therapy versus gradualism in post-Communist studies. Because the post-Communist economic transformations were so new and unprecedented, most of the original debate in the 1990s took place on the theoretical level and with highly incomplete information. Ghodsee and Orenstein are right to argue that now, more than 30 years later, it is time to return to the questions that originally motivated this debate and to search for more nuanced, empirically informed answers to them.

The book is at its most provocative when it attempts not only to "take stock" of the varied social consequences of the 1989 revolutions, but to blame the problems that emerged on Western-promoted neoliberal economic reforms and to argue that different Western policies and greater financial support (e.g., a Marshall-like Plan for the region) would have made a crucial difference in post-Communist social outcomes. As counterfactuals Ghodsee and Orenstein also refer approvingly to the alternative economic reform examples of China and Vietnam, who "decided to reform communism more slowly, ushering in a period of dynamic growth and prosperity without deep transitional recessions such as those caused by shock therapy in Eastern Europe" (p. 195). The causal arguments and counterfactuals remain underdeveloped, which is understandable given that the book's main analytical focus is to systematically identify and assess the range of outcomes rather than to trace the processes through which they occurred. But their overarching call to adopt a more nuanced and empirically grounded inequality perspective in future scholarly analysis and policy design is overwhelmingly supported and extremely timely.

Political Economies of Energy Transition: Wind and Solar Power in Brazil and South Africa. By Kathryn Hochstetler. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020. 270p. $114.95 cloth.
doi:10.1017/S1537592722003504

— Andy Hira, *Simon Fraser University*
ahira@sfu.ca

Kathryn Hochstetler's new book offers an interesting comparison of the struggle around transition to cleaner energy in two large emerging markets. The book correctly notes that the main focus of the existing literature around energy transition is focused on Western countries. The reason is straightforward, those are the economies, primarily in the European Union (EU), where transition has been promoted. There are a wide variety of possible reasons behind why uneven transition in the EU has taken place, from fossil fuel import dependency, writ large through the current Russian gas crisis, to proportional representation voting systems, to more widespread and vociferous green ("postmaterialist") values.

Hochstetler claims in her introduction (p. 2) that transition challenges are more challenging in the Global South because of the greater importance of economic growth. She suggests that there is a possible pathway that allows for growth and reducing emissions in "middle-income and developing" countries. She touches here on the idea of "green growth," that transition can bring new manufacturing jobs and reduce energy costs, among other benefits. So far, that has not proven the case. In fact, one can argue that the window for entering such technologically sophisticated industries may be narrowing for new entrants. China has been aggressive in its green industrial policy, including rising market shares of global wind, solar, and battery manufacture. More fundamentally, as the author acknowledges, renewable energy is still more costly than fossil fuels, and "carbon lock in" including sunk and paid off capital and infrastructure exacerbates the gap.

Hochstetler's main question gets to the heart of political economy, namely "who will pay the costs and receive the benefits of the transition?" (p. 4). She proceeds to answer this question by documenting government commitments, examining industrial policy, looking at the potential for renewable energy to meet electricity needs, and siting decisions. The logic behind selecting these particular variables is unclear. The proposed overall framework is familiar to political economists, including as it does policy coordination; interest group coalitions; path dependency from institutional and socioeconomic legacies; and costs and benefits upon different actors. However, these factors are stated as context, rather than integrated into a more rigorous application to the cases. Thus, the book fails to provide an overall framework that could be applied to developing countries more generally.

An equal challenge is to understand how the case selection fits the research design. Beyond their obvious importance as stand-alone cases, Hochstetler notes their similarities, such as recent authoritarian transitions and ethnically mixed-race societies combined with severe economic inequality. As middle-income countries, she states, they have "characteristics of both developed and developing countries" (p. 21). While there is evident merit behind the cases, more development of the logic and framework of analysis would have improved the research design and potentially the ability to apply it more broadly across time and space.

Hochstetler's painstaking analysis of the cases proceeds along classic comparative political economy lines. In examining state capacity, she concentrates on each state's ability to meet their climate commitments. In both cases, the electricity monopoly played a crucial role in the rate of progress. Her claim that action on climate in South Africa is reflected by an increase in government white papers is unconvincing, however nongovernmental organizations and emerging parts of the private sector clearly became more active over time. She concludes that Eskom, the electricity monopoly, successfully resisted change. Brazil's case is a juxtaposition in the sense that its electricity sector is dominated by hydropower. Thus, the comparison seems counterintuitive, and Hochstetler acknowledges Brazil's growing emissions problems in terms of its development as an offshore oil powerhouse that further strains the comparison.

