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Pink-Collar Representation and Budgetary Outcomes in US States

Legislatures worldwide are dominated by wealthy elites, who are often out of touch with the needs and problems of citizens. Research shows that the underrepresentation of the working class matters in terms of policy processes and outcomes. Yet the research on class has largely focused on blue-collar representatives, who are primarily men. Working-class women are more likely to hold pink-collar jobs, or low-status occupations dominated by women. We argue that pink-collar legislators are uniquely positioned to legislate over education and social service policy. To test our argument, we combine a new coding of working-class backgrounds that accounts for pink-collar representation with state spending data on education and social services from US states over time. Modeling compositional budget data, we find that class and gender intersect to shape policy outcomes via state budget allocations, with women's pink-collar representation associated with increased spending on both education and social services.

Members of the working class are descriptively underrepresented in political office (Carnes 2018). When present, representatives with working-class backgrounds shape policy outcomes, including supporting workers and labor policy (Carnes 2013; Carnes and Lupu 2015; O'Grady 2017). At the same time, the representation of women in political office has been shown to shape policy outcomes in profound ways, such as budget allocation and spending on women's issues (Clayton and Zetterberg 2018; Funk and Philips 2019; Holman 2014, 2015). Despite the centrality of class in defining legislators' priorities, evaluations of class advance an implicitly gendered definition of what it means to be a member of the working class. And, evaluations of women's substantive representation have largely ignored class, despite discussions of women's substantive representation being deeply rooted in discussions

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of the feminization of poverty (Holman 2015). We bridge research on class and gender representation in applying a new category of women's representation: pink collar, or those with experience in low-status, low-mobility jobs dominated by women (Mastracci 2004).

In the United States, occupations are highly sex segregated, with women making up to 90% of childcare workers but holding less than 5% of construction jobs (US Census 2016). While women increasingly work outside the home, occupational sex segregation remains consistently high, decreasing only 1% between 2000 and 2010 (Levanon and Grusky 2016). To demonstrate the importance of considering pink-collar occupational experiences in governance, we examine working-class representation in US state legislatures by gender. Building on work that shows how diversity in women's representation shapes legislative processes and outcomes (Brown 2014; Osborn 2012), we use occupational data (Hansen and Clark 2020) to present a new categorization of the share of seats in each state legislature held by pink-collar and blue-collar women and men. In doing so, we show that working-class women are nearly absent from political bodies when we look at traditional categorizations of working-class representation, but they are represented if we expand our definition to consider pink-collar occupational experiences. Moreover, we find that on average, all legislators are more likely to have pink-collar backgrounds than blue-collar backgrounds. Thus, by focusing on blue-collar representatives, the literature has been overlooking a larger class of legislators with feminized occupational experiences.

We argue that occupational socialization should generally shape preferences, such that pink-collar occupational experiences should result in those representatives having positive views of social welfare services and the expansion of the welfare state. As a result, pink-collar legislative representation should be positively associated with a greater share of state budgets allocated to education and social service spending by state governments compared to blue-collar representation. But occupational segregation itself is partially the product of career choices that individuals make because of gender-role socialization, which increases women's interest in communal-oriented careers and policies (Schneider and Bos 2019). We theorize that differential occupational experiences combine with sex segregation, gender-role socialization, and the feminization of poverty to mean that legislative representation by *women* with pink-collar occupational experiences should be

associated with education and social services policies receiving a greater share of the budget.

Following scholars who have found that women's representation in political bodies shapes spending outcomes (Bolzendahl 2011; Clayton and Zetterberg 2018), we leverage recent innovations in compositional data analysis (e.g., Funk and Philips 2019) to model the composition of budget expenditures in 30 US states over a 10-year period. We find robust evidence that the share of legislators with pink-collar backgrounds overall and specifically women with pink-collar occupations are associated with higher levels of spending on education and social services. These findings are robust to a number of model specifications including year-level and state-level fixed effects. Our results demonstrate the importance of gendered experiences in shaping policy outcomes and the continued centrality of gender-role socialization and class in US politics.

Class and the Impact on Representation

In the United States, occupation-based measures of class indicate that just over 60% of Americans are working class (Draut 2016). And yet, working-class citizens are largely absent from government decision-making bodies. Elected officials in both the US Congress and state legislatures are wealthier, better educated, and come from different career paths than average US citizens (Carnes 2013; Carnes and Sadin 2015; Hansen, Carnes, and Gray 2019). The vast majority of representatives in both the US Congress and state legislatures are from white-collar backgrounds—namely law and business (Bonica 2017; Carnes 2018). These patterns have not changed over the past 50 years (Zeller 1954) and extend to women and people of color (Silva and Skulley 2019).

Class disparities in legislative representation are important because class, education, and occupation shape representatives' legislative preferences and priorities (Hansen, Carnes, and Gray 2019; Lowande, Ritchie, and Lauterbach 2019; Micozzi 2018; O'Grady 2019). Legislators with working-class backgrounds have different policy preferences than their white-collar colleagues—particularly when it comes to economic issues (Carnes and Lupu 2015). In the United States, whereas white-collar legislators are more likely to devote their efforts to advancing policies focused on banking and finance, working-class representatives are more likely to introduce progressive economic proposals and to advocate for

labor and employment-related legislation (Carnes 2012). Further, roll-call data from US state legislatures demonstrates that working-class representatives prioritize constituents from the lower class and local businesses rather than big businesses, government administrators, and white-collar professionals (Carnes 2013). Research on Argentina and the United Kingdom (Micozzi 2018; O'Grady 2019) likewise finds that legislators advocate for workers in discussion of legislation and bill sponsorship. In sum, mounting evidence illustrates that the representation of working-class citizens is critically important for representational outcomes.

Gendered Conceptualizations of Class

Despite the centrality of class in defining legislators' priorities, research on class and representation advances an implicitly gendered definition of what it means to be a member of the working class. As a result, much of this research focuses almost exclusively on men. The occupational basis of class coding used in the majority of literature on working-class representation is at the core of this gendered conceptualization of class. In his path-breaking research on class representation, Carnes (2012, 2013) develops a coding scheme to operationalize the occupation-based conceptualization of class, categorizing occupations of congressional representatives into groups of farm owners, businesspeople, other private-sector professionals (e.g., doctors and architects), lawyers, service-based professionals (e.g., teachers and social workers), and workers (industrial, farm, and union). Recent research on class largely relies on legislators' previous occupational status (Barnes and Holman 2019; Barnes and Saxton 2019; Carnes and Lupu 2015; Kerevel and Matthews 2019) to determine who is and is not a member of the working class.

