ENVY OF THE RICH IS ONE REASON AMERICANS FAVOR REDUCING INCOME INEQUALITY

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Research question

- Why do some Americans evaluate income inequality in the US as too high, but others do not?
- Integrating insights from social psychology into a model of social structural influences, we ask: Does envy (the desire to "chop the top"), matter to these evaluations, even above and beyond other well known influences?

Data and Methods

Data and Methods

- Data are from the International Social Science Survey Round 20, USA 2016-2017,
- N= 2911
- MTurk sample
- Analysis: descriptive, factor analysis, and OLS.

Focal predictor: Envy



4 Envy Questions

- Are you envious of people who...
- Earn a lot more than you do?
- •Are rich envy them?
- Have a vast amount of money?
- •Answers: (Scored in equal intervals: 1.00/ .75/ .50/ .25/ 0)
- Definitely envy
- Envy
- Maybe
- Do not envy
- Definitely do not envy

Answers tightly linked: Alpha reliability of .95

Envy scale: Measurement

Measurement of envy. Correlations, means and standard deviations. USA 2016-2017.

	Items in the scale (Alpha=.95)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
Panel A: Inter-item correlations				
(1) Earn a lot more than you do	1.00			
(2) Are rich	.88	1.00		
(3) Have a vast amount of money	.85	.90	1.00	
Panel B: Criterion variables				
Age	22	20	21	
Male	04	02	04	
Church attendance	13	13	15	
Education	.01	.00	.00	
Occupational status	03	02	02	
Family income (In)	06	04	03	
Democratic Party	.12	.09	.09	
For a more equal income distribution	.20	.17	.17	
Panel C: Means & standard deviations				
Mean (points, 0 through 1)	0.49	0.49	0.51	
Standard deviation	0.28	0.29	0.30	
Number of cases	2,491	2,486	2,480	

[Source] International Social Science Survey Round 20, USA 2016-2017.

Other predictor variables

Measurement of control variables is fairly straightforward and they are many, so I will not detail them here. I am happy to share our draft paper with anybody who is interested.

(write to: MariahEv2@gmail.com)

Response variable: Inequality evaluation



Response variable: ≠ attitudes (items; 5-point)

Differences in income in <country> are too large.

There is too much of a difference between rich and poor in this country.

It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.

One of the most important aims in this country over the next ten years should be to reduce differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.

Income and wealth should be redistributed toward ordinary working people.

Response variable: ≠ attitudes measurement 1

Measurement of attitudes toward income inequality and redistribution. Correlations, means and standard deviations. USA 2016-2017.

	lter	ms in the	e scale	(Alpha=.	92)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: Inter-item correlations	_				
(1) Differences too large	1.00				
(2) Differences between rich and poor	.84	1.00			
(3) Government responsibility to reduce	.75	.73	1.00		
(4) Aims for country: reduce differences	.64	.62	.75	1.00	
(5) Redistribute income and wealth	.68	.67	.75	.75	1.00
Panel B: Other variables	_				
Envy (3 item scale)	.17	.18	.18	.16	.16
Age	06	06	10	12	09
Male	06	06	03	03	06
Parents' education	.01	.01	.02	.02	.00
Church attendance	01	02	01	03	02

