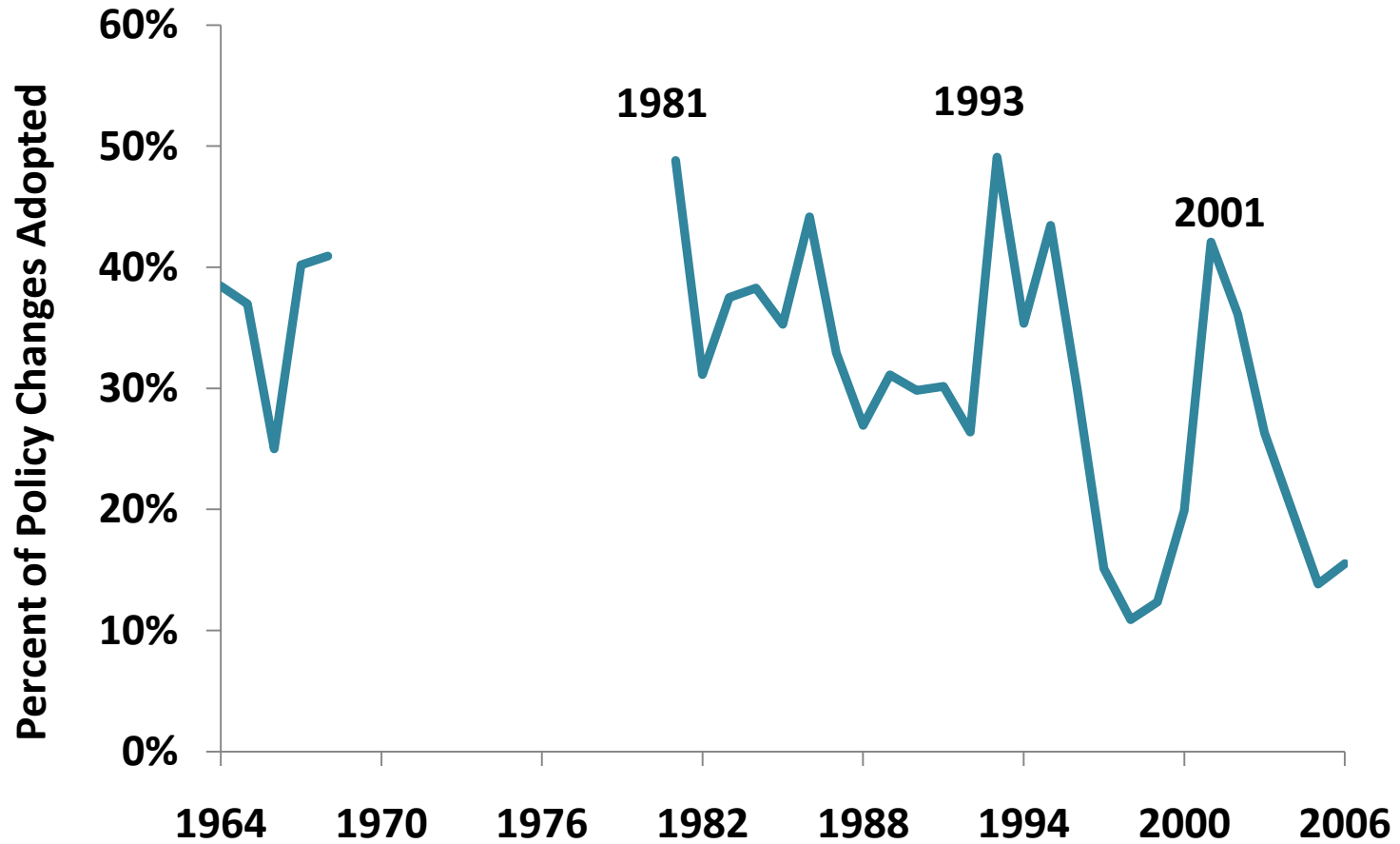
- **Representational inequality is enormous
(and has increased over time?)**
- **Political circumstances matter**
- **Parties act as policy maximizers**