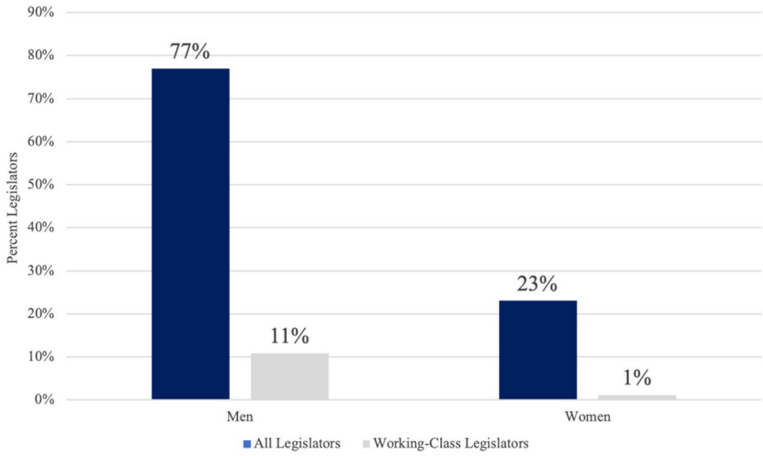
Occupation-based conceptualizations of class are fundamentally different from socioeconomic-based approaches to class (Carnes 2012; Kitschelt and Rehm 2014), and this distinction is imperative for understanding how class may influence policy representation *and* how class categorizations are gendered. In contrast to individuals' income or educational status, *occupational socialization* theory argues that how people earn a living defines their place in society (Manza and Brooks 2008) and that time spent in an occupation should shape political preferences and behavior (Carnes 2013; O'Grady 2019). As Manza and Brooks explain, "Workplace settings provide the possibility of talking about

politics and forging political identity, and work also provides a springboard for membership in organizations where class politics are engaged: unions, professional associations, business associations, and so forth" (2008, 204).

From a shared-experiences standpoint, occupational socialization means that members of a particular social class are more likely to have a distinct set of preferences and priorities. Members of the working class have lower incomes and insecure employment, rely more heavily on social services policies, and are more likely to be employed in the provision of safety-net policies. Gender, occupation, employment insecurity, social class, and use of redistributional services all correlate with preferences for social policy among voters (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Iversen and Rosenbluth 2006; Ondercin 2017). Legislators with working-class backgrounds have these same occupational socialization experiences, leading to different policy preferences than their white-collar colleagues, particularly when it comes to economic issues (Carnes 2012).

An occupation-based conceptualization of class is thus critical to our understanding of why and how class matters for representation. Yet, in practice, men disproportionately hold the occupations that previous research categorizes as working class. To illustrate this point, Figure 1 plots the share of men and women

FIGURE 1
Sharing of Working-Class Representatives in State Legislatures, 2012



state legislators who hail from "working-class" occupations (i.e., industrial, farm, and union) across 30 states (data from Hansen and Clark 2020; coded by the authors according to the structure developed by Carnes 2013).

A few patterns are apparent from Figure 1. First, as scholars of gender and politics have documented for decades, women are underrepresented in state legislatures, comprising about 23% of legislators in our sample in 2012, despite making up more than half of the population. Second, workers comprise about 12% of legislators in our sample, despite making up more than 60% of employed people in the United States. Third, within the low share of legislators from working-class backgrounds, men are far more likely than women to hail from working-class jobs. As the figure demonstrates, the gendered conceptualization of working-class legislators advanced in previous research results in the near exclusion of working-class women.

One possibility is that working-class women, facing marginalization on both their gender and their class, simply do not run for or hold political office (Crowder-Meyer 2018). Although women do face substantial barriers in seeking political candidacy, we do not think this explains the entire absence of women. Instead, we argue that working-class women *do hold political office,* but due to the gender-segregated labor market, women and men largely hold different working-class jobs. As a result, when scholars classify working class as those holding male-dominated blue-collar jobs, they exclude most working-class women. We expect that accounting for the gender-segregated nature of the labor force will show there are more working-class women in office than observed in Figure 1.

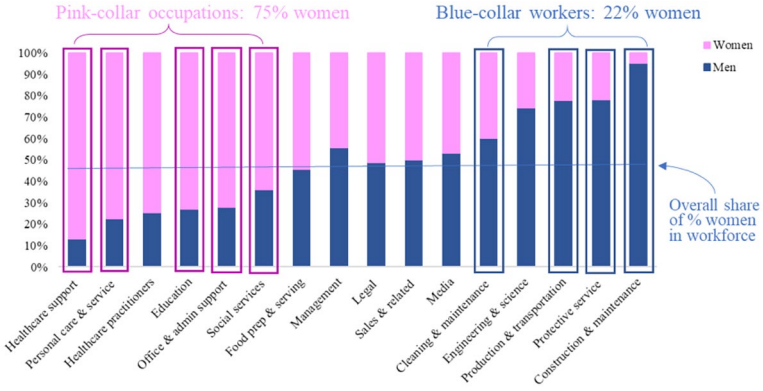
Where Are the Working-Class Women?

If we want to understand the implications of working-class representation more generally, and representation of working-class women more specifically, we must turn to the working-class occupations that are disproportionately occupied by women—what we refer to as pink-collar jobs. Analyses of women's labor-market segregation demonstrates that women are concentrated into a set of low-paying jobs that offer little career advancement (Mastracci 2004; Meier, Mastracci, and Wilson 2006). Generally, pink-collar jobs include occupations in social services, education, health support jobs,[1] personal care, and office administration. Blue-collar

jobs, by contrast, include male-dominated occupations such as those in transportation, manual labor, tradesmen, and police. As with blue-collar jobs, there is substantial variation in the level of prestige and earning power associated with the different pink-collar category and the educational requirements to hold these positions (Mastracci 2004).

Figure 2 plots the gender segregation in working-class occupations among citizens using data from the Census Bureau. The *x*-axis lists 16 common occupational categories and the share of men and women in each occupation nationally in 2016 on the *y*-axis. Pink boxes represent the occupations that are included in the "pink-collar" category, while blue boxes represent the "blue-collar" occupations. Occupations are coded as pink collar if women make up more than 60% of the employees in the category *and* the occupation is not considered white-collar, such as healthcare practitioners (e.g., doctors and nurses). We recognize, as with other categorizations of class-by-occupation (Carnes 2013), that specific jobs within these categories could be considered middle class, either by prestige or by income. For example, the education category includes teaching assistants (median wage: $22,919) and secondary teachers (median wage in 2015: $53,741), just as there are packers (median wage: $26,024) and boat captains (median wage: $77,409) in the production and transportation category (US

FIGURE 2
Population-level Gender Segregation by Occupation



Note: Data from 2016 American Community Survey, US Census Bureau. Pink boxes: occupations that we classify as pink-collar. Blue boxes: occupations classified as blue-collar. See Appendix A for detailed occupation information and median earnings by category.

Census 2016). Interestingly, the median earnings for those working in any occupation in pink-collar category was $37,760, compared to $35,160 in the blue-collar category, suggesting an overall similar earning profile for individuals in the pink-collar and blue-collar categories.

