

ROUTLEDGE ADVANCES IN SOCIOLOGY

Political Inequality in an Age of Democracy

Cross-national perspectives

Edited by
Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow



ROUTLEDGE



Political Inequality in an Age of Democracy

Cross-national perspectives

**Edited by
Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow**

First published 2015
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2015 Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow

The right of the editor to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN13: 978-0-415-85860-1 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-79790-7 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Swales & Willis Ltd, Exeter, Devon



Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Political Inequality in an Age of Democracy

The world has witnessed the creation of new democracies and the maturing of old ones. Yet, everywhere there is democracy, there is also political inequality. Voices of everyday folk struggle to be heard; often, they keep silent. Governments respond mostly to the influential and the already privileged. Our age of democracy, then, is the old age of inequality. This book builds on US scholarship on the topic of political inequality to understand its forms, causes and consequences around the world.

Comprised of nine theoretical, methodological and empirical chapters, this path-creating edited collection contains original works by both established and young, up-and-coming social scientists, including those from Latin America, Eastern Europe, Greece and the US. *Political Inequality in an Age of Democracy* addresses the present and future of the concept of political inequality from multi-disciplinary and cross-national perspectives.

Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow received his PhD from the Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University. He is an Associate Professor at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences and Project Coordinator for Cross-National Studies: Interdisciplinary Research and Training Program of The Ohio State University and Polish Academy of Sciences. He is head of the Working Group on Political Inequality, the Committee on Political Sociology (ISA and IPSA).

Routledge Advances in Sociology

1 Virtual Globalization

Virtual Spaces / Tourist Spaces

Edited by David Holmes

2 The Criminal Spectre in Law, Literature and Aesthetics

Peter Hutchings

3 Immigrants and National Identity in Europe

Anna Triandafyllidou

4 Constructing Risk and Safety in Technological Practice

Edited by Jane Summerton and Boel Berner

5 Europeanisation, National Identities and Migration

Changes in Boundary Constructions Between Western and Eastern Europe

Willfried Spohn and Anna Triandafyllidou

6 Language, Identity and Conflict

A Comparative Study of Language in Ethnic Conflict in Europe and Eurasia

Diarmait Mac Giolla Chríost

7 Immigrant Life in the U.S.

Multi-disciplinary Perspectives

Edited by Donna R. Gabaccia and Colin Wayne Leach

8 Rave Culture and Religion

Edited by Graham St. John

9 Creation and Returns of Social Capital

A New Research Program

Edited by Henk Flap and Beate Völker

- 10 Self-Care**
Embodiment, Personal Autonomy and the Shaping of Health Consciousness
Christopher Ziguras
- 11 Mechanisms of Cooperation**
Werner Raub and Jeroen Weesie
- 12 After the Bell**
Educational Success, Public Policy and Family Background
Edited by Dalton Conley and Karen Albright
- 13 Youth Crime and Youth Culture in the Inner City**
Bill Sanders
- 14 Emotions and Social Movements**
Edited by Helena Flam and Debra King
- 15 Globalization, Uncertainty and Youth in Society**
Edited by Hans-Peter Blossfeld, Erik Klijzing, Melinda Mills and Karin Kurz
- 16 Love, Heterosexuality and Society**
Paul Johnson
- 17 Agricultural Governance**
Globalization and the New Politics of Regulation
Edited by Vaughan Higgins and Geoffrey Lawrence
- 18 Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity**
Richard Howson
- 19 Social Isolation in Modern Society**
Roelof Hortulanus, Anja Machielse and Ludwien Meeuwesen
- 20 Weber and the Persistence of Religion**
Social Theory, Capitalism and the Sublime
Joseph W. H. Lough
- 21 Globalization, Uncertainty and Late Careers in Society**
Edited by Hans-Peter Blossfeld, Sandra Buchholz and Dirk Hofäcker
- 22 Bourdieu's Politics**
Problems and Possibilities
Jeremy F. Lane

