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Political incorporation (in Latin America). The concept, the variations, and the cases

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Abstract

Political incorporation is a widely used but seldom defined concept in political science. This paper presents a concept analysis of political incorporation, proposing a conceptualization based on five attributes: the existence of an excluded actor, sustained policy benefits for this actor, partisan representation, corporatist representation, and personalistic representation of the excluded actor. Using a mixed conceptual structure, we argue that the first two dimensions are necessary in combination with at least one form of representation. Based on this conceptualization, we discuss a number of conceptual and process variations of political incorporation and illustrate them using historical and contemporary cases from Latin America. This exercise highlights the advantages of clear and explicit conceptualization for identifying new instances of incorporation. Substantively, the paper also provides a tool for the current research agenda on what has been called the second wave of incorporation in Latin America.

The inclusion of previously marginalized sectors of society into the polity has shaped fundamental political outcomes, such as national regimes, party systems, state building, and social policy (R. B. Collier and Collier 1991; Azarya 1989; Pribble 2010). Processes of politization of collective demands and of inclusion --which have involved labor unions, peasants, urban informal workers, women, and indigenous movements--, have often been analyzed as instances of "political incorporation" or simply "incorporation." Widely used in previous decades, incorporation has received renewed attention given contemporary processes of inclusion in Latin America, such as those led by Hugo Chávez in Venezuela or Evo Morales in Bolivia.

Incorporation is used in a broad range of literatures, including American politics (Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 2002; Fraga and Ramirez 2003; Schmidt et al. 2002) and comparative politics, and in the later for regional works concerning Africa (Azarya 1989; Adida 2011), North America and Western Europe (Hochschild et al. 2013; Wellhofer 1981), Eastern Europe (Kopstein and Wittenberg 2010), and Latin America (R. B. Collier and Collier 1991; Davis and Coleman 1986; Filgueira et al. 2012; Layton and Smith 2015; Rossi 2015). In terms of incorporated actors, the literature has examined labor (R. B. Collier and Collier 1991; Davis and Coleman 1986; Wellhofer 1981), immigrants (Adida 2011; Hochschild et al. 2013), peasants (Azarya 1989), the informal sector (D. Collier 1976; Rossi 2015), ethnic minorities (Fraga and Ramirez 2003; Kopstein and Wittenberg 2010) and women (Ramirez and Weiss 1979). This paper focuses on political incorporation in Latin America, but we take into

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consideration a broader literature and propose a general definition that can be applied to any region or period.

Despite the common use, the concept of political incorporation is often used loosely and without paying particular attention to its meaning, theoretical and empirical value. This paper presents a concept analysis and offers a clear definition and conceptualization with the goal of overcoming any conceptual imprecisions. We argue that using a mixed conceptual structure that combines necessary and substitutable attributes is the best strategy for conceptualizing political incorporation because it provides a specific definition while also recognizing some variations reflected in subtypes of the concept.

Although existing definitions have important commonalities and show convergence towards certain shared attributes, they differ in their emphasis of some attributes over others. Most conceptualizations address only the semantic level of the concept (Goertz 2005), meaning that authors provide a definition but they do not specify the constitutive dimensions and they do not provide a full operationalization.

Another issue is that there is a lack of clarity with respect to the level of abstraction in which the authors focus on. A number of authors define the concept with reference to a specific actor, for example labor incorporation (Collier and Collier 1991) or immigrant political incorporation (Hochschild et al. 2013). Conceptualizations also refer to specific historical contexts, or what the literature has refered to as "waves of incorporation." The first such wave is associated the nationalist/populist proyects of the second third of the century (R. B. Collier and Collier 1991; O'Donnell 1973) while the second is the post-neoliberal juncture in Latin America (Roberts 2008; Rossi 2015). In these examples, it is unclear if the definition considers elements that are specific to these groups and historical periods or whether they are applicable to processes of incorporation more broadly. In our view, some of these authors conflate the conceptualization effort with the identification of empirical instances of the concept.

Despite the diversity, some common aspects can be identified in the literature on political incorporation: first, in all cases the concept is used in the context of the study of an excluded sector/actor of society, either in social or political terms, and whose demands have usually gone through a process of politicization. Second, although its importance seems to vary, political representation is a common element across definitions. In some cases political incorporation refers to group concerns being considered in the policy making process, although in others it is specifically related to the presence of members or representatives of the excluded group in policy-making spaces, what is referred to as descriptive incorporation (Pitkin 1967). Third, it is common to find references to policy benefits as part of the definition or the implications of political incorporation.

Our task, then, is to provide a conceptualization that is explicit about what constitutes the definition, what are the secondary level attributes, and what is the strategy of aggregation. For this task we rely on the literature on concept formation. Concept formation and concept use in the social

sciences has been subject to considerable attention in the last two decades (D. Collier and Mahon 1993; D. Collier and Levitsky 1997; Gerring 1999; Goertz 2005). This literature has introduced different tools for analyzing concepts, motivating scholars to revise long used concepts and apply these tools in search for clarification and conceptual innovation.

We define political incorporation as a process through which a previously marginalized actor acquires policy benefits and (new forms of) representation in the state. The different forms of representation through which incorporation takes place --partisan, corporatist, and personalist-- constitute the second level attributes, in addition to the existence of an excluded actor and sustained policies to at least partly address the agenda of the incorporated actor. The last two attributes constitute necessary conditions while each of the forms of representation are substitutable, meaning that we adopt a mixed conceptual structure (Goertz and Mazur 2008; Barrenechea and Castillo 2016).