Women are concentrated into pink-collar jobs such as health-care support, personal care, education, office and administrative support, and social service jobs. Similar to Carnes' coding of workers, which accounts for 30% of all workers in the United States, these pink-collar occupations account for 27% of all workers in the United States. Despite a gender-segregated labor market, previous research has not considered the representational consequences of the near exclusion of women from blue-collar jobs or the overrepresentation of women in pink-collar jobs.

Why Does Pink-Collar Representation Matter?

Scholars have long documented that women's descriptive representation, or the presence of women's bodies in politics, can lead to women's substantive representation, or the articulation of women's interests in political discussions and outcomes (Pitkin 1967). The expectation for the descriptive-substantive link in women's representation is rooted in a gendered understanding of women's lived experiences and policy needs. Fundamental in these conversations are the ideas that women have some level of core interests, that women in political office offer an opportunity for those interests to be recognized as politically important, and that women's presence may change how political bodies function and how the population views those bodies (Barnes 2016; Holman 2015; O'Brien 2019; Osborn 2012). Yet, these expectations are based on an idea that all women equally share life experiences that will then translate into preferences, priorities, and outcomes in political office. As Bolzendahl (2011) cautions, women and men are "internally varied groups," and analyses that only consider entire gender categories obscure the extent to which groups' interests and goals differ.

We argue that pink-collar occupational experiences, particularly for women, should shape legislative behavior and priorities because of socialization via occupations, gender roles, and the feminization of poverty. Specifically, we expect that pink-collar representation will be associated with increased policymaking around social services and education. We examine these expectations via US state budgets.

Why might the representation of pink-collar workers in state legislative office shape budget outcomes? Our argument rests on occupational socialization, gender-role socialization, and the feminization of poverty. First, pink-, blue-, and white-collar workers are socialized via their occupations to empathize with members of their own occupational group. Because "people apply the kinds of reasoning, heuristics, and problem-solving techniques they learn and use at work in all realms of life" (Kitschelt and Rehm 2014, 1670), representatives with pink-collar backgrounds have a unique set of experiences that should lead those representatives to prioritize policies that will help other members of their occupational group. These differential experiences (Hasenfeld and Rafferty 1989) may influence blue- and pink-collar legislators' policy priorities, knowledge, expertise, and social and political connections, with pink-collar workers more interested in and supportive of safety net and social service policies. As such,

H1: We expect that as the share of pink-collar representation (whether men or women) in a legislative body increases, it will be associated with higher levels of budget allocation to social-service- and education-funding categories.

Second, sex segregation of occupations does not happen by accident, but is the product of social and political forces. Social role theory argues that gendered socialization patterns mean that women are socially trained, through internal and external rewards and punishments, to be more communal (Schneider and Bos 2019). This communality means that women are socialized to have more interpersonal skills and express more interest in the needs of others. In comparison, men are socialized to be agentic, which includes strong leadership, caring about prestige, and seeking power. Within this context, women in political office represent women's interests because they engage in both a policymaking process that replicates gendered social roles, that is, being more cooperative and collaborative (Barnes 2016; Holman and Mahoney 2018, 2019) and via the policies that they pursue, such as activism around children's issues (Poggione 2004; Swers 2002). Scholars have argued that such policy activism often emerges from women politicians' experiences in the private sphere, where they engage in more care work (Poggione 2004; Swers 2002). Women's high level of engagement with many of the pink-collar occupational areas

(like healthcare support and social services) both represents an outcome of social role theory and suggests that women in political office who work in these areas will have communal skills and interests in the creation of policies aligned with caring, social services, and the welfare state.

Finally, poverty in the United States is feminized, with women more likely to experience poverty at some point in their life, to live under the poverty line, and to receive welfare benefits, public housing, and income assistance (Abercrombie and Hastings 2016). Occupation shapes women's poverty, as temporary and low-wage work accelerates these experiences. And, women interact with these services as employees and service providers (Guy and Newman 2004). These experiences could then translate into legislative behavior, such that women in political office with pink-collar occupational experiences should be both more able and more willing to engage in policymaking to address the needs of those in poverty. The combination of occupational socialization, gender-role socialization, and the feminization of poverty combine to inform the following:

H2: We expect that women's pink-collar representation will be associated with higher levels of budget allocation to social-service- and education-funding categories.

Analyzing State Budget Allocation

To test our hypotheses, we use budget-allocation data from 30 state legislatures over an 11-year period for a total of 308 legislative sessions. Our dependent variable is assembled from the US Census Annual Survey of Government Finance from 2004 to 2015. This data includes information on major revenue and expenditure categories for each state in current dollars for a given fiscal year (Appendix A in the online supporting information).

Budgeting is a basic and essential function of government because when unfunded, policies have little effect on society. State legislators often conclude: "The budget is the most important thing we do at the legislature" (Berman 2004, 5). In deciding how to analyze state budgets, it is important to consider the data-generating process. The governor proposes a balanced budget to the legislature. Then, the legislature bargains over the distribution of

finite resources to decide how to allocate funds, revises budget, typically by moving money around, and then sends it back to the governor.

Importantly, state budgets are finite pots of money. Once the governor has determined the overall size of the budget, legislators are largely limited to the total amount of funding. And, unlike in Congress, states must balance their budgets. Thus, increasing the budget in one category means legislators must decrease the budget in another category. This results in what Flanders (2017) refers to as a "tug-of-war" over resources. Put differently, for one slice of the pie to increase, another must get smaller. Headlines about state legislatures during budget season help illustrate this point. In Texas: "Everyone wants a piece of the Texas budget. It's hard to succeed when most of the money is accounted for."[2] In Illinois: "Nursing homes hopeful for a piece of the pie."[3] And in Wisconsin: "Wisconsin School Districts Vie for a Piece of the Pie in Next State Budget."[4]

So, how do rank-and-file legislators influence budget allocation? Legislators can propose amendments to the budget, influence debate, and negotiate for their top priorities to receive funding. State legislatures generally are more collegial and compromising than the US Congress, and they still use earmarks as a tool to foster compromise across party lines. Even members of the minority party have opportunities to influence the state budget through meaningful debates and in committees as "minority party members who serve on budget committees have more influence on the budget than the public sees" (NCSL 2018, 8). Indeed, legislators who serve on budget-review subcommittees with jurisdiction over specific policy areas have disproportionate influence over budget outcomes. Previous research finds that state legislatures "tap the talents" of representatives by stacking committees with people who have occupational experience relevant to jurisdiction (Hamm, Hedlund, and Post 2011) and that women are disproportionately assigned to committees associated with "women's issues," such as education, healthcare, and social services (Provins 2019). While we cannot explicitly test committee assignments of pink-collar workers, we expect that these assignments might lead to pink-collar legislators having some control over education and social services funding in the budget.

Given the ways that legislators can influence budget allocation, it should not be surprising that research has found that women make a difference in government-spending allocations (Bolzendahl 2011; Courtemanche and Green 2017). Just as women

mayors (in the United States and in Brazil) spend more on social services when they have the opportunity to set the budget agenda by making the first proposal (Funk and Philips 2019; Holman 2015), women legislators are also associated with greater government expenditures being directed towards public health policies (Clayton and Zetterberg 2018).