- 23 Media Bias in Reporting Social Research?**
The Case of Reviewing Ethnic Inequalities in Education
Martyn Hammersley
- 24 A General Theory of Emotions and Social Life**
Warren D. TenHouten
- 25 Sociology, Religion and Grace**
Arpad Szakolczai
- 26 Youth Cultures**
Scenes, Subcultures and Tribes
Edited by Paul Hodkinson and Wolfgang Deicke
- 27 The Obituary as Collective Memory**
Bridget Fowler
- 28 Tocqueville's Virus**
Utopia and Dystopia in Western Social and Political Thought
Mark Featherstone
- 29 Jewish Eating and Identity Through the Ages**
David Kraemer
- 30 The Institutionalization of Social Welfare**
A Study of Medicalizing Management
Mikael Holmqvist
- 31 The Role of Religion in Modern Societies**
Edited by Detlef Pollack and Daniel V. A. Olson
- 32 Sex Research and Sex Therapy**
A Sociological Analysis of Masters and Johnson
Ross Morrow
- 33 A Crisis of Waste?**
Understanding the Rubbish Society
Martin O'Brien
- 34 Globalization and Transformations of Local Socioeconomic Practices**
Edited by Ulrike Schuerkens
- 35 The Culture of Welfare Markets**
The International Recasting of Pension and Care Systems
Ingo Bode

36 Cohabitation, Family and Society

Tiziana Nazio

37 Latin America and Contemporary Modernity

A Sociological Interpretation

José Maurício Domingues

38 Exploring the Networked Worlds of Popular Music

Milieu Cultures

Peter Webb

39 The Cultural Significance of the Child Star

Jane O'Connor

40 European Integration as an Elite Process

The Failure of a Dream?

Max Haller

41 Queer Political Performance and Protest

Benjamin Shepard

42 Cosmopolitan Spaces

Europe, Globalization, Theory

Chris Rumford

43 Contexts of Social Capital

Social Networks in Communities, Markets and Organizations

Edited by Ray-May Hsung, Nan Lin, and Ronald Breiger

44 Feminism, Domesticity and Popular Culture

Edited by Stacy Gillis and Joanne Hollows

45 Changing Relationships

Edited by Malcolm Brynin and John Ermisch

46 Formal and Informal Work

The Hidden Work Regime in Europe

Edited by Birgit Pfau-Effinger, Lluís Flaquer, & Per H. Jensen

47 Interpreting Human Rights

Social Science Perspectives

Edited by Rhiannon Morgan and Bryan S. Turner

48 Club Cultures

Boundaries, Identities and Otherness

Silvia Rief

49 Eastern European Immigrant Families

Mihaela Robila

50 People and Societies

Rom Harré and Designing the Social Sciences

Luk van Langenhove

51 Legislating Creativity

The Intersections of Art and Politics

Dustin Kidd

52 Youth in Contemporary Europe

Edited by Jeremy Leaman and Martha Wörsching

53 Globalization and Transformations of Social Inequality

Edited by Ulrike Schuerkens

54 Twentieth Century Music and the Question of Modernity

Eduardo De La Fuente

55 The American Surfer

Radical Culture and Capitalism

Kristin Lawler

56 Religion and Social Problems

Edited by Titus Hjelm

57 Play, Creativity, and Social Movements

If I Can't Dance, It's Not My Revolution

Benjamin Shepard

58 Undocumented Workers' Transitions

Legal Status, Migration, and Work in Europe

Sonia McKay, Eugenia Markova and Anna Paraskevopoulou

59 The Marketing of War in the Age of Neo-Militarism

Edited by Kostas Gouliamos and Christos Kassimeris

60 Neoliberalism and the Global Restructuring of Knowledge and Education

Steven C. Ward

61 Social Theory in Contemporary Asia

Ann Brooks

- 62 Foundations of Critical Media and Information Studies**
Christian Fuchs
- 63 A Companion to Life Course Studies**
The Social and Historical Context of the British Birth Cohort Studies
Michael Wadsworth and John Bynner
- 64 Understanding Russianness**
Risto Alapuro, Arto Mustajoki and Pekka Pesonen
- 65 Understanding Religious Ritual**
Theoretical Approaches and Innovations
John Hoffmann
- 66 Online Gaming in Context**
The Social and Cultural Significance of Online Games
Garry Crawford, Victoria K. Gosling and Ben Light
- 67 Contested Citizenship in East Asia**
Developmental Politics, National Unity, and Globalization
Kyung-Sup Chang and Bryan S. Turner
- 68 Agency without Actors?**
New Approaches to Collective Action
Edited by Jan-Hendrik Passoth, Birgit Peuker and Michael Schillmeier
- 69 The Neighborhood in the Internet**
Design Research Projects in Community Informatics
John M. Carroll
- 70 Managing Overflow in Affluent Societies**
Edited by Barbara Czarniawska and Orvar Löfgren
- 71 Refugee Women**
Beyond Gender versus Culture
Leah Bassel
- 72 Socioeconomic Outcomes of the Global Financial Crisis**
Theoretical Discussion and Empirical Case Studies
Edited by Ulrike Schuerkens
- 73 Migration in the 21st Century**
Political Economy and Ethnography
Edited by Pauline Gardiner Barber and Winnie Lem