Models

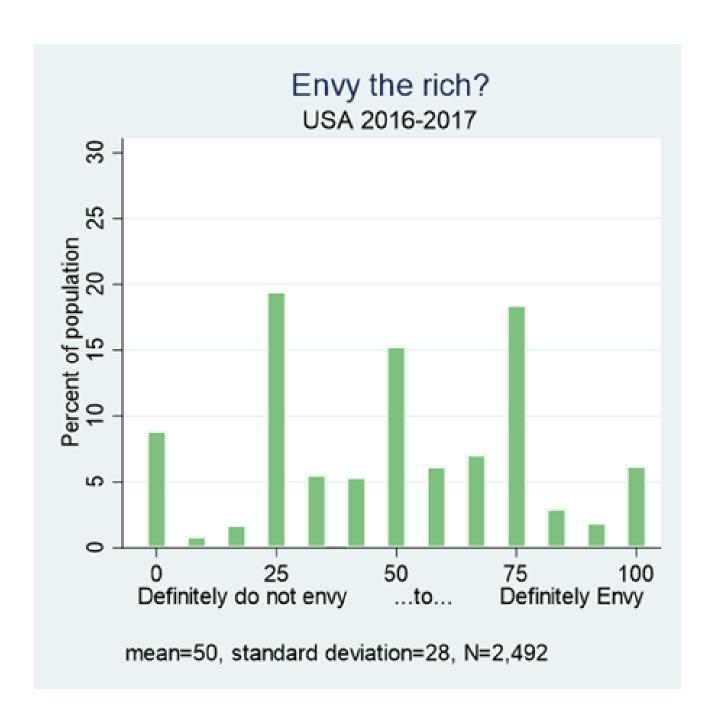


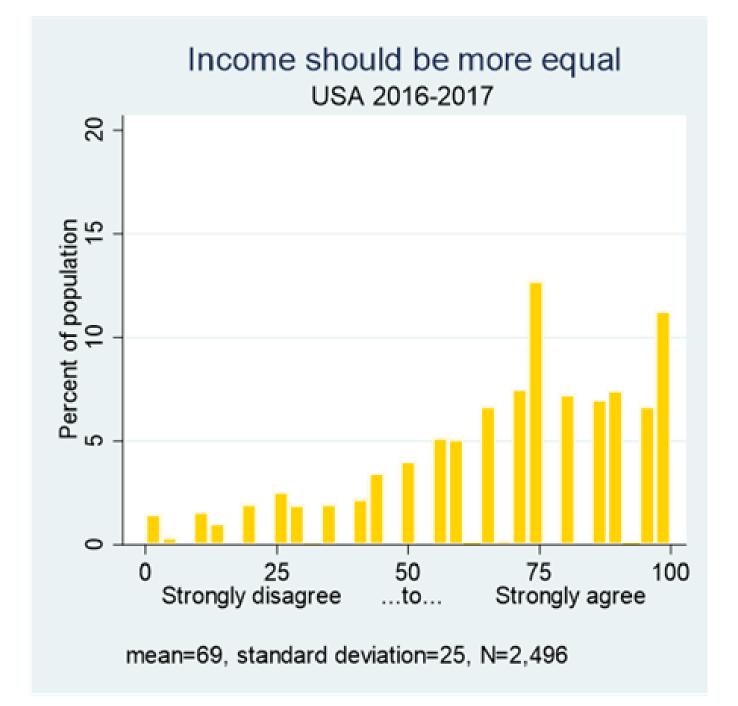
From total to direct effect

InequalityEvaluation= $f(Envy) + e_1$	[Eq. 1]¶	
InequalityEvaluation= f(Envy, ParentsEducation [Eq. 2]¶	, ParentsOccupation, Parents\$, Parents	ChurchGo,) +e₂
InequalityEvaluation= f(Eq. 2 variables, Parents	Party) +e₃	[Eq.3]¶
InequalityEvaluation= f(Eq. 3 variables, Education	on, Occupation, FamilyIncome) +e4	[Eq.4]¶
InequalityEvaluation= f(Eq. 4 variables, Perceive	edSelfInterest) +e5	[Eq.5]¶
InequalityEvaluation= f(Ea. 5 variables, Party) +	e_6	[Ea.6]¶

Description







Analytic results



Influences on attitudes toward reducing income inequality. Total effects in dashed blue outline, assuming the block recursive causal order shown; direct effects in column 6; and indirect effects are the difference between the two. OLS standardized regression coefficients. International Social Science Survey Round 20, USA 2016-2017, first and second preliminary samples. Significant self-interest (egotropic) considerations in red italic. Coefficients not significantly different from zero at p<.05 are greyed out.

_	Favors reducing income inequality						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Direct effect (6)	
Envy	0.18 ***	0.18 ***	0.18 ***	0.18 ***	0.15 ***	0.11 ***	
Age		-0.08 ***	-0.08 ***	-0.07 ***	-0.06 **	-0.01	
Male		-0.03	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03	0.00	
Parents' education		0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.00	
Church going at age 14		0.01	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.01	
Parents' occupation		-0.02	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	
Parents' subjective rank		-0.05 *	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	
Parents' political party			0.21 ***	0.20 ***	0.18 ***	-0.01	
Education				0.04	0.03	0.01	
Occupational status				0.00	0.02	0.01	
Family income (In)				-0.15 ***	-0.12 ***	-0.08 ***	
Expects personal gain from	n equality				0.23 ***	0.18 ***	
Democratic party					į	0.50 ***	
R-squared	0.03	0.05	0.09	0.11	0.16	0.36	
Cases	2,492	2,294	2,294	2,144	2,143	2,009	