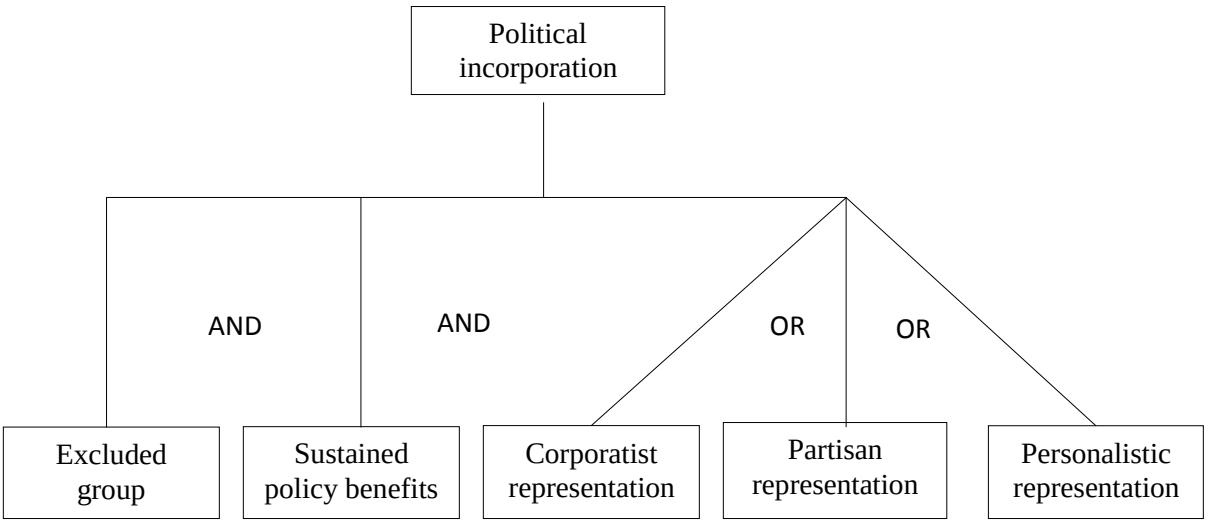
The core of the paper is divided in two parts. In the next section we present our definition of political incorporation and detail its conceptual structure. We also analyze existing definitions and discuss how our conceptualization captures important common aspects of the literature and at the same time differs from some minimal or maximal definitions. In the second part we explore variations based on the conceptual structure and on the process of political incorporation. In terms of conceptual variations, we look at partisan, corporatist, and personalistic forms of political incorporation as subtypes of the concept. We also discuss instances where the concept is overdetermined and think of these as cases of high intensity political incorporation. In terms of variations in the process, we look at whether it was initiated from above or from below; the ideological orientation of the incorporating actor; and whether it has mobilizing or demobilizing effects. We illustrate these variations with examples from a variety of Latin American cases from different historical periods. Finally, the conclusion highlights the advantages of a clear conceptualization of political incorporation and possible research questions stemming from this conceptual exercise.

Conceptualizing political incorporation

We define political incorporation as *a process through which a previously excluded actor acquires policy benefits and (new forms of) representation in the state*. Through political incorporation, the agenda and policy demands of excluded actors are at least partially met in the political arena. In this sense, incorporation entails the expansion of representation. Once incorporation occurs, representation can be expanded, contested, and followed by successive processes of exclusion or disincorporation.

The concept we are proposing has a mixed structure, meaning that it combines necessary and a set of INUS conditions that are substitutable (Barrenechea and Castillo 2016).[2] These two logical understandings of concept formation are reflected in the two main conceptual structures recognized by the literature, classical concepts and family resemblances (D. Collier and Mahon 1993; Goertz 2005). In specific, we argue that political incorporation can be conceptualized as having two necessary attributes and three INUS attributes; for a case to be an instance of a concept it needs to have the two necessary attribute and at least one of the other three. Figure 1 depicts this conceptual structure.

Figure 1: Conceptual Structure of Political Incorporation



[2] INUS conditions are defined as "an *insufficient* but *necessary* part of a condition which is itself *unnecessary* but *sufficient* for the result" (Mackie 1965, 245). In simpler words, INUS conditions are non-redundant components of a sufficient combination. In this logic, there are multiple sufficient combinations (or packages) for an outcome, so each INUS condition, by itself, is unnecessary for the outcome.

The first necessary condition to identify a process as one of incorporation is the existence of a particular actor that is totally or relatively excluded from the political arena. The existence of this collective actor differentiates incorporation from plain representation since representation can also apply to individuals or an entire nation while incorporation refers to a subset of a countries' population. These groups and their collective interests are historically and politically constructed; they acquire salience in particular contexts. Thus, the subject of incorporation will vary in time and space. Excluded actors that at different points in time have been politically incorporated in Latin America include --but are not limited to-- middle sectors, labor, peasants, women, the urban poor, and indigenous people.

A second necessary attribute refers to the policies that benefit the excluded actor as a result of incorporation. These policies cover political, social, and economic citizenship rights. Historically, we can observe a transition from an emphasis in the political to the socio-economic. The policy benefits need to be sustained in time and form a policy package to address a relevant component of the excluded group's agenda. An isolated policy benefit that it is not part of a broader package does not meet this requirement and hence it cannot be considered an instance of political incorporation. The same goes for a one-time policy, for example, a non-institutionalized cash transfer or a specific investment project.

Together with these two necessary properties, the concept of incorporation has three individually sufficient attributes that refer to the mode of representation. In the literature on representation, state-society, citizen-society, and party-society linkages there are multiple understandings and typologies about linkages (see Kitschelt 2000; Morgan 2011; Roberts 2002). In particular, we consider partisan, corporatist, and personalistic forms of representation as central to political incorporation. The individually sufficiency nature of these conditions means that each one meets our requirement of representation, and that in combination with the two necessary attributes, is sufficient to grant a case membership in our concept.

A first form of representation is achieved through political parties. In this case, the excluded sector has organizational links to the party structure and it is the party the one that channels the demands to the political arena. A political party constitutes a voice in the public discussion and can access decision-making spaces in the different levels of the state administration. Incorporation through political parties usually means that some members of the excluded sector are part of the party; however, it does not need to be the case and this representation can be indirect.

In the literature on representation, most forms of linkages tend to be carried out by parties. Our definition of partisan incorporation refers specifically to organic linkages with the excluded sector. These linkages usually translate into programmatic representation; however, programmatic representation covers a broader and more heterogeneous sector of society than incorporation does, which is why we do not use this terminology in the context of political incorporation.

