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Edited by Diana Kapiszewski, Steven Levitsky, Deborah J. Yashar
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The Inclusionary Turn in Latin American Democracies

Latin American states took dramatic steps toward greater inclusion during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Bringing together an accomplished group of scholars, this volume examines this shift by introducing three dimensions of inclusion: official recognition of historically excluded groups, access to policymaking, and resource redistribution. Tracing the movement along these dimensions since the 1990s, the editors argue that the endurance of democratic politics, combined with longstanding social inequalities, create the impetus for inclusionary reforms. Diverse chapters explore how factors such as the role of partisanship and electoral clientelism, constitutional design, state capacity, social protest, populism, commodity rents, international diffusion, and historical legacies encouraged or inhibited inclusionary reform during the late 1990s and early 2000s. Featuring original empirical evidence and a strong theoretical framework, the book considers cross-national variation, delves into the surprising paradoxes of inclusion, and identifies the obstacles hindering further fundamental change.

Diana Kapiszewski is Provost's Distinguished Associate Professor of Government at Georgetown University. She studies legal institutions in comparative perspective, and field and qualitative methods, and has authored, coauthored, or coedited five books and multiple articles on these topics. Her first book won the American Political Science Association (APSA) Law and Courts Section's C. Herman Pritchett Award.

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We are enormously fortunate to form part of the Berkeley Latin Americanist community. This intellectual community has been forged, nurtured, and sustained by two extraordinary scholars – David Collier and Ruth Berins Collier. This book is not a festschrift for them (we promised them we would not assemble one) but rather a volume addressing the politics of creating more inclusionary societies in Latin America. At the same time, the book is a celebration of the incredible intellectual community that David and Ruth have fostered over more than forty years.

We dedicate this book to them.

David and Ruth taught us the power and the purpose of big ideas. They taught us the importance of thinking, reasoning, and writing rigorously. They taught us that it is possible – indeed, essential – to combine deep normative commitments with exacting research and analysis. They taught us the value of intellectual generosity and the importance of intellectual friendship. They taught us the meaning of treating students as colleagues. Year after year, generation after generation of students, David and Ruth fostered an intellectual family – a group of people committed to understanding the politics of a region we all love. Thanks to their ongoing commitment to this community, generations of Collier students now form a large network of scholars and friends who continue to write together, look after one another, and enjoy each other's company.

David and Ruth taught us all these things through unending and patient guidance and comments on our work – but more importantly, they taught us these things by example. They deeply inspired us as

teachers, mentors, colleagues, and friends. We think it is fair to say that no one has had as significant an effect on what we do, and how we do it, than have these mentors – and thus this volume bears their intellectual imprint. We believe we speak for all of the volume’s contributors, and for the dozens and dozens of other students whose lives David and Ruth have touched, when we say how fortunate we feel to have landed at Berkeley, to have worked with them, learned with them, laughed with them, and struggled and celebrated beside them.

This volume is a testament to the Colliers’ intellectual impact. Each chapter was written by a scholar who trained with them. That so many of David and Ruth’s students work on issues broadly related to democratic inclusion is no accident: most of us share the belief that, in a region as deeply unequal as Latin America, inclusionary processes are both normatively important and analytically consequential. We are deeply grateful to all who have contributed to this project, and humbled by what we have learned from their work. However, the Berkeley Latin Americanist community stretches far beyond this volume, and its influence is visible in these pages – reflecting many conversations that began in Barrows Hall and continued at universities and conferences far beyond. We extend our deepest gratitude to that broader community for their insight and friendship over the years.

A project of this size required that we gather more than once! The Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame graciously hosted us for a two-day workshop in 2014. That conference was both celebratory and foundational to generating the ideas that motivated this volume. We are particularly grateful to Tim Scully and the entire Kellogg team for welcoming us and making this event possible. As Tim said at that conference, addressing the Colliers: “We gather to celebrate the gifts you have poured into our lives and the lives of so many. You have used your gifts to support everything supportive of democracy, integrity, justice, fairness, and love.” We also thank Princeton University’s Program in Latin American Studies, the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, and the Bobst Center for Peace and Justice (assisted by the wonderful Pat Zimmer, who took care of all the details) for hosting a second two-day workshop in 2016 at Princeton – where we rolled up our sleeves, worked through the core organizing ideas, and constructively and critically workshopped the chapters for this volume.

Two outstanding young scholars worked with us as research assistants. Jared Abbott (Harvard) ably pulled together the data that underpin the

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analysis in the introductory chapter, providing the foundation for illustrating the pace and characteristics of Latin America's inclusionary turn. Beatriz Barros (Princeton) helped us to coordinate this massive volume and prepare it for delivery to Cambridge University Press. We thank them for their excellent research. Of course, all errors are our own.

Finally, we thank our indefatigable editor, Sara Daskow, for her enthusiasm, professionalism, and insight. She found two truly remarkable reviewers, to whom we are indebted for their feedback on this volume; we are humbled by the time, energy, and insight they brought to their reviews.

This volume went to press in a year filled with unexpected and world-changing events. We submitted the manuscript for the volume in late 2019, as protest and contestation were erupting throughout Latin America. Citizens were demanding greater recognition, access, and resources. They were fighting to defend democratic institutions while also demanding greater voice and equity. These struggles were an important reminder that inclusion is not finite or final. It requires ongoing vision, struggle, and vigilance.

By June 2020, when we were copyediting and proofing the manuscript, the world had fundamentally changed. As we go to press, we are now living through a global pandemic, with a devastating and rising death toll, especially for the world's most vulnerable populations. A profound economic crisis is unfolding around the globe, and it is likely to have a significant and enduring impact on Latin America's poor. Global protests, sparked by police violence in the USA, have amplified longstanding demands to address systemic racism and racial injustice. We may be at an inflection point. Yet, domestic policy responses to address these overlapping crises vary greatly, and will likely have divergent consequences for citizens of different countries.

These challenges underscore the underlying need for capable states and inclusionary policies. We hope this volume contributes to our understanding of Latin America's inclusionary turn and the need to defend and deepen it.