

Université Lumière Lyon 2

Ecole doctorale : Sciences économiques et Gestion

Laboratoire d'Economie de la Firme et des Institutions (LEFI - EA 4012)

**Economie politique de la redistribution :
une approche comparative par la
demande**

par Elvire GUILLAUD

Thèse au format PDF

Thèse de doctorat de Sciences économiques

sous la direction de Donatella GATTI et Bruno AMABLE

soutenue le 30 septembre 2008

Composition du jury :

Stefano SCARPETTA

Donatella GATTI, professeure à l'université Paris 13

Bruno AMABLE, professeur à l'université Paris I

Jérôme GAUTIÉ, professeur à l'université Paris I

Andrew CLARK, directeur de recherche au CNRS

David RUEDA, professeur à l'université d'Oxford

Marie-Claire VILLEVAL, directrice de recherche au CNRS

Table des matières

Remerciements	iii
Résumé	v
Introduction Générale	xix
1 Preferences for Redistribution	1
1.1 Introduction	2
1.2 Literature	3
1.3 Empirical Strategy	7
1.3.1 Estimation Process	7
1.3.2 Data	9
1.3.3 Testing the Argument	11
1.4 Results	15
1.4.1 The Supremacy of Economic Factors	16
1.4.2 Does Religion Act as a Substitute to Redistribution?	18
1.4.3 How Does Individuals' Social Self-ranking Affect their Support for Redistribution?	18
1.4.4 The Strong Impact of Subjective Social Mobility on Preferences for Redistribution	19
1.4.5 Socio-demographic Controls and Country Dummies	20
1.4.6 Predicted Probabilities	24
1.5 Robustness Checks	25
1.5.1 Binary Dependent Variable	26
1.5.2 Generalized Ordered Logit	26
1.5.3 Separated Country Regressions	27
1.6 Conclusion	29
Annexe 1.A Further Results : Robustness Checks	32
Annexe 1.B Descriptive Statistics	47
Annexe 1.C Classification of Occupations	51
Annexe 1.D Econometric Specification	52

2	Mapping the French Voter Space	57
2.1	Introduction	58
2.2	Related Literature	59
2.3	Data and Empirical Strategy	64
2.3.1	Data	64
2.3.2	Multiple Factorial Analysis	66
2.3.3	How to Interpret Results?	68
2.3.4	How to Read a Graph?	69
2.4	Results	71
2.4.1	1978-1988 : Economic Policy and Income Protection	72
2.4.2	1995 : Breaking Point : The Raise of European Issues	75
2.4.3	1997-2002 : Economic Policy and European Integration	77
2.5	Conclusion	80
	Annexe 2.A Results of Elections	85
	Annexe 2.B Selected Questions	90
	Annexe 2.C Graphic Analysis	95
	Annexe 2.D Referendum on the European Constitution	107
3	Party Fractionalization and Preferences for Redistribution	111
3.1	Introduction	112
3.2	Conceptual Framework	114
3.2.1	Related Literature	114
3.2.2	Our Argument	118
3.3	Data	121
3.4	Estimation Strategy and Basic Results	124
3.4.1	Model Specification	125
3.4.2	Interaction Term and Marginal Effect	126
3.4.3	Basic Results	127
3.5	Criticisms and Further Results	128
3.5.1	Introducing Fixed Effects	129
3.5.2	Coping with Time-invariant Variables and Fixed Effects	132
3.5.3	Dynamic Issues	135
3.6	What Have We Learned?	140
3.6.1	What Drives the Generosity of the Welfare State?	140
3.6.2	How is the Heterogeneity of Preferences Conveyed by Party Fractionalization?	141
3.6.3	How Large is the Effect?	142
3.7	Conclusion	143
	Annexe 3.A Demand for Redistribution	146
	3.A.1 Basic Model of Welfare State Generosity	146
	3.A.2 Fixed Effects Model of Welfare State Generosity	148
	Annexe 3.B Dispersion of Preferences for Redistribution	150

3.B.1 Basic Model of Welfare State Generosity	150
3.B.2 Fixed Effects Model of Welfare State Generosity	152
Annexe 3.C Descriptive Statistics	154
Conclusion Générale	163
Bibliographie	167

