political incentives, ideology and social networks on diffusion, using a database for 224 cities with populations of over 100,000. Interviews with 120 policy-makers involved in health and education were undertaken in four major municipalities: Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Salvador and São Paulo. Quantitative investigation and verification has thus been combined with qualitative analysis to identify policy-makers' own perceptions of their motivations.

The book makes a welcome and convincing argument that social policy-making is a complex process in which it cannot be assumed that 'actors follow conventional rational choice assumptions about electoral self-interest and pursue policies to win elections and political influence' (p. 151). Be that as it may, in stressing ideology and social networks as major drivers of diffusion, there is a risk that the electoral dimension may be underplayed, in some contexts at least. It should not be forgotten, for example, that the popularity of Lula in his 2006 re-election campaign for the presidency, especially among poor north-easterners, was attributed in some measure to his highly visible promotion and expansion of the BF just months before the polls. On the health side, even if mayors have rarely adopted reforms for crude electoral purposes (as convincingly argued in the case of the PSF, for example), once taken up, many politicians nonetheless have subsequently used reforms to build up their political standing.

There is, however, a more subtle issue at stake that transcends crude electioneering. Poorer Brazilian citizens increasingly perceive social protection and welfare services as their right, an entitlement rather than a favour. In future this could well give voters bargaining power right across the political spectrum as they express their frustrations with the failure of the state to deliver basic services. This was clearly evident in the 2013 public demonstrations across major Brazilian cities. In her very fluently written, informative and persuasive tome, Sugiyama concludes with a hopeful message: that the coming together of ideological beliefs and the reinforcement of professional norms augurs well for the future of social policy-making in Brazil. Although the author does not specifically suggest it, perhaps we could even see the emergence of a sort of 'progressive path-dependence' (if I might use that term) in which social reforms are sustained, if not necessarily generated, by a degree of people power through the ballot box. No doubt further research will shed light on this encouraging prospect.

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Jason Seawright, *Party-System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. xi + 293, $60.00, hb.

Why do party systems collapse? This important question has attracted considerable scholarly attention, especially for the case of Venezuela in the 1990s. In this book Jason Seawright emphasises corruption scandals and failures of ideological representation as the reasons for party-system collapse in both Peru and Venezuela. An innovative and resourceful researcher, Seawright makes his contentions with an impressive variety of data.

Seawright's argument about the devastating impact of corruption scandals is persuasive. Identifying relevant data from opinion polls, he shows a dramatic decline in identification with the traditional parties in Peru and Venezuela prior to collapse. He assesses various measures of corruption, and concludes that corruption scandals

were more numerous than in many other Latin American countries. Seawright indicates that, to understand voters' repudiation of traditional parties, their effect is important; repeated corruption scandals provoke anger. In turn, based on the results of an innovative psychological experiment in Lima and Cusco, he shows that anger leads to voters' risky decisions to opt for new, outsider candidates.

Seawright also explores the effects of economic crisis and argues that it plays a 'facilitating role' (p. 84). In a regression analysis, he finds that indicators of economic performance under a party's administration are statistically significant to the party's share of the vote in the next election. Also, through 1989–93 World Values surveys, he shows that citizens' dissatisfaction with their household finances raises their anxiety. However, contending that economic crisis provokes anxiety but not anger, and that anxiety leads to risk aversion and votes for alternative traditional candidates rather than votes for new outsiders, Seawright rules out 'a direct link between economic performance and party-system collapse' (p. 76).

Like Jana Morgan in her recent book, *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse* (Penn State University Press, 2011), Seawright highlights the problem of ideological under-representation. Using data from opinion polls in Peru in 1990, Venezuela in 1998 and Argentina in 1996, he shows that in Peru a large percentage of citizens placed themselves at the centre but did not consider any traditional political party to be located there, while in Venezuela large percentages placed themselves at either the left or the right but did not identify any traditional party at these locations; by contrast, the vast majority of Argentines placed a traditional party at the same ideological location as themselves. Although variations are not measured precisely, Seawright's data are interesting. It would have been valuable also to compare ideological under-representation in Peru and Venezuela with additional Latin American countries.