end

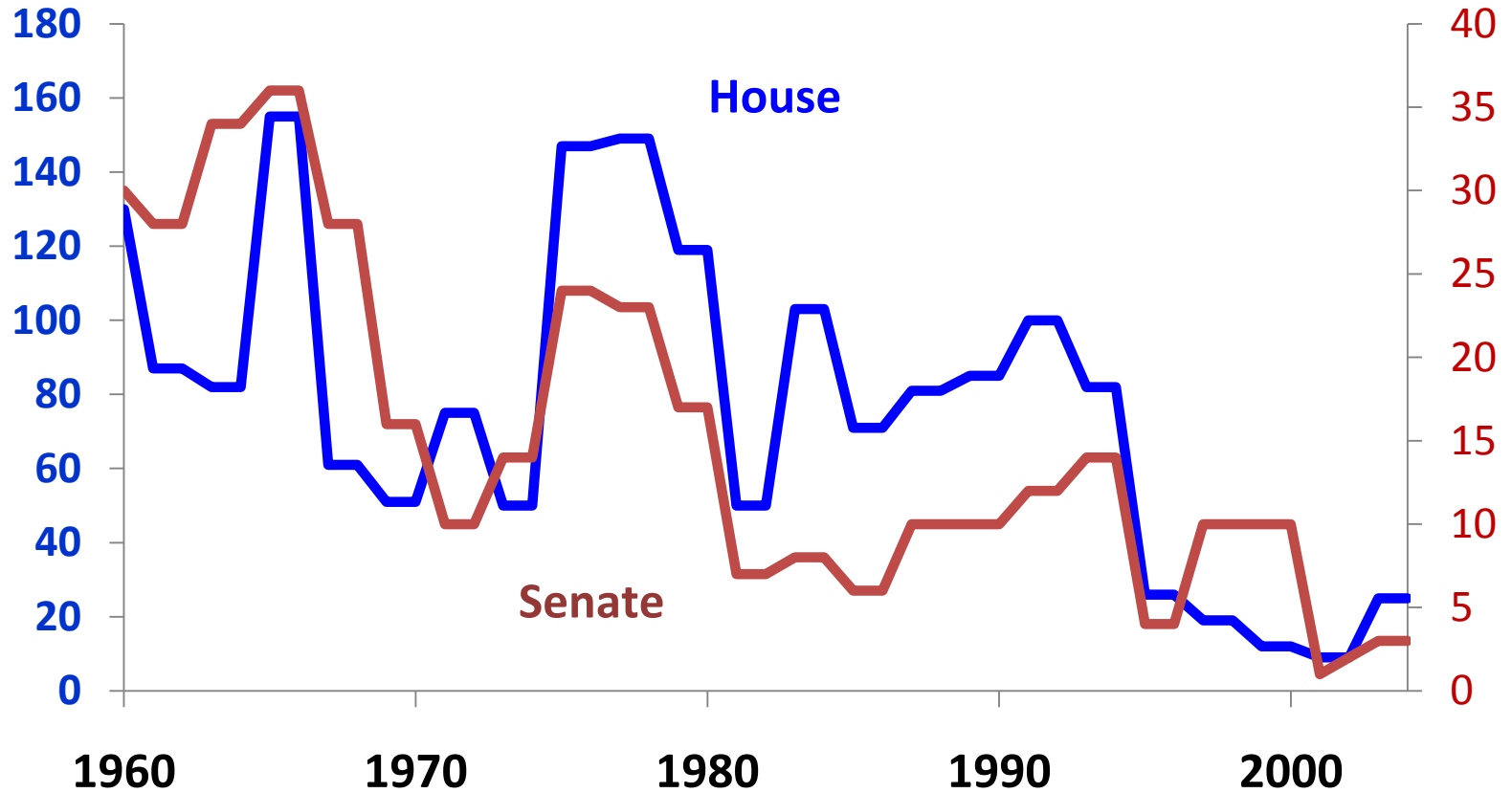
Political Behaviors by Income



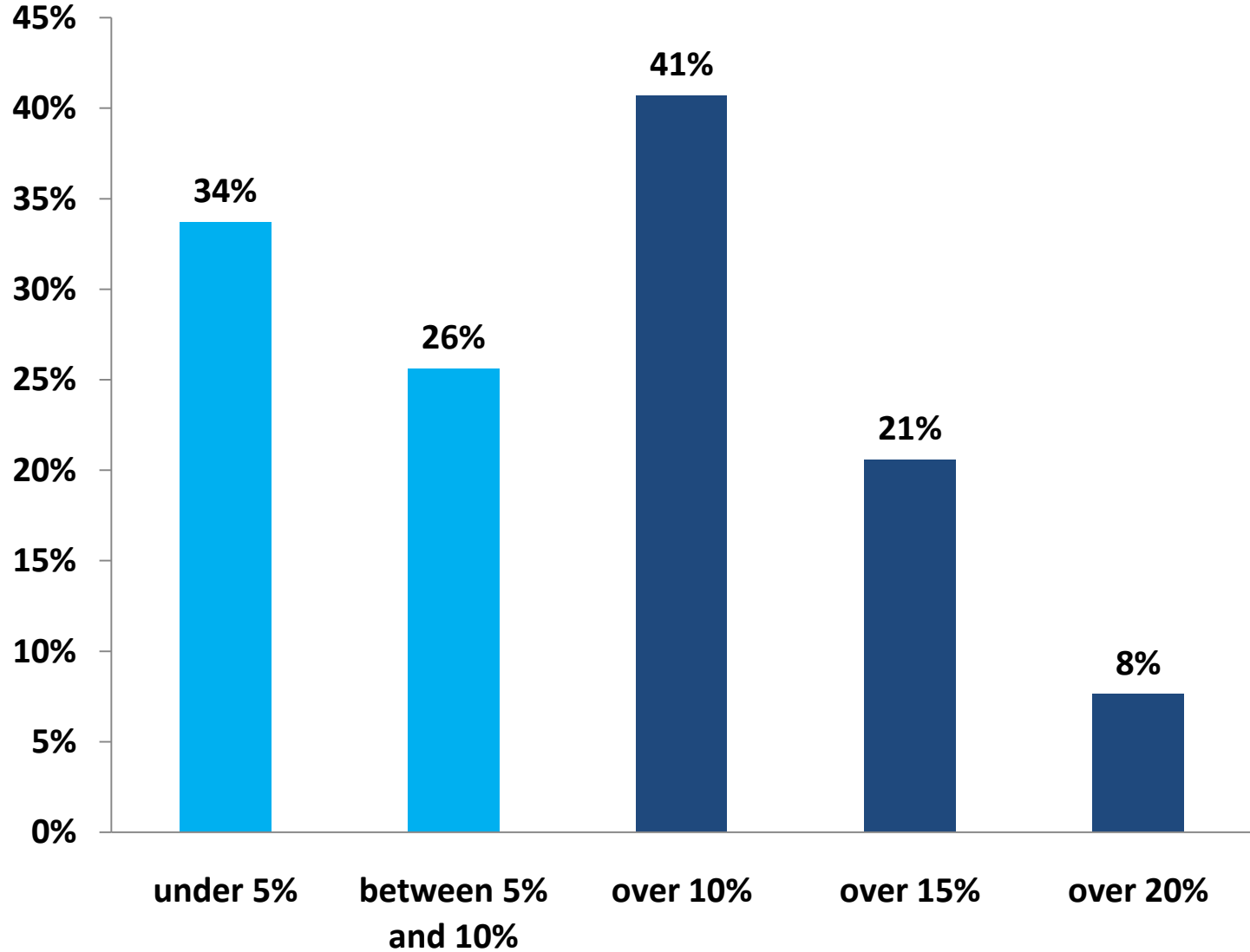
Percent of Proposed Policy Changes Adopted