As there are finite resources, increasing the budget allocation for education or social services means decreasing the budget allocation for some other category (Lipsmeyer, Philips, and Whitten 2017). We do not believe that increases on education achieved by pink-collar workers will come at the expense of social services or vice versa. Instead, we expect increases in education and social services to come at the expense of other budgetary categories such as transportation, administration, or public safety. To account for these trade-offs, we consider how each of the categories increase or decrease relative to one another. Specifically, we code the dependent variable to include five separate categories, with the five components of each budget summing to 1 or 100% in each given state year: education, social services, transportation and infrastructure, public safety, and government administration (Appendix A in the online supporting information). From 2004 to 2018, state governments allocated 18% of total expenditures to education, 37% to social services, 11% to transportation, 5% to public safety, and 29% to administrative and miscellaneous expenditures.

Given the compositional nature of our dependent variables, which are bounded (i.e., each proportion of the budget falls between 0 and 1 such that all of the different categories sum to 1 or 100%) and the correlation in the errors between the different categories of the budget (i.e., as one category of the budget share increases another budget category must, by definition, decrease), we follow Tomz, Tucker, and Wittenberg (2002) and convert our dependent variables to an unbounded scale using a multivariate logistic transformation. For the budget categories, we calculate the natural log of the share of each category relative to the "transportation" category (i.e., the baseline or comparison group) for each state *i,* year *j* such that:

$$\begin{aligned} Y_i = [&\ln\left(\text{Education}_{ij}/\text{Transportation}_{ij}\right), \\ &\ln\left(\text{Social Services}_{ij}/\text{Transportation}_{ij}\right), \\ &\ln\left(\text{Public Saftey}_{ij}/\ \text{Transportation}_{ij}\right), \\ &\ln\left(\text{Admin. \& Misc}_{ij}/\ \text{Transportation}_{ij}\right)]. \end{aligned}$$

After transforming the dependent variables, we model the log ratios for our dependent variables as a linear function of our independent variables using a seemingly unrelated regression to account for the correlation in the error terms between the models for each budget category.

Measuring Pink-Collar Representation

Employing our new measure of women's working-class experiences, which accounts for the gender-segregated nature of the labor market, we expect to find some share of pink-collar women in state legislatures. Given the dramatic underrepresentation of working-class legislators, combined with the overall underrepresentation of women legislators, we anticipate that pink-collar occupational backgrounds would also be underrepresented among legislators, but that women will be far more likely to have pink-collar occupational backgrounds than blue-collar backgrounds.

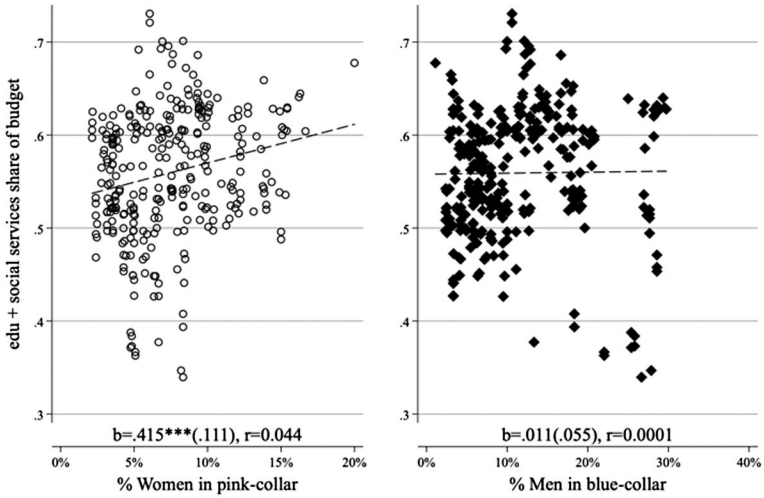
To evaluate these trends, we develop a new dataset that includes the share of legislators with blue- and pink-collar backgrounds across 30 state legislatures. We define pink-collar backgrounds as any nonwhite collar occupation where women comprise 60% or more of the employees, based on population-level data. Our pink-collar category includes the occupational categories noted in Figure 2: healthcare support, personal care and services, education, office administration and support, and social service occupations. Eight percent of our pink-collar legislators fall in the healthcare support category, 4% in personal care, 62% in education, 4% in administration, and 27% in social services (Table A2 in the online supporting information). Our blue-collar category includes cleaning and maintenance, production and transportation, and construction and maintenance, as well as anyone who lists a union background (Table A3 in the online supporting information presents a full list of jobs in each category).

As we would expect, there are far fewer pink- and blue-collar representatives than in the general population. *Seven percent* of all the legislators in our sample have blue-collar backgrounds and *16%* have pink-collar backgrounds. While the overwhelming majority of the legislators in our data do not have working-class backgrounds (consistent with Carnes 2012, 2013), all legislators are more likely to have pink-collar backgrounds than blue-collar backgrounds.

There are also important gender differences across working-class backgrounds. Whereas 12% of men legislators have a blue-collar background, only 1% of women do. Given that women are dramatically underrepresented in state legislators (only holding a quarter of seats), less than 7% of blue-collar legislators are women. Whereas blue-collar women legislators are virtually nonexistent, pink-collar women legislators are far more common. Thirteen percent of men and 23% of women held pink-collar jobs. Men are slightly more likely to come from pink-collar backgrounds than from blue-collar backgrounds, likely because teachers serve as a more consistent recruitment pool than do most manual labor professions. Indeed, in places like Oklahoma, where 22% of legislators are described as pink-collar men; the majority of these legislators are teachers.

Figure 3 graphs the correlations between pink-collar women legislators (left panel) and blue-collar men legislators (right panel) representation and the share of the budget allocated towards education and social services. The correlation depicted in the figure suggests a positive relationship between women's pink-collar

FIGURE 3
Women's Pink-Collar vs Men's Blue-Collar Representation and Relationship to Education and Social Service Share of Budget



Note: Pink and blue-collar collar calculated by the authors. Share of budget is simply percentage of budget dedicated to education and social services in any given year. Line is bivariate regression slop.

representation and budget allocation towards education and social services. By contrast, men's blue-collar representation and budget allocation towards education and social services are not significantly correlated.

