

# Wealth Inequality and Media Narratives: Exploring Redistribution Policy Debates on Taxation in German-Speaking Countries

Hendrik Theine (WU)

*Alexander Stäudelmayr (WU)*

*Magdalena Maad (WU)*

Andrea Grisold (WU)


Moritz Gartiser (Uni Duisburg-Essen)



A project funded by:  
*Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU)*



---



*The Puzzle:*

*Citizens seem to be in favour of public policies which are not in their favour?*

# Questions we are interested in



## How are wealth related public policies reported?

- What *narratives* are used to advocate or to discard wealth related taxes?  
How do they spread and shape the perceptions on economic processes and public policies
- Differences between news media outlets/ countries/ time
- Which values and norms underpin the narratives?

## **(collective) Economic Narratives** on wealth taxation

*“A collective economic narrative is a sense-making story about some economically relevant topic that is shared by members of a group, emerges and proliferates in social interaction, and suggests actions.”*

Roos and Reccius (2024, p. 12)

# Method

---

Newspaper articles [21 174]

STM - algorithmic  
based word clustering  
into topics [80]



Analysis of most  
relevant articles  
[~10 per topic]



Deduction of Narratives  
[10]

Underlying Value system

# Most prevalent Narratives

<b>Narratives</b>	<b>Story</b>	<b>Shared group belief</b>
<b>Dreamers &amp; Ideologists</b>	Wealth taxation is a purely ideological project and an irrational dream of leftist movements, politicians and trade unions with no sound basis in economic reasoning	Economic policy-making should be value free, only driven by objective facts and (supposedly) neutral economic reasoning
<b>Feasibility</b>	Implementing wealth taxes leads to unreasonably high (bureaucratic) costs and negative consequences for individuals, businesses and governments	State intervention should only be implemented if benefits outweigh costs