Bibliographie

- [1] Acemoglu, D. and J.A. Robinson (2005) *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press
- [2] Aitchison, J. and S.D. Silvey (1957), “The Generalization of Probit Analysis to the Case of Multiple Responses”, *Biometrika*, 44(1-2) : 131-140
- [3] Alesina, A. and G.-M. Angeletos (2005) “Fairness and Redistribution”, *American Economic Review*, 95(4) : 960-980
- [4] Alesina, A. and N. Fuchs-Schündeln (2007) “Good Bye Lenin (or Not ?) : The Effect of Communism on People’s Preferences”, *American Economic Review*, 97(4) : 1507-1528
- [5] Alesina, A. and E. Glaeser (2004) *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe : A world of Difference*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [6] Alesina, A., E. Glaeser and B. Sacerdote (2001) “Why Doesn’t The United States Have A European-Style Welfare State?”, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 2001(2) : 187-254
- [7] Alesina, A. and E. La Ferrara (2005) “Preferences for Redistribution in the Land of Opportunities”, *Journal of Public Economics*, 89(5-6) : 897-931
- [8] Algan, Y. and P. Cahuc (2006) “Civic Attitudes and the Design of Labor Market Institutions : Which Countries Can Implement the Danish Flexicurity Model?”, IZA discussion paper 1928
- [9] Allan, J. and L. Scruggs (2004) “Political Partisanship and Welfare State Reform in Advanced Industrial Societies”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(3) : 493-512
- [10] Amable, B. (2003) *The Diversity of Modern Capitalism*, Oxford : Oxford University Press

-
- [11] Amable, B. (2005) *Les Cinq Capitalismes. Diversité des Systèmes Economiques et Sociaux dans la Mondialisation*, Paris : Seuil
- [12] Amable, B. (2008) "The Differentiation of Social Demands in Europe", *Social Indicators Research*, forthcoming
- [13] Amable B. and D. Gatti (2004) "The Political Economy of Job Protection and Income Redistribution", IZA discussion paper 1404
- [14] Amable B. and D. Gatti (2007) "Unemployment, and the Politics of Redistribution and Employment Protection", paper prepared for delivery at the 4th ECPR General Conference, September 6-8, Pisa (Italy)
- [15] Amable, B., D. Gatti and E. Guillaud (2008a) "Générosité de l'Etat Social : l'Interaction entre la Demande de Redistribution et la Fractionnalisation des Partis", mimeo
- [16] Amable, B., D. Gatti and E. Guillaud (2008b) "How Does Party Fractionalization Convey Preferences for Redistribution in Parliamentary Democracies?", PSE working paper 2008-42
- [17] Amable, B., D. Gatti and J. Schumacher (2006) "Welfare-State Retrenchment : The Partisan Effect Revisited", *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 22(3) : 426-444
- [18] Amable, B. and S. Palombarini (2005) *L'Economie Politique n'est Pas une Science Morale*, Paris : Raisons d'Agir
- [19] Amemiya, T. (1981) "Qualitative Response Models : a Survey", *Journal of Economic Literature*, 19(4) : 1483-1536
- [20] Andersen, R. and J. Evans (2003) "Values, Cleavages and Party Choice in France, 1988-1995", *French Politics* 1(1) : 83-114
- [21] Andersen, R. and J. Evans (2005) "The Stability of French Political Space, 1988-2002", *French Politics* 3(3) : 282-301
- [22] Anderson, T.W. and C. Hsiao (1982) "Formulation and Estimation of Dynamic Models Using Panel Data", *Journal of Econometrics*, 18(1) : 47-82
- [23] Arellano and Bond (1991) "Some Tests of Specification for Panel Data : Monte Carlo Evidence and an Application to Employment Equations", *Review of Economic Studies*, 58(2) : 277-297
- [24] Armingeon, K., M. Gerber, P. Leimgruber, M. Beyeler and S. Menegale (2004) "Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2002", Institute of Political Science, University of Berne

