

## Index

- Aldana Prieto, Ricardo, 28  
 Argentine Congress, 14, 27  
 autonomy  
   organized labor and, 130, 132, 139  
   union, 133–134, 137–142  
   working-class legislators and, 151–152  
   working-class politicians and, 113
- Bolivia, 2, 64, 75, 83, 104, 164, 168, 216  
   candidate-centered campaigns in, 40  
   workers in legislature in, 61  
   working-class women deputies in, 61
- Brazil, 59, 75, 76, 83, 157, 164  
   candidate class status in, 157  
   candidate occupational status in, 40–41, 44, 166  
   candidate personal brand/reputation in, 157, 159  
   candidate-centered campaigns in, 40  
   deputy biographies in, 163–165  
   external efficacy in, 59  
   party fragmentation in, 76  
   race in, 64–66  
   workers in office in, 11  
   working-class representation in, 11  
   working-class women deputies in, 61
- Bustos, René Alinco, 159–160, 165
- campaign finance, 218  
   reform, 214  
 campaign finance reform, 219  
 campaign material, 25, 41, 158, 162, 176, 183, 207  
   images of candidates on, 170, 171  
   public financing and, 219  
   candidate-centered electoral systems, 40, 43, 156  
 Central de Trabajadores de Argentina (CTA), 129–130, 136, 145  
 Chamber of Deputies (Argentina), 14, 144  
 Chamber of Deputies (Mexico), 14, 28, 144, 165, 171  
 Chile, 1, 64–67, 75, 76  
   deputies in, 159, 165–166, 168  
   political interest levels in, 184  
   working-class legislators in, 11  
   working-class women in, 61  
 citizen attitudes, 11, 20, 21, 38  
 class representation, 5, 155, 178, 198, 208, 212, 214  
   in Argentine legislature, 14  
 class-based candidate quotas, 215–217  
 clientelism, 19, 36, 42, 74, 161  
 Colombia, 76, 83, 164  
   clientelism in, 75  
   deputy biographies in, 166  
   income inequality in, 71  
   news consumption in, 192  
   personal reputations of deputies in, 157–159  
   race in, 64–66  
   women in office in, 63  
 Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT), 53, 130, 134–137, 141, 145  
 congressional job approval, 10, 57–59, 69, 80, 191–192  
 corruption, 101, 131, 139  
   perceptions of, 22, 48

