

friendly way, become a strong competitor? The personal is political. Qiu supports the building of an alliance between workers and consumers to enhance workers' social and economic rights in a digitally connected environment. Amid a shrinking world of compressed time and space, the struggles of Apple labour in China and the world remain highly contested. What is certain is that activists and academics alike will be inspired by Qiu's "manifesto" to rethink our relationship with digital technologies.

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Globalization and Security Relations across the Taiwan Strait: In the Shadow of China

Edited by MING-CHIN MONIQUE CHU and SCOTT L. KASTNER

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The Ma Ying-jeou presidency in Taiwan (2008–2016) is often heralded as an era of détente in relations across the Taiwan Strait. Long-standing political tensions were eased through the joint promulgation of over 20 economic agreements and people-to-people interactions. But warmer ties were replaced by a comparative cooling in the cross-Strait relationship after Tsai Ing-wen took office in May 2016, returning Taiwan to its place as one of Asia's most volatile flashpoints. The essays in this edited volume seek to explore the security and/or globalization dimensions of cross-Strait ties, highlighting new or emerging dynamics which continue to impact the relationship in the Taiwan Strait.

The introduction, by editors Monique Chu and Scott Kastner, sets out the book's multidisciplinary approach to understanding the complexities of the China–Taiwan relationship. With a thematic focus on the shifting military balance of power in the Taiwan Strait and the globalization of cross-Strait ties, each subsequent essay seeks to address issues which often remain overlooked in studies of cross-Strait relations. Globalization, which references both the increased economic and social interactions in the Strait as well as broader global patterns, is juxtaposed alongside traditional and non-traditional threats to Taiwan's security. The text is made immediately accessible to the non-Sinophile with a historical background of cross-Strait relations. But rather than rehashing age-old arguments on various facets of the Taiwan Strait security dilemma, the chapters which follow explore issues ranging from the prospects for conflict in the Taiwan Strait to cyber power and transnational criminal networks, all of which tend to be neglected in existing scholarship. Taken in sum, the volume offers an important contribution to the existing field of cross-Strait political and security studies.

Chu and Kastner divided the volume into three parts, focusing on the security relationship in the Taiwan Strait, the effects of economic globalization, and the interaction between security and globalization. Each part is further divided into theoretically-oriented and policy-oriented chapters, an intentional pairing which honours the volume's multidisciplinary approach and applicability. Yu-Shan Wu begins by employing alliance and strategic triangle theories of international relations to assess Taiwan's adoption of a hedging strategy. Taipei has sought to benefit from close economic ties with Beijing, but must also balance against the People's

Liberation Army's (PLA) growing capabilities – a risky strategy that also requires Taipei's close management of the US–Taiwan relationship. One of the most interesting chapters of the book is Scott Kastner's examination of the prospects for conflict in the Taiwan Strait. Based on the bargaining model of war, Kastner teases out five mechanisms that could trigger conflict due to either information or credible commitment problems. Chapters four (William S. Murray) and five (Andrew Scobell and Cortez Cooper) take an empirical approach to examining Taiwan's increasing security challenges in countering PLA naval and air capabilities.

The first chapter on the role of economic globalization in the context of cross-Strait relations (Peter C. Y. Chow and Bo-Xiang Hsu) examines the role of economic liberalization in influencing a non-traditional security concern, namely income distribution in Taiwan. The authors rely predominantly upon outward foreign direct investment, capital flows and Gini coefficient datasets from 1985 to 2010. Chow and Hsu suggest that Taiwan's tax policies and social programmes have limited the effects of globalization on income inequality, even as greater global economic integration will increase the burden on fiscal policy. This is followed by Monica Yang's chapter on China–Taiwan cross-border mergers and acquisitions (CBMAs), an issue with little rigorous analysis in cross-Strait studies. Building on CBMA data from Thomson Financial Corporation and financial newspapers between 1997 and 2010, Yang finds that CBMAs from China to Taiwan increased in number despite stringent restrictions from the Taiwanese government prior to the Ma-era *détente*. She further highlights an important difference in CBMA strategy: for China, firms seek strategic assets while for many Taiwanese firms, efficiency and market access drive business decisions. Like the previous section, both chapters offer applicability to policymakers regarding Taiwan's fiscal, investment, and/or national security policy.