-
- [25] Arrow, K.J. (1951) *Social Choice and Individual Values*, New York : Wiley
- [26] Barbier, J.-C. (2007) “Au-delà de la Flex-sécurité : une Cohérence Sociétale Solidaire au Danemark”, *in* Paugam, S. (ed.) (2007) *Repenser la Solidarité. L’Apport des Sciences Sociales*, Paris : PUF
- [27] Baron, D.P. and J.A. Ferejohn (1989) “Bargaining in Legislatures”, *American Political Science Review*, 83(4) : 1181-1206
- [28] Bartolini, S. and P. Mair (1990) *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability. The Stabilisation of European Electorates, 1885-1985*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press
- [29] Bawn, K. and F. Rosenbluth (2006) “Short versus Long Coalitions : Electoral Accountability and the Size of the Public Sector”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2) : 251-265
- [30] Beck (2006) “Time-Series-Cross-Section Methods”, draft, New York University
- [31] Beck, N. and J.N. Katz (1995) “What To Do (and Not To Do) with Time-Series Cross-Section Data”, *American Political Science Review*, 89(3) : 634-647
- [32] Beck, N. and J.N. Katz (2004) “Time-Series-Cross-Section Issues : Dynamics, 2004”, draft, New York University and California Institute of Technology
- [33] Bélot, C. and B. Cautrès (2004) “L’Europe, Invisible mais Omniprésente”, *in* Cautrès, B. and N. Mayer (eds.) (2004) *Le Nouveau Désordre Electoral. Les Leçons du 21 Avril 2002*, Paris : Presses de Sciences Po
- [34] Benabou, R. and E.A. Ok (2001) “Social Mobility and the Demand for Redistribution : the POUM hypothesis”, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 116(2) : 447-487
- [35] Benabou, R. and J. Tirole (2006) “Belief in a Just World and Redistributive Politics”, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 121(2) : 699-746
- [36] Benoit, K. and M. Laver (2006) *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*, London : Routledge
- [37] Black, D. (1948) “On the Rationale of Group Decision-making”, *Journal of Political Economy*, 56(1) : 23-34

- [38] Blundell, R. and S. Bond (1998) "Initial Conditions and Moment Restrictions in Dynamic Panel Data Models", *Journal of Econometrics*, 87(1) : 115-143
- [39] Bond, S. (2002) "Dynamic Panel Data Models : A Guide to Micro Data Methods and Practice", *Portuguese Economic Journal*, 1(2) : 141-162
- [40] Braumoeller, B.F. (2004) "Hypothesis Testing and Multiplicative Interaction Terms", *International Organization*, 58(4) : 807-820
- [41] Buchanan, J.M. and G. Tullock (1962) *The Calculus of Consent : Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy*, University of Michigan Press : Ann Arbor Paperbacks
- [42] Budge, I., H.-D. Klingemann, A. Volkens, J. Bara and E. Tanabaum (2001) *Mapping Policy Preferences : Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [43] Castanheira M., V. Galasso, S. Carcillo, G. Nicoletti, E. Perotti et L. Tsyganok (2006) "How to Gain Political Support for Reforms", in T. Boeri, M. Castanheira, R. Faini and V. Galasso (eds.) *Structural Reforms Without Prejudice*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [44] Cautrès, B. and N. Mayer (2004) "Les Métamorphoses du Vote de Classe", in Cautrès, B. and N. Mayer (eds.) (2004) *Le Nouveau Désordre Electoral. Les Leçons du 21 Avril 2002*, Paris : Presses de Sciences Po
- [45] Cautrès, B. and N. Mayer (eds.) (2004) *Le Nouveau Désordre Electoral. Les Leçons du 21 Avril 2002*, Paris : Presses de Sciences Po
- [46] Chiche J., B. Le Roux, P. Perrineau and H. Rouanet (2000) "L'Espace Politique des Electeurs Français à la Fin des Années 1990", *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 50(3) : 463-488
- [47] Clark, A.E. (2003) "Inequality-Aversion and Income Mobility : A Direct Test", DELTA working paper 2003-11
- [48] Clark, A.E. and O. Lelkes (2005) "Deliver Us from Evil : Religion as Insurance", PSE working paper 2005-43
- [49] Corneo, G. and H.P. Grüner (2000) "Social Limits to Redistribution", *American Economic Review*, 90(5) : 1491-1507
- [50] Corneo, G. and H.P. Grüner (2002) "Individual Preferences for Political Redistribution", *Journal of Public Economics*, 83(1) : 83-107

