

among the parties in all three elections has remained more or less the same. PRI boasts the largest percentage of strong, partisan voters, followed by the PAN and the PRD. In a three-party system, two candidates have won the election with less than 39% of the vote. PRI, therefore, has an easier task in convincing a smaller percentage of the independent voters to support its ticket. PRD, on the other hand, typically would have to more than double its partisan vote to win.

The volume also addresses two essential components of recent Mexican elections, violence and corruption. The chapter on “Drugs, Bullets, and Ballots” provides completely unique data on the empirical impact of violence on voter turnout. The authors estimate that drug-related violence “lowered turnout by around three percentage points in the country’s most violent localities” (p. 155). They demonstrate how such a small figure can have dramatic consequences for electoral outcomes.

While it is impossible to note all of the new and significant findings that are thoroughly researched in the comparative literature, I would offer two observations. It can be argued that since *Mexico’s Evolving Democracy* was published two and a half years after the election, it would have been useful for more of the contributors to link their findings and analyses to the lack of democratic consolidation and the structural changes that are impacted. Noting the significance of the Pact for Mexico (an agreement among the three parties to pursue a specific policy agenda) in greater depth is an example. Further, almost no mention whatsoever is made of traditional demographic variables. Most important of these is gender, which is only mentioned three or four times. A valuable Mitofsky survey of the 2009 congressional elections revealed that on a state-by-state basis, up to 10% more women than men voted in that election. Why did it not continue to be the case in 2012? We do not know. Their level of participation has potential implications for democratic consolidation given their significant differences from men in conceptualizing democracy. In the chapter on corruption and clientelism, it would be worth noting to the readers that recent LAPOP surveys clearly demonstrate that link between the existence or perception of corruption and the degree of willingness to pay a bribe. In short, more emphasis on the consequences of these electoral findings for Mexican democracy writ large would enhance even more this fine volume.

Party Systems and Democracy in Africa. Edited by Renske Doorenspleet and Lia Nijzink. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. 191p. \$105.00 cloth, \$100.00 paper.
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— Louis A. Picard, *University of Pittsburgh*

This slim volume is not just an edited collection. The editors and authors have tried to provide a framework for

understanding the function of political parties and their relationship to social divisions within countries in sub-Saharan Africa. For this reason alone, *Party Systems and Democracy in Africa* is worth looking at, given the many edited volumes that are published without collaborative approaches.

In Chapter 1, the editors argue convincingly that elections are a primary mode for transition to political pluralism and that they define patterns of stability and change. However, party systems both threaten and are threatened by the ethnic, language, and cultural divisions within a country. This is an argument that has long been made by scholars of politics in sub-Saharan Africa but bears repeating in a donor-driven environment that promotes democratic governance in Africa.

If there is a significant gap in this work, it is the absence of a significant discussion of the anthropological and historical patterns that influence political culture and democratic movements in the countries in question. It is also limited in that it examines only six of the party systems in a continent of 54 states. A discussion of complex organizations such as political parties cries out for a mixed methodology. Given that this is an edited collection, a chapter using public-opinion data, such as that available through Afrobarometer, would have been useful. Most importantly, there is no discussion of the many party systems that serve as control agents for patronage and corruption that are the norm in Africa. Finally, in an issue area that should be rich in drama, the volume is dry; as is the case with so much social science in the twenty-first century, the chapters here lack the human drama that is politics and history in a fascinating but chronically misgoverned part of the world.

The collective of authors divide the party systems they try to understand into one-party dominant systems (South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia) and two-party and multiple-party systems (Ghana, Benin, and Zambia). The latter lack the commonality that defines one-party dominance systems. In addition to overview chapters at the beginning and end, the editors present six case studies that use their collective framework.

The first two chapters (Chapter 1 by the editors and Chapter 2 by Matthijs Bogaards) are conceptual and ask whether political parties are important in Africa and whether or not elections make a positive contribution to African democracy. The answer to both questions is a qualified yes. The case studies, particularly those focusing on one-party dominant systems, confirm this.

