## Working-Class Mobilization and Political Control

Venezuela and Mexico

CHARLES L. DAVIS

## Contents

List of Tables and Figures vii

Acknowledgments xi

Index 201

1. State Capitalism and Mass Mobilization 1
2. Demographic Characteristics of Unions 22
3. Social Transformation and Political Incorporation 41
4. Mechanisms of Political Control 62
5. Patterns of Political Mobilization 82
6. Political Control and Participatory Motivations 99
7. Political Control and Electoral Mobilization 118
8. Political Control and Electoral Choice 129
9. Beyond Controlled Mobilization 156
Appendix A. Data Base for Study of Venezuelan and Mexicar Workers 165
Appendix B. Measurement and Scaling of Independent and Control Variables 167
Appendix C. Modes of Political Activity: A Varimax Factor Analysis 173
Notes 175

## **Tables**

- 2. Socioeconomic Characteristics of National Samples 36
- 3. Availability of Household Goods and Neighborhood Services 37
- 4. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Venezuelan Job Settings 38
- 5. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Mexican Job Settings 39
- 6. Mean Range of Annual per Capita Family Income for Mexican and Venezuelan Subsamples 40
- 7. Sectoral Distribution of Employment: Venezuela and Mexico, 1960 and 1979 55
- 8. Electoral Choice of Venezuelan Workers 83
- 9. Electoral Choice of Mexican Workers 84
- 10. Electoral Support for the Left by French and Italian Industrial Workers 85
- 11. Political Interest among Mexican and Venezuelan Workers 87
- 12. Indicators of Accommodative Attitudes toward Management 90
- 13. Reported Voting in Recent Elections 93
- 14. Campaign Activism among Mexican and Venezuelan Workers 95
- 15. Communal Activism among Mexican and Venezuelan Workers 97
- Labor Unions and the Acquisition of Motivations to Participate:
  Regression Analyses 105
- 17. Partisanship and the Acquisition of Motivations to Participate: Regression Analyses 109
- Performance Evaluation and Motivations to Participate: Regression Analyses 112
- 19. Worker Evaluations of the Performance of Recent Presidents 114
- Personal Resources vs. Other Determinants of Psychological Involvement in Politics: Regression Analyses 115
- 21. Alternative Processes of Mobilization for Voting: Mexico 121
- 22. Alternative Processes of Mobilization for Voting: Venezuela 122
- 23. Alternative Processes of Mobilization for Communal Activism: Mexico 126

- 24. Partisan Structuring of Performance Evaluations 131
- 25. Distribution of Party Loyalties: Mexican and Venezuelan Workers 133
- 26. Partisan Loyalty and Electoral Choice in the 1979 Mexican Legislative Races 134
- 27. Partisan Loyalty and Electoral Choice in the 1978 Venezuelan Presidential Election 135
- 28. Perceived Social Mobility, Retrospective Evaluation of Government Performance, and Electoral Choice in the 1979 Mexican Legislative Races: Standardized Regression Coefficients 138
- 29. Perceived Social Mobility, Retrospective Evaluation of Incumbent Performance, and Electoral Choice in the 1979 Municipal Elections and 1978 Presidential Election in Venezuela: Standardized Regression Coefficients 139
- 30. Percentage of Mexican Workers Identifying Parties with Correct Spatial Label 140
- 31. Percentage of Venezuelan Workers Identifying Parties with Correct Spatial Label 141
- 32. Type of Union Membership and Electoral Choice in the 1979 Mexican Legislative Races 144
- 33. Union Membership and Electoral Choice in the 1979 Mexican Legislative Elections: Standardized Regression Coefficients 144
- Type of Union Membership and Electoral Choice in the 1978 and 1979 Venezuelan Elections 145
- 35. Union Membership and Electoral Choice in the 1978 and 1979 Venezuelan Elections: Standardized Regression Coefficients 146
- 36. Determinants of Leftist Voting among Venezuelan and Mexican Workers 154

## **Figures**

- Interest in Politics, by Occupational Level and Employment Status, among Workers in the United States 88
- 2. Union Membership and Level of Concientización 104
- 3. Union Membership and Psychological Involvement in Politics 106
- 4. Political Party Affiliations as Determinants of Concientización 110
- 5. Political Party Affiliations as Determinants of Psychological Involvement in Politics 111
- 6. Political Parties and External Mobilization of Voters 123
- 7. Union Membership and External Mobilization of Voters 124