-
- [51] Cox, G. (1987) “Electoral Equilibrium under Alternative Voting Institutions”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 31(1) : 82-108
- [52] Cox, G. (1990) “Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces in Electoral Systems”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 34(4) : 903-935
- [53] Crepaz, M.M.L. (1998) “Inclusion versus Exclusion : Political Institutions and Welfare Expenditures”, *Comparative Politics*, 31(1) : 61-80
- [54] Cusack, T.R. and L. Engelhardt (2002) “The PGL File Collection”, WZB
- [55] Cusack, T., T. Iversen and P. Rehm (2006) “Risks at Work : The Demand and Supply Sides of Government Redistribution”, *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 22(3) : 365-389
- [56] Downs, A. (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York : Harper and Row
- [57] Drukker, D.M. (2003) “Testing for Serial Correlation in Linear Panel-data Models”, *Stata Journal*, (3)2 : 168-177
- [58] Ebbinghaus, B. (2002) “Trade Unions’ Changing Role : Membership Erosion, Organisational Reform, and Social Partnership in Europe”, *Industrial Relations Journal*, 33(5) : 465-483
- [59] Enelow, J.M. and M.J. Hinich (1984) *The Spatial Theory of Voting : An Introduction*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press
- [60] Enelow, J.M. and M.J. Hinich (eds.) (1990) *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press
- [61] Escofier, B. and J. Pagès (1998) *Analyses Factorielles Simples et Multiples*, 3rd edition, Paris : Dunod
- [62] Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princeton : Princeton University Press
- [63] Estevez-Abe, M., T. Iversen and D. Soskice (2001) “Social Protection and the Formation of Skills : A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State”, in Hall, P. and D. Soskice (eds.) (2001) *Varieties of Capitalism. The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [64] EUROSTAT (Statistical Office of the European Communities) (1994) “Establishment of Community-Wide Occupational Statistics : ISCO-88 (COM). A guide for users”, by Elias, P. and M. Birch, Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick. <http://www.warwick.ac.uk/ier/isco/isco88.pdf>

- [65] Fong, C. (2001) "Social Preferences, Self-Interest, and the Demand for Redistribution", *Journal of Public Economics*, 82(2) : 225-246
- [66] Friedrich, R.J. (1982) "In Defense of Multiplicative Terms in Multiple Regression Equations", *American Journal of Political Science*, 26(4) : 797-833
- [67] Fu, V.K. (1998) "Estimating Generalized Ordered Logit Models", *Stata Technical Bulletin*, 8 : 160-164
- [68] Gabel, M. (1998) "Public Support for European Integration : An Empirical Test of Five Theories", *Journal of Politics*, 60(2) : 333-354
- [69] Gautié, J. (2003) "Marché du Travail et Protection Sociale : Quelles Voies pour l'Après-fordisme?", *Esprit*, 11 : 78-115
- [70] Gerber, E.R. and J.E. Jackson (1993) "Endogenous Preferences and the Study of Institutions", *American Political Science Review*, 87(3) : 639-656
- [71] Goux, D. and E. Maurin (2004) "Anatomie Sociale d'un Vote. Elections Régionales 21 mars 2004", *La République des Idées*, working paper 2
- [72] Green, D., S.Y. Kim and D. Yoon (2001) "Dirty Pool", *International Organization*, 55(2) : 441-468
- [73] Greene, W. (2000) *Econometric Analysis*, Upper Saddle River, NJ : Prentice-Hall
- [74] Grofman, B. (2006) "The Impact of Electoral Laws on Political Parties", in Weingast, B. and D. Wittman (Eds) *Handbook of Political Economy*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [75] Grunberg, G. and E. Schweisguth (1997) "Vers une Tripartition de l'Espace Politique", in Boy, D. and N. Mayer (eds.) *L'Electeur a ses Raisons*, Paris : Presses de Sciences-Po
- [76] Grunberg, G. and E. Schweisguth (2003) "French Political Space : Two, Three or Four Blocs?", *French Politics*, 1(3) : 331-347
- [77] Guillaud, E. (2008) "Preferences for Redistribution : A European Comparative Analysis", PSE working paper 2008-41
- [78] Guillaud, E. and S. Palombarini (2006) "Evolution des Attentes Sociales et Comportement Electoral : France, 1978-2002", PSE working paper 2006-37
- [79] Hall, P. and D. Soskice (eds.) (2001) *Varieties of Capitalism : the Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, Oxford : Oxford University Press

