

which seeks greater involvement in international affairs. As noted above, this neat argument allows for a concise set of wide-ranging empirical chapters. However, the price paid is a view on South Korea's interactions with the world that overlooks much of the nuance and debate that in reality surrounds many of the country's bilateral relationships. South Korea's political history is messier than this book's conceptual framing allows for. The authors promise to incorporate constructivist literature into the theoretical framework (p. 3), but the thin perspective provided on elite interpretations of national identity (pp. 16–17) fails to facilitate a rich, non-linear perspective that would allow for a more nuanced explanation of the trajectory of Korea's key relationships. With respect to US–South Korea relations, for example, any discussion of the series of identity related arguments and ideas that have long framed debate around this alliance is absent. The authors describe US base relocation decisions in purely economic terms, with scant reference to the heated political atmosphere in which these decisions have been made. The rejection of American intervention in South Korea's foreign policy has not simply developed alongside the country's economic structures. Rather, during decades of authoritarian rule, much of the pro-democracy movement felt the US government to be deeply complicit with the political repression and human rights abuses committed by consecutive South Korean governments. This is an important part of South Korea's story about its relationship with the world, but is overlooked in a narrative that seeks to sacrifice complexity for the sake of a neat, flawless story. Likewise, the uncritical perspective provided by the theoretical framework has real consequences for this reading of South Korea's foreign relations. The political problems faced by POSCO in India are discussed in some detail, but there is no critical discussion of the implications of this for the book's core premise that economic development has led to positive trends in South Korea's foreign relations. The pressure the South Korean leadership is placing on the Indian government to overcome the social and environmental domestic barriers preventing progress of POSCO projects in Orissa (p. 141) reveals just how narrow a foreign policy driven by economic objectives can be. A reader of this book, with little background knowledge of South Korea's complex modern history, may come away with a one-sided view of how South Korea's own identity as an independent middle power has developed.

These concerns aside, the same reader is simultaneously well served by this book, and its value lies in its utility as an overview text. Beyond South Korea's key relationships (North Korea, US, Japan), there is a shortage of robust scholarship on Seoul's political and economic engagement with the world. The expertise brought to these subjects by the authors serves a general political science and foreign affairs audience well.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1156474>

**Leverage of the weak: labor and environment movements in Taiwan and South Korea**, by Hwa-Jen Liu, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2015, 248 pp., US\$27.50 (paperback)

By economic metrics, the rapid economic development of South Korea and Taiwan since the 1960s has been a spectacular success. However, the development of these “Asian Tiger” economies has not come without cost. This comes at a time of increasingly pointed and converging critique of capitalist development globally as exploitative of and destructive to life through ecosystem

degradation as well as through the dehumanising effects of the commodification of human labour. *Leverage of the Weak: Labor and Environment Movements in Taiwan and South Korea* by Hwa-Jen Liu enters the literature at an auspicious moment when the systemic relationship between the labour and environment movements has never been more explicit.

*Leverage of the Weak* compares the emergence of the labour and environment movements in South Korea and Taiwan during the late 1960s to late 1980s, examining the significance of the temporal sequence of the occurrence of each movement. It finds that the environment movement preceded the labour movement in Taiwan, while in South Korea the movements emerged in reverse order. The causal explanation for the timing of these sequences is the central research question of the book, which it explores through the framework of “movement power” to explain the emergence of the early-riser movement and the significance of the sequence of movement emergence in each case.

South Korea and Taiwan make for a compelling case study. As Liu explains in the book (p. 6), the two countries represent “perfect twins” due to their shared geopolitical and economic characteristics, along with their shared experience of democratic transition during the late 1980s. The book draws on material from field interviews, government archives and contemporary newspaper sources as the evidence base for its analysis.

The book demonstrates a well-articulated awareness of its contribution to the academic literature on social movements. The first chapter evaluates the existing literature on social movements methodologically according to the number of movements studied and number of locations covered, identifying its own contribution to the literature as a multiple-movement, cross-locational study. In doing so, the book develops a conceptual framework of “movement power” to explain the temporal sequence of movement emergence in its case studies, based on the ideology and structural position of the movements in question within the political economy of each state. Indeed the compelling theoretical development of movement power in this chapter provides a strong conceptual foundation for the case study analyses in later chapters.