Steve Friedman, a veteran South Africa watcher, kicks off the case studies with an insightful and prescient discussion of the meltdown and creeping corruption of the African National Congress since 1994. Christian John Makgala and Shane Mac Giollabhui burst the bubble of Botswana’s democratic image, suggesting a move toward authoritarianism under the current president, Ian

Khama, while conjecturing on whether or not he will depart on schedule. Henning Melber suggests that Namibia, dominated by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) has evolved into a mildly authoritarian party-administrative state. Cyril K. Daddieh and George M. Bob-Milliar heap praise, perhaps rightly so, on the democracy that is now Ghana. Rachel M. Gisselquist discusses the puzzle (a lack of pattern to the politics of that country) that is Benin, the only Francophone example in an Anglophone-oriented volume. Dan Paget provides us with a snapshot of the party system in Zambia, but without a solid understanding of the influences of Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP). The editors provide a short concluding chapter that offers a teaser on the use of public-opinion data that should have been highlighted throughout.

Among the editors' conclusions is that countries transformed by liberation movements, not surprisingly, tend to be party-dominant systems. These party-dominant systems can be stable umbrella organizations or can slide toward rent-seeking corrupt politics and a blending of state and party structures. However, they see one-party systems as often inherently weak over time, and the one-party system is likely to slip into patterns of shrinking competition, controlled political debate, increasing intolerance, and elite (authoritarian) decision making. The primary danger of the dominant-party state is a move toward increased social control.

The widespread presence of party-dominance systems suggests ill for pluralist institutional development in sub-Saharan Africa. For a better understanding of political party characteristics, one must understand the historical and cultural foundations of the party system in sub-Saharan Africa. One hesitates to say it, but this volume is probably too short. It lacks the richness of analysis that one would expect from the dramas and personalities that define politics in Africa.

Two-party and stable multiparty systems often appear to have evolved out of historical political divisions within society, institutional structures characterized by strong judicial processes and a politically complex civil society system. These environmental patterns perhaps need more attention within the context of political party watching. Unstable multiparty systems tend to move toward increased ethnic fragmentation, segmented patronage, weak political institutions, and state-social linkages. For all of their tendency toward fragmentation, the authors suggest that two-party and stable multiple-party systems are evidence of more institutionally secure political processes.

This is a very readable little volume. It was deftly conceived and makes a contribution to the literature on political parties in less-developed states. The editors are to be commended on their framework and collective methodology. The cost of the hardcover at somewhat less than

a dollar a page, however, precludes it from use in the classroom and condemns it to a library existence vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the copy machine. The paperback and online versions are almost as expensive.

From Development to Dictatorship: Bolivia and the Alliance for Progress in the Kennedy Era. By Thomas C. Field, Jr. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014. 296p. \$45.00. doi:10.1017/S1537592716003819

— John Crabtree, *University of Oxford*

At a time when the left-wing Morales administration in Bolivia has seen a profound rift with the United States, involving the expulsion of an ambassador, the exit of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration and, finally, the winding up of operations by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) operations in the country, it is a worthwhile exercise to examine some of the roots of anti-American feeling in this Andean republic. Thomas Field's book provides us with a wealth of detail and careful analysis of U.S.–Bolivian relations at a critical moment in this long-problematic relationship.

From Development to Dictatorship covers a fairly narrow time-span: from the launch of the Alliance for Progress in 1961 to the coup that toppled Bolivian President Víctor Paz Estenssoro in November 1964, bringing to power General René Barrientos. On the one hand, it centers on the relationship between Paz's second government (1960–64) and Washington, mediated by two successive U.S. ambassadors, Ben Stephansky and Douglas Henderson; on the other hand, it examines the unraveling of the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario) alliance, the steady deterioration in relations between the Paz administration and Bolivia's militant mineworkers (specifically the miners' union at Bolivia's [then] most important tin-mining complex at Siglo XX), and the reconfiguration of the Bolivian armed forces under the aegis of the Alliance for Progress.

Field seeks, first of all, to debunk the idea that the Alliance for Progress was a development initiative that was somehow free of ideology and strategic considerations designed to foster U.S. interests in Latin America (or elsewhere). While talking loftily about economic and social progress, the Alliance of Progress, Field argues, persuasively that it had little or nothing to do with promoting democracy. Coming at a time when the Cold War was at one of its most intense phases, particularly in the wake of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, the Alliance for Progress is seen as a mechanism to push back communism wherever it reared its head.

Bolivia became a textbook case of how this was to be done, evidently involving significant attention on the part of Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, and particularly their Secretary of State Dean Rusk. In addition to interviewing many of those involved, Field