

University of Groningen

A New Political Divide?

Laméris, Maite Dina

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:

2019

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Laméris, M. D. (2019). A New Political Divide? Political ideology and its economic implications. [Groningen]: University of Groningen, SOM research school.

Copyright

Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

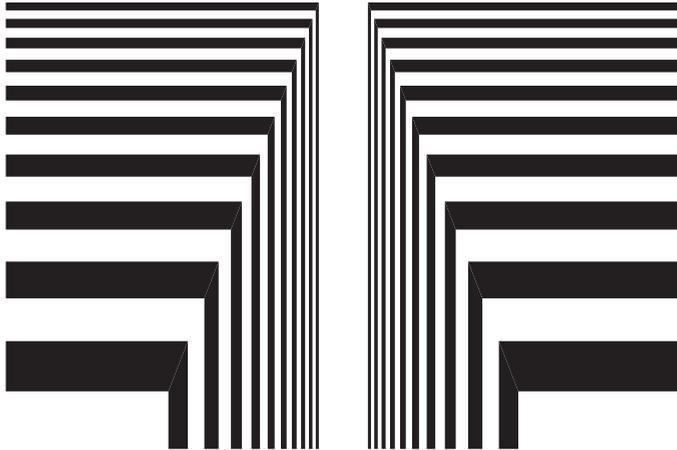
Take-down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Downloaded from the University of Groningen/UMCG research database (Pure): <http://www.rug.nl/research/portal>. For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to 10 maximum.

A New Political Divide?

*Political ideology and its
economic implications*



Maite D. Laméris

Published by
University of Groningen, Groningen, the Netherlands

Layout and cover design by
Design Your Thesis, www.designyourthesis.com

Printed by
Ridderprint B.V., www.ridderprint.nl

ISBN
978-94-034-1324-2
978-94-034-1323-5 (ebook)

© 2019 **Maite D. Laméris**

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system of any nature, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying or recording, without prior written permission of the publisher.



university of
 groningen

A New Political Divide?

Political ideology and its economic implications

PhD thesis

to obtain the degree of PhD at the
 University of Groningen
 on the authority of the
 Rector Magnificus Prof. E. Sterken
 and in accordance with
 the decision by the College of Deans

This thesis will be defended in public on

Thursday 14 February 2019 at 16:15 hours

by

Maite Dina Laméris

born on 15 October 1990
 in Groningen

Supervisor

Prof. J.H. Garretsen

Co-supervisor

Dr. R.M. Jong-A-Pin

Assessment Committee

Prof. C. Bjørnskov

Prof. J. de Haan

Prof. K. Kis-Katos

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I remember that about four years ago I had to decide whether or not to apply for a PhD. Somehow I found this a very difficult decision. On the one hand doing a PhD seemed to be a super challenging next step, on the other hand I was not sure whether working on an individual project for three years was really something for me. I could imagine that it might be lonely to do research, it seemed to be mostly individual work. And for the people who know me, it probably does not come as a surprise that this is not really how I would describe my ideal job. But, the opportunity to work on the topic of my choice proved to be decisive. I took the chance and went for it.

Now a bit more than three years after starting my PhD, I am very happy that I did. Time flew by. Time in which I learned quite a bit about myself, in which I was challenged to think outside the box, and in which I worked harder than I did before. I would be lying if I would say that none of my worries came true. As many others who did a PhD probably recognise, I went through some deep lows, although these were almost always followed by amazing highs. And sometimes it was indeed a bit lonely. But the people around me made this feeling go away quickly and made my PhD an experience I would not have missed for the world! This is why I want to take this opportunity to thank them.

First of all, I want to thank my supervisors, Harry Garretsen and Richard Jong-A-Pin. From the beginning to the end, I had the feeling you believed in my project, even when others did not. This gave me the confidence I needed to also believe I could do this. I very much enjoyed our regular meetings. You always gave me helpful and constructive comments, from which I could continue my work. I liked that you pushed me to write papers, not necessarily chapters for a thesis. This definitely led to one of these papers being published, and the others being either under review or ready to be send out for reviewing. It was also reassuring that you never seemed to worry about whether I would be able to merge these papers into a thesis. This felt as a vote of confidence, which I needed at times. Harry, your experience and ability to see the bigger picture made my thesis into what it is now. Richard, your critical eye definitely improved my thesis, and your enthusiasm about my projects and passion about doing research in general is contagious. It was an enormous pleasure working with you both.