^{*} p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Discussion



Sneak preview: Key findings

- (1) Envy has a moderately strong relationship with seeing the current income distribution as too unequal (total effect).
- (2) This effect persists unchanged after taking family political and stratification background, demographics, and current social class/stratification position into account.
- (3) It persists when we also control perceived economic selfinterest and positive feeling about the poor.
- (4) Part of the effect is indirect through political party preference, but the direct effect of envy remains moderately important even when party is taken into account.

It's about attitudes and allegiances, not class

Evaluating income inequality as too high or too low is...

- mainly a matter of party politics, especially conformity to a "party line".
- some greed, a third as important as politics
- a fifth as important as politics, is the green monster: the envious would bring down the rich.
- parents or own class matters little: Only prosperity matters at all (effect one-sixth as important as party politics)

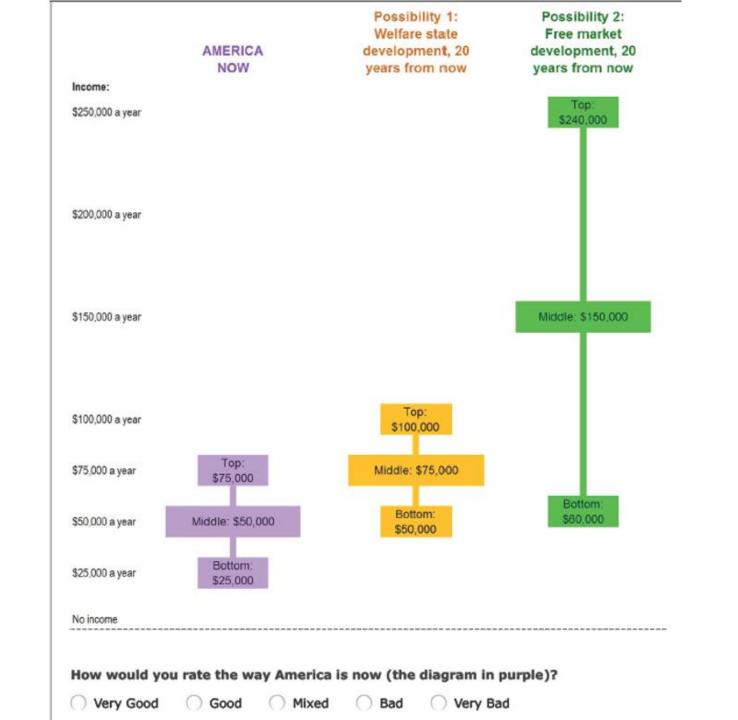
Not the "democratic class struggle"

Thus, the struggle over income inequality in the modern US is not the savage 19th century politics of class conflict that set the poor against the prosperous and workers against bosses. It is not really the "democratic class struggle", if it ever was. Instead it is mostly a clash of cultural and "team" commitments – only lightly tethered to socioeconomic location-- that sets Democrats against Republicans, with small doses of naked greed and sheer envy thrown in.

END

Equality or economic growth? A quantitative analysis of public preferences for welfare state equality versus free market prosperity

Jonathan Kelley (UNR), MDR Evans (UNR), Sarah Kelley (Child Trends)



Now two possibilities for what happens to America over the next 20 years ...

Possibility 1: Welfare states like Sweden have strict government regulation of the economy (see the middle diagram). High taxes take money from those at the top and give it to those at the bottom, so people at the top have only twice as much as those at the bottom. But economic growth is usually slow, around 2% a year.

Possibility 2: The free market approach has little government regulation and low taxes -- as in Singapore or Chile (see the diagram on the right). This often produces rapid economic growth, around 4% a year. But it also allows big income differences, with people at the top having about four times as much as those at the bottom.

Looking at these two possibilities...

