

Index

Note: Page references in **bold** denote tables or figures. Footnote references are in the form *pgnfn* (e.g. 5n6 is footnote 6 on page 5). Footnotes are numbered sequentially by chapter.

```
actuarial fairness, 34, 37n6
American Dream equilibrium, 54-55, 80
Aristotle, 37
belief change, see also discursive context
  causal factors, 15, 17, 134-135, 164,
       244
  economic shock, 129, 212, 214
  partisan dynamics, 133, 134, 165-166,
       198-199, 204
benchmark model
  analysis of, 2
  benefits, 4n6
  fairness reasoning, 10, 11, 129
  fairness, norms of, 11-13
  market income, 3
  micro-foundations, 4, 9-10
  partisan dynamics, 202
  proportionality, 129-130
  redistribution, 3, 111, 128, 243
  redistributive politics, 130
  testing, 4, 6
benefit concentration, 116, 121, 120-121
Berlin, Isaiah, 223
Blair, Tony (Prime Minister, Great Britain),
     18, 170-174
boundaries of trust, 222-225, 234
Brown, Gordon (Prime Minister, Great
     Britain), 172
Callaghan, Leonard James (Prime Minister,
```

```
Cameron, David (Prime Minister, Great
     Britain), 174
Capitalism and Ideology (Piketty, 2020),
     250
Clinton, William Jefferson (President,
     USA), 190, 194, 197, 246
cohort analysis, 178, 181, 200, 201,
     199-201, 236, 238
comparative studies
  Europe, 73, 74, 72-75
  US-Denmark, 47
  US-Norway, 39-42
competing theories, 21-23, 40-43, 128,
     135-137
convergence
  co-optation, 170-173, 204, 213, 214
  discursive context, 170, 176
  omission, 170-171, 203
  partisan dynamics, 19, 20, 204, 244
Corbyn, Jeremy (leader, Labour Party,
     Great Britain), 174
counterfactual reasoning
  free riding, 12-15, 56, 73, 88, 105, 175
  self-interest, 102, 102, 111, 114, 114,
       122, 127
Die Linke (Germany), 184
Discours sur l'Inegalite (Rousseau, 1754),
     31
discursive context
  belief change, 19, 165, 166, 168, 169,
```

174, 176, 184, 186, 208, 212, 214,

244

Great Britain), 170



Index 271

causal factors, 198	redistributive policies
convergence, 170, 176	fairness beliefs, 12, 56
free riding, 18, 174, 238	fairness principles, 10
LAVs, 220, 234–235	typology, 12, 32–33
partisan dynamics, 20, 133-134, 165n1,	self-serving adjustment, 104–105,
251	106 , 107, 114, 143, 144 , 150 , 151 ,
proportionality beliefs, 178, 184, 215	149–152, 158 , 157–159
reciprocity beliefs, 215	two-dimensional approach, 52, 58,
	57-61, 68, 75-76, 80
efficiency norm, 43, 250	unidimensional approach, 54, 53-56, 85
equality norm, 38n7, 40-41, 42	far-right, 135, 136, 244-245
error sensitivity	fiscal stress, see also France; recessions
analysis, 228 , 229 , 227–230	attitude change, 15, 21, 243
belief formation, 234	dependency ratio, 142
LAVs, 237, 239	fiscal adjustments, 142–143
resource scarcity, 232 , 233 , 230–233	motive mix, 130–132
survey questions, 225–227	self-interest, reversion to, 143, 144
Euro-pessimistic equilibrium, 54–55, 80	social solidarity, 16–17
	flexicurity, 20, 79–81, 246
factor analysis, 61–63	framing effects
fairness beliefs, see also belief change	attitude change, 15, 133
and economic condition, 87–88, 89	fairness beliefs, 17
correlates, 86–87	framing pathway, 130, 131n1
cross-country trends, 200 , 201 , 199–201	Great Britain, 176, 181, 182, 183
definition, 18, 53	survey design, 15, 17, 23, 132–133, 164,
flexicurity, 20, 79–81, 246	181
income inequality, 129	France
mental maps, 53, 54 , 58 , 63n7, 85	DREES barometer, 143, 149
proto-ideology, 20, 29, 56, 67, 133, 165,	fiscal stress, 16–17, 145 , 144–147, 159
203, 246	immigration, 93, 152–153
status quo, 35, 36 , 59, 134, 165, 234	income gradient, 150 , 151 , 149–152,
welfare reform, 246	156 , 157 , 155–157
fairness reasoning, see also fairness be-	income inequality, 5 , 6 , 4–6, 9
liefs; Great Britain; income in-	Les Gilets Jaunes, 9, 16, 139, 159, 244–245
equality; income redistribution;	micro foundations
proportionality beliefs; reciprocity beliefs; self-interest	design overview, 153–154
anchor, 104, 122, 242	variables, 154–155
comparative analysis, Europe, 73 , 74 ,	self-interest, 158 , 157–159
72–75	taxation fatigue, 148 , 147–149
competing theories, 21–23	welfare spending, 81, 146, 146
conditional norm application, 50–52	free riding, see also discursive context
country-level analysis	anti-immigrant sentiment, 93, 231
data analysis, 78 , 76–78, 79, 80	belief change, 167, 215, 234, 246
results, 78–81	counterfactual reasoning, 12–15, 56, 73,
definition, 31	88, 105, 114, 175
evaluation strategies, 36–37	error sensitivity
measurement strategies, 58–61	analysis, 228 , 229 , 227–230
need, 47	belief formation, 234
parochial altruism, 48	LAVs, 237, 239
proportionality/reciprocity disconnect,	resource scarcity, 232 , 233 , 230–233
13–14, 35, 46, 56, 58 , 68, 94	survey questions, 225–227



