

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.

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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).

This is an extremely carefully researched and compelling book. Despite the very good reasons for comparing these three countries (they are all democracies in the same region with many similar international security and economic concerns) it is rare to see a book that so effectively employs a variety of useful (but labor intensive!) research techniques to study them together in 31 months of archival research divided among each country to paint an extremely rich picture of the politics of immigration incorporation in each country (p. 9). She has also, commendably, made much of this qualitative data publicly available through the Immigrant Incorporation in East Asian Democracies (IIEAD) Project, hosted by Johns Hopkins University.

After the introductory chapter, the book proceeds through five empirical chapters, followed by a short epilogue. Chapter 2 uses Alexander Gerschenkron's (*Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, 1962) scholarship on the unique circumstances that face late-developing states to identify the socioeconomic reasons for some of the patterns that we observe in late-developing states' citizenship and immigration policies. Chapter 3 provides a detailed picture of the politics of the three countries' convergence on relatively restrictive immigration control regimes as well as their increasing divergence in immigrant incorporation in recent years. Chapter 4 draws on extremely impressive focus groups data to examine the way that various groups of migrants in each country understand their own identities vis-à-vis their home and host countries. Chapter 5 considers marriage migration in particular, and it includes discussion of the gendered, blood-based notions of national identity and citizenship. And in Chapter 6, Chung looks at the different uses of the concept of "multiculturalism" in each country.

This is an extremely well-researched book that teaches us a great deal about the politics of immigration in East Asian democracies and beyond. Although each empirical chapter could stand on its own as a thoughtful essay about an aspect of immigrant incorporation, the chapters hang together very nicely in support of Chung's central claim about the role of civic legacies in shaping incorporation regimes. While each has its own strengths, I think that the two strongest contributions are chapter 5 (regarding gender and citizenship) and chapter 6 (regarding the concept of multiculturalism). In chapter 5, Chung's careful analysis of the different ways that each country has considered gender and marriage migration is a compelling portrait of the contingent and historically varied answers to the question of "what makes a citizen" even in countries with blood-based citizenship policies, where the answer to that question is often thought to be straightforward. Her discussion of the South Korean case—in which a combination of policy makers' desire to promote integration of foreign spouses and the goal of "civil-society activists

to protect the legal status and human rights of migrant women" led to the 2011 policy that permitted foreign spouses to hold dual citizenship (p. 155)—was particularly compelling reading.

In chapter 6, Chung discusses the ways that South Korean, Taiwanese, and Japanese governing elites attempted to bring the notion of multiculturalism into domestic politics in a way that addresses what those elites saw as "the failures of multiculturalism—and, more broadly, diversity—in traditional countries of immigration" (p. 164). She notes that each country ultimately developed a "multiculturalism" that was consistent with its civic legacy, and she also notes that "although multicultural discourses and programs ostensibly attempt to promote greater diversity and openness in each society, they are more notable for the ways in which specific categories of migrants are included and excluded" (p. 164). One of the most compelling insights in this chapter is her argument that:

the development of noncitizen hierarchies that have emerged from relatively restrictive immigration policies has been the source of a backlash by native citizens against the perceived "special privileges" of specific migrant groups, such as alleged educational opportunities, tax breaks, or social welfare benefits that some claim are out of reach for native citizens. They are not the product of liberalized immigration policies. (p. 201)

This is an important insight because it suggests that the argument that the emergence of xenophobic populism all over the world is caused by too much liberalism is misguided. Xenophobic populists can build resentment among native populations with their rhetoric even when there is little of substance to "resent."

Chung's theory of civic legacies is extremely compelling, but I would have liked to read a bit more specific discussion of how these legacies are transmitted. So, for example, Chung notes that activists who challenged the proposed Overseas Korean Act in South Korea in 1999 relied on "public campaigns, demonstrations, and hunger strikes" as well as litigation (p. 175). How did they decide on these particular activities, which, as Chung notes, resonated with South Korea's civic legacy? Was it that activists from earlier campaigns for democratization were involved with this new campaign? Did activists make a conscious effort to learn the histories of previous movements to figure out what works in the sociopolitical context where they reside? Or do they learn these legacies through a process of trial and error?

Another set of questions that this book left me with relate to how and why countries choose to emulate one another. So, for example, Chung notes that both South Korea and Japan initially adopted a similar combination of foreign trainee admissions and favorable admission of coethnics as sources of foreign manual labor in the 1990s (p. 55). And similarly, Chung discusses the way in which, in 1992, Taiwan emulated the household registry system that existed in both Japan and South Korea

to restrict access to citizenship (p. 184). I would have liked to read a bit more about how these and other policy ideas diffused across borders.