_							
			Very Good	Good	Mixed	Bad	Very Bad
How would you rate Possibility 1, the approach (in orange)?	e welfare sta	ite	0	0	•	•	•
How would you rate Possibility 2, the green)?	e free marke	et (in	\bigcirc	\circ	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
And between these two options							
	Definitely Welfare! (in orange)	Welfar	e E	Equal	Free Marke	М	finitely Free arket! green)
Which would you prefer?	0	0		0	0		0
Which is best for families at the bottom?	\circ	\circ		\circ	\circ		0

Abstract:

Rising conflict over inequality, globalization and growth in wages elite occupations has raised key questions about what kind of economic future we should strive for. Do we want the fastest economic growth possible, even if that means rising inequality? Or do we want to curb inequality, even if that means slower growth? Materialist logic, economic theory, and much of modern politics (especially on the right) argue for prosperity; but (especially on the left) compassion and welfare considerations tend toward equality.

Abstract, continued. When offered an explicit choice between futures based on different economic models – a much richer, but unequal society as a result of faster growth, or a just slightly richer but more equal society as a result of welfare state policies – opinion is deeply divided. The average American slightly prefers faster growth at the cost of inequality but a very substantial minority prefer much slower growth if it leads to a more equal society; Australians are similar. This suggests that aversion to inequality plays an important role. We find also that preferences for free market vs welfare state development are strongly tied to political party identification, to perceptions that the current economic order is meritocratic, and to evaluations of the likely economic future.

```
N=1095¶
                 bpNowQ bpWel~eQ bpFreeQ bpWel~tQ bpWel~mQ¶
                 1.0000¶
      bpNowQ |
  bpWelfareQ |
                -0.0937
                           1.0000¶
     bpFreeQ | 0.0469
                          -0.4026
                                    1.0000¶
                          0.6404
                                   -0.6714
bpWelfBestQ |
                -0.0731
                                             1.0000¶
bpWelfBott~Q | 0.0433
                          0.3844
                                   -0.5085
                                             0.6192
                                                       1.0000¶
                          0.0269
                                    0.0071
                                             0.0427
                 0.0036
                                                       0.02489
  PntStatusQ |
                          -0.1006
                                            -0.0927
                 0.1063
                                    0.0472
                                                      -0.0797¶
        AgeQ |
       MaleQ |
                 0.0607
                          -0.0568
                                    0.1073
                                            -0.0987
                                                    0.0204\P
                                                       0.04119
       EdNow |
                 0.0908
                          -0.0268
                                    0.0013
                                             0.0091
                 0.0633
                          -0.0385
                                    0.0007
                                            -0.0228
                                                       0.0125¶
     StatusQ |
                                    0.0475
                                                      -0.0600¶
   lnFamIncO |
                0.1175
                          -0.0973
                                            -0.1148
   Democrat8 |
                -0.1592
                         0.4508
                                   -0.3430
                                            0.4803
                                                       0.2636¶
                0.2266
                          -0.1129
                                    0.1286
                                            -0.1378
                                                      -0.0622¶
     pyrNowQ |
                0.1463
                          -0.0925
                                    0.1301
                                            -0.1415
    pyr10yrQ |
                                                      -0.0735¶
                          0.<mark>2117</mark>
                                   -0.0588
                                             0.<mark>15</mark>82
   pyrOughtQ |
                -0.1087
                                                      0.1025\P
                0.2542
                          -0.3141
                                   0.2730
                                            -0.3335
      Merit9 |
                                                      -0.1516¶
                          0.2200
                                   -0.2051
                                             0.2388
       Corr9 |
                -0.1617
                                                     0.1400¶
                                    0.1826
                                             -0.2136
  hip5yrUSAQ |
                0.2313
                          -0.2101
                                                      -0.0825¶
  hip5yrYouQ |
                0.1962
                          -0.1459
                                    0.1776
                                            -0.1608
                                                      -0.0652¶
    pyrEgal9 |
                -0.0986
                         0.<mark>4638</mark>
                                   -0.3509 \quad 0.4472
                                                      0.2591¶
                0.0581
                                    0.1947
                                            -0.2391
                          -0.2089
                                                      -0.1110¶
      o2High |
                           0.1445
                                             0.1486
       o2Low I
                -0.1231
                                   -0.1003
                                                       0.0924\P
```

Abstract, continued.