Control Variables

To understand the relationship between pink-collar representation and budget outcomes, we also control for a number of factors that may explain both the share of the budget allocated towards education and social services and pink-collar representation (descriptive statistics available in Table A4 in the online supporting information). Women's overall representation (Funk and Phillips 2019) and working-class representation (Carnes 2012) may influence government spending priorities. The factors that structure the access of women and workers to office may also shape pink-collar citizen's numeric representation. We control for the *percent women* and *blue-collar representation* in the legislature in that year. Next, states with more women in the labor force may have a higher supply of pink-collar women to run for office, and women's labor force participation could shape how the state legislature allocates spending; we control for the percentage of *women in the labor force* by year and state. Higher levels of GDP may be associated with more social service and education funding, and *GDP* correlates with working-class representation; we thus control for each state's yearly GDP. The presence and strength of unions may likewise influence both the recruitment of pink-collar workers into politics and the agitation for spending on education and social services. We control for *unionization*: the percentage of workers who are represented by a union in the state-year. We control for *unemployment*, *poverty rates*, and *labor-force participation* to capture the need for these policies (Rigby and Wright 2013). Given that poverty is racialized, we account for racial disparities in the state by controlling for share of *non-white residents in poverty.*

We likewise control for features of the state legislative body itself. To account for the effects of governorship ideology on budget outcomes (Lipsmeyer et al. 2017) and that pink-collar women may be more likely to be elected in elections where Democrats fair better, we also include *Democrat governor* and *Democratic legislative control*.[5] Institutional factors may also structure working-class citizen's chances of holding office (Carnes 2016) and create more

opportunities for shifts in budget priorities. We account for state legislative *professionalization* (Squire 2017) and *term limits*.

Given that legislators who served at time t created the budget for time $t + 1$, we measure our independent variables in the year prior to the budget allocation such that pink-collar representation in 2003, for example, is used to predict budget allocation in 2004.

Explaining Pink-Collar Legislators and Budget Allocation

To evaluate our expectations, we analyzed two sets of seemingly unrelated regressions.[6] Model 1 (Table B1) accounts for the share of *all* pink-collar workers and Model 2 (Table B2) accounts for the share of *women* pink-collar legislators to gauge the extent to which it is a combination of gender-role socialization and occupation that shapes policy preferences. The two different models are necessary to consider given that men account for a sizable share of pink-collar legislators: 62.16% are men, and 37.84% are women (see Table C1 in the online supporting information). Recall the dependent variable for each of these models is the log ratio between each category and transportation. As such, a positive (negative) coefficient indicates that as the variable increases (decreases) the share of expenditures distributed to a given category also increases relative to transportation—not relative to the overall budget. In addition, the size of the coefficient tells us about the log ratios and not about the overall budget share. Combined, these two features mean that the coefficients cannot be interpreted directly from model estimates (See Tables B1 and B2 in the online supporting information for coefficients).

We are not interested in log ratios or how the budget moves relative to transportation specifically; instead, we want to understand the share of the budget as compared to the overall budget. To assist with the interpretation, we apply the inverse logistic function to transform the log ratios into shares of the overall budget (Tomz, Tucker, and Wittenberg 2002). Then we simulate the change in the expected value for each budget category when each variable in our model increases from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean while all other variables are held at their mean/mode (King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000). The change in expected values are recorded in Table 1 (top-pane: Model 1: All Pink-Collar; bottom-pane: Model 2: Pink-Collar Women).

TABLE 1
Change in Expected Spending Share Across Categories

Variables	Education	Social Services	Public Safety	Transportation	Admin & Misc.
Model 1: All Pink-Collar					
Pink-Collar	0.398	3.494*	−0.071	−1.506*	−2.289*
Percent Women	−0.478	0.337	0.687*	0.727	−1.314*
Blue-Collar	−0.299	−6.088*	0.441*	4.398*	1.565*
Model 2: Pink-Collar Women					
Pink-Collar Women	1.064*	2.423*	0.939	−1.802*	−0.611*
Percent Women	−1.581*	−1.689*	0.631*	1.666*	0.988
Blue-Collar	−0.714	−7.668*	0.445*	5.123*	2.768*

Note: Columns show the change in expected spending level when each continuous variable increases from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean. Change in expected values are calculated based on the results in Tables B1 and B2.

*Indicates the change in expected value is significant at the 95% confidence level.

A positive value indicates that an increase in a given variable from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean is associated with an increase in spending allocated to a given category. Negative values indicate the opposite.[7] For example, the second row of Table 1 indicates that as pink-collar representation increases from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean, there is no significant increase in education spending, but there is an increase in social services spending. That is, as pink-collar representation increases from 12.47% (one standard deviation below the mean) to 26.01% (one standard deviation above the mean), state legislatures allocate 3.49% more of their overall budget to social service spending.

The bottom of Table 1 shows that an increase in women's pink-collar representation is associated with an increase in spending for both education and social services. Specifically, as women's pink-collar representation increases from one standard deviation below the mean (3.82%) to one standard deviation above the mean (10.91%), education spending increases from 9.47% to 10.53%: a 1.06% increase. Likewise, social services spending rises from 19.62% to 22.15%: a 2.42% increase. Meanwhile, spending on transportation and administration and miscellaneous declines.

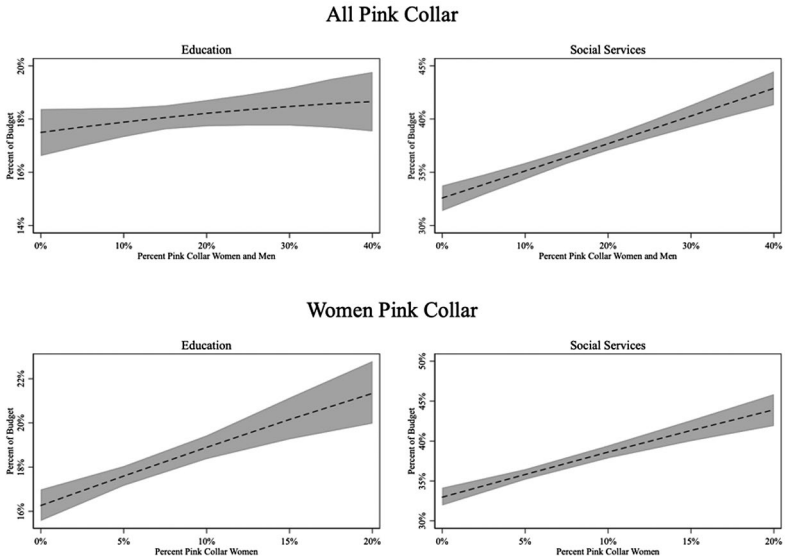
To better illustrate the magnitude of the results across the entire range of pink-collar representation, we calculate the predicted values for all five of the budget categories across the range of pink-collar representation (while all other variables are held at their mean or mode) and plot the results in Figures 4 and 5.

All Pink-Collar Representatives

We start with the relationship between all pink-collar representation and education (top left) and social service (top right) expenditures, with results plotted in the top panel of Figure 4, which presents the predicted value of each budget category on the *y*-axis and the share of all pink-collar legislators (women and men) on the *x*-axis. The relationship between pink-collar representation and education is positive but insignificant: increases in pink-collar representation are not associated with statistically significant increases in the share of the budget allocated to education.

