

individuals (citizen-participants and public officials) and their communities: democratic learning and community well-being, empowerment and strengthening of civil society, and representation and accountability. To what extent do real-world PBs measure up, and why or why not?

Briefly describing and explaining PB's origins in Porto Alegre specifically and Brazil more broadly (mostly in historical-institutionalist language), the authors turn to the policy diffusion literature to explain its worldwide spread and growing diversity/variance. Noting that there is “no single impulse driving adoption” (p. 49), the authors stress the need to uncover the way that the PB idea first found its adopters/proponents: “normative” adoption (based on belief in the participatory promise), “mimetic” adoption (following the latest “best practices” techniques), and “coercive” adoption (following “external” promoters’ choices to adopt). The perceived needs and interests of PB adopters in being drawn to PB in the first place—solving “context-specific problems” (p. 81)—is also important, including a hoped-for uptick in public support, electoral or otherwise. Patterns of adoption over time, in terms of both policy design and the relative degree to which each of the five PB principles gets emphasized or deemphasized, help the authors construct a typology of six types of PB: Empowered Democracy and Redistribution (the Porto Alegre model), Deepening Democracy through Community Mobilization, Mandated by National Government, Digital PB, Social Development and Accountability, and Efficient Governance.

Based on this typology of real-world cases of PB, the authors hypothesize how each one, given its design and underlying value orientation, is likely to generate—or is recognized as having *actually* generated—the individual- and community-level outcomes associated with the participatory promise. The Empowered Democracy and Redistribution type, for example, although it is the most likely to deliver on all dimensions of the participatory promise, is also the hardest to implement because of its demanding and exceedingly rare social, economic, and political “prerequisites.” No wonder, then, that the authors see governments moving away from or increasingly not even considering such designs. Meanwhile, the Social Development and Accountability type has become “the most prevalent in the Global South and/or in rural areas” (p. 188) but offers only “moderate to low impacts” for reasons outlined throughout the book and illustrated across multiple cases.

Although the entire book represents a clear effort to link conceptual and theoretical discussions with empirical illustrations, at least half of the volume—four chapters—is dedicated to describing the diffusion of PBs in Latin America, Asia, Europe and North America, and sub-Saharan Africa (including “meaningful trends within each region” [p. 190]) and then illustrating and testing the many hypotheses/theories presented in the introduction and in the first two chapters: Why diffusion? Why the chosen type of PB

and to what effect on participants and their communities? The authors claim that their book “is the first cross-national, cross-regional analysis of PB programs that employs a single framework to assess the likely parameters of change generated by PB” (p. 187). An additional plus is that, at multiple points throughout the book, the authors indicate where evidence is lacking and where further research is needed.

In addition to summarizing case study findings and relating them to the concepts and theories discussed in the first part of the book, the conclusion “looks ahead” to explore such “unresolved issues” as PBs being adopted in authoritarian and semi-authoritarian contexts, as well as “the different dynamic at play” (p. 199) in cases where external actors like the World Bank or international NGOs are PB's primary proponents. The book ends by offering practical lessons to policymakers and civil society activists who are considering adopting PB or adapting the model they have to better fit their own social and political conditions.

This is an essential book for PB practitioners and graduate students wishing to step into the extensive and often bewildering literature on PB and on the underlying participatory promise. PB scholars are likely to see it as an extremely useful summary and reconceptualization of the literature to date.

Ending Gender-Based Violence: Justice and Community in South Africa. By Hannah E. Britton. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020. 216p. \$110.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper. doi:10.1017/S1537592722000226

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Despite its progressive constitution, gender-based violence remains a pervasive problem in post-apartheid South Africa. In this poignantly written book, Hannah Britton provides a powerful intersectional framework to account for this troubling reality. Fundamentally, her research holds that the carceral approach to addressing gender-based violence—with its focus on criminalizing and incarcerating perpetrators—has proved to be inadequate because it has helped the state eschew accountability for protecting all citizens. Shifting attention away from individual-level solutions, *Ending Gender-Based Violence* develops a novel community-level analysis. This analysis helps explain both the endurance of violence against women in the post-apartheid era and offers solutions to address the root causes of such violence.

