

Marta Arretche

# DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL INCLUSION



*FAPESP WEEK ILLINOIS*



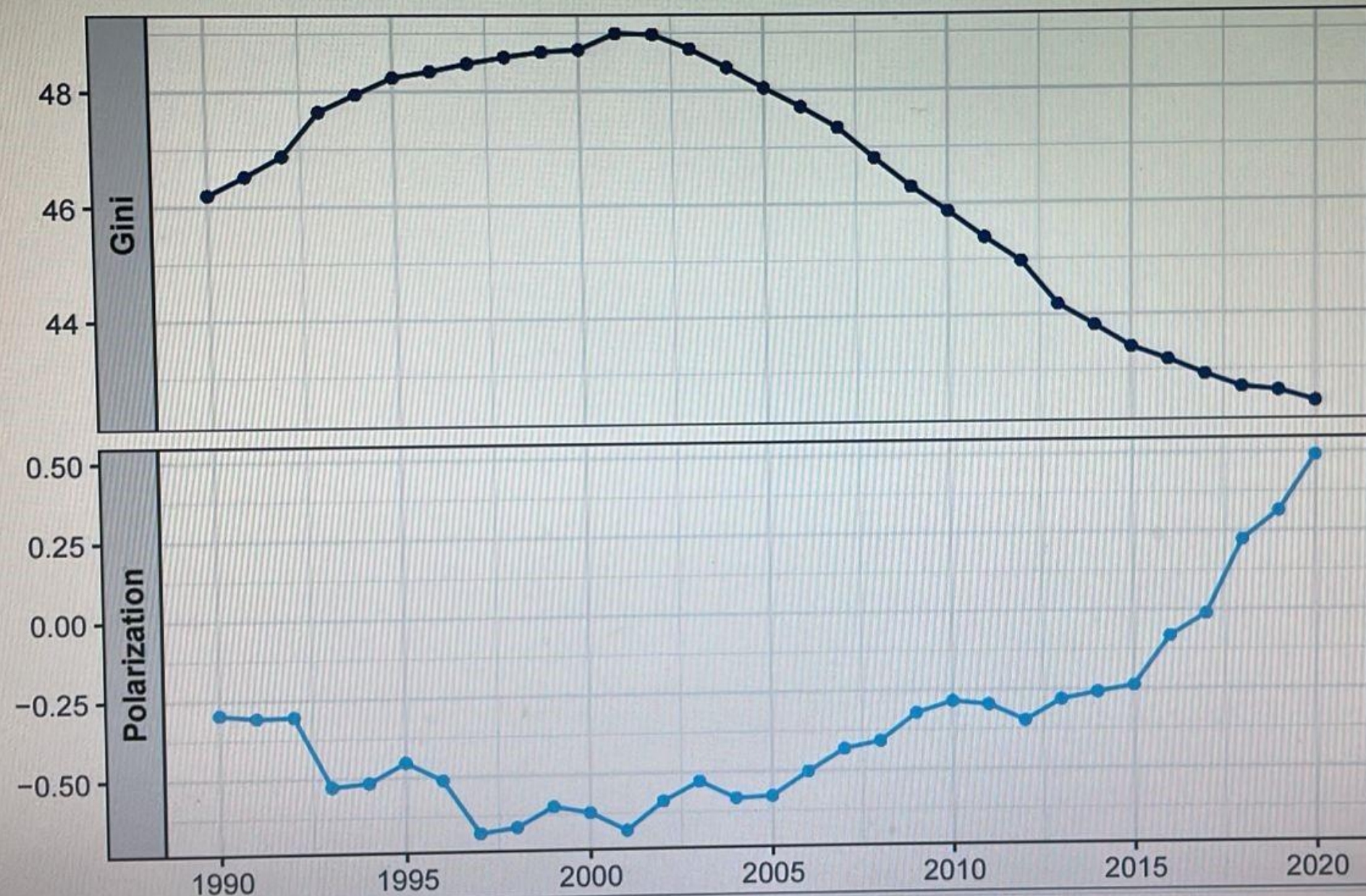
# MAINSTREAM LITERATURE ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SOCIAL INCLUSION AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