272 Index

fairness beliefs, 11-13 redistribution from policies, 170-171, fairness reasoning, 75, 134, 166 176 redistribution to policies, 17-18, 20-21, fiscal stress, 143, 153, 158 framing effects, 17, 181, 231 171-173, 175-176 free rider problem, 33, 43, 50, 59, 230 redistributive preferences analytic methodology, 63-67 LAVs, 220-221, 225 analytic results, 64, 67-68 moral hazard, 21, 22, 67, 71, 78, 138, verification, 71-72 172, 234, 243 self-interest, 175-176 parochial altruism, 48 social dilemmas, 237, 235-238, 238 partisan dynamics, 20, 104, 134, 175, social solidarity, 138n6 178, 188, 238 social spending, 117, 118 public goods game (PGG), 41, 221 supply-side policies, 171n5 reciprocity beliefs, 34-35, 43-44, 47, unemployment benefits, 172 49, 67, 94, 97, 138, 222, 242, Great Recession 250-251 belief change, 204, 214 Scandinavia, 78-80, 246 France, 145, 146, 152, 159 self-interest, 108, 157, 190 Great Britain, 174, 176 social insurance, 45-47, 56 populist movements, 159, 188, 244-245 symbolic racism, 19 redistribution to policies, 16, 143, 152, Friedman, Milton, 34, 132, 181 194, 243 Galbraith, John Kenneth, 51n14 Haidt, Jonathan, 224, 224n3, 234n11 Germany Hollande, François (President, France), attitude change, 19, 186, 198 145 income inequality, 5, 4-6, 9, 139 income redistribution, 6, 7, 185, ideological consistency, 106, 105-107 184_185 immigration reciprocity beliefs, 199 anti-immigrant sentiment, 22, 46, 48, 91, Great Britain, see also resistance 93, 92–94, 138, 197, 230–233, 245 hypothesis as second dimension, 90 anti-immigrant sentiment, 93 competing theories, 128, 135-137 belief change, 177, 176-178, 179-181, error sensitivity, 229 184, 186-187 fairness norms, 135-136, 138 benchmark model test, 7, 7 France, 93, 152-153 Brexit, 22, 174, 235, 242 parochial altruism, 48, 135, 137-139 convergence welfare chauvinism, 135–137 co-optation, 170-173, 213 income gradient omission, 170-171 belief change, 9, 19, 178, 182 disability benefits, 172n7 cross-national variation, 114, 113-114 error sensitivity, 237, 239 definition, 101 income gradient, 182, 183, 178-184 free riding, 121, 120-122 Keynesian consensus, 133, 167, 170 immigration, 195, 197 LAVs partisan dynamics, 194-195, 195-197 stability, 235, 236 reciprocity beliefs, 117, 118, 119, 134, National Health Service (NHS), 232, **148**, **150**, **151**, 147–152, 190–191, **233**, 230–233 196, 201, 251 partisan dynamics, 169, 167-170, 175, symbolic racism, 195 **175**, 186 income inequality, see also benchmark partisan sorting, 178n13 model; income redistribution political depolarization, 173, 173-174 and fairness reasoning, 129-130 privatization, 168, 169 attitude stability, 7, 7, 8, 15-16, 20