In the early pages of the book, Britton persuasively argues that gender-based violence in South Africa must be understood as a legacy of apartheid-era policies and overlapping structures of “racism, xenophobia, poverty, and sexism” that persist in the country to the present day (p. 46). The introductory chapter compellingly argues

that a transition to electoral democracy and the adoption of gender-sensitive laws have proved insufficient for combating gender-based violence precisely because these approaches have failed to “distill the complexities of structural violence” in a democratizing, postconflict, and racially segregated society (p. 20). In advancing these arguments, Britton’s work shares several key insights with research on gender-based violence in India, where scholars have similarly found that unequal experiences of citizenship and state access have served to enable violence against women, particularly those from marginalized communities, despite constitutional guarantees of formal equality (e.g., see Natasha Behl, *Gendered Citizenship*, 2019).

Conceptually, *Ending Gender-Based Violence* holds that while such violence is contextual, it is neither cultural nor “tribal” (p. 14). This conceptual clarity is one of the major strengths of the book insofar as complex phenomena such as violence, especially in the Global South, are all too often explained away as offshoots of cultural practices.

The central findings of the book are presented in five chapters. In chapter 1, Britton provides “a genealogy of gender-based violence,” drawing on interviews with service providers, community leaders, and issue advocates (p. 25). Chapters 2–5 then detail the importance of place, people, police, and points of contact—or what Britton terms the “four p’s”—as pivotal factors that can influence the possibilities for gender-based violence, as well as its containment, on the ground. The empirical evidence for the book’s major arguments comes from interviews with a range of service providers across nine South African communities. These communities span “urban and rural areas; white, coloured, and black populations; formal and informal settlements, [as well as] long-standing communities and newly formed townships” (p. 26). The sheer breadth of research sites is a second notable strength of the work, because it allows Britton to shine a light on multiple forms of gender-based violence in post-apartheid South Africa.

In chapter 2, Britton expertly shows that “place, space, and geography” continue to influence the contemporary context of violence against women (p. 49). Not only do these variables affect the ways in which gender-based violence is described on the ground, but they also affect the availability of critical resources and service providers, including counselors and police officers, who are necessary to address such issues. Drawing on case studies of five South African communities, Britton further finds that the places that are most engaged in fighting gender-based violence are those where three or more stakeholders—with one of them being the police—have entered into intentional partnerships with each other. These partnerships have served to combat violence against women because they have treated such violence as a *structural phenomenon* as opposed to a singular issue.

From illuminating the importance of place, the third chapter of the book highlights the roles of two

“understudied sectors”—religious leaders and traditional leaders and healers—in the fight against gender-based violence (p. 75). Crucially, Britton finds that the activities of these groups have served to fill critical gaps left by the uneven provision of services from the national state. Equally important, however, is her discussion of the tensions and unintended consequences that can emerge when religious and traditional leaders become involved in carrying out such “stopgap” roles (p. 74). These consequences range from reinforcing “regressive ideas about women’s position in the family and society” to emphasizing justice and compensation, which can serve to keep victims and survivors stuck in cycles of violence (p. 88).

The third “p,” which Britton examines in chapter 4, pertains to the role of the police and its promise and challenges in combating gender-based violence in post-apartheid South Africa. This chapter demonstrates that police officers can help address violence against women when they use their discretion “to change the culture of policing within their stations, transform the relationship between the police and local communities,” and commit themselves to tackling gender-based violence (p. 99). At the same time, Britton notes that a lack of resources—both material and in terms of training—and trust deficits with local constituents are continuing challenges that the South African Police Services (SAPS) encounter in their work.

Finally, in chapter 5, Britton discusses four additional “points of contact” that are engaged in combating gender-based violence: the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offenses Units (FCS); sexual offenses courts; trauma units; and the Thuthuzela Care Centres (TCCs). Overall, the chapter shows that although some of these institutions have realized important accomplishments, they all remain “nested within” a carceral framework and are thus unable to provide upstream prevention-focused approaches for fighting gender-based violence (p. 125).

In the final chapter of *Ending Gender-Based Violence*, Britton reminds readers that the implementation of a carceral approach in post-apartheid South Africa has shifted “attention away from the state” and its responsibilities to its people (p. 150). She also acknowledges that greater involvement on the part of the national state in stemming violence is difficult to envision today, because the ruling ANC has moved “further and further away from its constitutional commitments to gender equality” (p. 157). Yet, such engagement—in the form of “a commitment and investment from the national government”—is precisely what Britton suggests will help address “violence in all forms” going forward (p. 155). However, it remains unclear that the South African government actually has the *incentives* to engage in these efforts. Given the fact that community-level groups and leaders have taken on the responsibility of combating gender-based violence, the final pages of this book would

have thus benefited from a clearer articulation of how, when, and why the state might be compelled to become more involved in such work.