MEASUREMENT: The issue is posed using our novel pictorial images of unequal societies, which are clearer and more explicit than verbal measures. **DATA**: International Social Science Survey, Round 20, USA 2016-2017 – an internet based representative sample (N> 2,500) – and earlier rounds of the ISSS conducted by mail in Australia based on a simple random sample of the compulsory electoral register (N>5,000). **METHOD**: Confirmatory factor analysis for scales. OLS for analysis, controlling for family background, current demographics, social class/ stratification position, and other potentially confounding influences.

Opportunities for Social Mobility

Jonathan Kelley (University of Nevada), MDR Evans (University of Nevada), and SMC Kelley (Child Trends)

Introduction

The primary goal of modern nations is economic development, conventionally measured by income. This is amply justified by the attendant increase human wellbeing. And human wellbeing is a proper goal for human society — quite possibly the primary goal — amply supported by logic ("We hold these truths to be self-evident..."), by philosophy (Bentham...), by most political parties, and by the near unanimous consent of the governed.

We here document the existence of another goal even more beneficial: Social mobility – opportunities for advancement in the labor market, opportunities to get ahead.

Living in a society where <u>opportunities</u> are good makes people happier — happier quite apart from any additional income it brings them, apart from the better jobs it entails, and apart from the education that facilitates all this. Good opportunities, in and of themselves, are a great human benefit. They also lead people to feel that American society benefits them and their family.

These findings are consistent with long-standing social psychological research on "internal locus of control" – in a variety of personal and social settings, feeling that one is personally in control (whether or not that is objectively true) has many good consequences. Here we extend these findings from psychology to the economy.

Data

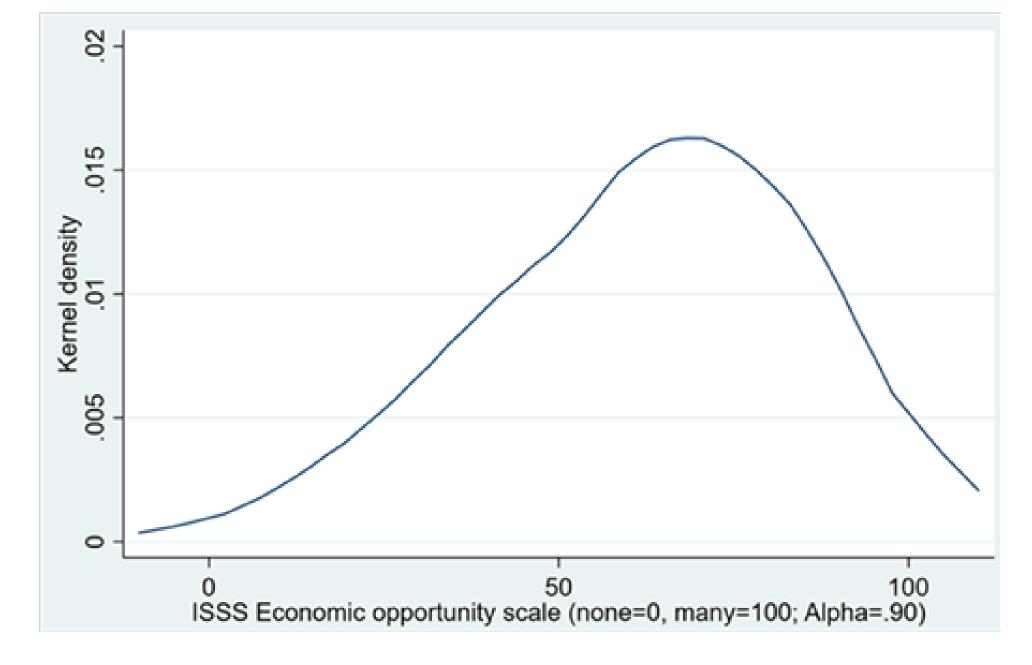
Data are from the International Social Science Survey, Round 20, USA 2016-2019. The main wave (January 2019) is a representative US national sample (N> 1,700) from Survey Sampling International's internet panel. The 2016 and 2017 developmental waves (N=1,323 and 1,173) are Amazon mechanical Turk samples, also US wide. Analysis suggests that for multivariate purposes they are virtually equivalent to the main wave, and so are pooled with it here.