A second form of representation is the corporatist variant. Corporatism is understood here as a form of interest representation in which organized interests that are officially recognized have direct access to voice or decision-making spaces within the state.[3] Corporatist arrangements take on many forms and occur at different levels of the state apparatus, but they have in common that members of the excluded group are present in the state structure; representation is direct.

Finally, a third form of representation is personalistic representation. In this case, a leader and/party will be the one to carry out the program of the excluded sector without having an institutionalized relationship to it. Some scholars refer to this form of representation as charismatic (Kitschelt 2000), which puts the emphasis on the leader. In our concept, the focus is not on the characteristics of the representative but on the form of linkage and the results of that representation, the policies that benefit the excluded sector. In this sense, this form of representation relates to substantive representation, or what Pitkin (1967) calls "acting for others".

This form of representation can be complementary to the partisan and corporatist variants. To clearly differentiate them, we argue that this third form of representation is personalistic and non-institutional, and that we can only recognize it through the policies undertaken. Even if there is a political party playing an important role, there is no organic relationship between party and the excluded sector. The personalistic nature of this form of representation comes from the fact that the leader directly represents the excluded sector; the link of the incorporated actor to the state depends on the leader in place. For this reason, the linkages between the incorporated sector and the state are often transformed or do not survive when a new government comes to power.

These three types of representation leave out clientelism as a major type of linkage discussed in the literature. The reason for this exclusion is that clientelism does not always go together with the first attribute of our conceptualization, that there is a clearly identifiable excluded group that is the target of clientelism. Only when clientelism is targeted to a particular group --either previously existing or constituted as such through clientelistic practices-- can it be considered as incorporation. Nonetheless, this case can fall under what we call personalist representation, as some of the examples below will show. Additionally, clientelistic benefits are usually not sustained in time, as our second attribute referred to policy benefits demands. Finally, partisan representation can also translate into clientelistic linkages with the excluded sectors, so for our purposes we do not need to consider clientelism as a separate form of representation.

[3] This definition is based on Schmitter's (1974, 93–94) classic definition of corporatism, but less stringent: "system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, noncompetitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports."

Comparing to other definitions of incorporation

The concept of political incorporation is widely used, but many authors do not define it, making difficult the task of identifying new cases of political incorporation that have not been recognized as such by the literature. In this section we review some of the existing definitions of political incorporation and analyze how they compare to our definition.

The conceptualization of political incorporation presented here largely accounts for the diversity of empirical phenomena we find in the literature. The conceptualization based on a mixed conceptual structure allows considering a variety of processes as political incorporation. In our view, the multiplicity of existing definitions are not incorrect, but they are often incomplete by focusing on one form of representation as encompassing the entirety of the phenomenon of political incorporation, or focusing in only some attributes of our definition while excluding others.

A few examples can illustrate this claim. Considering it as an independent variable for different social policy regimes, Jennifer Pribble (2010, 194) argues that political incorporation "occurs when marginalized sectors such as labor, peasants, and/or the urban informal sector enjoy institutionalized access to the political arena via parties or other organizations and when these groups are capable of influencing national debate". This definition is similar to ours, but it considers institutionalized representation as a necessary attribute while we also allow for non-institutional variants of representation through personalist representation. Similarly, Browning, Marshall and Tabb (2002, 11) seem to emphasize the partisan and corporatist variants of incorporation by defining it as "the extent to which group interests are effectively represented in policymaking, as measured by the representation of a minority group on coalitions that dominate city policy-making issues concerning individual minorities groups."

Hochschild et al. (2013, 15–18) provide a minimal definition of political incorporation when studying immigrants. They argue that political incorporation occurs when immigrants have the capacity for sustained claim making about the allocation of symbolic or material public goods. This definition includes our first attribute since there is an excluded group that has identified some collective interests, but it does not consider the other attributes. By focusing on claim making, Hochschild et al. do not consider necessary that at least some of these claims are met (our second attribute referring to policy benefits). Additionally, this minimal definition does not include some form of representation as necessary for incorporation as we do.

Finally, our conceptualization also addresses the problem of authors including attributes of the actors or historical contexts into the definition of incorporation. We can now identify what constitutes an instance of the concept and what are characteristics of the particular actor. We can exemplify this point with Collier and Collier's foundational work *Shaping the Political Arena.* In this work, the authors do not define incorporation generally but refer specifically to the initial incorporation of labor, defining it as a "sustained and at least partially successful attempt by the state to legitimate and shape an institutionalized labor movement" (Collier and Collier 1991, 7). One of the

components they identify is the existence of an institutionalized labor movement, however, for us the institutionalization of the actor being incorporated is not a necessary component of incorporation but a feature of early twentieth century labor. Another component of Collier and Collier's definition is the shaping of the labor movement, which seems more associated with the goals (control and mobilization) of the incumbents than an attribute of the concept.

Variations in political incorporation

Students of political incorporation may analyze variation along a number of different dimensions. In this section we propose various forms of variation and provide examples from Latin America to illustrate some of the differences that can be observed. Some of these forms of variation have already been explored in the literature on incorporation; others represent new avenues for future research.

Variations can occur at different levels. We have identified two important levels of variation: first, conceptual variations, which stem from different combinations of the attributes identified above. A second form of variation focuses on the process through which political incorporation comes about and the consequences for the incorporated actors in terms of its political mobilization.

Conceptual variations of political incorporation

In this section we discuss conceptual variations of political incorporation. In a mixed conceptual structure, each sufficient combination represents a subtype of the main concept. These subtypes are descriptively relevant but also important for causal analysis (Barrenechea and Castillo 2016), whether we use them as dependent or independent variables. A second form of conceptual variation relates to the number of attributes that are present in a case, specifically the number of forms of representation. We use the idea of high intensity incorporation to refer to cases that have multiple forms of representation simultaneously, cases that are conceptually overdetermined.