I am also very grateful for all other academics that contributed to my thesis. Firstly, I want to thank professor Bjørnskov, professor de Haan and professor Kis-Katos for

accepting to be on my reading committee. Your comments were very insightful and benefitted my thesis to a great extent. I also want to thank Rasmus Wiese, Pierre-Guillaume Méon and Anne-Marie van Prooijen for their co-authorship. I really enjoyed working with you, exchanging thoughts and creating papers that are worth reading, if I may say so myself. I was inclined to think that doing research is individual work, but you showed me that it does not have to be. Thank you for making it teamwork. Pierre-Guillaume, I consider myself lucky to have crossed paths with you in Gargnano, which led to us working together. I appreciate that you invited me to Brussels and gave me the opportunity to present my work in a seminar at ULB. As a junior researcher, it was really exciting and I very much enjoyed my stay. I would also like to thank Adriaan Soetevent and Noémi Péter for their advice and guidance surrounding the experiment, and Oliver Herrmann and Nannette Stoffers for their excellent research assistance.

Next to those that academically contributed to my thesis, I also want to thank those that contributed to it in other ways. During my PhD, a tight-knit little community of GEM PhDs (and a few that were adopted as such) formed. Without these fellow PhDs I would definitely not have enjoyed these past three years as much as I have. Aobo, Bingqian, Joeri and Kailan, I really enjoyed working alongside you and hopping in your offices now and then to ask for your advice (and gossip a bit). And of course, thank you for always eating my home-baked cakes and saying they were tasty (even when I knew they were not). Charlotte, Jiasi and Romina, you were (and are) wonderful office-mates. Daan, Ferdinand, Johannes, Nikos, Stefan and Timon, I find you amazing people. Thank you for letting me cry in your office (Ferdinand, that's you), for telling me off when I am too curious for my own good (Nikos, this one's for you), for pretending to listen while I am explaining things you probably understand better (Stefan, that's for you), for sharing your stories with me and listening to mine, and for not only being my colleagues, but also my friends.

There are also people outside academia that I want to thank for being there for me during my PhD. Sanne, you always see the bright side of things, which made any obstacles I was facing seem smaller. The way you handle what life throws at you is admirable and helped me put my PhD-'problems' into perspective. Juliette, your creativity and sensibility are good counterparts for my rationality. It makes for conversations that make me look at things in a new light, which is both academically and non-academically really awesome to have. Nikki, I loved sharing PhD-experiences

with you, but I find it incredibly commendable that you chose to go in a different direction. Your courage is enviable and I hope to have just some of it when I decide about my next step. Amanda, I love how you always listened to me talk about models and variables without hesitation, and tried to make sense of what I was talking about. Thank you for having my back and being in my corner when I needed it most. And to the other Liefjes, your support and encouragement during these years were wonderful.

The last people I want to thank are my family, without whom I would not be where I am now. First my two big sisters, Lodi and Joran. You are an incredible support to me and without you these past years would have been a lot harder and a lot less fun. Your sisterly advice is always just a phone call away, and knowing this is sometimes already enough. I love how you reminded me to celebrate the ups, which I do not always do, and of course, how you then celebrated these with me. And I love how you helped me through the lows by simply listening and being there for me. Ger, your calm and collective attitude really helped me to stay grounded throughout this adventure. Your dry sense of humour always put a smile on my face, also when I did not really feel like smiling. And Anna, even though you will never be able to read this, I want to thank you for your part in making me become the person I am today. The support I get from all of you feels unconditional to me, which is an amazing feeling. Knowing that you are proud of me, makes me feel proud of myself.

Enough now with the mushy talk, doing a PhD and writing my thesis was really awesome. And even though I am a bit sad that I can no longer call myself a student, I am excited for what else is coming my way!

Maite

Groningen, November 2018



CONTENTS

11

1. Introduction

27

2. Political ideology and the
intragenerational prospect
of upward mobility

57

3. An experimental test
of the validity of survey-
measured political ideology

97

4. On the measurement
of voter ideology

133

5. How students' beliefs
and values vary across
and within disciplines

187

6. Conclusion

197

References

213

Appendix

229

Dutch summary /
Nederlandse samenvatting

