Working Class Inclusion

Latin American legislators, like legislators worldwide, are drawn from a narrow set of elites who are largely out of touch with average citizens. Despite comprising the vast majority of the labor force, workingclass people represent a small slice of the legislature. Working Class Inclusion examines how the near exclusion of working-class citizens from legislatures affects citizens' evaluations of government. Combining surveys from across Latin America with novel data on legislators' class backgrounds and experiments from Argentina and Mexico, the book demonstrates citizens want more workers in office, and when combined with policy representation, the presence of working-class legislators improves citizens' evaluations of government. Absent policy representation, however, workers are met with distrust and backlash. Chapters show citizens have many opportunities to learn about the presence, or absence, of workers; and the relationship between working-class representation and evaluations of government is strongest among citizens who are aware of legislators' class status.

Tiffany D. Barnes is Professor of Political Science at the University of Kentucky. Her first book, *Gendering Legislative Behavior: Institutional Constraints and Collaboration* (2016), won the Alan Rosenthal Prize from the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association in 2017.

Yann P. Kerevel is Associate Professor of Political Science at Louisiana State University. He has published numerous articles in *Journal of Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Political Research Quarterly, Electoral Studies, and Latin American Politics and Society,* among others.

Gregory W. Saxton is Senior Lecturer of Political Science at Texas Tech University. His research has been published in *Governance*, *Political Research Quarterly, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Policy, Latin American Politics and Society*, and *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, among others.

Working Class Inclusion

Evaluations of Democratic Institutions in Latin America

> **TIFFANY D. BARNES** *University of Kentucky*

YANN P. KEREVEL Louisiana State University

GREGORY W. SAXTON *Texas Tech University*



www.cambridge.org



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009349802

DOI: 10.1017/9781009349833

© Tiffany D. Barnes, Yann P. Kerevel, and Gregory W. Saxton 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023 First paperback edition 2025

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data NAMES: Barnes, Tiffany D., author. | Kerevel, Yann P., author. | Saxton, Gregory W., 1986– author.

TITLE: Working class inclusion : evaluations of democratic institutions in Latin America / Tiffany D. Barnes, Yann P. Kerevel, Gregory W. Saxton. DESCRIPTION: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023015242 | ISBN 9781009349819 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009349833 (ebook)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Working class – Political activity – Latin America. CLASSIFICATION: LCC HD8076 .B39 2023 | DDC 322/.2098–dc23/eng/20230719 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023015242

> ISBN 978-1-009-34981-9 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-34980-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

| List of Figures | | <i>page</i> vi |
|---------------------|---|----------------|
| Li | ist of Tables | viii |
| Acknowledgments | | ix |
| I | Introduction | I |
| 2 | A Theory of Working-Class Inclusion | 27 |
| 3 | Do Citizens Want to Be Represented by Workers? | 53 |
| 4 | Will Any Worker Do? The Role of Policy in Linking Workers' Presence to Evaluations of Representatives | 92 |
| 5 | Will Any Worker Do? Linking Parties to Workers in Argentina and Mexico | 125 |
| 6 | How Do Citizens Know Workers Are in Office? Political Incentives Journalistic Dissemination, and People's Ability to Infer Class | , 154 |
| 7 | How Do Citizens Know Workers Are in Office? Interest in Politics, News Consumption, and Evaluations of Institutions | 182 |
| 8 | Conclusion | 204 |
| References Index | | 224 250 |

v

Figures

| 1.1 | Share of working-class legislators in Latin America | page 3 |
|--------------|---|--------|
| 1.2 | Percentage of working-class deputies | 13 |
| 1.3 | Percent of national deputies from each state who hail from | |
| | the working class, Argentina and Mexico | 15 |
| 3.1 | Perceived, preferred, and actual percentage of workers in office | 56 |
| 3.2 | Distribution of dependent variables across country-years | 58 |
| 3.3 | Distribution of dependent variables by country | 60 |
| 3.4 | Gender composition of legislators and citizens | 62 |
| 3.5 | Racial and ethnic composition of legislators and citizens | 65 |
| 3.6 | Correlation between working-class representation and | |
| | perceptions of representation | 68 |
| 3.7 | Working-class legislators and improved perceptions of | |
| | representation | 78 |
| 4 . 1 | How well deputies understand problems that people like you face | 96 |
| 4.2 | To what extent do deputies promote laws that benefit all citizens | 100 |
| 4.3 | Direct effect of descriptive representation | 108 |
| 4.4 | Direct effect of policy representation | 109 |
| | Joint effect of descriptive and policy representation | III |
| 5.1 | Percentage of working-class deputies over time | 145 |
| 5.2 | Working-class legislators and institutional trust in Mexico | |
| | and Argentina | 149 |
| 6.1 | Personal vote-seeking incentives across Latin America | 156 |
| 6.2 | Example from picture experiment in Argentina | 172 |
| 6.3 | Distribution of image classification | 173 |
| 6.4 | One sample t-test, correctly classified facial images | 173 |
| 6.5 | Average treatment effect of seeing a working-class picture | 174 |
| ' | Interest in politics in Latin America | 185 |
| 7.2 | Interest in politics and institutional trust | 186 |

