

First, it would have been very useful to have a more in-depth discussion of the actors involved. Actors, and any differences between them apart from gender, seniority, and party membership, are not talked about in any detail. In a more intersectional analysis, it would have been good to know whether any other characteristics of the female (and male) legislators affected their actions, such as their race, class, age, or sexual orientation. In this analysis, there is a tendency to see women as one homogenous group. It may be that legislators in the Argentine subnational legislatures are relatively homogeneous. But this is where a finer-grained analysis of the four short case studies at the end of the book might have been useful. The South African Parliament and the U.S. Senate could potentially supply some interesting comparisons.

Second, more discussion of the ideational would have been useful. For example, did party ideology make a significant difference? Again, even if this was not a significant factor in the Argentine case, the four comparator legislatures might have been useful in this regard. How far does party ideology undermine the propensity to collaborate in the South African and U.S. cases? And furthermore, rather than putting women's issues together in one grouping, it would also have been fascinating to see whether there were differences in the extent of collaboration depending on the nature of the issue. For example, is there more evidence of collaboration over less controversial "women's issues," such as daycare, in comparison to more contentious ones, such as reproductive rights? How much harder or easier did the nature of an issue make it for women of different parties to collaborate?

Overall, this informative book tells us some interesting new things about how collaboration takes place in legislatures. Through the presentation of a carefully developing argument and rich empirical evidence, Barnes shows us very clearly how the institutional context shapes the constraints on their actions that all legislators face. She shows us that female legislators are likely to collaborate more than male legislators and under what circumstances. As a result, this book is a very useful addition to the growing literature on how legislatures are gendered.

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Judith Teichman, *The Politics of Inclusive Development: Policy, State Capacity, and Coalition Building*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. Figures, bibliography, index, 261 pp.; hardcover \$109, ebook \$84.99.

In her book, Judith Teichman attempts to develop a theory that aims at identifying the conditions under which developing countries can promote economic growth in a way that can include sectors of the population that have been at the margin of society. Central to her analysis is the concept of inclusive development and how a proactive government can craft policies that are capable of improving the lot of the lower strata of society in the Global South.

Teichman's "inclusive development," by her own admission, is an ideal type concept. Development of this kind provides physical security, eliminates poverty,

and reduces the obstacles that prevent the lower sectors of the population from enjoying basic social, political, and economic rights. Accordingly, inclusive development entails access to quality services (most of all education) and guarantees decent standards of living.

The conceptual framework can be found in chapter 1. Teichman starts by analyzing the academic and policy debate on inclusive development, social exclusion, and inequality. Her thesis is very straightforward:

Progress toward inclusive development requires a proactive state that pursues a combination of universal targeted social programs, funded through a progressive tax system; supports the welfare and productivity of small and medium farmers; and actively pursues economic growth involving employment generating rural and urban activities engaged in product processing and generation. (2)

Teichman builds her argument by analyzing the shortcomings of previous approaches to development. She underscores how the import substitution development (ISI) model, in vogue from the 1950s until the 1980s in many developing countries, ended up creating powerful but narrow vested interests in urban areas. These included highly protected and politically connected entrepreneurs, union members, and government employees. However, ISI, in most cases, ignored the neediest sectors of the population, particularly in rural areas. This resulted in an imbalanced socioeconomic development, punctuated by large fiscal deficits and high levels of inflation. Teichman then examines the neoliberal policies of the 1990s, which attempted to address the shortcomings of the ISI model but ended by exacerbating the plight of the poor in most countries.

According to Teichman, the silver lining of the failure of neoliberalism was that it led to a profound reassessment of development strategies by the World Bank, smaller regional development banks, and nongovernmental organizations. This new phase recast the focus of development policies away from the Washington Consensus market-based solution. By the early 2000s, the development paradigm targeted the poor under the banner of inclusive development as a way to reduce social exclusion and inequality. This change of heart could be seen in the 2013 World Bank annual report's new emphasis on progressive spending on social services, education, and health.

Having clarified the historical academic and policy debate, Teichman proceeds in her analysis. The thrust of her argument is that inclusive development, to succeed, requires political consensus among party, business, and labor elites over the long haul. In this context, the state is the key player, because it is the institution that guarantees respect for the compromise that different elites agree on and, simultaneously, designs and carries out the policies that such compromise entails.