- Increasing inequality and immigration flows in the US is associated with political polarization (McCarty et al 2016; Grechyna 2016)
- Left-wing parties in Europe favor “insiders” when their policy preferences diverge from “outsiders” (Rueda 2005)
- Parties adopt pro-rich policies when their preferences diverge from those advocated by middle class and the poor (Gilens 2012)
- In Northwest Europe, the pro-rich policy outcome applies for either left-wing or right-wing governments (Mathisen 2024)

# NOT TRUE FOR LATIN AMERICA

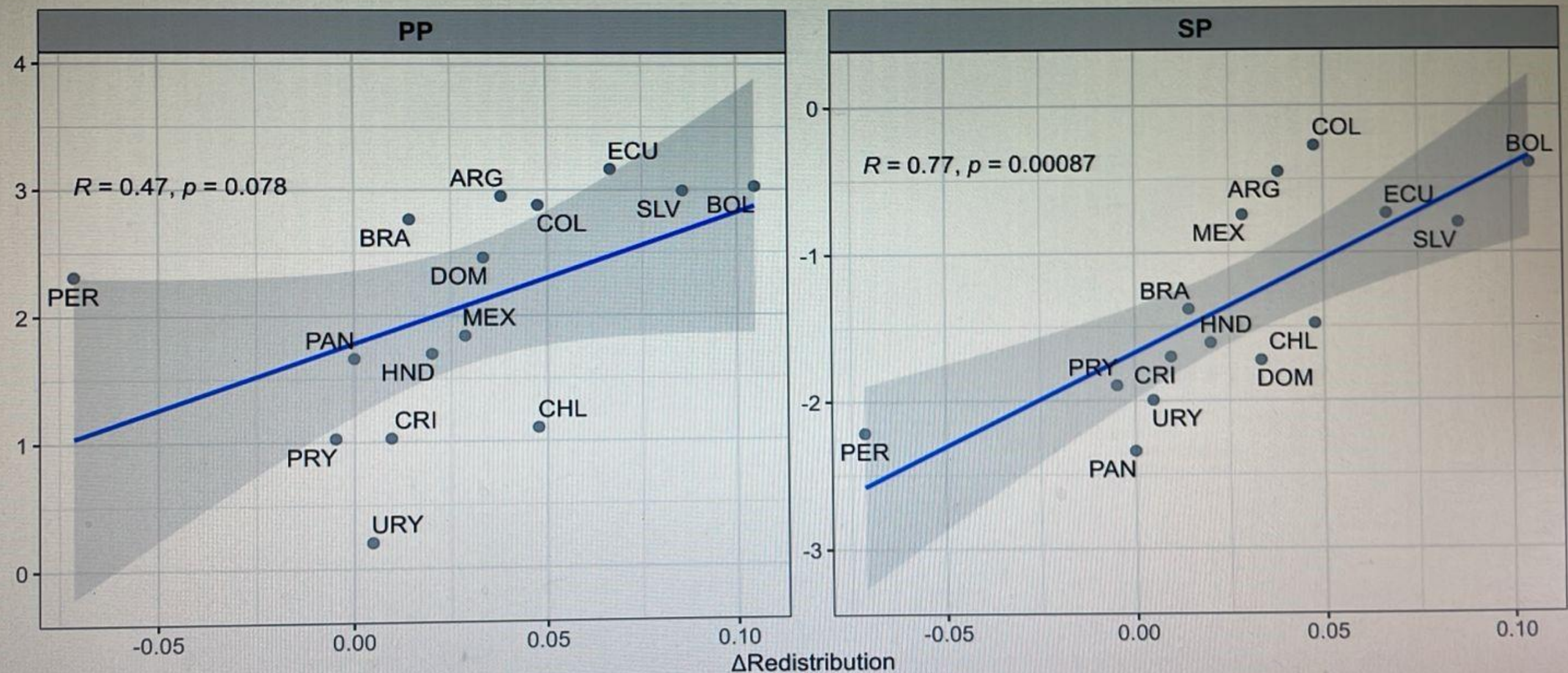
BARBOSA, Pedro (2024). *Inequality or redistribution? The determinants of political polarization in Latin America* (mimeo)

Figure 1: Gini index (disposable income) and PP index in Latin America, 1990–2020