vi

| List of Figures | vii |
|--|-----|
| 7.3 Conditional effect of interest in politics | 188 |
| 7.4 Share of respondents who consume the news in Latin America | 193 |
| 7.5 News consumption and institutional trust | 195 |
| 7.6 Conditional effect of news consumption | 197 |



Tables

| 2.1 | Summary of expectations | page 51 |
|-----|--|---------|
| 6.1 | Candidate biographies | 164 |
| 6.2 | Skin tone as a heuristic for correctly classifying facial images | 179 |
| 6.3 | Ability to identify workers | 180 |

Acknowledgments

This book project initially started as the result of conversations between the three authors at the 2017 Southeast Latin American Behavior Conference (SeLAB) held at Georgia State University. Early versions of Chapters 3 and 7 were presented at the 2017 SeLAB Conference, a portion of which was eventually published in *Political Research Quarterly* (Barnes and Saxton 2019). In 2019, another early version of Chapter 6 was presented at a SeLAB Conference at the University of Mississippi. We would like to thank the organizers of SeLAB – Ryan Carlin, Gregory Love, Jana Morgan, and Liz Zechmeister – for providing a wonderful environment in which to develop some of our initial ideas.

We have benefited enormously from comments received by numerous discussants as we presented various portions of the book at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association (2018, 2022), and the Midwest Political Science Association (2019). We are also grateful for the feedback received when we presented this work at Louisiana State University, the University of Chicago, the University of Texas – Austin, Rice University, and the 2019 Latin American Public Opinion Project Conference in Bogotá, Colombia.

Numerous individuals have graciously read portions of this book throughout its development and provided excellent feedback, including Milena Ang, Chris Chambers-Ju, Jana Morgan, Carew Boulding, Matthew Hayes, Wendy Hunter, Amy Lui, Noam Lupu, Nicholas Carnes, Kimberly Nolan García, Monika Nalepa, Diana O'Brien, and Jonas Pontusson. Sergio Bárcena Juárez provided comments on our survey, and we are grateful to his students at Tecnológico de Monterrey for assisting with the coding of skin color in our Chapter 6 experiment. Thanks to Chris Hanretty, Steve Voss, and Brian Hamel for advice on how to proceed when analyzing these data to evaluate correlations between individual-level attitudes and working-class representation

ix

x

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-34980-2 — Working Class Inclusion Tiffany D. Barnes , Yann P. Kerevel , Gregory W. Saxton Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

at the state/province level. Thank you to Delfina Aleman, Imanol Burgos, Florencia Tricio, and Emma Thyne for providing excellent research assistance. Additional thanks to Andrew Ascherl at Southwest Humanities for creating this book's index.

The surveys carried out in Argentina and Mexico would not have been possible without the support of the National Science Foundation and Gregory Saxton's Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant (SES-1747436). We are also grateful for the support received from the SEC Faculty Travel Program in 2019, which allowed the authors to work together at the University of Kentucky on some of the initial planning of the book after we completed our surveys. In spring 2019, while working on the initial draft of this book, Tiffany Barnes was the Greenleaf Scholar-in-Residence at the Stone Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane University. She would like to thank the Stone Center for Latin American Studies, especially James D. Huck, and the Center for Inter-American Policy and Research, especially Ludovico Feoli, for supporting her fellowship. Additional funding to complete the final draft of the book was provided by LSU's Provost's Fund for Innovation in Research.

We are grateful to Rachel Blaifeder for championing our research and seeing us through the publication process. We also owe special thanks to Sara Doskow for seeing the potential in our project and agreeing to send it out for review before her departure from Cambridge. Finally, we thank Jadyn Fauconier-Herry for shepherding us through the publication process. We are grateful to three anonymous reviewers at Cambridge University Press, who supported this project and gave us invaluable feedback for improving the work.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations have been carried out by the authors. Replication files for the principal analyses in Chapters 3–7 are available on Harvard's Dataverse (https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/6TC4BP).