# Most prevalent Narratives

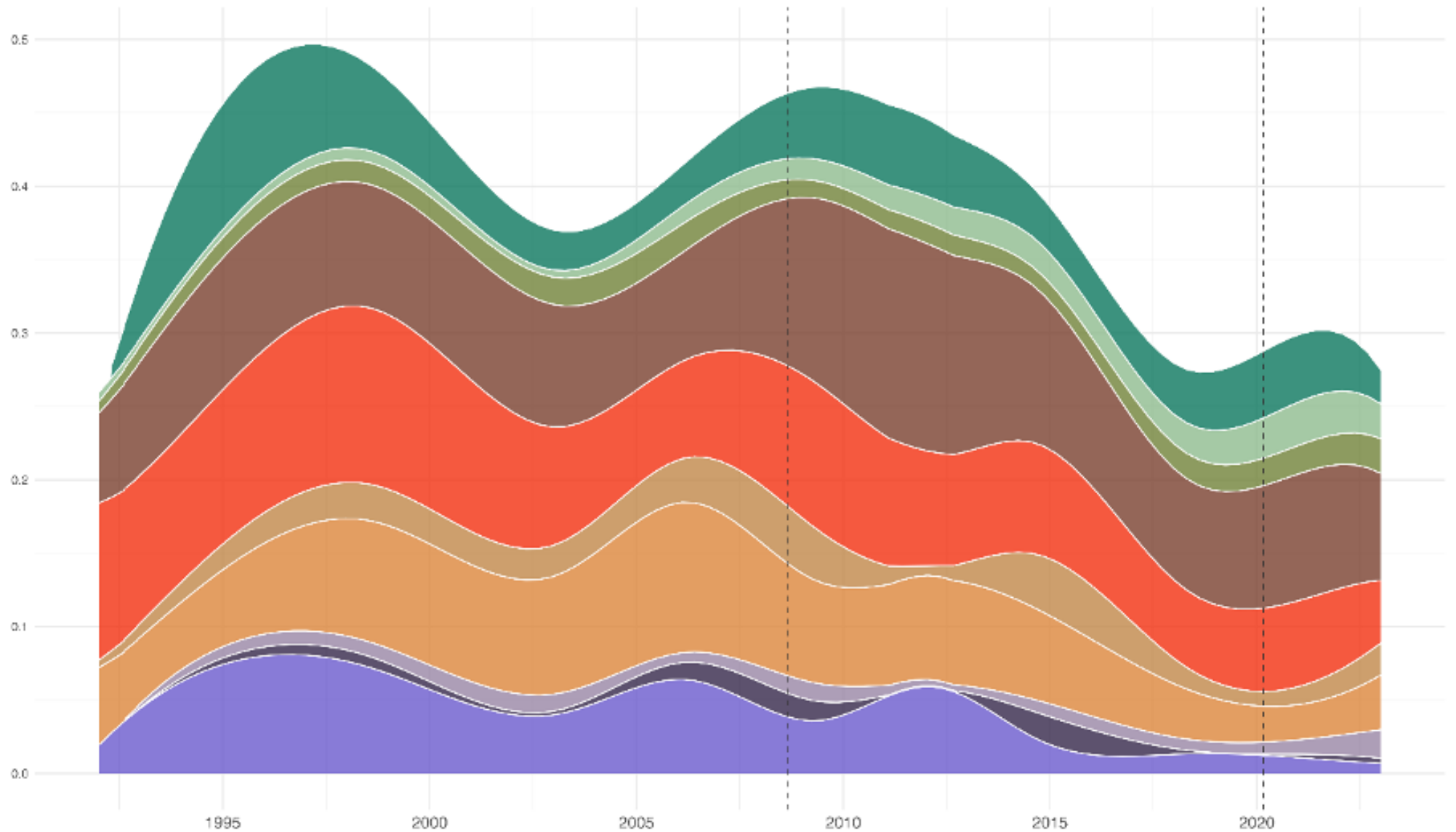
---

<b>Narratives</b>	<b>Story</b>	<b>Shared group belief</b>
<b>Marketeers</b>	Wealth taxation is inherently inefficient as it disrupts the market mechanism and thus leads to economic losses and macroeconomic harm	The market mechanism is the most efficient and fair coordination process of societies and thus superior to state intervention.
<b>A Fair Policy</b>	Wealth taxation increases equality and social justice as it tackles the unfair distribution of wealth between the rich and the poor	The social order and moral foundation of society are distorted and need to be restored by public policies

## News coverage of wealth based taxation

The impact of individual narratives relative to each other from 1992-2022

A fair policy   System Change   Feasibility   Marketeers   Double standards in tax law  
Data proven necessity   Dreamers & Ideologists   Keeping it in the family   It's the law, stupid!   Political bargaining

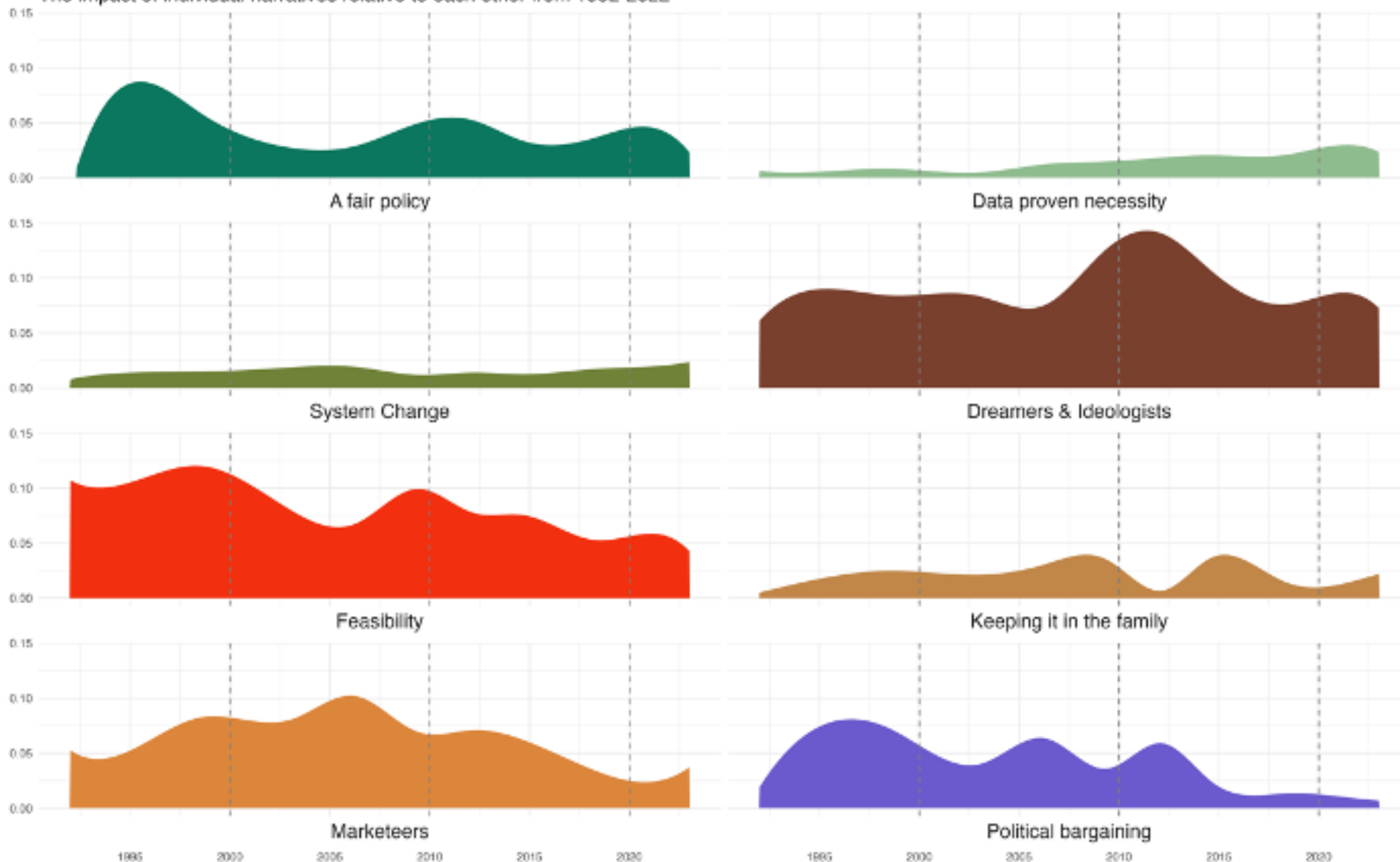


Significant bias in reporting, with anti-wealth tax narratives dominating the discourse