74 Ulrich Beck

An Introduction to the Theory of Second Modernity and the Risk Society
Mads P. Sørensen and Allan Christiansen

75 The International Recording Industries

Edited by Lee Marshall

76 Ethnographic Research in the Construction Industry

Edited by Sarah Pink, Dylan Tutt and Andrew Dainty

77 Routledge Companion to Contemporary Japanese Social Theory

From Individualization to Globalization in Japan Today
Edited by Anthony Elliott, Masataka Katagiri and Atsushi Sawai

78 Immigrant Adaptation in Multi-Ethnic Societies

Canada, Taiwan, and the United States
Edited by Eric Fong, Lan-Hung Nora Chiang and Nancy Denton

79 Cultural Capital, Identity, and Social Mobility

The Life Course of Working-Class University Graduates
Mick Matthys

80 Speaking for Animals

Animal Autobiographical Writing
Edited by Margo DeMello

81 Healthy Aging in Sociocultural Context

Edited by Andrew E. Scharlach and Kazumi Hoshino

82 Touring Poverty

Bianca Freire-Medeiros

83 Life Course Perspectives on Military Service

Edited by Janet M. Wilmoth and Andrew S. London

84 Innovation in Socio-Cultural Context

Edited by Frane Adam and Hans Westlund

85 Youth, Arts and Education

Reassembling Subjectivity through Affect
Anna Hickey-Moody

86 The Capitalist Personality

Face-to-Face Sociality and Economic Change in the Post-Communist World
Christopher S. Swader

- 87 The Culture of Enterprise in Neoliberalism**
Specters of Entrepreneurship
Tomas Marttila
- 88 Islamophobia in the West**
Measuring and Explaining Individual Attitudes
Marc Helbling
- 89 The Challenges of Being a Rural Gay Man**
Coping with Stigma
Deborah Bray Preston and Anthony R. D'Augelli
- 90 Global Justice Activism and Policy Reform in Europe**
Understanding When Change Happens
Edited by Peter Utting, Mario Pianta and Anne Ellersiek
- 91 Sociology of the Visual Sphere**
Edited by Regev Nathansohn and Dennis Zuev
- 92 Solidarity in Individualized Societies**
Recognition, Justice and Good Judgement
Søren Juul
- 93 Heritage in the Digital Era**
Cinematic Tourism and the Activist Cause
Rodanthi Tzanelli
- 94 Generation, Discourse, and Social Change**
Karen R. Foster
- 95 Sustainable Practices**
Social Theory and Climate Change
Elizabeth Shove and Nicola Spurling
- 96 The Transformative Capacity of New Technologies**
A Theory of Sociotechnical Change
Ulrich Dolata
- 97 Consuming Families**
Buying, Making, Producing Family Life in the 21st Century
Jo Lindsay and JaneMaree Maher
- 98 Migrant Marginality**
A Transnational Perspective
Edited by Philip Kretsedemas, Jorge Capetillo-Ponce and Glenn Jacobs