Pink-collar representation is, however, associated with higher levels of spending on social services. Specifically, as pink-collar representation increases from 0% (the minimum in our sample)

FIGURE 4
Pink-Collar Representation and Education and Social Service Expenditures



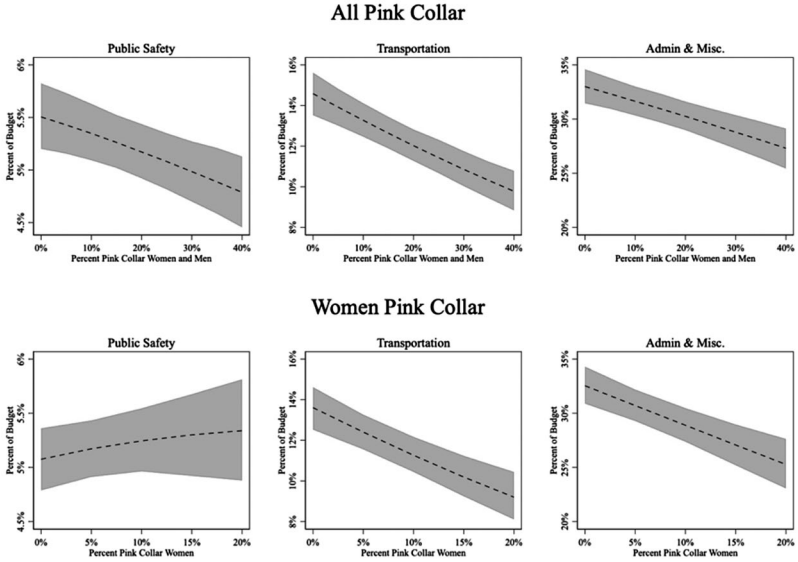
Note: Figure plots the expected level of spending (based on 1000 simulations) for each category (with 84% confidence intervals) as pink-collar representation moves from the sample minimum to the sample maximum. while all other continuous variables are held at their mean and dichotomous variables are held at their mode. The expected values plotted in the top and bottom panels are based on the results reported in Tables B1 and B2, respectively.

to 38% (the maximum in our sample), the expected share of the budget that is allocated to social services increases from 32.56% to 42.32%, almost a 10% increase. This change represents a major shift in spending priorities and provides partial support for Hypothesis 1, the expectation that increases in pink-collar representation (whether men or women) is associated with higher levels of budget allocation to social services.

Women Pink-Collar Representatives

Next, we examine whether women who come from pink-collar backgrounds are more likely to prioritize these areas. The bottom panel of Figure 4 indicates that increases in women's pink-collar representation is associated with increases in both education

FIGURE 5
Pink-Collar Representation and Public Safety, Transportation, and Administration Expenditures



Note: Figure plots the expected level of spending (based on 1000 simulations) for each category (with 84% confidence intervals) as pink-collar representation moves from the sample minimum to the sample maximum. while all other continuous variables are held at their mean and dichotomous variables are held at their mode. The expected values plotted in the top and bottom panels are based on the results reported in Tables B1 and B2, respectively.

and social services spending. With respect to education spending, we observe that an increase in women's pink-collar representation from the sample minimum (0%) to the sample maximum (20%) is associated with a statistically significant increase from 16.39% to 21.31%. This 4.93% increase in education spending is not a negligible change in the allocation of funding. For example, when North Carolina increased its 2017 education budget by only 2.7%, teachers and education advocates considered this a hard-fought victory (Bonner 2017).

The relationship observed between social services spending and pink-collar representation is even more pronounced. The bottom-right panel of Figure 4 indicates that as women's pink-collar representation rises from 0% to 20%, social service increases from 32.81% of the budget to 43.98% of the budget—a 11.17% boost in the portion of the budget allocated to social services. This

represents a substantial increase in the share of the social service budget, providing support for Hypothesis 2.

Figure 5 (which plots the changes in spending for the public safety, transportation, and public administration and miscellaneous categories) indicates that increases in education and social services spending comes from spending on transportation and the administrative and miscellaneous category. That is, increases in education spending do not come at the cost of social services and vice versa. Instead, as spending on education and social service policies increase, spending on transportation and administrative and miscellaneous decline.

As with the total level of pink-collar representation, women's pink-collar representation is not associated with a significant increase in funding for public safety. Women's pink-collar representation is, however, associated with a decrease in the transportation and administrative and miscellaneous categories. An increase in women's pink-collar representation from 0% to 20% is associated with a 4.82% decrease in transportation spending and an 11.39% decrease in the administrative and miscellaneous category.

Other Factors Explaining Spending

Critically, the relationships observed between women's pink-collar representation and funding for education and social services is independent of women's numeric representation and of men's blue-collar representation.[8] With respect to women's representation, the results in the bottom of Table 1 indicate that once we account for women's pink-collar representation, women's numeric representation more generally is associated with a statistically significant *decrease* in both education and social service spending relative to transportation. Research often has divergent findings about whether women's representation matters for policy outcomes. For example, whereas Funk and Philips (2019), Funk (2015), and Holman (2015) find that women mayors shape budget outcomes, Ferreira and Gyourko (2014) do not find effects from electing a woman. Our results speak to this debate in the gender and politics literature, whereby the heterogeneity of women in political office might obscure the effects of how electing *some* women will shape policy, but not necessarily *all* women.

These analyses make clear that pink-collar and blue-collar interests diverge from one another in important ways. Indeed, even

though our finding for pink-collar representation is independent of blue-collar representation, our results also suggest blue-collar representation is crucial for working-class representation. Consistent with previous research that shows working-class representatives have distinct policy preferences and priorities (Carnes 2012), the results in Table 1 indicate that blue-collar representatives have clear implications for budget allocation. As men's blue-collar representation increases from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean, social services spending decreases from 40.49% to 34.43% (Model 1: All Pink-Collar), but transportation spending increases from 8.83% of the total budget to 13.23% of the total budget. Given that transport industries make up a large portion of blue-collar workers, this finding is consistent with views of occupational socialization and representation.

Our results indicate that blue-collar representation and pink-collar representation are both central to political outcomes. Importantly, however, these two groups represent different interests based on their distinctive backgrounds and experiences. Whereas pink-collar representatives are more likely to prioritize education and social services, blue-collar representatives prioritize transportation. It is thus imperative for the representation of working-class citizens that legislators come from both blue-collar and pink-collar backgrounds.

Our results hold even when we account for partisan dynamics. Although Democratic governors are associated with an increase in spending on education and social services, a Democratic-controlled legislature is not (Tables B1 and B2), even when we do not control for legislators' occupations (Table C7). Still, it is possible that the relationship observed between pink-collar representation and spending is driven in part by the partisan characteristics of pink-collar representatives. Indeed, given the compositions of the two political parties in the United States (and the values/priorities of pink-collar representatives), it should not be surprising that pink-collar representatives (especially pink-collar women) are much more likely to be members of the Democratic Party. Of all legislators in our sample, 11.5% are pink-collar Democrats, and 7.2% are pink-collar Republicans. Of all legislators, 4.9% are pink-collar Democratic women, and 2.3% are pink collar Republican women (Table C1 in the online supporting information). Even though most pink-collar representatives are Democrats, most Democrats are not pink-collar representatives. Parsing the results

by party, Democratic pink-collar representation (and Democratic women's pink-collar representation) is associated with increased spending on education and social services (Tables C3–C6). A negative relationship between Republican pink-collar spending on education and a null relationship for social services suggests further partisan dynamics. Republican women's pink-collar representation is not significantly associated with spending. Given the low number of pink-collar women Republicans (less than 3% of all legislators), we are unable to determine if the insignificance is due to power (there are not enough Republican women) or the lack of a relationship.

