The authors of this timely book, *Who Gets What?*, harness the expertise from across the social sciences to show how skyrocketing inequality and social dislocation are fracturing the stable political identities and alliances of the postwar era across advanced democracies. Drawing on extensive evidence from the United States and Europe, with a focus especially on the United States, the authors examine how economics and politics are closely entwined. Chapters demonstrate how the new divisions that separate people and places, and fragment political parties, hinder a fairer distribution of resources and opportunities. They show how employment, education, sex and gender, and race and ethnicity affect the way people experience and interpret inequality and economic anxieties. Populist politics have addressed these emerging insecurities by deepening social and political divisions, rather than promoting broad and inclusive policies.

Frances McCall Rosenbluth is Damon Wells Professor in the Department of Political Science at Yale University. She writes widely about the politics and political economy of democratic accountability. Her books include *Women, Work, and Power* (with Torben Iversen, 2010), *Forged Through Fire* (with John Ferejohn, 2016), and *Responsible Parties* (with Ian Shapiro, 2018).

Margaret Weir is Wilson Professor of Public and International Affairs and Political Science at Brown University. She has written and edited several volumes on social policy, race, and employment in the United States. Professor Weir also served as director of the MacArthur Foundation Network on Building Resilient Regions and is currently working on a book entitled, *The New Metropolis: The Politics of Spatial Inequality in Twenty-First Century America.*
SSRC Anxieties of Democracy

Editors
John A. Ferejohn, New York University
Ira Katznelson, Columbia University
Deborah J. Yashar, Princeton University

With liberal democracies afflicted by doubt and disquiet, this series probes sources of current apprehensions and explores how such regimes might thrive. What array of pressures most stresses democratic ideas and institutions? Which responses might strengthen these regimes and help them flourish?

Embedded in the Social Science Research Council’s program on “Anxieties of Democracy,” the series focuses on how representative institutions – including elections, legislatures, political parties, the press and mass media, interest groups, social movements, and policy organizations – orient participation, learning, and accountability.

The volumes in the series further ask how particular policy challenges shape the character of democratic institutions and collective actors, and affect their capacity to address large problems in the public interest. These challenges include, but are not limited to: (1) designing democratic institutions to perform successfully under conditions of social and political polarization; (2) managing and orienting contemporary capitalism and alleviating hierarchies of inequality; (3) addressing questions of membership, including population movements and differentiated citizenship; (4) choosing policies to balance national security and civil liberty; (5) exploring the effects of global climate on citizens and the human impact on the environment; (6) managing the development of media and information technologies to ensure they enhance, rather than degrade, robust pluralism and civil political engagement.

Other Books in the Series
Can America Govern Itself? Frances E. Lee and Nolan McCarty
Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field and Prospects for Reform Nathaniel Persily and Joshua A. Tucker
The Disinformation Age: Politics, Technology, and Disruptive Communication in the United States W. Lance Bennett and Steven Livingston
Who Gets What? The New Politics of Insecurity Frances McCall Rosenbluth and Margaret Weir
Sponsored by the Social Science Research Council

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) is an independent, international, nonprofit organization driven by its mission to mobilize social science for the public good. Founded in 1923, the SSRC fosters innovative research, nurtures new generations of social scientists, deepens how inquiry is practiced within and across disciplines, and amplifies necessary knowledge on important public issues.

The SSRC is guided by the belief that justice, prosperity, and democracy all require better understanding of complex social, cultural, economic, and political processes. We work with practitioners, policymakers, and academic researchers in the social sciences, related professions, and the humanities and natural sciences. We build interdisciplinary and international networks, working with partners around the world to link research to practice and policy, strengthen individual and institutional capacities for learning, and enhance public access to information.
Who Gets What?

The New Politics of Insecurity

Edited by

FRANCES MCCALL ROSENBLUTH
Yale University

MARGARET WEIR
Brown University
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author Biographies</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>xviii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Introduction: The New Politics of Insecurity

*Frances McCall Rosenbluth and Margaret Weir*  
1

## Part I People

2 Race, Remembrance, and Precarity: Nostalgia and Vote Choice in the 2016 US Election

*Andra Gillespie*  
25

3 The End of Human Capital Solidarity?

*Ben Ansell and Jane Gingrich*  
52

4 Public Opinion and Reactions to Increasing Income Inequality

*Kris-Stella Trump*  
79

5 Engendering Democracy in an Age of Anxiety

*Alice Kessler-Harris*  
103

## Part II Places

6 Keeping Your Enemies Close: Electoral Rules and Partisan Polarization

*Jonathan Rodden*  
129

7 America’s Unequal Metropolitan Geography: Segregation and the Spatial Concentration of Affluence and Poverty

*Douglas S. Massey and Jacob S. Rugh*  
161
Contents

8 Redistribution and the Politics of Spatial Inequality in America
   Margaret Weir and Desmond King 188

PART III POLITICS

9 Electoral Realignments in the Atlantic World
   Carles Boix 213

10 Political Parties in the New Politics of Insecurity
    Christian Salas, Frances McCall Rosenbluth, and Ian Shapiro 237