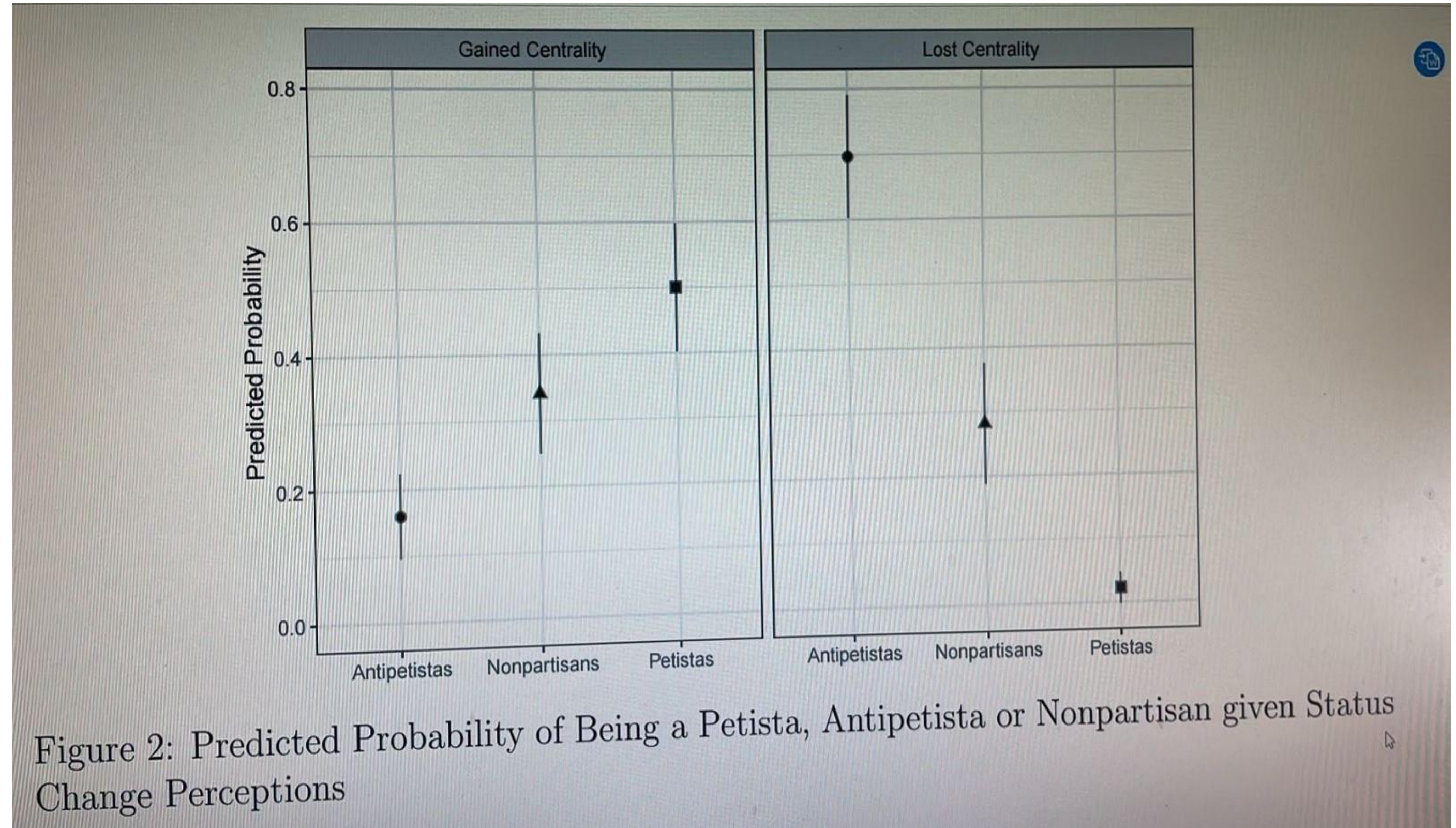
# A POSITIVE CORRELATION BETWEEN PARTISAN or ELECTORAL POLARIZATION AND INEQUALITY REDUCTION

Figure 2: Bivariate analyses, PP and SP index and  $\Delta$ Redistribution averages, 2000-2020