Subtypes of political Incorporation

With the mixed conceptual structure we use it is possible to identify different conceptual configurations that highlight paths by which a case is granted membership in the concept. In the example of political incorporation, we identify three such configurations, each being a particular subtype: partisan political incorporation, corporatist political incorporation, and personalist political incorporation.

A case of partisan incorporation occurred in Chile with the Christian Democratic government in the 1960s and its relationship to women. Chilean women achieved full voting rights in 1949 and in the following decades they were progressively incorporated politically, largely through a set of maternalist policies (Pieper Mooney 2009). Through its feminine section, in 1962, two years before the presidential election, the Christian Democratic Party (PDC for its initials in Spanish) promoted female peasants and urban dwellers' participation and organization in *centros de madres* (mother's centers) (Valdés et al. 1989). These were base organizations where women would discuss and train in aspect related to their housewife duties, instruction on skills that could translate into an income, and more generally they provided a space for socialization and cooperation (Valdés et al. 1989).

Once in government,[4] Frei and the party pushed for the legal recognition of these and other communitarian organizations as part of the *plan de promoción popular,* a policy aimed at organizing marginalized sectors and giving them tools to participate in addressing their needs. By the end of the government, in 1970, around 450,000 women were associated to mother's centers (Saintard 2013). The Christian democrats did not monopolize the mother's centers-political party relationship; as these organizations were formalized other parties competed to create and control them. Nonetheless, the fact the PDC was in power and had access to greater resources meant that they started the relationship to mother's centers earlier than other parties, that their communitarian project in other areas such as public health also had a focus on women, and the majoritarian support of female voters translated into a privileged relationship between mother's centers and the PDC. And this relationship between base organizations of the excluded actor and the party is what characterizes the partisan variant of political incorporation.

For corporatist political incorporation, the military regime of Velasco in Peru offers an example. In 1968, the Peruvian military launched a coup d'état against the civilian government led by Fernando Belaúnde. The new regime had a deeply reformist and redistributive program, seeking to contain political radicalism and fulfill an agenda of inclusion that civilians had failed to accomplish. As part of their agenda of deep social and economic reform, the regime sought to establish linkages with the beneficiaries of these changes to contain them, grant them with controlled participation, and gain their support.

Despite these intentions, and having justified its intervention due to the failure of parties to accomplish substantial reforms, the government had an explicit anti-partisan discourse. Hence, the regime did not organize these marginalized sectors through a political party. Instead, the military took a corporatist approach to political incorporation by promoting the organization of peasants, squatters, and industrial workers, and linked them directly to the state through specially designed state-chartered associational groups, to give them voice with limited pluralism and in a controlled manner. The *Sistema Nacional de Movilizacion Social* (System of National Social Mobilization, SINAMOS) was

[4] Frei was elected with 56% of the national vote over 39% of his main competitor, Salvador Allende. However, there were important differences in terms of male and female preferences. Disaggregated by sex, 45% of men gave Frei his support versus 63% of women (Urzúa Valenzuela 1992).

particularly important in this respect, as it was in charge precisely of organizing the sectors subject to political incorporation. Other historical examples of this dynamic are found in Collier and Collier (1991), in the cases the authors classify as "state incorporation."

Two examples can illustrate the personalistic variant of incorporation. The first one comes from mid twentieth century Peru and refers to the political incorporation of urban squatters. During those years, the dramatic growth of cities and especially Lima brought with it a sharp increase in the demand for land and low cost housing as well as for public goods and services. General Manuel Odría (1948-1956) was the first to address this sector's demands by allowing and in some cases encouraging informal occupation of land (Collier 1976). By purposely restraining itself from enforcing the law, the government engaged in a form of informal wealth redistribution (Holland 2015).

Through the attention of squatters' demands for land, Odría sought to secure their support. According to Collier's account, pictures of Odría and his wife --a kind of emulation of Evita Perón in Argentina-- could be found hanging on the walls of squatters' organizations. The most iconic and large settlement was actually named *27 de Octubre* (October 27th), honoring the day in which Odría launched his coup against Bustamante. The leaders of the settlers' organizations were used as intermediaries between political elites and the squatters, providing Odría with some supporters to show up in rallies and during electoral campaigns. In his last year in office, Odría attempted partisan political incorporation by demanding members of the settlement organizations to be part of his newly formed political party, the Partido Restaurador. However, his partisan building strategy failed when he was unable to re-run for the presidency, and the links between the government and settlers remained personalistic. Different strategies of incorporation were later attempted, and only with Velasco there was an institutional political incorporation of the urban poor through a corporatist arrangement.

A second example comes from contemporary Ecuador. In the late 1990s Ecuador's indigenous movement led anti-neoliberal protests and demanded changes in the state policies regarding the countryside, forcing the resignation of two presidents. After the failure of Lucio Gutiérrez to form a stable government in alliance with the indigenous movement, president Rafael Correa managed to establish linkages with its mobilized bases and gain their support, although he did so in confrontation with the organizations' leaders. Using the growing revenues from the oil exports, Correa has been able to extend the state apparatus to penetrate Ecuadorian society, including the countryside. The government has put in place a series of social programs and benefits oriented to reduce poverty in the rural areas of the country, but also to establish contact with community leaders and bases of the indigenous movement (Tuaza 2011).

Correa's administration has been able to incorporate the indigenous bases of the movement without having to organically grant them with substantial space within the political party or through an institutionalized form of access to the state. Correa (2012) himself has pointed this out in the past:

> "*(…) On the one hand, we made alliances with the indigenous movements in particular areas – for example in Imbabura and Chimborazo, territories with a large indigenous population, where Alianza País candidates drawn from indigenous organizations won convincingly. In the*

other areas alliances did not materialize, but we established relations with the middle ranks and the indigenous base; that has been our strategy, given the impossibility of dialogue with some of the indigenous leaders."