11 The Peculiar Politics of American Insecurity
    Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson 259

12 The Anxiety of Precarity: The United States in Comparative
    Perspective
    Kathleen Thelen and Andreas Wiedemann 281

13 Increasing Instability and Uncertainty among American
    Workers: Implications for Inequality and Potential Policy
    Solutions
    Elizabeth O. Ananat, Anna Gassman-Pines, and Yulya
    Truskinovsky 307

Index 329
Figures

1.1 Income Gini Ratio of Householder in the United States, 1947–2019  
2.1 Respondent perceptions of American progress in 8 and 50 years  
2.2 Top-line statistics for independent variable measures  
3.1 Education and support for Remain in the UK referendum on leaving the European Union  
3.2 Average satisfaction with democracy by education level across the ESS  
3.3 Standard deviation of satisfaction with democracy by education level across the ESS  
3.4 Average redistribution preferences by education level across the ESS  
3.5 Standard deviation of redistribution preferences by education level across the ESS  
3.6 Mismatched graduates and satisfaction – ESS  
3.7 Mismatched graduates and political attitudes – ESS  
3.8 Firm size and economic satisfaction  
6.1 Three examples of party systems: Two potential dimensions of political conflict  
6.2 Euclidian distance from non-proximate parties, three examples  
6.3 Average absolute ideological distance between respondent and the most proximate party, ANES, 1972–2016  
6.4 Average absolute ideological distance between respondent and the most distant party, ANES, 1972–2016
List of Figures

6.5 Share of the population with “quite cold or unfavorable feelings” about one or both parties, ANES, 1972–2016

6.6 Partisan ideological spread, Dalton Index applied to CMP data, 1959–2007

6.7 Voter assessments of party ideology, Sweden 2014 and the United States 2012

6.8 Voter assessments of party system polarization and the effective number of parties, CSES Modules 3 and 4

6.9 Voter assessments of party distances from themselves and the effective number of parties, CSES Modules 3 and 4

7.1 Class distributions by race 1970–2010

7.2 Segregation between income classes by race 1970–2000

7.3 Class isolation by race 1970–2010

7.4 Spatial concentration of affluence for whites and Asians in US Metropolitan Areas 2010

7.5 Spatial concentration of affluence for blacks and Hispanics in US metropolitan areas 2010

7.6 Spatial concentration of white and Asian poverty in US metropolitan areas 2010

7.7 The production of concentrated affluence and poverty

9.1 Evolution of labor productivity and median earnings in the United States, 1913–2016

9.2 Polarization in economic policy positions in Europe

9.3 Political polarization in advanced democracies, 1945–2010

9.4 Abstention, 1918–2016

9.5 European parties – as proportion of voters and electors, 1918–2016

11.1 Public and private social protection spending by country

12.1 Illustrative typology of risk amplification for labor market risk

12.2 Strictness of employment protection

12.3 Unemployment insurance replacement rate, weighted by share of unemployed receiving regular unemployment benefits, average in the 2000s

12.4 Out-of-pocket health spending, 2015

12.5 Poverty rates among individuals living in households with at least one worker, 2016

12.6 Share of youth not in employment, education or training

12.7 Consumer credit and housing loans as a share of disposable income

12.8 The comparative view of intensity of different types of risks over time
# Tables

2.1 Descriptive statistics, JWJI 2016 Election National Survey

2.2 Crosstabulations of independent variables and nostalgia measures

2.3 Crosstabulations of racial resentment and nostalgia with Trump vote intention

2.4 Logistic regression of Trump vote on racial resentment, nostalgia, and economic precarity

2.5 Logistic regression of Trump vote on racial resentment, nostalgia, and economic precarity by race of respondent

3.1 European Social Survey – Mismatched degrees and satisfaction

3.2 Mismatched degrees and satisfaction: By age

7.1 Metropolitan-level variables used in analysis of the concentration of affluence and poverty in 2010

7.2 Equations predicting concentration of affluence for whites, Asians, blacks, and Hispanics in 2010

7.3 Equations predicting the concentration of poverty for whites, Asians, blacks, and Hispanics in 2010

8.1 Public policies and spatial inequalities

9.1 Change in employment share of each category in the United States

9.2 Rate of abstention in Finland, France, and the United Kingdom

9.3 Reported vote for “populist” parties in selected countries, mid-2000s
### List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Industrial jobs and voter support</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Industrial jobs and fragmentation on left parties</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Industrial jobs and left party fragmentation</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>Fragmentation on left parties and policy choice and</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>outcome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Author Biographies

Elizabeth Oltmans Ananat is the Mallya Chair in Women and Economics at Barnard College, Columbia University, and a faculty research affiliate of the National Bureau of Economic Research. She studies the causes and consequences of the intergenerational transmission of poverty and inequality and has authored many peer-reviewed publications on forces affecting US economic mobility, including racial segregation, access to family planning, and government programs. Her most recent work focuses on the destabilizing effects of employment restructuring on families, including “Linking Job Loss, Inequality, Mental Health, and Education” (with Anna Gassman-Pines, Dania Francis, and Christina Gibson-Davis), published in Science in 2017.