## Index

251

- Costa Rica, 42, 61, 76, 157, 162  
   clientelism in, 75  
   news consumption in, 192  
   race and, 64  
   white legislators in, 64–67  
   women in office in, 61  
 crisis of representation, 1, 2, 11, 18, 23, 204  
 CROC, 133, 135  
 CROM, 133, 135  
 CTM. *See* Mexican Worker's Confederation (CTM)  
 democracy, 1, 19–20, 22–23, 26, 48, 70, 152, 204–205, 208, 211–215, 221, 223  
   in Argentina, 53  
   internal, 131, 132, 134, 139–142  
   level of, 73, 76  
   return to (Chile), 166  
   transition to (Argentina), 142  
 democratic norms, 1, 19  
 Deschamps, Carlos Romero, 28, 131  
 descriptive representation, 11, 21–22, 29, 32–34, 36–39, 48, 50–51, 79, 92–94, 103–104, 106–113, 130, 134, 152, 170, 187, 199, 206, 212, 219  
   blue-collar, 119, 121, 122  
   liberal critique of, 205, 211  
   of women, 31  
   working-class, 127–129  
*Directorio Legislativo*, 12, 44, 164, 166, 171  
 disenchantment, 1, 2, 20, 23  
 dissatisfaction, 19, 23, 26, 59  
 distrust, 2, 19, 51, 151  
 Dominican Republic, 59, 64  
   clientelism in, 75  
   political interest in, 184  
   race in, 64–66  
 Ecuador, 59, 76, 83, 163–165  
   clientelism in, 75  
   political interest in, 184  
   race in, 64–66  
   union density in, 89  
   women in office and, 61  
   working-class women deputies in, 61  
 El Salvador, 63–66, 75, 83, 160, 164  
   candidate biographies in, 169  
 electoral systems, 43, 73–74, 158, 163, 207, 214  
   candidate-centered, 40  
   mixed, 216  
   party-centered, 40, 42, 160–162, 181  
   elites, 18, 29, 56, 199, 204, 208, 211, 215, 218, 222  
   economic, 20, 99, 126  
   political, 1, 7, 18, 36, 170, 183  
   political party, 28, 36–38, 99  
   socioeconomic, 32, 91  
 ethnicity, 4, 21–22, 64, 155, 207, 210, 212  
   class and, 81  
   of working-class deputies, 24, 67  
   of working-class politicians, 38  
 evaluations of representation, 69, 93, 107–113  
   indexed measure of, 107  
 exclusion, 30  
   of the working class, 1–2, 18, 21–23, 29, 54  
   of working-class legislators, 10, 21, 209–210  
 external efficacy, 57–59, 69, 80  
   political parties and, 187  
 Flores Morales, Victor, 28, 131  
 formal sector, 8  
 gender, 4, 7, 21–22, 24, 38, 61, 79, 116, 210–212, 217–218  
   class and, 81, 207  
   representation, 155  
 gender quotas, 36–38, 211, 215–217, 220  
   in Latin America, 221  
 Gross National Income (GNI), 71, 146  
 Guatemala, 76, 83, 164  
   class backgrounds of legislators in, 155  
   clientelism in, 75  
   deputy biographies in, 166  
   news consumption in, 192  
   political interest in, 184  
   race in, 64–66  
   women deputies in, 63  
 Honduras, 76, 83, 164  
   clientelism in, 75  
   deputy biographies in, 166, 167  
   images of candidates in, 169  
   news consumption in, 192  
   race in, 64–66  
   working-class women deputies in, 63  
 incentives, 3–4, 40–44, 47, 55, 73, 142–143, 155–157, 159, 162, 181, 206  
   office workers and, 126  
   personal vote-seeking (PVI), 73–74, 161, 162, 207  
   political, 4, 25, 39, 204, 207