BARBOSA, Pedro  
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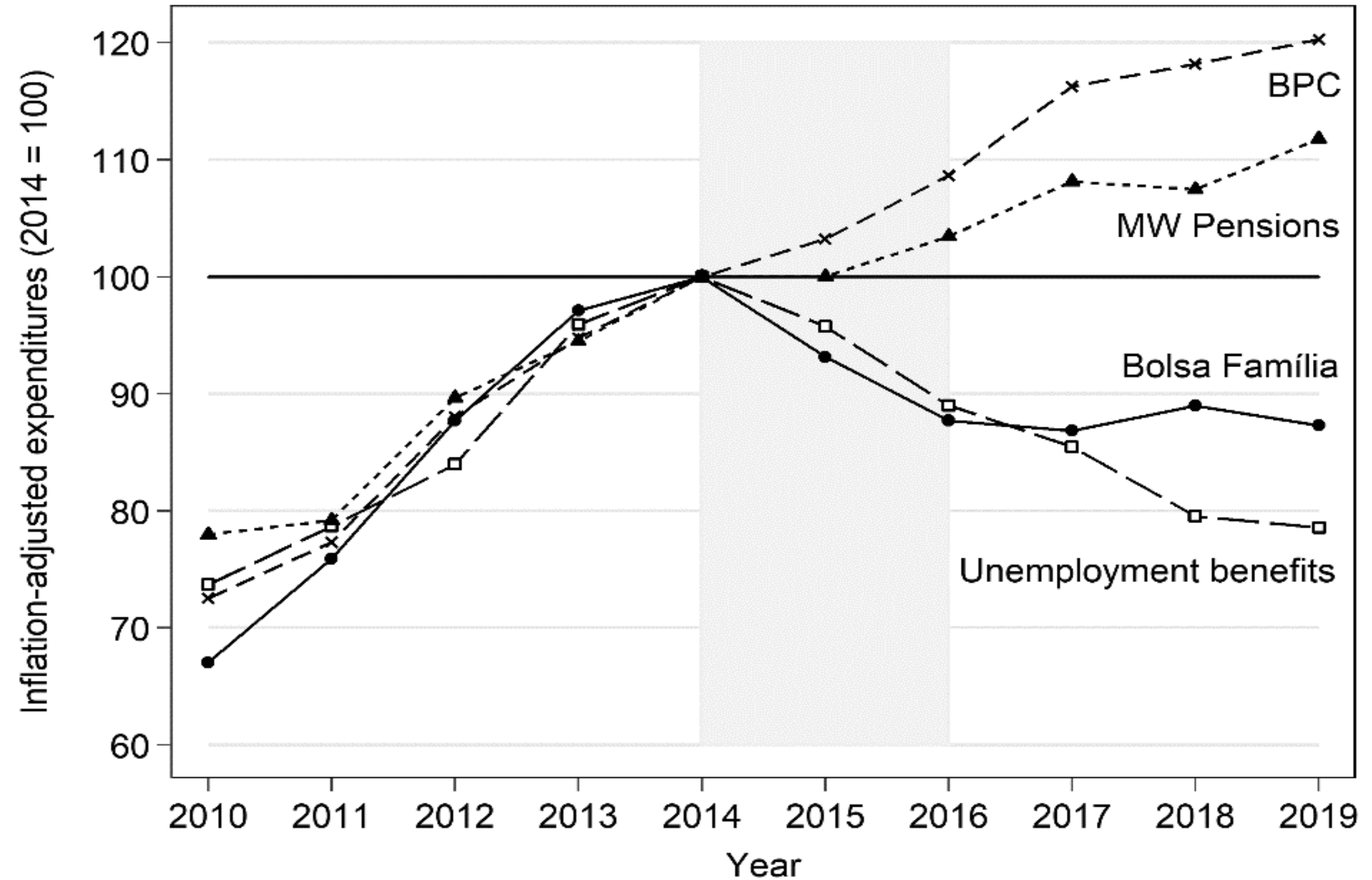
# Brazilian case: subjective perception of gains and losses matters