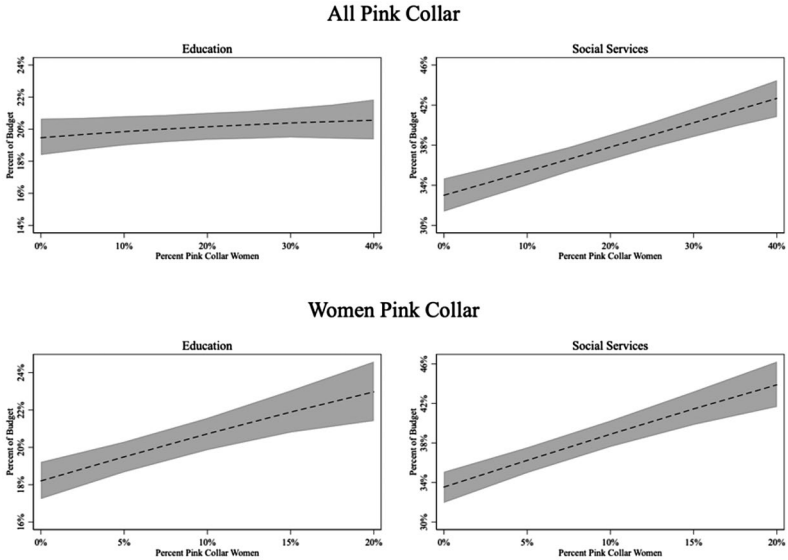
In sum, the findings presented here provide strong support for our expectations that women from pink-collar backgrounds advance different legislative preferences and priorities than (1) white-collar women, (2) blue-collar men, and even (3) pink-collar men. We provide support for the theories that class (Carnes 2013, 2012; Micozzi 2018; O'Grady 2017) and gender (Kreitzer 2015; Osborn 2012) are central to the policymaking process. By integrating these bodies of scholarship, we demonstrate that working-class women are uniquely situated to advocate for education and social services policies.

Addressing Endogeneity Concerns

We find strong evidence that pink-collar, and particularly women's pink-collar representation is associated with higher spending on education and social services even after controlling for the factors that we have theoretical reason to believe may explain both pink-collar representation and budget allocations. Nonetheless, it is possible that some other unobserved/unmeasured factors that systematically vary over time or across states may explain both increases in pink-collar representation and increases in budget allocation towards education and social services. To rule out these possibilities, we analyze our data using year-level fixed effects and state-level fixed effects.

To account for unobservable trends or shocks that may be common to all states in our analysis, we use year-level fixed effects (Funk and Phillips 2019). Whereas the models reported in the previous section reflect the variance from both within and between states, the year fixed-effects analysis gives us a between-state estimate. Specifically, we can interpret the results (reported in Figure 6 and in Tables B5 and B6) as the comparison of budget

FIGURE 6
Year-Level Fixed Effects: Pink-Collar Representation and Education and Social Service Expenditures



Note: Figure plots the expected level of spending (based on 1000 simulations) for each category (with 84% confidence intervals) as pink-collar representation moves from the sample minimum to the sample maximum. while all other continuous variables are held at their mean and dichotomous variables are held at their mode. The expected values plotted in the top and bottom panels are based on the results reported in Tables B5 and B6, respectively.

allocations between states with different levels of pink-collar representation.

The year-level fixed effects address endogenous factors that may vary systematically over time. For example, federal budgets make up a sizable portion of state revenue via grants for health care, education, transportation, and public safety. These transfers vary substantially over time; for example, federal funding for health care increased by more than 50% between 2008 and 2015. Thus, it is possible that more federal funds for health care would be associated with both higher levels of state spending on health and an increase in the political power of healthcare providers. Alternatively, a state's budget shrinkages (and rebounds) following 2008 might shape these results, impacting both who runs for office and budget allocations (Tables B7-B10).

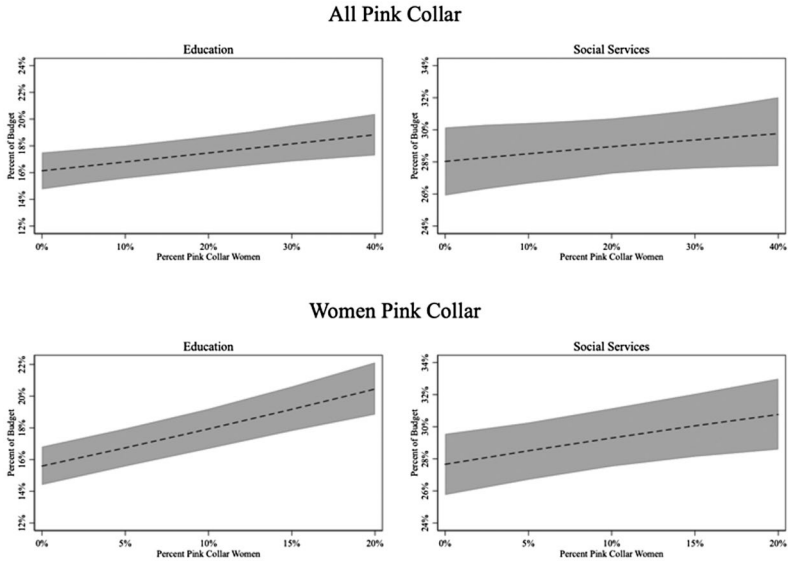
When pink-collar representation increases from the minimum in the sample to the maximum, as with the results in the previous analysis, there is no significant increase in education spending, but spending on social services increases by 10.45%. Moreover, as women's pink-collar representation increases from the sample minimum (0) to the maximum (20%), spending on education ands social services increase by 5.09% and 10.59%, respectively. We thus observe that our findings hold, even after accounting for year-level fixed effects.

Next, we turn to state-level fixed-effects models. In this analysis, we exclude variables such as term limits and professionalism that do not vary much or at all within states over time. The estimates from the state fixed-effects model can be interpreted as the within-state effect of pink-collar representation on state spending. That is, they show us how the share of budget allocated to education and social services changes as pink-collar representation changes within the same state over time. The results for the state-level fixed-effects models are reported in Figure 7 and Tables B11 and B12 .

As expected, the results are more modest than in the previous analysis as there is less variation on both budget spending *and* pink-collar representation within states, that is, most of the variation comes from across states. In fact, as depicted in the top panel of Figure 7, the results for all pink-collar representation are not statistically significant, indicating that either some unmeasured factor that varies across states can explain both increases in pink-collar representation and variation in state spending on social services or that there is not enough variation within states to obtain significant estimates for this analysis.