- incentives (cont.)
  - unions and, 17, 137, 140
  - for workers, 220, 222
  - for working-class legislators, 132, 222
  - for working-class representatives, 35, 217
- inclusion, 2, 31, 211, 221–222
  - of marginalized groups, 26
  - of women, 31, 214
  - working-class, 5, 9, 11, 20, 23, 24, 28–29, 35, 38, 50, 51, 92, 107–108, 111, 113, 204–205, 208, 215, 220, 223
  - of working-class legislators, 10
- India, 19
  - caste-based quotas in, 37, 217
- inequality, 1, 18–21, 23, 71, 204
  - economic, 1, 11, 17–20, 22, 71, 116, 177
  - income, 71, 214
  - political, 1, 20
- informal sector, 8, 91
- institutional design, 139, 205, 213, 217
- Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), 16, 35, 42, 55, 76, 116, 128, 127–128, 130–137, 139, 146–147, 151, 222
  - informal party quotas in, 38, 215
  - New Alliance Party (PANAL) and, 137
- institutional trust, 57–59, 69, 77, 126, 146, 149, 184–189, 194–196
- labor representatives, 1, 35, 36
- labor unions, 9, 16–17, 25, 53, 72–73, 128–130, 139, 144–145
  - Brazilian Workers' Party (PT) and, 222
  - corrupt, 113
  - democratization of, 36
  - deputies from, 128
  - internal democracy and, 140–141
  - labor reform and, 131
  - mestizos and, 67
  - neoliberalism and, 17
  - in non-democracies, 76
  - political affiliations and, 45
  - political parties and, 1, 35, 42, 55, 71, 128, 132–140, 145, 206
  - politicians and, 162
  - PRI and, 146, 151
  - union leaders and, 128
  - workers and, 142
  - working-class deputies from, 61, 101, 151, 191, 210
  - working-class representation and, 214–215
- Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), 4, 19, 24, 67, 90–91, 143
- AmericasBarometer*, 6
  - survey, 6, 18, 56–57, 59, 83–84, 146–147, 184, 192
- legislators, 4, 5, 7–8, 10, 21, 40, 42, 44, 69, 73, 87, 101, 163, 165, 169, 170, 176, 199, 213
  - blue-collar. *See* legislators, working-class
  - caste and, 37
  - class background of, 10, 14, 24, 34, 39, 44–47, 51, 74, 110, 162, 167, 176
  - class status of, 5
  - corrupt, 131
  - educational background of, 168
  - with labor union backgrounds, 182
  - labor unions and, 222
  - left-leaning, 71–72
  - men, 61
  - occupational background of, 11–12, 51, 57, 162, 167, 181
  - Swedish, 211
  - union-affiliated, 21, 36, 130, 140, 142
  - upper-class, 50, 51, 171, 174
  - white, 64
  - white-collar, 20, 54, 110, 113, 116
  - women, 38, 47, 61, 221
  - working-class, 1–12, 21, 24–25, 27–30, 33, 34, 36, 39, 47, 51, 54–55, 59–61, 64, 67, 71, 74, 76–82, 91, 93, 98, 108, 112, 113, 116, 126, 130, 143, 144, 146, 151, 154–158, 171, 174, 177, 181–184, 189, 190, 192, 205, 207, 209–210, 213, 214, 216, 218, 222
- legislatures, 6, 21–22, 37, 56–57, 146
  - Afro-Latin American women representatives in, 34
  - class backgrounds of legislators and, 110
  - class composition of, 155
  - descriptive representation and, 48
  - disenchantment with, 2
  - distrust in, 51
  - evaluations of, 3, 5, 10, 25, 50, 69, 93, 126, 144, 177, 183, 194, 199, 207
  - images of politicians and, 46
  - Latin American, 11, 18
  - marginalized groups and, 29, 61
  - national, 105
  - perceptions of, 77, 94
  - PR lists and, 216
  - provincial, 104
  - reforming bicameral, 218
  - representation and, 67
  - subnational, 104