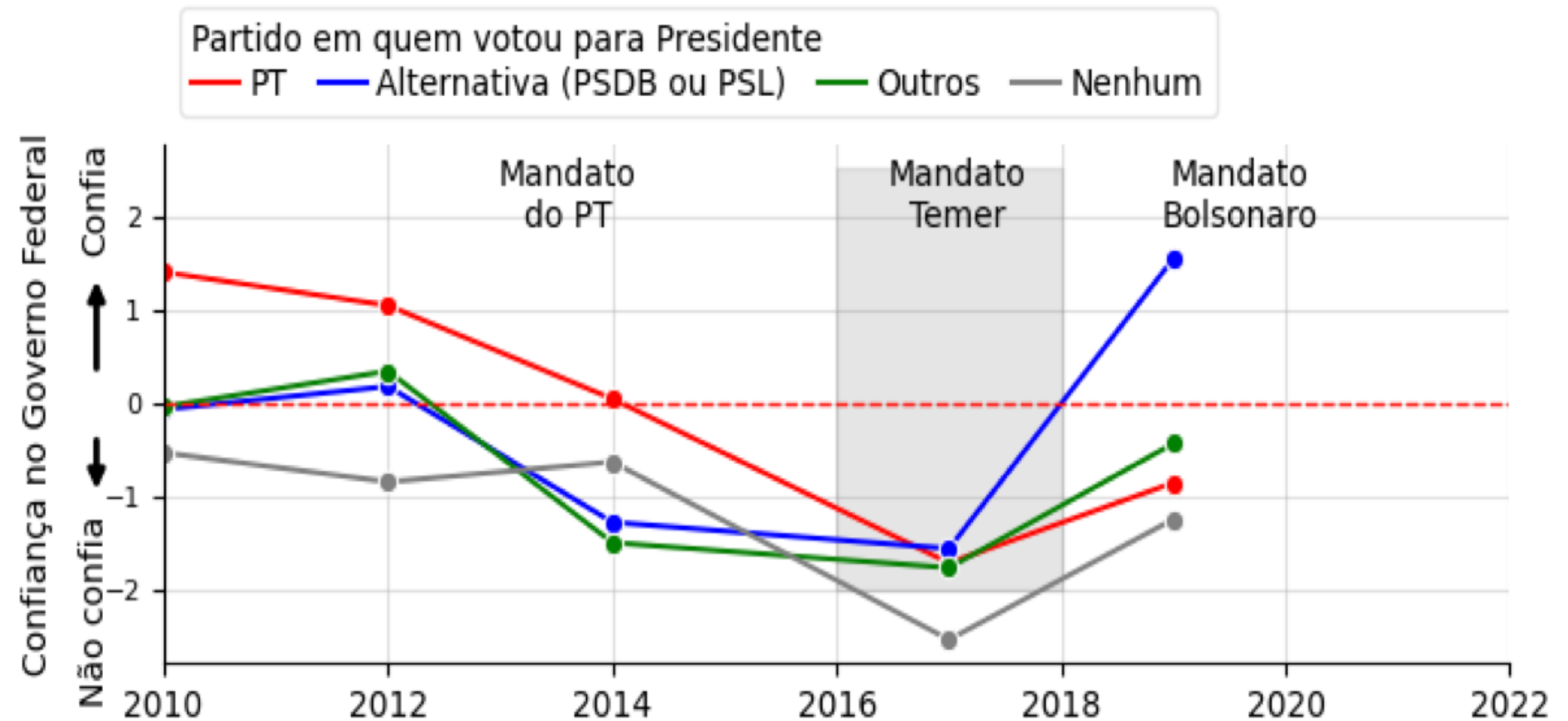
SAMUELS, D.; MELLO, F.; ZUCCO, C. (2024). *Polarization and Perceptions of Status Gain and Loss: The Case of Brazil* (mimeo)

# Yet, the PT imposed heavy losses on his own constituency

ARRETCHE, M. and FERREIRA, P.H.G. (forthcoming). "When incumbents successfully retrench big and popular social policies: policy design matters", *Journal of Public Policy*