Ben Ansell is Professor of Comparative Democratic Institutions at Nuffield College and the University of Oxford. He is currently co-editor of Comparative Political Studies and Principal Investigator of the European Research Council project WEALTHPOL. His work spans a wide array of topics in political economy, from the politics of education, to inequality and democratization, to more recent work on housing, wealth, and populism. His book, coauthored with David Samuels, Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach (Cambridge University Press, 2014) won the Woodrow Wilson Award for the best book in political science in 2014. He was made Fellow of the British Academy in 2018.

Carles Boix is the Robert Garrett Professor of Politics and Public Affairs at Princeton University and Director of the Institutions and Political
Economy Research Group at the University of Barcelona. His most recent books include *Political Order and Inequality* (Cambridge University Press, 2015) and *Democratic Capitalism at the Crossroads: Information Technology and Its Impact on Employment, Wages and Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2019). He is a Guggenheim Fellow and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

**Anna Gassman-Pines** is Bass Connections Associate Professor of Public Policy and Psychology & Neuroscience in the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University and a faculty affiliate of Duke’s Center for Child and Family Policy. Her research focuses on the development of low-income children in the United States. She is the author of many peer-reviewed journal articles related to parental work, anti-poverty programs and child development, including “Food Instability and Academic Achievement: A Quasi-Experiment using SNAP Benefit Timing” (with Laura Bellows), which was published in the *American Education Research Journal* in 2018. She is currently studying the effects of schedule unpredictability among service workers on worker and family well-being.

**Andra Gillespie** is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the James Weldon Johnson Institute for the Study of Race and Difference at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. She earned her BA from the University of Virginia and her PhD in Political Science from Yale University. Gillespie teaches courses on American politics, race and politics, and qualitative methodology. She has written or edited three books, the most recent of which is *Race and the Obama Administration: Symbols, Substance and Hope* (Manchester University Press, 2019).

**Jane Gingrich** is Associate Professor of Comparative Political Economy at the University of Oxford and tutorial fellow at Magdalen College. Her first book, *Making Markets in the Welfare State* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), examined marketization in health and education. Her more recent work has looked at policy feedbacks in welfare and education reform and the structuring power of institutions on political behavior and voting. She is currently working on two large projects. The first examines the changing fates of social democratic political parties. The second is funded by a European Research Council starting grant and looks at the comparative development of education systems.

**Jacob S. Hacker** is the Stanley B. Resor Professor of Political Science, Director of the Institution for Social and Policy Studies at Yale University, and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Alice Kessler-Harris is the R. Gordon Hoxie Professor of American History, Emerita, at Columbia University where she was also Professor in the Institute for Research on Women and Gender and held a faculty affiliate appointment in the Columbia University School of Law. Kessler-Harris specializes in the history of women, American labor, and twentieth-century social policy. Her books include In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America (Oxford University Press, 2001).


Douglas S. Massey is the Henry G. Bryant Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs at Princeton University. He is a past president of the Population Association of America, the American Sociological Association, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science and an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the National Academy of Sciences, the American Philosophical Association, and the Academia Europea. He is author of the award-winning books American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass (Harvard University Press, 1996) and Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Age of Economic Integration (Russell Sage Foundation, 2002).

Paul Pierson is the John Gross Professor of Political Science at the University of California–Berkeley and Director of the Berkeley Center for the Study of American Democracy. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His most recent book, written with Jacob Hacker, is Let Them Eat Tweets: How the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme Inequality (Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2020).
Author Biographies

Jonathan Rodden is Professor of Political Science and Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research. His research focuses on topics in political economy including federalism, decentralization, political geography, redistricting, redistribution, and political polarization. His most recent book is Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Political Divide (Basic Books, 2019).

Frances McCall Rosenbluth writes widely about the politics and political economy of democratic accountability. Her books include Women, Work, and Power (with Torben Iversen, Yale University Press, 2010); Forged Through Fire: Military Conflict and the Democratic Bargain (with John Ferejohn, Norton 2016); and Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself (with Ian Shapiro, Yale University Press, 2018).

