

The Unequal Representation of Social Groups in Democracies

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Motivation

1. How well are the preferences of different social groups represented by political elites in democracies?
2. Are members of social groups better represented by in-group politicians?

Lots of prior work related to these questions.

- Preferences of less affluent, less educated, female citizens under-represented by politicians overall.

Gilens 2012, Giger et al 2012, Lupu and Warner 2022

- More in-group politicians in office \implies favorable outcomes.

Kittilson 2008, Carnes and Lupu 2015, O'Grady 2019, Alexiadou 2022

- However, within-group heterogeneity of voters *and* legislators largely overlooked.

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E.g. not all American women are pro-choice



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- Not all women in Congress are pro-choice.

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- Not all women in Congress are pro-choice.
- Views on abortion in the U.S. Congress cut across party lines.

What we do

- Develop new measure of how far social groups' opinions are represented by:
 - Politicians overall?
 - In-group politicians?
- Measure accounts for within-group heterogeneity of both voters and politicians.
 - First cross-national study of descriptive representation accounting for this.
 - Closest: Hakhverdian (2015) but only education, in the Netherlands.
- (So far) we apply this approach to study the unequal representation of citizens:
 - By electoral candidates.
 - Across three cleavages: gender, education, urban-rural location.
 - Across 18 countries, 4 continents, a decade (2007-17).

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Straightforwardly calculated using survey data on citizen and elite preferences.

Empirical strategy

We employ this measure to study how well the left-right preferences of different social groups are represented by politicians.

- Data on citizen left-right preferences & characteristics: **Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)**.
- Data on candidate left-right preferences & characteristics: **Comparative Candidates Survey (CCS)**.
 - Non-response bias: post-stratify elite sample to match partisan composition of elected legislature.
 - TBC: gender, other characteristics.
- Coverage:
 - 37 country-years, spanning 18 countries, 4 continents, 2007–17 (more to be added).
 - 3 cleavages: gender, education, urban-rural location.
 - TBC: age, occupation, ethnicity and intersectional identities.

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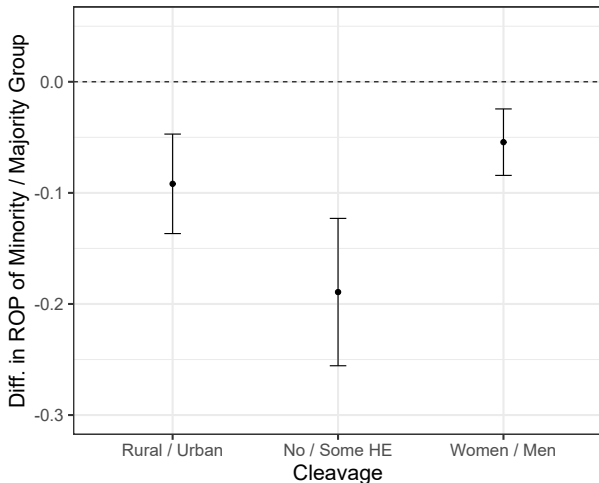
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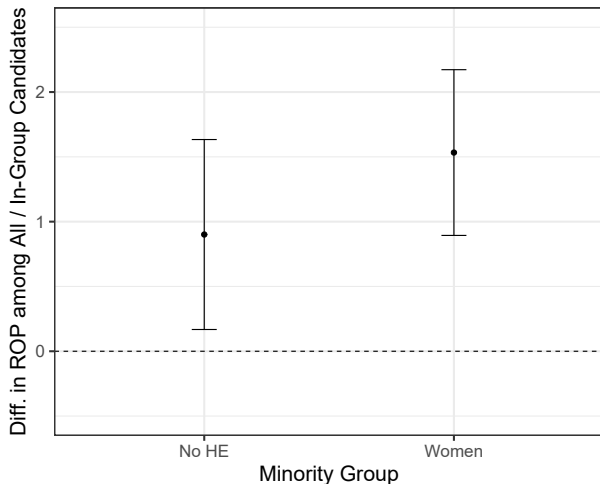
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Are minorities systematically under-represented by candidates?



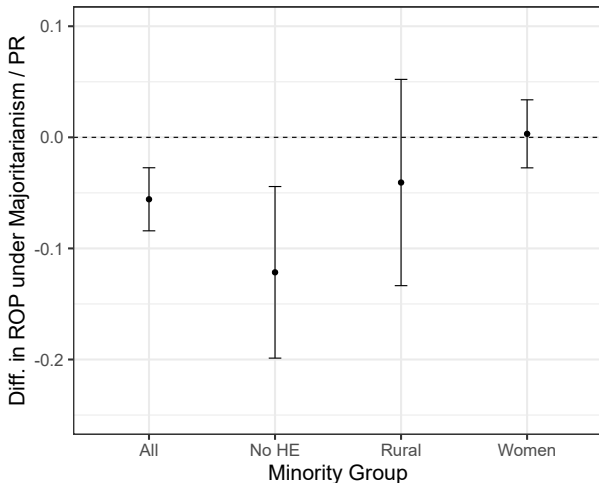
Note: Paired t -tests of H_0 : minority ROP – majority ROP = 0.

Are minorities better represented by in-group candidates?



Note: Paired t -tests of H_0 : in-group ROP – overall ROP = 0.

Revisiting the ‘ideological congruence controversy’:



Note: Clustered/Welch Two-Sample t -tests of $H_0 : \text{ROP under Maj} - \text{ROP under PR} = 0$.

Conclusion

- **Relative opinion presence:** a measure of how well social groups' opinions are represented by politicians.
- Allows us to study group representation by all / in-group politicians without assuming uniform preferences / interests.
- Initial findings:
 - All minorities under-represented by candidates, but esp. low education voters.
 - Minorities substantially better represented by in-group candidates.
 - Minority representation among candidates somewhat better under PR.
- TBC: more countries, cleavages; intersectional identities.

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