Scale Analysis

Inter-item correlations; correlations with criterion variables

(obs=3,778)¶							
	1	poorStd	poorFdm	poorImp	mrtAny	mrtSkill	mrtEfrt¶
	-+-						¶
poorStdQ	1	1.0000¶					
poorFdmQ	1	0.6647	1.00004				
poorImpQ	1	0.7233	0.6410	1.0000¶			
meritAnyQ	1	0.6968	0.6102	0.6597	1.0000¶		
meritSkillQ	1	0.5107	0.5142	0.4971	0.6339	1.00009	
meritEffortQ	1	0.5645	0.5401	0.5498	0.6621	0.7459	1.0000¶
P							
lnFamIncQ	1	0.1801	0.1561	0.1771	0.1790	0.1608	0.2023¶
e5yrUSQ	1	0.4008	0.4017	0.4107	0.4544	0.4035	0.43569
feelWH09	1	0.2616	0.2374	0.2206	0.2757	0.2706	0.2847¶
satEQLS9	1	0.2909	0.2734	0.2394	0.2970	0.2949	0.3160¶

The scale clearly fits the classic measurement model which requires both high correlations among items and that the scale items have similar correlations with other relevant variables.



Mean = 62 points out of 100 (between "Neither Agree nor Disagree" and "Agree") Standard deviation = 22

Variable definitions:

EconOpp9 Economic opportunity. ISSS 6 item scale (alpha=.90)

e5yrYouQ US econ system NEXT 5 YEARS brings YOU more benefits than harm

feelWHO9 Psychological well-being, World Health Organization scale (0-100)

satEQLS9 Wellbeing scale (life satisfaction, happy)

PntEdQ Mothers & fathers education (years)

PntStatusQ Mothers & fathers occupational status, averaged (JK scores)

pntParty8 Parents Democratic (mo & fa, 0 to 1) missing=.5

AgeQ, MaleQ, MarriedQ

EdNowQ Education now (years; no adjustment for educational plans)

StatusQ Occupation: Kelley Worldwide Status Score

InFamIncQ In family income (\$1000s) Minimum \$5000

pyrNowQ Pyramid: What type of society is the US (ISSS image, equalitarian high)

pyrOughtQ Pyramid: What the US OUGHT to be like? (ISSS image, equalitarian high)

Corr9 Corruption necessary to get ahead, get to the top (ISSS scale)

	e5yrYouQ (1)	e5yrYouQ (2)	feelWHO9 (3)	feelWHO9 (4)	satEQLS9 (5)	satEQLS9 (6)
PntEdQ PntStatusQ pntParty8 AgeQ MaleQ MarriedQ EdNowQ StatusQ	-0.03 0.07*** -0.09*** -0.03* 0.12*** 0.06***	-0.01 0.07*** -0.05** -0.03 0.05*** 0.01 0.03	-0.05* 0.06** 0.01 0.04* 0.07*** 0.05**	-0.02 0.05** 0.03* 0.04** 0.02 0.04*	-0.02 0.03 -0.02 0.02 -0.01 0.14*** 0.04*	0.00 0.03 0.01 0.02 -0.05*** 0.10***
lnFamIncQ pyrNowQ pyrOughtQ Corr9 EconOpp9	0.13***	0.07*** 0.05*** -0.11*** -0.10***	0.22***	0.17*** -0.01 -0.02 -0.01 0.26***	0.26***	0.21*** 0.01 -0.04** -0.04**
N R-sq	3594 0.080	3554 0.233	3618 0.095	3577 0.158	3579 0.166	3539 0.242

standardized beta coefficients{
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001{
</pre>

Conclusions

Believing that this country offers you and other people good economic opportunities – good chances for social mobility, a good chance to get ahead, to improve your lot, to achieve a good standard of living – is hugely beneficial.

- >> It makes you think that "this country's economic system over the next 5 years" is likely to bring you and your family much more benefits than harm (column 2 in the table, last row, highlighted in blue).
- >> It greatly improves your psychological wellbeing on the World Health Organizations WHO-5 scale (column 4, last row).
- >> It greatly improves your overall wellbeing arguably the key goal of national governments (column 6, last row).
- >> Overall seeing good economic opportunities is even more beneficial than having a high family income (compare the two rows highlighted in blue).
- >> Socio-economic status explains relatively little about all this (columns 1, 3, and 5 in the table).
- Thus perceptions about the nation, and most especially perceptions about you and other people's economic opportunities, are hugely important, more important by far even than a family's income.