

agenda, which would no doubt be a long and rewarding one.

Boycotts and Dixie Chicks: Creative Political Participation at Home and Abroad. By Andrew S.

McFarland. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2010. 192p. \$89.25 cloth, \$21.21 paper.

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— Joshua W. Busby, *The University of Texas at Austin*

Andrew McFarland's book is one part political theory and another part American government, with a dash of international relations and social movements scholarship. McFarland is a longtime observer of grassroots advocacy, particularly in the United States. His interest in the topic appears to be driven by a normative concern that individuals and groups seeking to promote the general good ("commonweal" concerns) are often too diffuse ("scattered") to exercise influence over parochial special interests. Because their concerns are blocked, such groups need to engage in "creative participation" in political life through "civic innovation," what the author calls "new modes of cooperation to obtain a public good" (p. 5).

McFarland seeks to apply these insights to a range of subjects and countries, including environmental protection, anticorruption, and politically driven consumer choices in the United States, Europe, and China. *Boycotts and Dixie Chicks* is too short to call these case studies or theory testing. Indeed, he largely relies (indeed overrelies) on a handful of secondary sources and reinterprets other scholars' work in the language of creative participation, civic innovation, scattered populace, and commonweal goals.

The application to a wide variety of issue arenas provides a window into an intriguing set of topics. In an effort to identify civic engagement against corruption, Chapter 3 examines both the Progressive movement in Wisconsin in the late nineteenth century and contemporary protest activity in China. Chapters 4 and 5 cover a variety of ways in which consumers are making political choices, including boycotts of firms and individuals for socially undesirable behavior (such as the boycott of ExxonMobil for antienvironmental practices), as well as "buycotts" where consumers make purchases to support their social and political objectives.

In an effort to show that not all campaigns are left-leaning, McFarland also includes the consumer boycott of the country artists the Dixie Chicks (hence the book's title) in response to their public opposition to US President George W. Bush in the lead-up to the 2003 Iraq war. For those interested in transnational consumer choices to support ethical or "fair trade" coffee, there is a section in Chapter 6 that reviews the history of the movement, and Chapter 5 reviews some survey evidence of politi-

cally driven consumer purchases in different, mostly European, countries.

Try as it might, the book does not successfully weave these disparate topics together. Part of the problem is organizational, as the author jumps around to cover environmental protection, corruption, and political consumerism, sometimes in the same chapter.

The book also stumbles conceptually. While each chapter tries to label and work in the author's favored neologisms to describe the topics, the efforts are somewhat perfunctory and strained. In describing a 1970s-era boycott of the Swiss firm Nestlé for its marketing of baby milk to women in developing countries, McFarland writes: "The Nestlé boycott can be considered creative participation as civic innovation. In this instance, scattered people concerned about an injustice initially lacked established institutions for public action. . . . Religion and humanitarian activists succeeded in creating vehicles for transnational action" (p. 112). In describing the Dixie Chicks boycott, he writes that it "serves as an example of political consumerism, hence, of creative participation" (p. 75).

These passages sound fine but rely on problematic concepts. Both the words "innovation" and "creative" imply some degree of novelty, of forms of political engagement that are somehow unfamiliar, and that we need a new conceptual lexicon to understand these forms of political behavior. I was not sure, however, why the terminology of social movements was not up to the task of encompassing this political activity. The author differentiates creative participation and civic innovation from typical political participation through political parties, interest groups, face-to-face civic engagement, and social movements.

Because McFarland sees social movements as challenging existing institutions, he thinks it necessary to coin "creative participation" as a new concept for groups that use nontraditional tactics to defend the status quo. In contrast to creative participation, in Table 1.1 (p. 10) he also represents social movements as low in both "scattered people" and "commonweal goals," as if social movements tend to represent highly concentrated movements pursuing narrow parochial interests. I am not convinced either is true or if McFarland's nomenclature is all that useful. For example, he prefers the term "commonweal" goals to avoid "moralistic" language of the "common good" (p. 4), but it is difficult to see how "creative" and "innovative" are not unencumbered with similar normative biases.

Indeed, McFarland wants to be ecumenical in his choice of cases, but save for the titular boycott, all the other cases in the book represent campaigns that are similar in ideological orientation, largely a response to globalization and the capture of politics by corporate and special interests. His true purpose, revealed in the last few pages,

is to describe and herald the emergence of this kind of “neo-Progressive” mobilization (p. 145) around the world, whether by the likes of the Occupy Movement (which occurred after this book was written) or by Chinese peasants or via the World Social Forum. The Dixie Chicks case seems a bit out of place in this wider normative project.