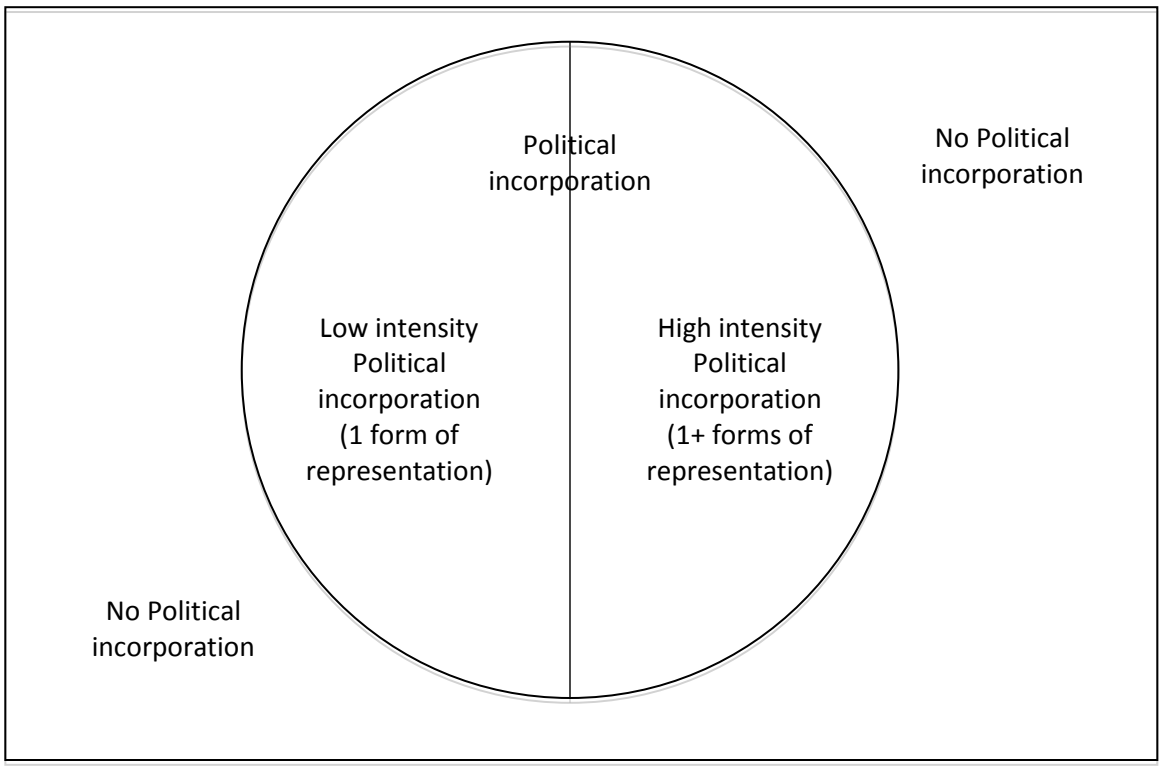
This atomized approach to indigenous movements has avoided any form of institutional arrangement to provide voice or participation in decision-making spaces to indigenous leaders. It is Correa and his party who claim to represent the bases of the indigenous movements directly. The government has adopted many of the indigenous symbols and demands, recognizing their value at the same time that the movement is excluded from the structure of the state. In fact, Correa has dismantled some of the offices and spaces that granted indigenous movements with voice and control of state resources, which were created in the 1990s in the context of indigenous mobilizations. The effectiveness of Correa in establishing these direct linkages, however, is recognized by the indigenous leaders themselves, who have accused the government repeatedly of penetrating their bases and of "stealing" their agenda.

Intensity of incorporation

Our conceptualization of political incorporation considers three secondary level attributes that reflect different mechanisms through which the incorporated actor acquires representation. Although each one of these is sufficient to consider a case as an instance of political incorporation (in combination with the two necessary conditions), often more than one mode of representation is present in a single case. In these cases, we can talk about high intensity political incorporation.

More formally, instances of high intensity political incorporation are cases of incorporation that are overdetermined since they have more attributes than those necessary for a minimum sufficient combination. Using the notion of sets, we can think of incorporation as being composed of two subsets corresponding to low and high political incorporation depending if one or more forms of representation are present. Figure 2 provides an illustration of this logical relationship. In other words, intensity of political incorporation focuses on variation within the positive set of cases of incorporation.

Figure 2: Intensity of Political Incorporation



A good example of high intensity incorporation is contemporary Bolivia, where partisan and corporatist forms of incorporation coexist and shape the relationship between the government and a series of robust social movements. Peasant unions and indigenous organizations were politically organized through the *Movimiento Al Socialismo*, MAS, which made its way into the government after winning the presidential elections in 2005 with Evo Morales as its leader. Members and leaders of these social movements were granted with posts in his government, both in the executive and the legislative powers (Anria 2013). Through the participation in the MAS, these formerly excluded sectors of Bolivian society gained access to a space of voice and decision-making that had been traditionally elusive to them.

But the government's relationship with social movement does not stop in its ties through the political party. Contemporary Bolivia also shows many characteristics of a corporatist variant of incorporation. The so-called *Pacto de Unidad* (Unity Pact) that united the five most important rural organizations in the country, and that had a central role during the years of the constituent assembly, could be an example of a corporatist institution.[5] The purpose of this space was to provide input from

[5] Although there were others, the most important organizations participating in the "pact" were the Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB); the Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia (CIDOB); the

social movements to the government when the constituent assembly was at work, such that their demands could translate into concrete reforms and policies. Although this institution's importance faded away after the constitutional assembly, other institutionalized mechanisms replaced it such as the *Coordinadora Nacional por el Cambio* (National Coordinator for Change, CONALCAM), a formal space of coordination between the government and social movements that was formed in 2007. The CONALCAM allowed Morales and the MAS to lead social movements to support the government goals, especially when the opposition resisted some of the government reforms (Zuazo 2010, 130). Finally, the new Constitution created the vice-ministry of Coordination with Social Movements and Civil Society, an organism in charge of receiving social movement's demands and channeling them through the state, so they are solved by the appropriate sector.