## News coverage of wealth based taxation

The impact of individual narratives relative to each other from 1992-2022



Data: DNE - Calculations based on 21 174 newspaper articles. green = progressive; red = economic liberalism; purple = neutral. Plot: @MagdalenaMaed

After 1990ies no considerable pro WT stances

Marketeers loses significant importance from GFC onwards ⇒ fading market confidence

Recent years Dreamers and Ideologists most relevant Narrative, warning against the ideological project of the left

# Wealth taxation narratives across countries and newspapers



- Austria: Der Standard and Die Presse reveals minimal differences in coverage of WT
- Germany: Pro WT narrative most important across country comparison
- Swiss: Political Bargaining not covered

# Conclusio

---

- Economically liberal narratives regarding wealth taxation prevail
- Accusations of ideology and doubt of feasibility represent the dominant narrative in newspaper reporting
- State skepticism is a recurring theme in most anti-wealthtax narratives
- Suggested actions do not go further than: "not more taxes..."

# Discussion

---

- How can we explain the absence of a nuanced discussion on wealth taxation in media?
- Why are left leaning policies facing the accusation of being ideologically driven and liberal/right-wing counterparts not?
- What are the implications for policy-makers changing the conversation around wealth taxes?

# Sources

- Dammerer, Q., Hubmann, G., & Theine, H. 2023. Wealth taxation in the Austrian Press from 2005 to 2020: A critical political economy analysis. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 47(3), 633–666. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cje/bead011>
- Dietze, P., & Craig, M. A. 2021. Framing economic inequality and policy as group disadvantages (versus group advantages) spurs support for action. *Nature human behaviour*, 5(3), 349-360.
- Emmenegger, P., & Marx, P. 2019. The Politics of Inequality as Organised Spectacle: Why the Swiss Do Not Want to Tax the Rich. *New Political Economy*, 24(1), 103–124. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2017.1420641>
- Epp, D. A., & Jennings, J. T. 2020. Inequality, media frames, and public support for welfare. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 84(3), 629-653.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2013. "Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Policy Studies." *Critical Policy Studies* 7, no. 2: 177–197.
- Grisold, A., & Preston, P. (Eds.). 2020. *Economic Inequality and News Media: Discourse, Power, and Redistribution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Grisold, A. & Theine, H. 2017. How come we know? The media coverage of economic inequality. *International Journal of Communication* 11:4265-4284.
- Grisold, A. & Theine, H. 2020. "Now, what exactly is the problem?" On the media coverage of economic inequalities and redistribution policies - the Piketty case. *Journal of Economic Issues* 54:1071-1094.
- Prabhakar, R. 2021. What are the Barriers to Taxing Wealth? The Case of a Wealth Tax Proposal in the UK. *Journal of Social Policy*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279421000891>
- Roos, M. & Reccius, M. 2023. 'Narratives in Economics'. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, June, joes.12576. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joes.12576>.
- Sawulski, J., Szewczyk, N., Rafalska, K., & Smółko, M. 2023. Business power against redistribution: The case of watered-down tax reform in Poland. *Business and Politics*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1017/bap.2023.3>
- Shiller, R. J. 2017. Narrative Economics. *American Economic Review*, 107(4), 967-1004.
- Shiller, R. J. 2019. *Narrative Economics: How Stories Go Viral And Drive Major Economic Events*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Theine, Hendrik/ Grisold, Andrea. 2020. Streitfall Vermögenssteuer. Defizite in der Medienberichterstattung. OBS-Arbeitspapier 43, Otto Brenner Stiftung (for Germany)
- Theine, Hendrik/ Grisold, Andrea. 2022. Die Medienberichterstattung zur Vermögens- und Erbschaftsbesteuerung in Deutschland; *Journal of Political Science* 32/1 2022 (The Media coverage of wealth and inheritance taxation in Germany)
- Ursula, D. 2021. Perceived Inequality and Political Demand Bias: Do the Media Influence Attitudes Towards the Wealth Tax?. *Available at SSRN 3964947*.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 2004. *From Text Grammar to Critical Discourse Analysis. A brief academic biography*. Program of Discourse Studies. University of Amsterdam.
- Wodak, Ruth, and Michael Meyer. 2009. *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.