Index 273

market economy, 37 Morre, Barrington, 30 trends in, 5, 6, 4-6 motive mix, 130-132, 159, 249 income redistribution, see also fiscal stress; free riding; market economy; re-Obama, Barack (President, USA), 34n4, distribution from policies; redis-194, 197 tribution to policies; self-interest; Ostrom, Eleonor, 222 welfare state dynamics of, 130-131 parochial altruism, 48, 136-138, 152 missing left turn, 22, 128, 242-244 partisan dynamics politics of, 103, 130 belief change, 133, 134, 165-166, public demands for, 1-2 198-199, 204 right-wing argument, resistance to, 18 benchmark model, 202 support for, 9, 8-10 convergence, 19, 20, 204, 244 institutional dualism, 33-35, 36, discursive context, 20, 165n1, 251 50-52, 76 free riding, 20, 104, 134, 175, 178, 188, 238 Kinnock, Neil (Prime Minister, Great Great Britain, 169, 167-170, 175, 175, Britain), 170 186 income gradient, 194-195, 195-197 latent class modelling, 210, 211, 212, partisan sorting, 178n13, 187, 190, 197 207-212, 213 polarization, 19, 20, 132, 187, 193, LAVs (liberal-authoritarian values) see 192-195, 197, 202, 204, 244 also discursive context redistribution to policies, 18-21, 134, anti-immigrant sentiments, 224 188-190, **192, 193**, 194, 197, 202, as proxies, 90, 223-225 251, 252 reciprocity beliefs, 89, 91, 90-91, 92, social solidarity, 190, 202, 244 93, 95, 97, 175, 192, 220-221, 234 social dilemmas, cross-national analysis, traditional redistribution item, 167, 181, 237, 235-237, 238 186, 193 stability, 235, 236 United States, 187-190, 192, 194, 197 Macron, Emmanuel (President, France). welfare cuts, 178, 182 Piketty, Thomas, 250-251 market economy, see also proportionality Capitalism and Ideology (2020), 250 beliefs populist movements, 9, 16, 139, 159, 188, as cultural constructs, 34n4 244-245 entry into, 33 progressive taxation moral foundations, 13, 35, 56, 127 American Dream equilibrium, 54 proportionality, 34, 37 convergence by omission, 171 redistributive features, 20 Euro-pessimistic equilibrium, 55 self-interest, alignment with, immigration, 135 33, 103 self-interest, 1, 107, 113 state institution building, 20 survey design, 76, 247 taxation policies, 21, 32-33 total war, 251 Markov transition process, first-order, see proportionality beliefs, see also resistance latent class modelling hypothesis material self-interest, see self-interest Aristotle, 37 Mitterand, Francois (President, France), competing theories, 40-43 169n3 culturally constructed norm, 49 monotonely homogeneous model (MH), fairness beliefs, 18 226