Jacob S. Rugh is Associate Professor of Sociology at Brigham Young University. His work has been featured in The Atlantic, FiveThirtyEight, National Public Radio, and the New York Times. He is the winner of the Law & Society Association John Hope Franklin Prize for the best article on racism and the law based on his analysis in the landmark case of Baltimore v. Wells Fargo. His most recent article, “Why Black and Latino Home Ownership Matter to the Color Line and Multiracial Democracy,” was published in Race and Social Problems.

Christian Salas is an economist specializing in game theory and political economy. He completed his doctoral studies at the University of Chicago and postdoctoral studies at Yale University. He currently works at Bates White Economic Consulting. He has written “Persuading Policy-Makers,” published in the Journal of Theoretical Politics.

Ian Shapiro is Sterling Professor of Political Science at Yale University. His most recent books are Politics Against Domination (Harvard University Press, 2016); Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself, with Frances McCall Rosenbluth (Yale University Press, 2018); and The Wolf at the Door: The Menace of Economic Insecurity and How to Fight It, with Michael Graetz (Harvard University Press 2020).

Kathleen Thelen is the Ford Professor of Political Science at MIT. Her work focuses on the origins, evolution, and contemporary impact of political-economic institutions in the rich democracies. She is the author, mostly recently, of Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity (Cambridge University Press, 2014). She is currently studying the American political economy in comparative-historical perspective.
Author Biographies

Kris-Stella Trump is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Memphis. She specializes in political psychology, public opinion, attitudes toward income inequality, and the politics of distribution. She received her PhD from Harvard University, and her work has appeared in *The Journal of Politics* and *Perspectives on Politics* among other outlets. Prior to joining the University of Memphis, she was Program Director for the Social Science Research Council’s “Anxieties of Democracy” and “Media & Democracy” programs. She is the author of “Income Inequality Influences Perceptions of Legitimate Income Differences” (*British Journal of Political Science*, 2018).

Yulya Truskinovsky is a health economist who studies long-term care and aging. She received her doctorate in public policy from Duke University in 2016 and was a Sloan Fellow in Aging and Work at the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies from 2016 to 2018. She is now Assistant Professor of Economics at Wayne State University. Her current research focuses on the impacts of social insurance programs on how individuals and families make decisions about work and family caregiving.

Margaret Weir is the Wilson Professor of Public and International Affairs and Political Science at Brown University. She has written and edited several volumes on social policy, race, and employment. In her recent work, she has served as Director of the MacArthur Foundation Network on Building Resilient Regions and is currently working on a book entitled *The New Metropolis: The Politics of Spatial Inequality in Twenty-First Century America*. Parts of this research have appeared in the *Urban Affairs Review, Regional Studies*, and *Perspectives on Politics*. With Frances McCall Rosenbluth, she co-directed the Working Group on Distribution for the Social Science Research Council’s program on the “Anxieties of Democracy.”

Andreas Wiedemann is Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. He studies the comparative political economy of advanced democracies, focusing on financial markets, wealth inequality, and social policies. He is the author of *Indebted Societies: Credit and Welfare in Rich Democracies* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).
Acknowledgments

Frances McCall Rosenbluth and Margaret Weir

In 2014, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) launched the Anxieties of Democracy program, an interdisciplinary project probing the political strains coursing through the world’s advanced democracies. Working groups of the Anxieties project examined the tensions facing democratic governments and societies from different perspectives, including institutions, political participation, climate change, media, and the social safety net. The chapters in this volume represent the activities of this latter working group on society-wide distribution and welfare, charged with examining the challenges posed by economies that no longer deliver the security they once did.

We owe a big debt of gratitude to the Social Science Research Council and its former president, Ira Katznelson, who created the Anxieties of Democracy program and helped guide the early deliberations of our working group. Throughout the process of building the working group and organizing its meetings, we relied on the expert assistance of the SSRC staff. Anoush Terjanian, the first director of the program, got us off to a productive start. Kris-Stella Trump, who subsequently took over the reins of the program, offered astute guidance for our group meetings as the volume took shape. We are grateful to James Kirwan for his help in organizing the meetings. The SSRC’s Cole Edick provided invaluable staff support, and research assistant Julia Hossain combed through every chapter as we put the finishing touches on the manuscript.

We are also grateful to the Yale MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies under the direction of Ian Shapiro and the Institution of Research and Policy Studies (IRPS) led by Jacob Hacker for generous funding of two rounds of stimulating discussions among the authors.
Acknowledgments

Two anonymous reviewers carefully read the manuscript and provided detailed comments on all of the chapters. Their insights about differences between the United States and Europe and their advice about connections across the chapters have significantly strengthened the volume. We also thank Cambridge University Press’s editor Sara Doskow, for consummate skill and tireless good humor throughout the writing, review, and editing processes.