## Index

253

- trust in, 74, 81, 126–128, 143, 146, 148, 151, 184, 189, 196, 199  
 US state, 69–70, 214  
 unions and, 73, 182  
 women and, 61  
 women in national, 39  
 workers in, 69, 81, 132, 216  
 working-class representation and, 213, 217
- legitimacy, 205, 221  
 democratic, 29  
 of democratic institutions, 31  
 of the legislature, 30  
 of policy outcomes, 111  
 political, 220  
 of unions, 141
- López Obrador, Andrés Manuel (AMLO), 131, 134, 135
- lotteries, 42, 214, 217, 221
- Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 2, 31, 157–158
- Macri, Mauricio, 27, 136
- marginalization  
 of women, 37  
 of workers and the poor, 21  
 of the working class, 2
- marginalized groups, 33–34, 36–38, 79, 110, 152, 205, 209, 219, 221  
 descriptive representation of, 107  
 doubly, 216  
 inclusion of, 26, 29–31, 208, 211, 214  
 politically, 91, 222
- Mazariegos, Rubén, 154–155
- Menem, Carlos, 136, 140
- Mexican Congress, 14, 128
- Mexican Worker's Confederation (CTM), 131, 133, 135, 137–138
- MORENA. *See* National Regeneration Movement (MORENA)
- Moyano, Facundo, 27, 141, 162
- National Action Party (PAN), 17, 137, 139, 147  
 national legislative websites, 163, 166  
 National Regeneration Movement (MORENA), 42, 104, 116, 131, 134, 135, 162, 218  
 news media, 39, 47, 50, 194, 205
- occupational socialization, 7–9
- OECD countries, 71, 72, 214
- oil sector, 16, 28
- PAN. *See* National Action Party (PAN)
- Panama, 75, 83, 164  
 race in, 64–66  
 women in office in, 63
- Paraguay, 59, 83, 105, 164  
 clientelism in, 75  
 race in, 64  
 working-class women deputies in, 61
- party leaders, 36, 127, 162, 205, 209–210, 220, 222
- PRI, 151  
 working-class representatives and, 133
- Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), 16, 131, 147
- party-centered electoral systems, 40, 42, 156, 161, 162, 181
- Peña Nieto, Enrique, 28, 151
- Perón, Juan, 14, 129, 133–134
- Peronism, 129, 134
- Peronist Party (Partido Justicialista, PJ), 35, 42, 55, 76, 116, 127–129, 132, 137, 146, 147, 215  
 informal quotas and, 38
- Peru, 75, 76, 83, 164, 168  
 candidate-centered campaigns in, 40  
 clientelism in, 42  
 indigenous deputies in, 66  
 indigenous women worker deputies in, 66  
 mestizo deputies in, 64  
 National Electoral Board (JNE) in, 166  
 working-class women deputies in, 61, 63
- policy representation, 4, 5, 32–35, 37–38, 50, 75, 93–94, 103, 104, 107, 111–113, 127–128, 150–151, 155, 192, 206–207, 221  
 working-class, 11, 17, 21, 24–26, 73, 82, 93
- policy responsiveness, 2–3, 17, 29–30, 32–33, 35, 93, 103, 106–113, 199, 200
- polycymaking, 1, 205, 211  
 inclusive, 51  
 process, 17, 29, 30, 110, 205, 208, 212
- political apathy, 29, 32
- political engagement  
 political interest and, 48–49  
 women legislators and, 221  
 women's, 37
- political information, 46, 49
- political interest, 5, 10, 25–26, 39–40, 47–50, 76, 147, 183–191, 194, 221
- political parties, 19, 23, 35–37, 40–42, 48, 51, 55–59, 67–69, 77–79, 84, 182, 214–215, 221  
 business leaders and, 218