-
- [80] Hirschman, A.O. (1973) "The Changing Tolerance for Income Inequality in the Course of Economic Development", with a mathematical appendix by M. Rothschild, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 87(4) : 544-566
- [81] Huber, E., C. Ragin and J.D. Stephens (1993) "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure, and the Welfare State", *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(3) : 711-749
- [82] ILO (International Labour Organisation) (1990) "ISCO-88 : International Standard Classification of Occupations", Geneva : ILO
- [83] Im, K.S., M.H. Pesaran and Y. Shin (2003) "Testing for Unit Roots in Heterogeneous Panels", *Journal of Econometrics*, 115(1) : 53-74
- [84] Iversen, T. (1994) "Political Leadership and Representation in West European Democracies : A Test of Three Models of Voting", *American Journal of Political Science*, 38(1) : 45-74
- [85] Iversen, T. (2001) "The Dynamics of Welfare State Expansion : Trade Openness, Deindustrialization and Partisan Politics", in Pierson, P. (ed.) *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [86] Iversen, T. (2005) *Capitalism, Democracy, and Welfare*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press
- [87] Iversen, T. and D. Soskice (2001) "An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences", *American Political Science Review*, 95(4) : 875-893
- [88] King, G., M. Tomz, and J. Wittenberg (2000) "Making the Most of Statistical Analyses : Improving Interpretation and Presentation", *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(2) : 347-361
- [89] Kitschelt, H. and P. Rehm (2004) "Socio-economic Group Preferences and Partisan Alignments", paper prepared for delivery at the 14th International Conference of Europeanists organized by the Council for European Studies, March 11-13, Chicago
- [90] Kiviet, J.F. (1995) "On Bias, Inconsistency, and Efficiency of Various Estimators in Dynamic Panel Models", *Journal of Econometrics*, 68(1) : 53-78
- [91] Korpi, W. and J. Palme (2003) "New Politics and Class Politics in the Context of Austerity and Globalization : Welfare State Regress in 18 Countries, 1975-95", *American Political Science Review*, 97(3) : 425-446
- [92] Kuhn, R. (2002) "The French Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, 2002", *Representation*, 39(1) : 44-46

- [93] Laslier, J.-F. (2004) *Le Vote et la Règle Majoritaire. Analyse Mathématique de la Politique*, Paris : CNRS
- [94] Laslier, J.-F. and K. Van der Straeten (2002) “Analyse d’un Scrutin d’Assentiment”, *Quadrature*, 46 : 5-12
- [95] Laslier, J.-F. and K. Van der Straeten (2004) “Une Expérience de Vote par Assentiment lors de l’Election Présidentielle Française de 2002”, *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 54(1) : 99-130
- [96] Laver, M., K. Benoit and N. Sauger (2006) “Policy Competition in the 2002 French Legislative and Presidential Elections”, *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(4) : 667-697
- [97] Laver, M. and N. Schofield (1990) *Multiparty Government : The Politics of Coalition in Europe*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [98] Levin, A., C.-F. Lin and C.-S.J. Chu (2002) “Unit Root Tests in Panel Data : Asymptotic and Finite-sample Properties”, *Journal of Econometrics*, 108(1) : 1-24
- [99] Lewis-Beck, M.S. (1983) “Economics and the French Voter : A Microanalysis”, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 47(3) : 347-360
- [100] Lewis-Beck, M.S. (ed.) (2003) *The French Voter*, Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan
- [101] Lijphart, A. (1994) *Electoral Systems and Party Systems : A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [102] Lijphart, A. (1999) *Patterns of Democracy*, New Haven : Yale University Press
- [103] Lindbeck, A. and J.W. Weibull (1987) “Balanced-budget Redistribution as the Outcome of Political Competition”, *Public Choice*, 52(3) : 273-297
- [104] Long, J.S. and J. Freese (2006) *Regression Models for Categorical Dependent Variables Using Stata, Second Edition*. College Station, Texas : Stata Press. <http://www.indiana.edu/jlsoc/spost.htm>
- [105] Maddala, G.S. and S. Wu (1999) “A Comparative Study of Unit Root Tests with Panel Data and a New Simple Test”, *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, 61(0) : 631-652
- [106] Meltzer, A. and S. Richard (1981) “A Rational Theory of the Size of Government”, *Journal of Political Economy*, 89(5) : 914-927