The overall challenge that emerges is between renewable energy and incumbent systems, whether based on fossil fuels or hydro. Hochstetler's most illuminating comparative lesson comes from examining Green Industrial Policy. In Brazil, the national development bank (BNDES) offered a consistent source of financing that has allowed wind and solar manufacturing to gain a toehold, though installation is much larger. This was balanced by competitive electricity markets with limited feed-in-tariffs (higher prices for renewable electricity producers). South Africa followed a private sector-led path, with independent power producers supposed to lead the way. The end results were far under potential in terms of local job creation and installations, according to the author. Essentially Eskom resisted implementation of a more vigorous industrial policy for renewables in favour of nuclear, leading to half-hearted efforts based more on rent-seeking than building out new sectors.

In the last two substantive chapters, Hochstetler examines attempts to achieve universal distribution and levels of community support for wind and solar. The two are tied closely in the sense that failure to achieve universal access has led to widespread solar adoption throughout the Global South. Her decision to focus on utility scale solar and wind misses this important unfolding story. Brazil has achieved almost universal access while South Africans have an estimated 86% basic access (p. 140).

In the question of expanding distribution, not only financing additional infrastructure but also charging differential prices to different types of customers comes into question. South Africa, similar to many countries in the Global South, suffers from a proliferation of mini off-grids and backup power for the wealthy and theft by lower-income consumers, thus creating financial instability for Eskom. The instability reflects a lack of clear objective data, an inability of Eskom to collect arrears, and a general situation of contestation over policy, all of which prevent Eskom from creating rational financial plans (p. 157). In Brazil, the PT (Workers' Party) government that took over in 2003 naturally made electricity access a priority. Using subsidies, the "Light for All" program achieved success. Hochstetler here alludes again to the technocratic capabilities of the Brazilian bureaucracy, which appear to have much more insulation than their South African counterparts. Using feed-in-tariffs (FITs) and other subsidies, the state has been able to expand wind and solar capacity as generation prices have declined. The ability to manage these subsidies without them falling apart due to rent-seeking à la South Africa, and to link them to some real cost basis, is a remarkable contrast brought out by the volume.

Both countries have blocked the development of community-owned installations that might be a pathway for off-grid communities (p. 178). Here Hochstetler cites the lack of distribution of revenues from FITs and auctions to local communities for solar or wind in contrast to hydropower (p. 189). In addition, licensing for wind and solar is done at the state level in Brazil, with the expected inconsistencies in regulations. The challenge is even greater in South Africa, where long-ranging EIAs are required. Community resistance to wind-power sites is significant in both countries but minimal for solar (p. 218).

The author notes but does not explore the energy revolution that is beginning to happen in much of the South around solar energy, which is modular and thus, even with the cost gap, can fill in where the grid does not reach and/or is unreliable. Nonetheless, Hochstetler's work provides important and rich case studies of two major developing countries' struggles with the green transition. While lacking a rigorous analytical framework, the lessons around state capacity, sectoral power and organization, consistent financing, and community participation resonate with other studies in the political economy of development.

Immigrant Incorporation in East Asian Democracies.

By Erin Chung. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
270p. $105.00 cloth, $35.99 paper.
doi:10.1017/S1537592722003498

— Michael Strausz, *Texas Christian University*
michael.strausz@tcu.edu

Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan all have a history of restrictive immigration control regimes. However, as Erin Chung argues in her recent book, *Immigrant Incorporation in East Asian Democracies*, in recent years each of those three democracies have developed distinction immigrant incorporation regimes. Chung argues, persuasively, that this is related to the different "civic legacies" (p. 4)—"existing ideas, networks, and strategies previously applied to incorporate historically marginalized populations"—of each country (p. 7).

More specifically, in South Korea, because "*the question of immigrant incorporation is embedded in a larger national struggle for democratization*" (p. 31; emphasis in original) the advocates of migrants' rights were able to win stronger allies and larger victories than one would expect given the size of migrant populations. In Japan, however, "*when immigrant incorporation is embedded in ongoing grassroots movements for democratic inclusion*" (ibid.; emphasis in original) migrants' rights advocacy tends to be organized around the interests of the "vanguard group"—made up primarily of noncitizen Zainichi Koreans who have been in Japan for generations—instead of those who have arrived more recently. In Taiwan, "*when immigrant incorporation does not 'fit' into existing civil legacies or threatens the status quo within civil society*… migrant advocacy will likely be stalled, highly contentious, and/or uneven" (ibid.; emphasis in original).