The first-generation literature on social movements, such as Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink’s magisterial work *Activists Beyond Borders* (1998), sought to demonstrate that transnational advocacy movements were meaningful political actors. In a 2003 article in *World Politics*, Richard Price suggested that the next generation of scholarship on the topic needed to answer the question “Why do some campaigns succeed in some places but fail in others?” (“Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics,” *World Politics* 55 [July 2003]: 579–606.) The literature has largely taken up that charge. *Boycotts and Dixie Chicks* would have profited from more engagement with this line of scholarship on consumer boycotts and labeling schemes by such scholars as Brayden King and Tim Bartley. For readers interested in a wide sweep of history and cross-cutting comparisons, Charles Tilly’s *Social Movements, 1768–2004* (2004) has much to recommend.

McFarland’s work is a return to an earlier era when scholars were attempting to describe the landscape of new actors engaging in untraditional political behavior. Although drawing attention to the parallels between anticorruption activities in nineteenth-century Wisconsin and contemporary China is useful, a far more important contribution would come from understanding the conditions under which these diverse efforts succeed and fail.

For readers, particularly undergraduates, less familiar with some of these historical episodes or the wider literature on collective action and civic mobilization, this book does serve a useful introduction and summarizes findings in the field.

The Triumph of Politics: The Return of the Left in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador. By George Philip and Francisco Panizza. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2011. 200p. \$69.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.

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— Gustavo A. Flores-Macías, *Cornell University*

Breaking with recent research on the left in Latin America that has moved away from leadership-based explanations, George Philip and Francisco Panizza bring back a personality-centered approach to explain different aspects of the leftist governments of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, Rafael Correa in Ecuador, and Evo Morales in Bolivia. Contrary to recent work by other scholars (e.g., Kurt Weyland, Raúl Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, eds., *Leftist Governments in Latin America*, 2010; Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts, eds., *The Resurgence of the Latin Amer-*

ican Left, 2011; and Gustavo Flores-Macías, *After Neoliberalism? The Left and Economic Reforms in Latin America*, 2012) who underscore the role of structural or institutional factors, the main emphasis of *The Triumph of Politics* is on these leaders’ political strategies, ideas, and claims. Philip and Panizza contend that the mix of old- and new-left positions of these politicians should be taken seriously.

The book’s point of departure is that a set of “internationally accepted normative ideas” was articulated at the hemispheric summit held in Miami in 1994, including the desirability of free trade, market reform, good governance, and representative democracy (p. 1). According to the authors, a fundamental criterion setting Chávez, Correa, and Morales apart from the rest of the region is that they have confronted this perspective and refounded politics in their respective countries (p. 4). They reach this conclusion after discussing these leaders’ tactics and strategy, rhetoric, relationship with social movements, economic nationalism, and regional economic diplomacy. In particular, the text emphasizes what the authors call “high politics,” defined as the choices made by political actors and their motivations and consequences.

The authors organize the book around three themes, covering each in two chapters. The first section discusses the factors behind the rise to power of Chávez, Correa, and Morales. Chapter 1 focuses on how they reached the presidency and how they have managed to combine legal and extralegal tactics when previous leftist leaders had been ousted or blocked by the military. This chapter presents an overview of recent coups and other forms of military intervention in the three countries, and makes the case that political turbulence was the norm at the time these leaders reached power.

Chapter 2 also focuses on the sources of this instability but from the perspective of protest movements. It discusses how civil society has become a source of political volatility in the Andes. In particular, it summarizes the evolution of the rise of indigenous politics, with an emphasis on CONAIE (the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) and the coca-grower unions in Bolivia, concluding that social mobilizations exposed deep social divisions and a deficit of representation in both countries.

The middle section of the book focuses on the ways in which the three leaders have preserved and consolidated power. Chapter 3 switches the emphasis from contextual factors to the three leaders, analyzed through the lens of populism. The chapter argues that Chávez, Correa, and Morales are populists since they “appealed directly to the people against their countries’ political and economic orders, divided the social field into antagonistic camps, and promised redistribution and recognition in a newly founded institutional order” (p. 73). Employing labels such as “plebiscitarian politics” and “populist democracy” to characterize their presidencies, the