Economic Inequality, Intergenerational Mobility, and Belief in Meritocracy in the United States

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Inequality Mini-Conference SPSA 2016

http://github.com/fsolt/meritocracy



A Big Question

- What's the Relationship Between Economic Inequality and Democracy?
- ► Inequality: Self-Correcting or Self-Reinforcing?
 - ► Meltzer-Richard or Benabou?
 - ▶ Unequal Representation: A Smoking Gun?
 - ▶ Political Participation: Energized or Demobilized?

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A Problematic Contribution

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 - leading poor to avoid responsibility: meritocracy ↓
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Newman, Johnston, and Lown (AJPS, 2015)

- Belief in Meritocracy
- Activated Conflict Theory
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 - ▶ and rich to avoid guilt (+self-interest): meritocracy ↑

Meritocracy across Income Levels for White Americans, 2005–09

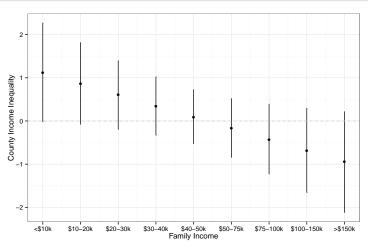
Low household income

High household income

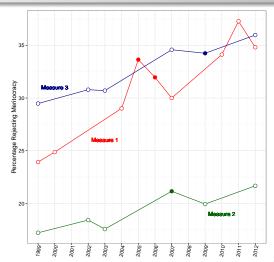
Standard deviations of county-level inequality

FIGURE 2 The Polarizing Effect of Local Inequality on Belief in

Misinterpreted Interaction Terms

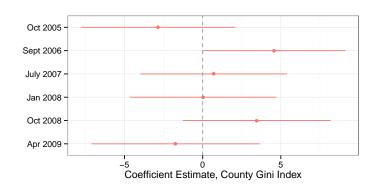


Pooling of Incomparable Observations



Excluded Data

Coefficients on Self-Identification as 'Have-Not', 6 Pew Surveys



Can you guess which one was reported?



Another Theory

Relative Power Theory

- High inequality increases power of rich . . .
 - 1. to win overt conflicts
 - 2. to control agenda
 - 3. to shape attitudes
- ▶ leading poor to adopt beliefs of rich: meritocracy ↑
- ▶ and, possibly, self-interest of rich: meritocracy ↑

Yet Another Theory

Economic Mobility

- ► High inequality decreases mobility
- ▶ leading poor to recognize stratification: meritocracy ↓
- ▶ and, possibly, the rich as well: meritocracy ↓

Data

Individual-Level Data

- Religious Landscape Survey
- ► > 35,000 respondents
- 'Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard'
- plus income and controls

Contextual Data

- Commuting Zones
- Equality of Opportunity Project
- ► Income Inequality
- ► Relative Mobility

A problem: ~20% missing data at individual level

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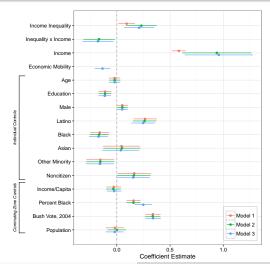
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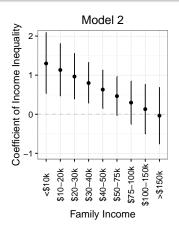


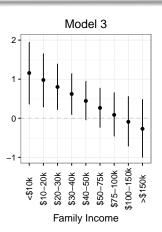
Predicting Belief in Meritocracy



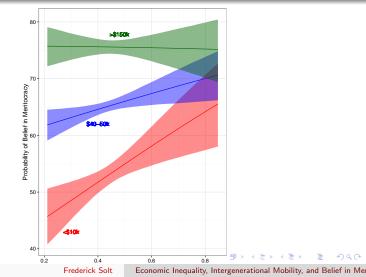
Frederick Solt

Estimated Coefficients of Income Inequality by Income





Belief in Meritocracy by Income



- ► Missing Data!
- ► *IF* results hold up:
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 - ▶ In fact, support for the opposite
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