-
- [107] Milesi-Ferretti G.-M., R. Perotti and M. Rostagno (2002) "Electoral Systems and the Composition of Public Spending", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117(2) : 609-657
- [108] Moene, K.O. and M. Wallerstein (2001) "Inequality, Social Insurance and Redistribution", *American Political Science Review*, 95(4) : 859-874
- [109] Mullahy, J. (1999) "Interaction Effects and Difference-in-Difference Estimation in Loglinear Models", NBER Technical Working Paper 245
- [110] Myerson, R.B. (1999) "Theoretical Comparisons of Electoral Systems : Theory and Applications", *European Economic Review*, 43(4) : 671-697
- [111] Nickell, S. (1981) "Biases in Dynamic Models with Fixed Effects", *Econometrica*, 49(6) : 1417-1426
- [112] Nicoletti, G. and S. Scarpetta (2003) "Regulation, Productivity and Growth : OECD evidence", *Economic Policy*, 18(36) : 9-72
- [113] OECD (2004), "Employment Protection Regulation and Labour Market Performance", in *OECD Employment Outlook*, 2004 edition
- [114] Olson, M. (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action*, Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press
- [115] Pagano, M. and P. Volpin (2001) "The Political Economy of Finance", *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 17(4) : 502-519
- [116] Pagano, M. and P. Volpin (2005) "The Political Economy of Corporate Governance", *American Economic Review*, 95(4) : 1005-1030
- [117] Persson, T., G. Roland and G. Tabellini (2007) "Electoral Rules and Government Spending in Parliamentary Democracies", *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2(2) : 155-188
- [118] Persson, T. and G. Tabellini (1999) "The Size and Scope of Government : Comparative Politics with Rational Politicians", *European Economic Review* 43(4-6) : 699-735
- [119] Piketty, T. (1995) "Social Mobility and Redistributive Politics", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 110(3) : 551-584
- [120] Piketty, T. (1998) "Self-fulfilling beliefs about social status", *Journal of Public Economics*, 70(1) : 115-132
- [121] Piketty, T. (1999) "Attitudes Toward Income Inequality in France : Do People Really Disagree?", CEPREMAP working paper 9918

- [122] Plümper, T. and V.E. Troeger (2004) "Efficient Estimation of Rarely Changing Variables in Fixed Effects Models", SSRN Working Paper Series
- [123] Plümper, T. and V.E. Troeger (2007) "Efficient Estimation of Time-Invariant and Rarely Changing Variables in Finite Sample Panel Analyses with Unit Fixed Effects", *Political Analysis*, 15(2) : 124-139
- [124] Rae, D. (1967) *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*, New Haven : Yale University Press
- [125] Ravallion, M. and M. Lokshin (2000) "Who Wants to Redistribute? The Tunnel Effect in 1990s Russia", *Journal of Public Economics*, 76(1) : 87-104
- [126] Rehm, P. (2005) "Citizen Support for the Welfare State : Determinants of Preferences for Income Redistribution", WZB discussion paper SP II 2005-02
- [127] Riker, W.H. (1962) *The Theory of Political Coalitions*, New Haven : Yale University Press
- [128] Roemer, John E. (2001) *Political Competition*, Cambridge : Harvard University Press
- [129] Roemer, John E. and K. Van der Straeten (2005) "Xenophobia and the Size of the Public Sector in France : A Politico-economic Analysis", *Journal of Economics*, 86(2) : 95-144
- [130] Roemer, John E. and K. Van der Straeten (2006) "The Political Economy of Xenophobia and Distribution : The Case of Denmark", *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 108(2) : 251-277
- [131] Shepsle, K.A. and B.R. Weingast (1984) "Uncovered Sets and Sophisticated Voting Outcomes with Implications for Agenda Institutions", *American Journal of Political Science*, 28(1) : 49-74
- [132] Scheve, K. and D. Stasavage (2006) "Religion and Preferences for Social Insurance", *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 1(3) : 255-286
- [133] Scruggs, L. (2004) "Welfare State Entitlements Data Set : A Comparative Institutional Analysis of Eighteen Welfare States", Version 1.2
- [134] Senik, C. (2005) "What Can we Learn from Subjective Data? The Case of Income and Well-Being", *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 19(1) : 43-63

- [135] Suhrcke, M. (2001) "Preferences for Inequality : East vs. West", Innocenti working paper 89, Florence : UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre
- [136] Tabellini, G. (2000) "A Positive Theory of Social Security", *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 102(3) : 523-545
- [137] Thomassen, J. (ed.) (2005) *The European Voter. A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*, Oxford : Oxford University Press
- [138] Tomz, M., J. Wittenberg and G. King (2003) "CLARIFY : Software for Interpreting and Presenting Statistical Results", *Journal of Statistical Software*, 8(1). Software available at <http://gking.harvard.edu/>
- [139] Weingast, B.R., K.A. Shepsle and C. Johnsen (1981) "The Political Economy of Benefits and Costs : A Neoclassical Approach to Distributive Politics", *Journal of Political Economy*, 89(4) : 642-664
- [140] Williams, R. (2006) "Generalized Ordered Logit / Partial Proportional Odds Models for Ordinal Dependent Variables", *Stata Journal*, 6(1) : 58-82
- [141] Winship, C. and R.D. Mare (1984) "Regression Models with Ordinal Variables", *American Sociological Review*, 49(4) : 512-525
- [142] Wooldridge, J.M. (2002) *Econometric Analysis of Cross Section and Panel Data*, Cambridge, MA : MIT Press