- 99 Changing Gay Male Identities**
Andrew Cooper
- 100 Perspectives on Genetic Discrimination**
Thomas Lemke
- 101 Social Sustainability**
A Multilevel Approach to Social Inclusion
Edited by Veronica Dujon, Jesse Dillard, and Eileen M. Brennan
- 102 Capitalism**
A Companion to Marx's Economy Critique
Johan Fornäs
- 103 Understanding European Movements**
New Social Movements, Global Justice Struggles, Anti-Austerity Protest
Edited by Cristina Flesher Fominaya and Laurence Cox
- 104 Applying Ibn Khaldūn**
The Recovery of a Lost Tradition in Sociology
Syed Farid Alatas
- 105 Children in Crisis**
Ethnographic Studies in International Contexts
Edited by Manata Hashemi and Martín Sánchez-Jankowski
- 106 The Digital Divide**
The Internet and Social Inequality in International Perspective
Edited by Massimo Ragnedda and Glenn W. Muschert
- 107 Emotion and Social Structures**
The Affective Foundations of Social Order
Christian von Scheve
- 108 Social Capital and Its Institutional Contingency**
A Study of the United States, China and Taiwan
Edited by Nan Lin, Yang-chih Fu and Chih-jou Jay Chen
- 109 The Longings and Limits of Global Citizenship Education**
The Moral Pedagogy of Schooling in a Cosmopolitan Age
Jeffrey S. Dill
- 110 Irish Insanity 1800–2000**
Damien Brennan

- 111 Cities of Culture**
A Global Perspective
Deborah Stevenson
- 112 Racism, Governance, and Public Policy**
Beyond Human Rights
Katy Sian, Ian Law and S. Sayyid
- 113 Understanding Aging and Diversity**
Theories and Concepts
Patricia Kolb
- 114 Hybrid Media Culture**
Sensing Place in a World of Flows
Edited by Simon Lindgren
- 115 Centers and Peripheries in Knowledge Production**
Leandro Rodriguez Medina
- 116 Revisiting Institutionalism in Sociology**
Putting the "Institution" Back in Institutional Analysis
Seth Abrutyn
- 117 National Policy-Making**
Domestication of Global Trends
Pertti Alasuutari and Ali Qadir
- 118 The Meanings of Europe**
Changes and Exchanges of a Contested Concept
Edited by Claudia Wiesner and Meike Schmidt-Gleim
- 119 Between Islam and the American Dream**
An Immigrant Muslim Community in Post-9/11 America
Yuting Wang
- 120 Call Centers and the Global Division of Labor**
A Political Economy of Post-Industrial Employment and Union Organizing
Andrew J.R. Stevens
- 121 Academic Capitalism**
Universities in the Global Struggle for Excellence
Richard Münch
- 122 Deconstructing Flexicurity and Developing Alternative Approaches**
Towards New Concepts and Approaches for Employment and Social Policy
Edited by Maarten Keune and Amparo Serrano

- 123 From Corporate to Social Media**
Critical Perspectives on Corporate Social Responsibility in Media and
Communication Industries
Marisol Sandoval
- 124 Vision and Society**
Towards a Sociology and Anthropology from Art
John Clammer
- 125 The Rise of Critical Animal Studies**
From the Margins to the Centre
Nik Taylor and Richard Twine
- 126 Atoms, Bytes and Genes**
Public Resistance and Techno-Scientific Responses
Martin W. Bauer
- 127 Punk Rock and the Politics of Place**
Building a Better Tomorrow
Jeffrey S. Debies-Carl
- 128 Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields**
Concepts and Applications
Mathieu Hilgers and Eric Mangez
- 129 Global Management, Local Resistances**
Theoretical Discussion and Empirical Case Studies
Edited by Ulrike Schuerkens
- 130 Migrant Professionals in the City**
Local Encounters, Identities and Inequalities
Edited by Lars Meier
- 131 From Globalization to World Society**
Neo-Institutional and Systems-Theoretical Perspectives
Edited by Boris Holzer, Fatima Kastner and Tobias Werron
- 132 Political Inequality in an Age of Democracy**
Cross-national Perspectives
Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow

For Irina

Figures

1.1	Political processes of political inequality	18
4.1	Breakdown of seats in Burundi's and Israel's national legislatures by gender and minority status	53
5.1	Gender differences in associations in Belo Horizonte 2005	74
7.1a	High scores of threat perception and Gini coefficient average decrease per year (2008–2012)	98
7.1b	High scores of threat perception and Gini average decrease per year (2000–2012)	98
7.2	Threat perception and level of democracy	99
7.3	Threat perception and welfare regime transformation	100
7.4	Brazilian elite agreement with further social investment and with further taxation	104
9.1	Percentage of people feeling ethno-discriminated vs percentage of xenophobes for 22 European countries, ESS 2012	131