Ecuador, on the other hand, and as previously discussed, has had a personalist form of incorporation of the indigenous population with Rafael Correa, incorporation that has not been accompanied by institutional forms of representation, either partisan or corporatist. As such, it can be considered a case of low intensity incorporation.

A second source of intensity comes from the number of actors being incorporated at the same time. The experience of Peronism in Argentina provides a good example. One of the reasons why incorporation under Peronism was so intense is because there were simultaneous processes of political incorporation of labor, women, and the urban poor. The number of incorporated actors can be a relevant variation to focus on when comparing cases of political incorporation. To differentiate it from the form of intensity that stems from the number of attributes present, we can talk about representation-based intensity and actor-based intensity.

Variations in the process and consequences of incorporation

In this section we consider variations in the process and consequences of political incorporation. In particular, we look at whether the process of incorporation is led from above or from below, the ideological orientation of the leader that pushes for political incorporation, and whether the result of incorporation is the mobilization or demobilization of the previously excluded actor. These are only some variations we have identified; other scholars may place the focus on other features of these processes. Whatever the object of interest, one of the contributions of this conceptual exercise is to differentiate between conceptual and process variations to provide greater analytical clarity when analyzing political incorporation. Because of this distinction, all of the forms of variations that refer to the process of political incorporation are independent of the conceptual variations discussed in the previous section. In other words, any of the subtypes of incorporation we have identified as well as cases of high or low intensity can be analyzed by focusing on any of the characteristics of the political process of incorporation.

Confederación Sindical de Colonizadores de Bolivia (CSCB); the Federación Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas, Originarias y Campesinas de Bolivia Bartolina Sisa (FNMCB-BS); and the Consejo Nacional de Markas y Ayllus del Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ).

Incorporation from above and from below

Processes of institutional building, institutional reform, and political change more generally have often been analyzed as "from below" and "from above" (for example, Collier 1999; Przeworski 2009; Wood 2000). This distinction refers to the locus of the impulse for change, which can come from mobilized social actors or from political incumbents. These are not mutually exclusive; in many cases the demand from below and the impulse from above can be simultaneously present. Nonetheless, we can usually identify whether actors outside the state are the ones that push for change or whether political elites that control the state initiate reform.

Processes from below range from revolutions, insurgency, mass mobilization, to milder forms of contentious politics (Tilly and Tarrow 2006), and can use a number of different tactics to achieve their goals. Successful initiatives from below entail sustained mobilization and in the decision-making phase --unless it is a successful revolution--, they require the intervention of state actors. In this stage, the initial demands can be moderated, transformed, and appropriated by political actors, but the fact that the demands were brought up from below still allows it to be considered at as process that started from below.

Processes from above, on the other hand, are characterized by decisions being made and often imposed by a small group of decision-makers by their own initiative. The motivations can be numerous, from the search of political support, conformity to international standards, to ideological commitment. And the fact that a process is initiated and led from above does not necessarily mean that it will be detrimental for the interests of those to whom the reforms are addressed; we are skeptical about associating the initiative to a specific outcome.

Most definitions of political incorporation, as well as our own, emphasize the existence of an excluded sector that can be clearly identified as a collective actor. The constitution of a collective actor and the definition of their interests often occurs through processes of mobilization, which is why we might think that incorporation is usually started from below. However, there are mechanisms other than mobilization through which a collective actor can be identified as such and that may bring leaders to initiate a process of incorporation. Perhaps one of the central mechanisms has to do with processes of international diffusion. Political elites may opt to incorporate in a preemptive way as they see conflict arise in other countries of the region and elsewhere. For example, the electoral incorporation of women occurred from above in countries of Latin America that had no women's suffrage movement, probably because leaders knew it was a reform that would be implemented sooner or later as it became an international standard. In that scenario, when an opportunity opened, they pushed for reform to try and attract the new electorate.

The initial incorporation of labor as discussed by Collier and Collier (1991) can further illustrate the from below and above variation. The argument and structure of the book presents a similar sequences for all the cases analyzed, starting from the emergence of workers protests and

organization, the reformist challenge to oligarchies, then followed by a period of incorporation. Following this framework, incorporation could be said to have started from below, as a response to the demands of labor expressed largely through strikes, demands that included regulation of working conditions and social rights, as well as some form of representation. Nonetheless, as their detailed historical account and analysis shows, the actual role played by labor in terms of exerting pressure from below varied significantly among the cases.

Chile fits the pattern of strong labor mobilization previous to incorporation. In this country, a strong and early movement developed, carrying out a number of waves of labor protest, which were met with repression by the oligarchic state. The highest point of the repression came in 1907, when an unknown but high number (most likely between 1,000 and 2,000) of striking nitrate workers as well as their families were massacred in the northern city of Iquique for refusing to put down the strike. The historiography on Chile considers that this and other violent episodes of the period increased awareness among intellectuals and some politicians of the need to address the social question. The response of the oligarchy was still limited, which was one of the main factors behind the 1924 military coup and the dictatorship of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo from 1927 onward.

Collier and Collier consider that it was Ibáñez del Campo who led the initial incorporation of labor. Ibáñez, as part of the group of young officer who led the 1924 coup, had as central motivation for his reformist agenda addressing the concerns of labor, fearing its increasing radicalization. This concern reached both the oligarchy and the middle sectors of which he was a part of, clearly reflecting that the initial incorporation of labor occured as a response to a process initiated from below.

Uruguay, on the other hand, can be considered as a case where incorporation was initiated from above. In Uruguay, it was the Colorado Party that started incorporation beginning in the first presidency of José Batlle y Ordóñez (1903-1907) and through to 1916. Given the early emergence of this reformist actor, by the time incorporation started the organization of labor was still at an early stage. Since the 1880s the country had experience periods of important strikes, however, despite this early development, labor unrest had not become a serious threat to the established order. We can argue that incorporation was largely preemptive (Collier and Collier 1991). In this sense, incorporation was initiated from above as a way to electorally mobilize a new important group in a context of strong party competition as well as for philosophical reasons. In this sense, Batlle y Ordóñez, the main promoter of incorporation, constitutes an anomaly in the Latin American context as a progressive and creative leader that reached the presidency early in the twentieth century.