Nonetheless, as shown in the bottom panel of Figure 7, the findings for women's pink-collar representation are both substantively important and statistically different from zero at the $p > .05$ level. As women's pink-collar representation increases from 0 to 20%, spending on education increases from 15.75% to 20.75%—a difference of 5% at the 95% confidence level. The magnitude in spending is similar to those levels observed in the main model, indicating that this relationship is not explained by unmeasured factors that vary across states. Similarly, spending on social services increases by 3.42% ($p > .05$) as women's pink-collar representation increases across the range of the data. These increases are not trivial. In 2019, for example, the Louisiana governor announced a 2.62% increase in the education budget. This was enough to give

FIGURE 7
State-Level Fixed Effects: Pink-Collar Representation and Education and Social Service Expenditures



Note: Figure plots the expected level of spending (based on 1000 simulations) for each category (with 84% confidence intervals) as pink-collar representation moves from the sample minimum to the sample maximum. while all other continuous variables are held at their mean and dichotomous variables are held at their mode. The expected values plotted in the top and bottom panels are based on the results reported in Tables B11 and B12, respectively.

teachers a $1,000 raise and school support workers a $500 raise and provided additional aid into public schools.

Conclusion

Class and gender matter, particularly as these categories interact with each other. Our results show that increases in women's pink-collar representation is associated with a higher allocation of state resources to education and social services spending. Although both gender and class representation are important for policy outcomes, our research shows that women from female-dominated working-class occupations are associated with increased spending on education and social services. Indeed, the substantive effects of pink-collar representation are independent and distinct from both blue-collar representation and women's representation.

We push the research on class representation in a new direction by thinking about the gendered nature of class. Specifically, we explain that given the gender-segregated nature of the workforce, traditional occupational approaches to understanding class representation in political science are implicitly gendered, to the near exclusion of women. Thus, if we want to understand the representation of working-class women, it is critical to account for women's overrepresentation in pink-collar jobs. We argue that experience in pink-collar occupations, combined with gendered socialization and the feminization of poverty, foster unique policy preferences among pink-collar women such that they are more likely to favor education and social services policies. To evaluate support for our argument, we leverage a novel coding of pink-collar representation and test our argument using data on the composition of state budget allocation over time. In demonstrating that pink-collar representation is associated with a larger distribution of resources to education and social services, we underscore the importance of considering the gendered nature of working-class representation.

A major contribution of our research is that we develop a new coding schema for pink-collar representation using legislators' biographical data across 30 US states. Despite the empirical focus on the allocation of state budgets, our theory is general and suggests that the representation of gender-segregated labor markets (i.e., pink-collar jobs) is likely important for the representation of other policy issues as well. Working-class women, and particularly women of color, perform the majority of caring jobs (Duffy 2005) and are uniquely affected by policies focused on the pay for teachers, childcare subsidies, and maternity leave (Cassese and Barnes 2019; Junn and Brown 2008). Given that women of color's occupational experiences are often the lowest-paid of working-class jobs (Acker 2012), research should evaluate the intersection of gender, class, and race to understand how variation in pink-collar representation structures public policy. Such research would be particularly important given the ways that race and class intersect to structure women's experiences in politics and society generally (Brown and Gershon 2016; Crenshaw 1989; Hancock 2007) and with the state in particular (Brown 2014; Foster 2008).

Likewise, future research should consider the relationship between party and pink-collar representation. We observed that the majority of pink-collar legislators are Democrats and that pink-collar Democrats are important for structuring funding outcomes. But this relationship is likely very complicated. Just as

occupational experiences cultivate values that structure legislative outcomes, these experiences may also influence partisanship. At the same time, individuals' values influence both partisan alignment and occupational choices. Thus, more research is needed to understand how partisanship structures the relationship between pink-collar representation and policy outcomes.

As with previous work on class and representation, our identification of pink-collar workers relies on larger occupational categories. Yet, in doing so, we may obfuscate important differences in status, preferences, and representational behavior among pink-collar workers. For example, workers with an education background may be considered higher status in some communities (particularly rural communities, Cramer 2016; Lay 2012). That our results for social service spending are robust to the exclusion of those in the education sector (Tables B17 and B18 in the online supporting information) suggests opportunities for future research. Evaluating the intracategorical variations in the pink-collar worker category, particularly through qualitative approaches, could form the basis for future work.

Finally, more research is needed to understand how pink-collar legislators access office (Crowder-Meyer 2018; Schneider et al. 2016; Silbermann 2015). Taking pink-collar representation into account clarifies that working-class legislators hold a larger share of chambers than initially believed based on a gender-segregated understanding of working-class representation. Nonetheless, working-class representatives comprise a very small share of chambers across the United States, creating a clear mismatch between the representatives and the represented. Despite that research indicates citizens are willing to vote for working-class representatives (Carnes and Lupu 2015; Carnes and Sadin 2015; Vivyan et al. 2020) and evaluate representative institutions more favorably when working-class citizens are better represented (Barnes and Saxton 2019), we know much less about how class and gender condition who runs for office.

That men from pink-collar occupations make up a substantial share of these legislators also suggests gendered factors continue to shape political candidacy and election. And while research has shown that interventions like gender quotas can shape the backgrounds of people who serve in office (Barnes and Holman 2019), it is unclear how these interventions interact with gendered-class occupations. In the United States, understanding the flow of pink-collar candidates to office involves an assessment of how

candidate-training organizations (i.e., Kreitzer and Osborn 2019) find candidates and potentially serve as mechanisms for breaking elite networks that limit women's access more generally to political office (Crowder-Meyer 2013; Sanbonmatsu 2002).

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NOTES

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1. We distinguish health support from healthcare practitioners, which includes occupations like doctors and nurses.

2. https://www.texastribune.org/2019/03/26/texas-budget-debate-spending-legislature/?utm_campaign=trib-social-buttons&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=socialvia

3. https://www.daily-chronicle.com/2019/06/18/nursing-homes-hopeful-for-piece-of-the-pie/ahba5cm/

4. https://www.wpr.org/wisconsin-school-districts-vie-piece-pie-next-state-budget

5. Results are also robust to measures of ideology such as Shor and McCarty's (2011) measure of the ideological medians in the state House and Senate (Tables C8 and C9 in the online supporting information).

6. Tables B3 and B4 in the online supporting information show our results are robust to OLS model specifications where the dependent variables are the share of spending on education, social services, and the two categories combined.

7. While rows should sum to zero, the change in expected values are based on the mean from 1,000 simulations, and values are rounded so they may not sum exactly to 100%.

8. Results hold when we do not control for the percent women (Tables B13 and B14; Figure B1 in the online supporting information) and when we control for non-pink-collar women (Tables B15; Figure B2).

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher's web site:

Supplementary Material
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