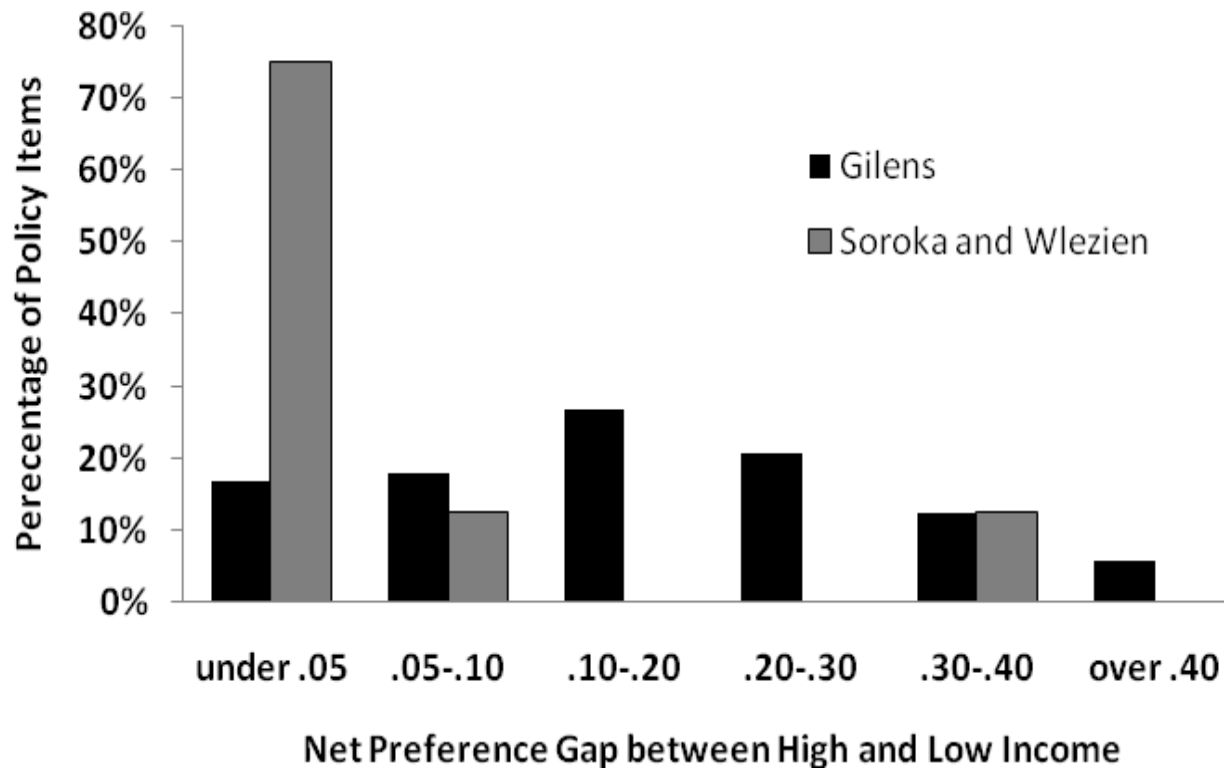


Size of Majority Party Seat Advantage, 1960-2004



Distribution of preference gap between 10th and 90th income percentiles





Percent Agree:
"Public officials don't care much what people like me think"