Ideological orientation of the leader

The left turn in Latin America has been associated with a new phase or wave of incorporation (Roberts 2008; Filgueira et al. 2012; Rossi 2015). The neoliberal model implemented in the 1980s and 1990s transformed state-society relations and subordinated politics and welfare to the market. Excluded actors challenged the economic model and demanded broader representation and

redistributive policies (Yashar 2005; Silva 2009), demand that was at least partly answered by leftist governments. For example, examining the case of Argentina, Federico Rossi (2015) argues that the rise to power of leftist governments (Néstor Kirchner followed by his wife Cristina Fernández) was the result of the demand for (re)incorporation of the popular sector --led by the *piquetero* movement-- after being excluded during the neoliberal era.

We generally agree with this reading that the left, because of a stronger commitment to redistribution (Levitsky and Roberts 2011), is more likely to incorporate marginalized sectors of society. However, the causal connection between demands for incorporation and the left turn as a macro process can lead to the interpretation that incorporation is necessarily carried out by leftist governments. We believe that claiming that actors with a particular ideological identity tend to lead processes of incorporation is problematic and more fundamentally inaccurate in historical terms. Firstly, it is problematic because any reference to ideological orientation in Latin America will run into difficulties when classifying leaders and governments, particularly those that develop populist strategies. Secondly, it is inaccurate because as the examples below will show, it is possible to find incorporationist leaders in different locations of the ideological spectrum. We therefore wish to highlight that the ideological orientation of the incorporating leader/government is also an important source of variation. This variation is historically contingent and as such we consider should not be a central element of a conceptual discussion of political incorporation but a source of empirical variation.

The incorporation of urban dwellers in mid twentieth century reflects some of this variation. Latin America cities saw an increase of rural migrants during the 1940s and 1950s. These migrants settled on the peripheral areas of the main cities often through illegal land occupations; state policies to address the needs of these new poor were initially weak or non-existent. The collective interests and demands of informal settlers revolved largely around housing, access to basic services such as electricity, drinking water, and sewerage, and other urban infrastructure. With varying levels of organization, during these decades urban dwellers started to act collectively and were incorporated as a relevant political actor.

In Chile, communists, socialists, and Christian democrats (working with the Catholic church) competed in the organization and representation of this sector. In addition to their increase in number and visibility, the 1958 and 1962 electoral reforms that introduced the Australian ballot and made electoral inscription mandatory effectively increased the electoral importance of this sector. It was the Christian democrats who first reached the presidency, with the election of Eduardo Frei in 1964, giving rise to an important impulse to incorporation.

Once in power, and as mentioned in the case of women, the government sought to implement a policy called *Plan de Promocion Popular* (popular promotion plan), which promoted communitarian and territorial organizations such as neighbor associations, mothers' centers, and sports clubs. Through these organizations, urban dwellers would be able channel their demands to the state and also directly participate in the building of their houses and of their neighborhood's infrastructure. This

particular form of incorporation emerged from notions of marginality and integration that the Church had been elaborating in the previous years. In the words of Frei, "the social philosophy that inspires my government is to open the necessary channels so these duly organized groups can reach their integration into the community and are able to incorporate themselves to the creative effort, and therefore, to wellbeing and progress" (Frei 1965, 66). In addition to the popular promotion, the government gave an important impulse to the public housing policy through the creation of the Ministry of Housing in 1965, while also increasing the number of units built by the state.

All of these policies were continued and often radicalized during Salvador Allende's government (1970-1973), deepening the incorporation process. The Popular Unity government first introduced the notion of housing as an inalienable right and the number of public housing units built reached a peak in 1971 (DITEC 2004). Other aspects of urban development to benefit dwellers were also carried out. And as with other actors, leftist parties and movements pushed for a stronger political engagement of base organizations, which took part of the general process of polarization and mobilization. This was different than the strategy promoted by the Christian Democrats, where the mobilization component was not as radical.

In Argentina, urban dwellers turned into a relevant political actor during Juan Domingo Peron's first term in office (1946-1952).[6] Compared to Chile, this incorporation occurred earlier which meant that urban dwellers were less organized in base organizations by the time Peron was elected president. By leading their incorporation and undermining other political parties, Peronism was able to largely monopolize control over this sector, which to this day constitutes one of its historical bases of support. In specific, the construction of popular neighborhoods was an important area in Peron's social program, turning access to housing into a constitutional right in 1949, and organizing a previously weak state response (Barrios and Fernández 2008). One of the most emblematic suburbs built during his term was that of Ciudad Evita, named after his wife (it was even designed for the construction to emulate Evita's profile). Evita was the face of the regime regarding poverty alleviation initiatives, having a strong direct contact in particular with the urban poor. As such, she played a central role in their political incorporation, turning into a highly symbolic figure after her early death in 1952.

In Peru, as we discussed above regarding the personalist nature of incorporation, it was Manuel Odria (1948-1956) who carried out an important incorporation of urban dwellers through the construction of public housing, by allowing and organizing land occupations, and by forming political ties with this sector in Lima. And it was during Odría's period that urban settlers became an important political actor, participating in demonstrations and political parties (D. Collier 1976). Odría's clientelistic strategy of incorporation was at least partly successful. Callao and Lima where two of the four departments where Odría was the first majority in the 1962 presidential election (he came third overall) (Tuesta 2011).

These examples reflect some of the diversity in the policies and strategies of incorporation. And what we wish to highlight in this section, they also show the ideological diversity of the leaders. In the case of Chile, the Christian Democrat Party is at the center of the political spectrum. During the polarization of the sixties, many of its policies aimed at structural changes, however, they were less radical than those promoted and later implemented by the left, composed mainly of the Communist and Socialist parties. Peron, on the other hand, reflects some of the difficulties of classification. While he promoted nationalist economic policies, social protection, and had workers as his main base of support, he was also deeply anticommunist (or antileftist more generally). Odria in Peru can be more clearly classified as a conservative dictator, with his liberal economic policy and the focus of public works, and having come to power allied with the oligarchy.