This critical remark aside, *Ending Gender-Based Violence* provides an empirically rich and theoretically engaging contribution to the scholarship on violence against women. Its findings stand to inform both scholars and policy makers about how to address such violence in stratified societies where gaps persist between formal guarantees and the lived realities of citizenship and belonging.

The Motivation to Vote: Explaining Electoral Participa-

tion. By André Blais and Jean-François Daoust. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020. 156p. \$34.95 cloth.

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In *The Motivation to Vote*, André Blais and Jean-François Daoust advance a parsimonious account of electoral participation focused on a handful of attitudes and beliefs that are relatively proximal to the turnout decision. Their model combines two stable predispositions (political interest and belief that voting is a civic duty) with two more variable, election-specific judgments (caring about the election outcome and perceived ease of voting) to explain whether those who are eligible to vote—and for whom voting is not legally compulsory—decide to do so at a given opportunity. The authors test their model primarily through analysis of a single cross-national source of survey data—the Making Electoral Democracy Work (MEDW) dataset—that, if not exactly purpose-built for the book, is nonetheless ideally suited to the task. The bulk of this short book (the main text is 109 pages, including many tables and figures) consists of a systematic investigation of the components of the model using the MEDW data, with each of the four attitudes treated in separate chapters, first as a dependent variable to be explained and then as an independent variable in a model of voter turnout. Spoiler alert: the model passes the authors' many tests rather convincingly. Two additional chapters consider a pair of alternative, though not exactly rival, explanations of voter turnout, asking, first, "Is Voting a Habit?" (chap. 7), and second, "Does It All Depend on Context?" (chap. 8). The book concludes, after a broad summary of the findings, with speculations on how the model might be adapted to other contexts (e.g., where voting is compulsory), suggestions for future research, and brief (but awfully important) recommendations for policy makers eager to motivate turnout.

With due respect to both authors, this book could easily be understood as part of a long-running dialogue between Blais—without doubt the most prolific student of electoral participation—and Riker and Ordeshook's "A Theory of

the Calculus of Voting" (*American Political Science Review*, 62 [1], 1968). Indeed, Blais and Daoust themselves invite that interpretation (see, e.g., p. 43). Relative to Riker and Ordeshook's model, we might say Blais and Daoust omit P (the probability of casting the pivotal vote) and add, alongside D (the duty to vote), a second symbolic gratification, I (political interest). In any case, this book could be profitably read alongside Blais's earlier monograph on these matters, *To Vote or Not to Vote? The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory* (2000).

The Motivation to Vote can also be read as a complement to Brady, Verba, and Scholzman's influential resource model of political participation ("Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation," *American Political Science Review*, 89 [2], 1995); this interpretation is also suggested by Blais and Daoust (p. 104). Brady and colleagues would, of course, not be surprised by the central importance of political interest to the turnout decision: they saw voting as a key exception to the general importance of resources to political participation (as Blais and Daoust acknowledge on p. 7). At the same time, *The Motivation to Vote* provides a richer view of the motivational foundations of electoral participation, particularly in its careful analysis of the role of civic duty.

The Motivation to Vote is a very hard book to criticize. Most critical intuitions that occurred as I read the book were eventually satisfactorily addressed. It's possible that my difficulties criticizing the work reflect a shortage of imagination on my part, or it may be that Blais and Daoust have simply written a very good book. For more than one reason, I prefer the latter interpretation.

Indeed, the book has many strengths. One that deserves special mention is the research design. As noted, Blais and Daoust rely on the MEDW dataset, which consists of two waves of surveys of electors during 24 elections across five countries (four in Western Europe plus Canada) at subnational, national, and supranational levels of government. The standardization of measurement and sample recruitment across the surveys is an obvious and important virtue. The overall inferential logic is roughly that of the most-different systems design: if the model holds up across diverse contexts, then we're safe (or safer) concluding that system-level differences are irrelevant. Although high-income, Western democracies may not seem like the most diverse sample, it is important to remember the diversity of contexts that the 24 surveys capture (i.e., national elections, EU elections, and subnational elections involving governments with vastly different responsibilities).

Blais and Daoust's thorough investigation of the components of their model also turns up a host of noteworthy findings regarding how interest, duty to vote, caring about the outcome, and ease of voting relate to and interact with each other as they drive electoral participation. About one-quarter of those who say they have no interest at all in politics vote, whereas one-quarter who express maximal