

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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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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