Ideological orientation of the leader/government is then an important source of variation, which can serve to explore differences and similarities in the strategies of incorporation. It is not a phenomenon associated only with the left, and in this sense, the most recent wave of incorporation can be analyzed in broader historical perspective to unravel the particularities and commonalities of this and other processes of incorporation.

Mobilizing and demobilizing incorporation

Political incorporation can vary along an additional dimension, particularly important for those cases in which the process of incorporation is initiated or motivated from "below". In these cases, incorporation takes place after a process of sustained mobilization of an excluded sector of society such as the working class, indigenous peoples, informal urban workers, or any other. With a mobilized actor or set of actors in society, the question regarding what to do about this political activation remains central for the political leaders doing the incorporating. In this regard, whereas some processes of political incorporation in Latin America have been accompanied by explicit attempts at demobilization, in others, mobilization is promoted or at least tolerated. Hence, mobilizing and demobilizing forms of political incorporation can be found.

Introducing this distinction is important in empirical terms since it captures some variation across cases, but it is also relevant theoretically. When making use of the concept, some authors have suggested that political incorporation inherently suggests a process of demobilization of the incorporated actors. This is often the case among authors who equate political incorporation with co-optation. Davis and Coleman (1986), for example, refer to labor incorporation as a form of control that implies formal and informal asymmetrical linkages between ruling parties and trade unions. In the process, trade unions "sacrifice their autonomy in collective bargaining and in internal union affairs for access to the privileges and benefits that the ruling party can deliver. (…) We refer to such cases [in

[6] Urban dwellers had been enfranchised by the electoral reform 1912, known as the Sáenz Peña Law, that establishing universal male suffrage. However, it was not until the period under consideration that a broader process of incorporation took place and that urban dwellers were incorporated as a specific actor.

which trade unions managed to break their ties with hegemonic parties] as autonomous unions in contrast to the incorporated unions that are vertically linked to hegemonic parties or to confederations controlled by such parties" (p. 397). In this line of literature, the policy benefits granted to incorporated sectors are aimed to control and even divide them.

However, as we already mentioned, this is not necessarily the case. A process of incorporation can involve mobilization of the incorporated sector, or at least the absence of an explicit attempt of demobilization. In their classic work on the topic, Collier and Collier analyze some countries in which political incorporation was marked by a process of control and demobilization rather than by mobilization. In their classification, those countries experiencing state incorporation were the ones in which a mobilizing aspect was not present (Brazil and Chile), whereas this was one of the characteristics of party incorporation (Uruguay, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela), particularly for those in the subcategory of Labor Populism (Peru and Argentina) and Radical Populism (Mexico and Venezuela).

Although it could seem as if Collier and Collier's classification of party and state incorporation perfectly overlaps with mobilizing and demobilizing incorporation, this is not always true. To foster or to keep political mobilization going, party incorporation is not a precondition; state incorporation can and has been mobilizing as well. This is the case of Velasco's Peru, where the military dictatorship sought to organize and mobilize labor and peasant unions and connect them to the state through the Sistema Nacional de Movilización Social.

In contemporary Latin America, two recent examples of this mobilizing and demobilizing dynamics are Bolivia and Ecuador, respectively. In the first case, the government has promoted the mobilization of its constituents, particularly the peasant unions that are part of the MAS's ruling coalition. Although the government has been accused of dividing social organizations that opposed some of its policies (like the lower land indigenous organization, CEDOC), the overall tendency of the government is still to promote the mobilization of supporters and constantly negotiate policy initiatives with them and other autonomous social organizations.

In the opposite corner, Rafael Correa's Ecuador has been marked by a demobilizing style of political incorporation. The government has established links directly with the bases of social movements through different welfare and public investment policies, at the same time that it has actively discouraged mobilization and attacked social movement's leaders legitimacy. Correa draws part of his legitimacy from presenting the government as representing the excluded in Ecuador, particularly indigenous people, at the same time that their autonomy and mobilization capacity is diminished.

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper has been to analyze the concept of political incorporation and propose a conceptualization that is explicit about the attributes that we must focus our attention on if we want to identify instances of incorporation. We have then analyzed conceptual and process variations, illustrating them with a number of cases from different historical periods and countries in Latin American. The diversity of cases shows that political incorporation has been central in the region since the early 20th century but that there is important variation in terms of actors and processes of incorporation.

With this exercise we aim at making a number of contributions. First, we argue that political incorporation can be best conceptualized using a mixed conceptual structure. This conceptualization constitutes a rare case of an explicit use of a mixed structure concept and as such it can be a contribution to the literature on concept formation. Second, the explicit conceptualization has a level of generality that allows the concept to travel in time and space, while at the same time providing important differentiation through the subtypes of incorporation. This strategy allows overcoming some of the restrictions of existing definitions, providing a tool for researchers interested in contemporary and historical cases of political incorporation. The third contribution of the paper is the focus on the conceptual and empirical variations. The variations we have laid out can give rise to interesting research questions such as: are the processes of incorporation in a country similar or different for different excluded actors? Are there subtypes of incorporation that have been more pervasive in the region or specific countries? Does political incorporation tend to be of low or high intensity? For each of these descriptive questions we can then inquire about the causes for a better understanding of political incorporation in Latin America.

These and other questions can be asked regarding contemporary cases of political incorporation. The recent political processes that have led to the inclusion of actors largely marginalized during the 1980s and 1990s in Latin America constitute the object of an ongoing research agenda. And since these processes are often conceptualized as political incorporation, this research agenda can make use of the conceptualization used in this paper. Issues such as the subtypes and intensity of incorporation, the variations in terms of processes, and comparison with other actors previously incorporated can shed light on a central aspect of recent Latin American politics.

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