In the final section of the volume, authors survey the interaction between security and economic globalization in the cross-Strait relationship. Justin V. Hastings explores the understudied issue of transnational illicit networks, assessing the impact of Ma-era engagement with Beijing on enabling criminal networks. Amid an increased number of cross-Strait law enforcement cooperative mechanisms, criminal networks have expanded after the initiation of the *san tong* direct transportation links. The following chapter (Paul J. Bolt and Benjamin Shearn) investigates the role of cyber power and the utility of cyber compellence, deterrence and coercion in the cross-Strait security relationship. Bolt and Shearn highlight the uncertainties inherent in the application of cyber tools as a potentially complicating factor in maintaining deterrence in the Taiwan Strait. The final two chapters link traditional security concerns with the contemporary cross-Strait relationship, examining the impact of the Taiwanese semiconductor industry's relocation *en masse* to China (Monique Chu) and the evolution of China's defence industry as a result of economic globalization (Arthur S. Ding).

Taken in sum, each chapter advances the reader's understanding of how the cross-Strait relationship is simultaneously characterized by rapid globalization and persistent security challenges. No two chapters are alike in methodology or argument, yielding an intellectually diverse and stimulating text. Overall, this volume convincingly advances our understanding of cross-Strait security relations amid globalization, offering an important contribution at the nexus of academic research and policy. Some chapters apply theoretical analyses to security issues; others offer analyses of understudied facets of the cross-Strait relationship or link economic globalization and security challenges. *Globalization and Security across the Taiwan Strait* is accessible and likely to be an important resource for students, academics and policy

practitioners seeking to understand the immediate past as a tool for the present-day relationship between China and Taiwan.

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China and Tibet: The Perils of Insecurity

TSERING TOPGYAL

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Over several decades, scholars have probed the Sino-Tibetan dispute from multiple disciplinary and conceptual angles, including history, ethnography, sociology, international law, human rights and discourse analysis. According to Tsering Topgyal, author of *China and Tibet: The Perils of Insecurity*, what has been lacking is a “security-based analysis” (p. 3) drawn from “cutting-edge IR insights” (p. 4). He writes, “one struggles to find systematic and theoretically informed scholarship on the linkage between Chinese security perceptions and policy towards Tibet, let alone one that integrates Tibetan insecurities into the framework” (p. 5). Building on foundational works by Brian Job and Mohammed Ayoob, as well as more recent contributions to security studies that among other advances give increased weight to the non-state and interstate actors that are often central to ethno-national and intra-state disputes, Topgyal conceptualizes the ongoing Sino-Tibetan conflict as an “insecurity dilemma,” a “dilemmatic and dynamic interplay between the perceptions of threat by the Chinese Party-state and the feelings of insecurity of the Tibetan nation” (p. 3). Insightfully referring to China as a “strong power, weak state” (p. 15) and “an insecure empire behaving like a nation-state” (p. 12), he argues that while state repression in Tibet is a reaction to perceived threats to China’s sovereignty, for Tibetans, “survival and protection of their national identity has become the core objective” (p. 90). This results in a spiralling cycle of insecurity as China “attempts to increase its security through state-building” (p. 29), thereby provoking Tibetan resistance which in turn causes even more intense state-building efforts.

Having established his theoretical framework, Topgyal devotes the remaining chapters to its vigorous defence. A short historical prologue is followed by a more effective series of chapters analysing the Sino-Tibetan dispute with a focus on the post-1989 period (after martial law was imposed following a series of “riots” in Lhasa). The first outlines the security dimensions of Chinese state policies in and about Tibet. This is followed by an investigation of “the various strategies and instruments used by the Tibetans, inside and outside Tibet, to counter the threats from Chinese policies, migration and cultural practices” (p. 89). A chapter on “the external dimension of the security dilemma” (p. 119) effectively destabilizes state-centric security analyses by demonstrating the impact international considerations and transnational actors can have on perceptions of in/security by both weak states and vulnerable communities within those states. Finally, asserting, “The insecurity dilemma provides a coherent yet inclusive framework for explaining and understanding the Tibetan and Chinese actions since 10 March 2008” (p. 151), Topgyal provides a timely examination of recent unrest (aptly referred to as an “uprising”) in Tibetan regions of China.