Those concerns, however, are minor. This is an ambitious book that more than succeeds at what it sets out to accomplish, making major theoretical and empirical contributions to the study of comparative immigration and citizenship. I recommend it to scholars interested in migration in East Asia and beyond, and it would be useful for undergraduate or graduate courses on comparative politics, the politics of immigration, and the politics of East Asia.

**Multiethnic Democracy: The Logic of Elections and Policymaking in Kenya.** By Jeremy Horowitz. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022. 224p. \$85.00 cloth.  
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Swing voters occupy a special place in the study of elections and policymaking around the world. At the same time, a canonical literature on diverse multi-ethnic societies has shown that in contexts where ethnic identities are politically salient, multiparty electoral competition will invariably lead politicians and political parties to focus their mobilization efforts on core voters in their ethnic bases. In *Multiethnic Democracy: The Logic of Elections and Policymaking in Kenya*, Jeremy Horowitz brings much-needed attention back to swing voters and their importance in determining the logic of electoral campaigning and the post-election distribution of public goods and services. The primary empirical focus of the book is Kenya, a relatively young multiethnic democracy where the salience of ethnicity has been tied to all aspects of political life such as voting, judicial decisions, and political violence. Despite being based on a single-country case, Horowitz's inquiry draws on a rich literature on distributive politics, voting behavior, and campaigning in both western and developing democracies resulting in a compelling analysis, the insights of which should inform scholarly debates on African politics and comparative politics more generally.

Horowitz starts off the book from the intuition that Kenya is a highly unlikely case for electoral competition to induce political actors to concentrate on courting the swing voter and to engage in broad-based, universal—rather than particularistic—campaign appeals and policy making. Indeed, as Horowitz astutely states, “accounts routinely describe Kenya as a country where bare-knuckle tactics of ethnic mobilization prevail; where elites cynically play on ethnic antipathies for electoral gain ... and where incumbents favor ethno-partisan constituents in patronage allocations” (p. 5). Yet Horowitz does not acquiesce to this dominant narrative and marshals an impressive array of evidence to demonstrate that these characterizations need serious updating, especially in the period following

Kenya's transition to democratic multiparty politics in the 1990s. In so doing, he 1) develops a novel conceptualization of the swing voter more suited to ethnically diverse societies where political parties do not compete based on ideological commitments or programmatic policy-based platforms; 2) documents how the pursuit of swing voters shapes how political parties engage in campaign activities during elections; and 3) assesses how this model of electioneering affects decisions to allocate public services in the aftermath of elections. Horowitz's decision to draw a line connecting swing voters, campaigning, and policy provides readers a comprehensive—and therefore a much more compelling—look at the logic underpinning elections and policymaking in diverse societies.

The impressive scope of the argument notwithstanding, what sets this book apart is the empirical evidence that Horowitz gathers in support of his theoretical framework. The empirical chapters in this book are careful and thorough, leaving no assumption untested, devising innovative measurement and analysis strategies that build confidence in the findings reported. A prime example of this methodical approach is the book's third chapter, where Horowitz reconceptualizes the notion of the swing voter in multiethnic societies. Rather than take the existing notion of swing voters primarily developed in mature democracies as true, he advocates for a new conceptualization based on whether a representative or key figure of an ethnic group (or a coethnic leader) is represented on the ballot in the *presidential* elections. This definition is attuned to context, as the power to distribute resources is concentrated in the hands of the executive in many developing countries, and voters will look to the ethnicity of the presidential candidates to form expectations as to whether they would benefit materially if/once a candidate is elected. Instead of simply asserting that readers should accept this new definition and move on to the next stage of the analysis, Horowitz draws on three rounds of nationally representative surveys conducted prior to the 2007, 2013, and 2017 Kenyan presidential elections to show that (swing) voters who do not have a coethnic leader on the presidential ballot were significantly less likely to report affinity to political parties, and much more likely to switch their voting intentions between candidates. This simple but thoughtful exercise places all subsequent analysis that uses various operationalizations of the swing voter/swing district concept on solid empirical footing and ultimately contributes to the overall strength of the empirical analysis.

However, the true highlight of the book is the empirical chapters based on the novel data that Horowitz gathered on party campaign activities in Kenya. Whereas the day-to-day schedules of presidential candidates and their campaigns are made readily available both for the press and popular consumption in countries such as the United States, such information is extremely challenging to