Having demonstrated ideological under-representation in Peru and Venezuela, Seawright asks the necessary corollary question: why did the traditional parties fail to adapt ideologically? Why did centrist and centre-right parties in Peru and Venezuela fail to shift to the centre-left, where more voters were located? Using outstanding comparative data from an original 2004–5 survey of local party leaders in Peru, Venezuela and Argentina, Seawright argues that the traditional parties in Peru and Venezuela were more rigid than the Peronist Partido Justicialista in Argentina. Specifically, greater ideological diversity among local leaders, greater distribution of patronage and less complex outreach organisations enhanced the ideological flexibility of the Peronists.

Seawright's final chapter is an analysis of a 2002–3 survey of political attitudes in Argentina, Chile, Peru and Venezuela. A particularly valuable finding is a dramatic increase in political efficacy in Venezuela under the Hugo Chávez government, but not elsewhere.

Seawright's arguments are stimulating, but not invariably convincing. In particular, his contention that corruption scandals have a more direct effect than economic crises is not clearly supported by his evidence. He argues that economic crisis provokes anxiety but corruption scandals provoke anger. This distinction is not tested, however, and one might suspect that fear and anger are intertwined. Further, Seawright contends that economic performance in Peru and Venezuela was not worse than in several other Latin American countries, but his data span the decades 1980–2000 rather than the periods prior to party-system collapse.

Furthermore, in my view Seawright's argument about party-system adaptation simplifies the challenges faced by the Peruvian and Venezuelan parties. The problems posed by the debt crisis were immense; ultimately the winners of both the 1990 election in Peru and the 1993 election in Venezuela adopted rightist or centre-rightist economic policies despite their campaign positions to the contrary. Also, in these critical elections in both countries, political leadership played an important role. In Peru, the key traditional-party candidate, Mario Vargas Llosa, was nominated in part because of his integrity and prestige; but by the same token he would not 'pragmatically' preach a message that he did not believe. In Venezuela, the role of Rafael Caldera, an octogenarian, in the 1993 election is usually assessed negatively, rather than positively as in this book. Furthermore, Seawright's recommendation that parties be 'pragmatic', changing their ideological principles to fit voters' opinions, appears at odds with his concern about political corruption.

Additionally, Seawright's concept of 'party-system collapse' is questionable. He defines this as 'a situation in which all the parties that constitute the traditional party system simultaneously become electorally irrelevant' (p. 48). Clearly, Venezuela is the archetypal case. Peru is more problematic; Seawright acknowledges that only one traditional party was institutionalised in Peru, but the concomitant theoretical implications are not elaborated. Furthermore, that party, the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, APRA), was 'electorally irrelevant' only during the 1990–2000 government of Alberto Fujimori, which deliberately liquidated political parties. The distinction between 'party-system collapse' and 'party-system instability' is not precise.

Questions can also be raised about research design and data. The selection of Argentina as a control case is problematic because the surviving Peronist party did not govern at the onset of periods of severe economic crisis in the country. Also, the available sample surveys that relate Seawright's independent variables to voter choice are unfortunately rather patchwork, and often distant in time from the critical election.

Party-System Collapse opens important new avenues of research. The psychological experiment is particularly innovative, and the original survey of local party leaders in three countries will be helpful to social scientists for decades. The analyses of the implications of corruption scandals and of ideological under-representation are important contributions to the study of Latin American politics. However, party-system collapse is extremely complex, and Seawright is unlikely to have the last word on the topic.

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Carlos Iván Degregori, *How Difficult It Is to Be God: Shining Path's Politics of War in Peru, 1980–1999* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), pp. xxi + 250, £25.50; €32.00, pb.

Carlos Iván Degregori (1945–2011) was a great Latin American public intellectual who will be remembered, above all, for his incisive analytical portrait of the politics of insurgency. This book, his final work, is about the rise and fall of Peru's violent Maoist political party, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path, SL). Published in Spanish in 2010, it was then modestly restructured and translated by a group of his close friends in the