The case studies are elaborated in Chapters 3 to 5. Here the book tackles the question of the opposite trajectories in movement emergence in South Korea and Taiwan, arguing that the early-riser movement in each country emerged first because the unique combination of state power and the pattern of industrialisation in each case left open a niche for consolidation of the early-riser movement that was not simultaneously available to the late-riser movement.

To illustrate, the book highlights the spatial dimension of industrialisation in each country as key to the temporal emergence of their respective labour movements. It argues that the centralisation of industrial development in South Korea around the Seoul metropolitan area helped to consolidate the labour movement as the early-riser movement, and through proximity, allow for collaboration between organised labour and student and religious groups. Conversely, the decentralised spatial distribution of industrial projects in Taiwan militated against the consolidation of labour organisation, which only occurred after the emergence of the environment movement (p. 57).

Furthermore, the book reasons that the early-riser movement in each country was able to develop a successful model of political praxis which enabled the emergence of the late-riser movements. The success of the early-riser movements created the political space for the emergence of other social movements and eroded the ability of the state to suppress civil society activity (p. 93). Liu thus highlights the historical legacy of the environment and social movements as pioneers in creating space for greater democratic participation in contemporary South Korea and Taiwan.

The case studies prompt the reader to consider the sources of political leverage and ideological power open to social movements in different contexts of state power and industrialisation. Even in countries as similar in this regard as Taiwan and South Korea, the combination of forces was sufficiently different to produce divergent trajectories of social movement emergence. Given

the increasingly transnational nature of environment and labour struggles in our contemporary world, Liu's analysis provides a model for assessing the sources of leverage and possibilities for success of analogous movements across different national contexts.

Because of its rich conceptual development, strong case study analysis and the generalisability of its findings, *Leverage of the Weak* is likely to appeal to a diverse academic audience, including scholars of social movements and democratisation, and Taiwan and South Korea specialists, along with experts and practitioners in environment and labour movements.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1148539>

## MONGOLIA

**Sinophobia: anxiety, violence, and the making of Mongolian identity**, by Franck Bille, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2015, 272 pp., US\$57.00 (hardback)

In his book *Sinophobia: Anxiety, Violence, and the Making of Mongolian Identity*, Franck Bille points out that to understand anti-Chinese sentiment in contemporary Mongolia, we should not limit our thinking to the traditional Mongolia–China relationship, or seek the answer simply in the current economic and political situation. He argues that, for Mongolia, Sinophobia is not only related to anti-Chinese sentiment, but also reflects the Mongols' dream to be rid of both China and Asia. At the same time, Bille asserts that a discourse of anti-Chinese sentiment, which is similar to "the oriental" in European culture, was imported from the Soviet Union to Mongolia during the 70 years of the Soviet regime in Mongolia. This discourse was internalised by Mongols, creating the Sinophobia in contemporary Mongolia. In September 2006, the author visited Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia, and spent a year there conducting fieldwork. In order to collect a range of discourses related to anti-Chinese sentiment, he covered most of the newspapers in Mongolian as well as other cultural modes of expression such as films, graffiti, songs and music videos.

One of the main contributions of cultural anthropology is to provide a deep understanding of one another's culture. In this sense, Franck Bille's *Sinophobia* should be considered as one of the best books for enabling people who live in English-speaking countries to understand the Mongols' contemporary culture. Mongols are worried that China will take their territory, suck up their resources, and more seriously, extinguish the Mongols physically or biologically. These kinds of worries have caused the Mongols to make a specific value judgment that everything from the south where there are Chinese is poison. Such things as Chinese vegetables and livestock, as well as Chinese characters and Chinese people, are considered poison not only in the physical and biological sense, but also in the cultural and psychological sense. Because of this, the author argues, the Mongols are developing many ways to protect themselves from this poison, such as removing Chinese characters from Chinese restaurants or punishing Mongolian women who have sex with Chinese men. These self-protection activities are accompanied by discursive violence, injurious speech, and sometimes physical violence.

By applying a multifaceted approach to the phenomenon, the author challenges functionalism, which only focuses on the economic and political factors in Mongolia–China relations. Bille uses the method of conscious comparison to shed light on the Mongols' view of China, Russia, Inner Mongolia and Buryatia, as well as of Kazakhs and Tuvans, to depict at once the stability and the liquidity of the cultural identity of the Mongols, and the dynamics of Sinophobia. The reviewer, as a Mongol from Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, read the section on Outer