- political parties (cont.)  
 citizens' perception of, 77  
 class and, 162, 207, 213–214  
 clientelism, 161  
 disenchantment with, 2  
 evaluations of, 3, 5, 10, 25, 67–69, 81, 183, 187, 194  
 external efficacy in, 187  
 fragmentation and, 75  
 gender and, 215, 216  
 identification with, 49  
 labor unions and, 1, 17, 72–73, 127–128, 133–134, 136, 138–140, 206  
 labor-based, 76  
 left-leaning, 70, 71  
 programmatic, 74, 214  
 role of, 82, 102  
 trust in, 19, 24, 36, 81, 134, 143, 146, 150–151, 183, 187, 199  
 wage earners and, 70  
 workers and, 28, 32, 206, 222  
 workers' ties to, 5  
 working class and, 82, 113, 126–127, 132, 151, 156–157, 160, 181, 205, 215, 223  
 working-class vote and, 33  
 poor, the, 1, 2, 20–21  
 coalitions of, 36  
 poverty, 1, 158  
 PRD. *See* Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)  
 preferences, 161  
 cultural, 46  
 policy, 2, 8, 18, 34, 70, 108  
 political, 7–8, 18  
 voter, 54, 108  
 working-class, 29  
 of working-class deputies, 154  
 for working-class representation, 24  
 PRI. *See* Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)  
 public sector unions, 9, 16  
*punteros* (political brokers), 42, 161  
 race, 4, 38, 45, 155, 207, 210, 212  
 class and, 81  
 legislators and, 21–22  
 of working-class deputies, 24, 64, 67, 79  
 representative institutions, 146, 215, 222  
 attachments to, 107  
 confidence in, 150  
 disillusionment with, 11, 18–19  
 evaluations of, 4–6, 21, 24–26, 32–33, 38, 47, 51, 54, 57, 69–70, 74, 76, 81–82, 93, 109, 126–129, 132, 143, 151, 155, 181, 184–187, 190, 199, 204  
 marginalized groups and, 110  
 perceptions of, 10, 56, 208  
 trust in, 28, 30, 59, 151  
 representatives, 4–5, 9, 30, 37, 47, 107, 137, 181, 212, 216  
 Afro-Latin American women, 34  
 caste, 37  
 class backgrounds of, 21–22  
 class status of, 177, 204  
 CTM, 138  
 descriptive, 32, 33, 36, 38, 211  
 evaluations of, 10, 24, 28–29, 50, 51  
 of FIT, 198  
 images of, 46  
 information about, 44  
 labor, 1, 35–36  
 labor union, 36  
 lower-caste, 217  
 peasant, 133  
 random selection of, 217–218, 222  
 symbolic representation and, 10  
 union, 137, 142, 150, 168, 215  
 upper-class, 2, 34  
 white-collar, 94, 112  
 women, 21  
 working-class, 2, 4, 7, 11, 12, 24–25, 35–36, 38–39, 47, 51, 61, 79, 81, 93, 101, 103, 108, 127–129, 131–135, 140, 143, 146, 148, 151, 190, 206, 217  
 shop-floor representation, 134, 142  
*Sistema de Información Legislativa*, 12, 45, 164, 165, 171  
 social media, 25, 46, 157–159, 162, 181, 207, 219  
 sociotropic models, 31, 91  
 substantive representation, 29, 35, 37–38, 48, 129, 220  
 Survey of Parliamentary Elites (PELA), 3, 5, 9, 44, 67, 71, 83, 86  
 data, 11, 57, 59–63, 210  
 symbolic representation, 10, 38  
 women's, 37  
 teachers unions, 16, 136, 144  
 transparency, 44, 139

*Index*

255

- underrepresentation
  - of the working class, 21, 29, 80, 214
- union density, 6, 70, 73, 89, 214
- upper-class deputies, 24, 54, 93, 95, 97–98
- Uruguay, 59, 64–67, 75, 76, 83, 160, 164, 169
  - income inequality in, 71
  - news consumption in, 192
  - political interest in, 184
- Venezuela, 2, 35, 76, 83, 164, 216
  - clientelism in, 75
  - race in, 64
  - union density in, 73
- visibility
  - of class status, 209, 211
  - of historically excluded groups, 219
  - of workers in politics, 82
  - of working-class politicians, 210
  - of working-class representatives, 39, 205
- women, 30, 79–80, 216–219
  - Afro-Latin American, 34
  - gender quotas and, 211, 215
  - inclusion of, 214
  - legislators, 47, 55, 61–64, 144, 209–210, 221
  - race and, 66
  - representation of, 22, 30–31, 37–39, 91, 206, 215
  - representatives, 21
  - voters, 37
- women's representation, 31, 61, 91
- working-class representation, 2–7, 9, 11–16, 24–26, 28–29, 38–40, 46–51, 67–71, 90–91, 94, 102–103, 143–145, 189–192, 194, 205–208, 213–214
  - Brazilian Workers' Party (PT) and, 11
  - campaign finance reform and, 219
  - campaign propaganda and, 198
  - citizen overestimation of, 55–56
  - citizens' perceptions of, 77, 93
  - evaluations of, 128
  - evaluations of democratic institutions and, 21, 210–212
  - evaluations of representative institutions and, 32, 73–74, 79–82, 151, 178, 181, 183–187, 192–194, 196, 200, 204
  - increases in, 38, 51, 54, 110, 126–128, 134, 156, 199, 204, 217–218, 222–223
  - institutional trust and, 194–196
  - MORENA and, 131
  - news consumption and, 196, 199
  - Peronist Party and, 129
  - political legitimacy and, 220