Moral Foundation Theory, 224

formation of, 214-215



274 Index

ideological consistency, 107-108, 110, Hobbsian mindset (binding), 110 223-224, 234 measurement strategy, 59-60 LAVs, 237, 235-237, 238 proportionality norm, see also proportion-Liberal mindset (individualizing), ality beliefs 223-224, 234 public goods game (PGG), 221-222 convergence, 20, 170 social solidarity, 34-35, 43 definition, 37 social spending, 118, 116-119, 130 fairness reasoning, 22, 41, 43, 50-51, total war, 50 75, 94, 134, 203, 208, 242 reciprocity norm, see also reciprocity income gradient, 113 beliefs income inequality, 129 behavioral basis of, 49-50 Les Gilets Jaunes, 244 competing principles, 47-48 market economy, 11, 34-35, 49, 248, conditional cooperation, 43-47 definition, 43 Occupy Wall Street, 188, 244 fairness reasoning, 59, 138, 164, 202, redistribution from policies, 12, 250-251 242, 251 self-interest, 204, 205n2 free riding, 43, 46, 59, 138, 239, 242 Ultimatum Game (UG), 38-39 income gradient, 117, 118, 119 unemployment insurance, 13 institutional dualism, 50-51 US-Norway comparative study, 39-42 public goods game (PGG), 44-45, 221 proto-ideology (fairness beliefs), 20, 29, redistribution to policies, 12, 62 56, 67, 133, 165, 203, 246 social insurance, 45 pseudo-cohort analysis, 235, 236 social solidarity, 11 Tea Party, 188, 245 Rajam, Raghu, 250 unemployment insurance, 13 recessions, see also Great Recession, 143, US-Denmark comparative study, 47 146, 178, 205n2 welfare state, 34-35, 75, 139 reciprocity beliefs, see also immigration; redistribution from policies LAVs (liberal-authoritarian valbelief change, 185, 184-186 ues); partisan dynamics; social benchmark model, 130 solidarity; welfare cuts convergence, 170-171, 190, 202, 215 benefit concentration, 116, 121, fairness beliefs, 20, 102, 186, 243 120 - 121fairness reasoning, 68, 129 boundaries of trust, 222-225, 234 framing effects, 63 change in, 210, 211, 209-211 inheritance-for-all (Piketty), 250-251 cross-national variation, 50 political activation, 251 ego protection (status threat), 96, 94-97 proportionality beliefs, 12, 107, 127, fairness, 12 165, 176, 181, 208, 209, **210** formation of, 234 self-interest, 86, 97, 101, 107, 122, 242 free riding, 94 traditional redistribution item, 68 ideological consistency, 106, 105-107 redistribution to policies income gradient, 109, 108-109, 111, anti-immigrant sentiment, 22, 135n3 **112**, 121 belief change, 164, 167 income gradient, cross-country variabenchmark model, 130 tion, 119, 114-120 coalitions of support, 142, 243, 250-251 measurement strategy, 59-61 convergence, 171-173 parochial altruism, 48, 137-138, 152 fairness beliefs, 20, 21, 101, 106-107, social dilemmas 136, 186, 242-243 definition, 220 fairness reasoning, 16, 68, 243 Hobbesian/Liberal orientation, fiscal stress, 131-132, 142-143, 144, origins, 234 158, 159