To make her case, Teichman uses a "focused comparison" methodological approach based on four countries. Chile and South Korea, the successful cases, are examined individually (chapters 5 and 6); Mexico and Indonesia, the unsuccessful cases, are merged (chapter 4).

Two variables are key in determining success or failure across cases. The first has to do with the aforementioned elite consensus. Political leaders must lure the support of key power brokers to create a broad-based inclusive development coalition. Teichman correctly stresses the importance of creating a balanced policy approach so that potentially antagonistic groups may find something in the new policy that benefits their own interests.

For instance, she argues that old-fashioned redistributive programs are bound to fail. Instead, she points out that successful cases show how governments, instead of antagonizing the private sector, actually collaborate with it by designing and financially supporting agricultural and industrial policies aimed at sustained growth. This allows business expansion and employment generation over the long term, which is important to constituencies of middle-class citizens. It also draws the support of business elites, particularly if governments proceed slowly and consistently and live up to their side of the bargain.

Indeed, inclusive development requires steady business investment to succeed, but also substantial state power, which brings us to the second variable: state capacity. In Teichman's view, state capacity must be present before the creation of an inclusive development coalition. This entails the recruitment of a well-trained government bureaucracy committed to inclusive development policies.

If all these conditions are met—by themselves a very tall order—then inclusive development may indeed succeed. Teichman suggests a variety of policy initiatives in this regard. The fundamental goal here is to create what she labels “decent” sustainable employment. This can be attained through efforts to improve human capital among the poorest sectors of society through educational programs that create greater job opportunities. Additionally, making microfinancing available to poor people who are excluded from financial services (a concept developed by Hernando De Soto's *Other Path*, which, strangely enough, is not mentioned in the book) to expand their business beyond the local markets is of fundamental importance. Moreover, policies ranging from conditional cash transfers (based on school attendance and medical checkups, for example) to social investment funds of various kinds can also play a positive role, although their impact may be limited, depending on how well they are managed.

In this regard, Teichman cautions us that such programs can actually be counterproductive if they are politically manipulated rather than targeted to improve human capital. Thus, appropriate targeting of needy groups is a crucial precondition for success. Another factor essential in inclusive development, when it comes to countries with large rural populations, is the promotion of extensive land redistribution, coupled with government support for small farmers in terms of inputs and credit. These policies have the benefit of improving the productivity and employment of rural dwellers, as well as their social welfare.

In general, this is a very provocative and stimulating book. It has the merit of showing how states can play a positive role in developing countries in a socially inclusive way. It also departs from the old-fashioned recipe of income redistribution, which is often prey to clientelistic politics and ends up favoring partisan supporters;

instead, it emphasizes state–private sector partnerships to create growth and sustainable employment, or what former Chilean president Patricio Alwyn called “growth with equity” back in 1989.

The bad news is that Chile, for one, has remained an isolated case in Latin America. During the commodity bonanza, most countries in the region that captured large price windfalls, instead of following the Chilean model, engaged in “inclusionary policies” reminiscent of the old-fashioned populist measures, which produced the same results: stagflation, large budget deficits, and capital flight. Instead of empowering people, this new brand of populism created unmet expectations and a greater reliance on government subsidies. Thus, as much as I empathize with Teichman’s argument, I am left wondering whether the Chilean example can be replicated even in its own region. To some degree, one may also have doubts about the replicability of the Korean model in Southeast Asia.

The second issue that some may find debatable is the use of the “Global South” as an analytical category. It is reminiscent of the modernization theory of the 1960s, which divided the world into three groups, in which the Third World included those countries that were neither industrialized Western nations nor communist regimes. In the Global South, we have countries with widely different levels of socioeconomic development. Indeed, in many respects, South Korea today is much more advanced than several Southern European and Eastern European countries. South Korean, Brazilian, Turkish, and Mexican multinationals are becoming important investors in different parts of the world. Therefore, does it make sense to treat all these countries, some not even located south of the equator (i.e., South Korea and Turkey), as being part of the same category as Haiti and Zimbabwe?

These concerns aside, Teichman should be praised for having written a provocative and intellectually stimulating book. For those interested in the politics of development, her findings and policy prescriptions will be of great interest.

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