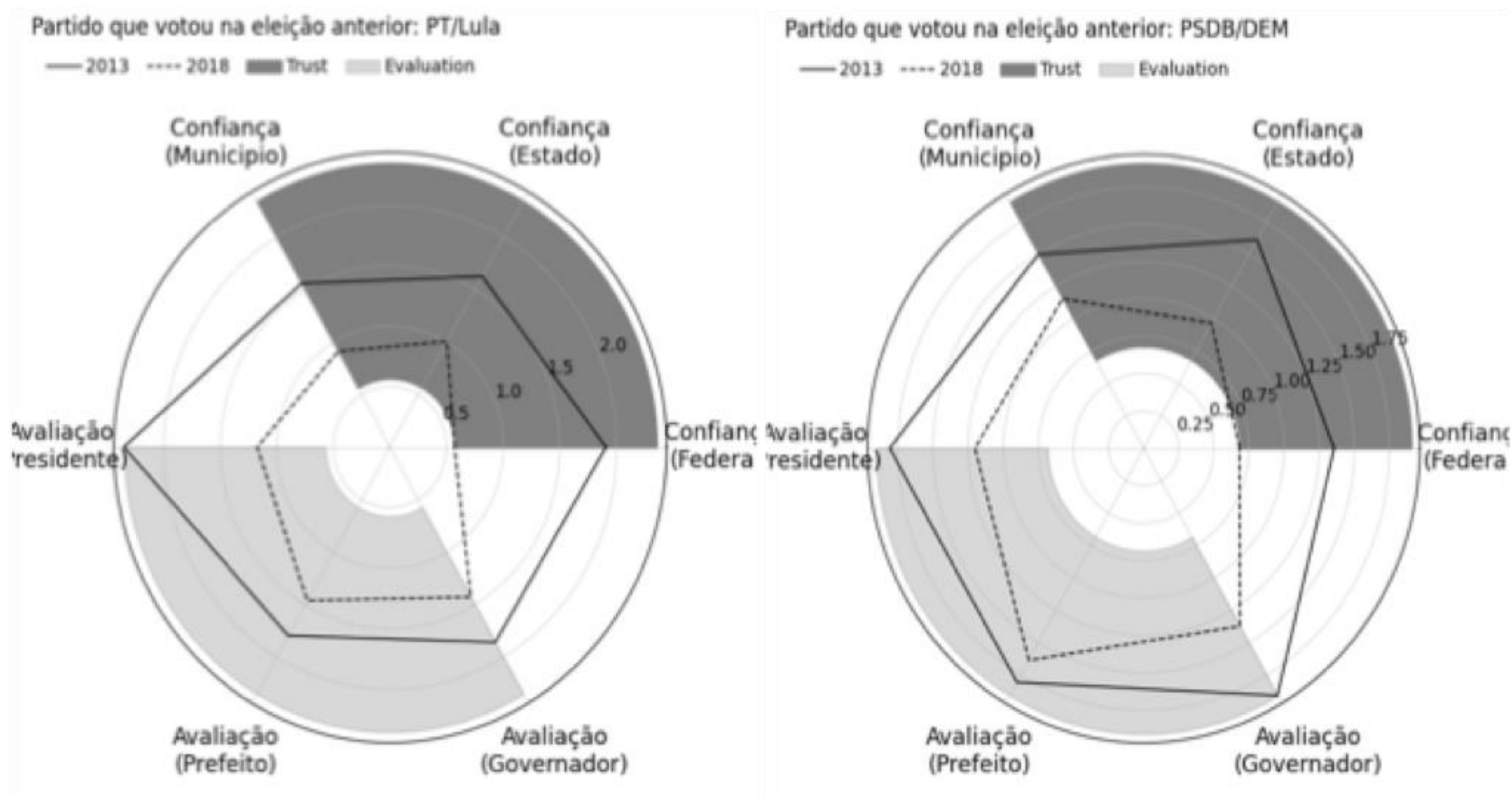


# TRUST IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS PARTISAN, BUT..



FERRARI, D., SCHLEGEL, R., ARRETICHE, M. (2024). «O que pensa o brasileiro sobre a federação? Centralização e crise de confiança pós-2013», *Revista Dados*, 67(3).

# DESPITE PARTISAN BIAS, TRUST AND APPROVAL OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DECLINED



FERRARI, D., SCHLEGEL, R., ARRETCHE, M. (2024). «O que pensa o brasileiro sobre a federação? Centralização e crise de confiança pós-2013», *Revista Dados*, 67(3).





## **RESEARCH ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INEQUALITY AND DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDING CAN GREATLY BENEFIT FROM THE STUDY OF LATIN AMERICA CASES**

- As in the US and Europe, political polarization is caused by the radicalization of right-wing parties (McCarty et al 2016)
- BUT , unlike Europe and USA
  - inequality reduction (Arretche 2018)
  - Inclusion of outsiders (Garay 2016)
  - Immigration is not a salient issue
  - Left-wing parties are associated with inequality reduction and the inclusion of outsiders
- What kind of voters' preferences is the far-right answering to?
- What are the sources and mechanisms behind the electoral success of right-wing parties?



**THANK YOU**

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