Index 275

framing effects, 17	definition, 220
Great Britain, 18, 238	Hobbesian mindset (binding), 223-224,
immigration, 135–136	234
income gradient, 178, 190, 201	Hobbesian/Liberal orientation, origins,
LAVs, 95, 175, 192, 220	234
partisan dynamics, 18-21, 134,	LAVs, 237 , 235–237, 238
188–190, 192 , 192–193, 193 , 194,	Liberal mindset (individualizing), 234
197, 202, 251, 252	public goods game (PGG), 221–222
partisan sorting, 190	social solidarity, see also fiscal stress
reciprocity beliefs, 12, 127, 130, 138,	and free riders, 88, 97, 234
176, 201	and social stability, 31, 32
self-interest, 14-15, 86, 102, 105, 122,	fiscal stress, 159
154	framing effects, 132
symbolic racism, 19n11, 135, 189	France, 16–17
resistance hypothesis	immigration, 135, 138
data and variables, 205–207	monitoring, 222
definition, 205	partisan dynamics, 190, 202, 244
Labour party convergence, 213	reciprocity beliefs, 11–12, 44–45, 178
resistance, alternative models, 208	social contract, 223
resistance, modeling, 209n9	United States, 75
self-interest, 212, 210–212, 213	social stability
resource scarcity, 232 , 233 , 230–233	inequality-among-equals problem, 31,
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques	33, 43
Discours sur l'Inegalite (1754), 31	Les Gilets Jaunes (France), 9
	moral systems, 30-31, 31n2, 127
Sarkozy, Nicolas (President, France), 145	reciprocity, 11
Scandinavia	resource allocation, shared consensus,
flexicurity, 246	31
income inequality, 5, 5	solidaristic fairness, 34
LAVs, 236, 237, 238	symbolic racism
proportionality beliefs, 199, 200	free riding, 19
reciprocity beliefs, 78-81, 199, 201	redistribution to policies, 19n11, 135,
US-Denmark study, 47	189
US-Norway study, 39-42	United States, 19n11, 75, 189-191, 191,
Schroeder, Gerard, 19	192 , 194, 195, 195 , 197
self-interest	
counterfactual reasoning, 102, 102, 111,	tax and spending cuts
114, 114 , 122, 127	benchmark model, 111, 112
fiscal stress, 143, 144	income gradient, 114, 118, 121,
ideological consistency, 106 , 105–108	120–122
income gradient, 109 , 110 , 108–111,	redistribution to policies, 106
113, 119 , 117–121, 204	taxing the rich, 108, 167
market economy, 33, 103	Thatcher, Margaret (Prime Minister, Great
pocketbook reasoning, 10–11, 14, 16,	Britain), 167–168, 170, 174, 238
29, 106, 127, 130, 136, 142, 143,	Third Way (Great Britain), 184, 198
144 , 147, 250	Tirole, Jean, 246
preference formation, 104-105, 105n4	trace lines, 228, 229
proportionality, 97, 101	traditional redistribution item
reciprocity, 101	fairness questions, correlation with, 55,
redistribution preferences, 14–15, 86	55n3
Smith, Adam, 33	framing effects, 63, 133, 164, 181
social dilemmas	immigration, 135



276 Index

inadequacy of, 247 income gradient, 111, 112, 194, 196 partisan dynamics, 181, 186, 193, 194 proportionality beliefs, 71, 72, 74, 76, 87n1, 113, 176, 199 redistribution from policies, 108, 132, 181 redistribution, measurement, 17, 55, 68 Trump, Donald (President, USA), 242, 245 United States benchmark model test, 7, 7 Civil Rights Act (1964), 187 fairness beliefs, 188, 192, 193, 191-194, 197 immigration, 195, 197 income gradient, 9, 19, 190-191, 194,

benchmark model test, 7, 7
Civil Rights Act (1964), 187
fairness beliefs, 188, 192, 193, 191–19, 197
immigration, 195, 197
income gradient, 9, 19, 190–191, 194, 196
Occupy Wall Street, 188, 244
partisan dynamics, 187–190, 192, 194, 195, 197
partisan sorting, 187, 190, 197
PEW Research Institute, 75, 191, 191
redistribution from policies, 192
redistribution to policies, 192
redistribution to policies, 1921, 188–190, 192–193
symbolic racism, 19n11, 75, 189–191, 191, 192, 194, 195, 195, 197

Tea Party, 188, 244, 245 universal vs. conditional access framing effects, 232, 233 universal vs. conditional access fiscal stress, 16 framing effects, 230–233 redistribution to policies, 12 survey design, 247

Walzer, Michael, 33 welfare cuts income gradient, 201 parochial altruism, 136 partisan dynamics, 178, 182 reciprocity beliefs, 18, 81, 178 redistribution to policies, 174 self-interest, 108 welfare state, see also reciprocity beliefs; social solidarity benchmark model, 10 labor supply, 33 moral foundations, 35, 56, 127 redistributive features, 20 resource pooling, 33, 35 social insurance, 12, 16, 31-33, 45, 130 welfare chauvinism, 135-137

Zaller, John, 133, 164, 165, 181