are, in fact, advancing a liberal agenda. Banai reminds us that "the burden carried by Iranian liberals has been especially acute given the instrumentalization of Western liberalism as a global 'standard of civilization,' which in its various iterations since the nineteenth century remained more of a normative disguise for naked imperial control of those parts of the globe deemed strategically important to Western powers than a principled facilitation of representative institutions and human rights abroad" (p. 61). The tension generated by this double bind—the need to simultaneously avow and disavow liberal principles—is fascinatingly addressed in the book's profiles of Mehdi Bazargan and Abdolkarim Soroush's pluralist visions of Islamic governance.

The practical and theoretical implications of the book are manifold, and here I highlight only one possible avenue for future research suggested by Banai's analysis. One might reasonably ask what other political ideologies remained "hidden" in modern Iran (or in other nonliberal contexts, for that matter), and how Banai's attention to the visibility bias in his assessment of liberal thought practices might lay bare other ideological forces that were perhaps wrongly presumed absent. For instance, there is reason to believe that at least since the late 1940s, socialism also operated as a "hidden" ideological force in the Iranian context, first under the antisocialist monarchy and later under the restrictive system of the Islamic Republic. Socialism in Iran, like liberalism, offered a burdened vision of progress, struggling to distinguish itself from Soviet and Western forms, and Banai's conceptual framework suggests that a richer appreciation for its "hidden" manifestations would create a more robust account of Iran's contested political history.

R.R. ASAADI
Portland State University

Political Economies of Energy Transition: Wind and Solar Power in Brazil and South Africa by Kathryn Hochstetler. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2020. 270 pp. $99.00.

To mitigate climate change, our energy systems must transition from relying on fossil fuels to using clean energy sources. Doing so long appeared to be difficult from a technological standpoint. Later, as technology improved, people started to worry about the economics of doing so. Now, with better technology and lower costs, the most salient barrier to the deployment of clean energy is *political*.

This is where Kathryn Hochstetler's outstanding book *Political Economies of Energy Transition* comes in. This book offers a comprehensive analysis of the politics and policies behind the growth (or lack thereof) of solar and wind power as sources of electricity in Brazil and South Africa. As such, it fits squarely in the third generation of studies that puts politics at the heart of the clean energy transition.

The book makes two primary contributions. The first is empirical. The study of the politics of renewable energy has grown tremendously since the early 2000s, but industrialized countries have received the most attention from researchers. Much less is known about emerging markets, and even less when the markets in question are not China or India. Hochstetler's book helps address this shortcoming.

The second contribution of the book is conceptual. Hochstetler organizes her argument around four "political economies" that shape the path of renewable energy. Each of these political economies consists of a policy area with different actors who have diverging interests, different institutional setups that mediate these voices, and different types of policies that create varying sets of winners and losers. She argues that it is through this multidimensional lens that we should think about renewable energy politics.

These political economies are discussed in four successive chapters. The first area is climate politics (Chapter 2). Much of the appeal of renewables stems from their climate-friendly ability to replace fossil fuels. This political economy pits environmental interests against fossil fuel companies and utilities and explains why Brazil has generally been more successful than South Africa. Yet a narrow environmental perspective fails to explain, for instance, why solar power lags in Brazil. Thus, other political conflicts must be interfering with renewables; these are discussed in the following three chapters.

The second area views renewable energy as a function of industrial policy (Chapter 3). The renewable energy sector constitutes a potential growth area that can generate jobs and revenues. Here, Brazil saw an opportunity to develop its own wind industry. Solar, in contrast, did not mesh well with existing industrial expertise, which partly explains why it has not been as successful.

Third, the fate of renewables may depend on whether they are seen as useful tools to reduce energy poverty (Chapter 4). Wind and solar power can be deployed locally to help provide basic electricity access, a problem that has long plagued both Brazil and South Africa. (This chapter alone highlights why focusing on industrialized countries, where electricity access is universal and generally affordable, offers an incomplete account of the politics behind renewable energy.)

Lastly, the success and failures of renewable energy deployment may depend on siting and planning decisions (Chapter 5). Renewable energy projects can generate localized benefits and costs, which in turn may fuel local political action that can slow down wind and solar projects.

Hochstetler thus offers a rich theoretical model to understand variations in the deployment of solar and wind power. Unlike what is sometimes believed—especially among students of industrialized countries—renewable energy policy is not just a tool of environmental policymaking. Instead, it is the product of conflicts across several political spaces. Hochstetler's carefully crafted cases make this abundantly clear and help us overcome the bias created by a narrow focus on a single policy area.

I have no doubt that this book will trigger a new wave of follow-up studies. It would be particularly interesting to understand how the four political economies interact and whether meta-institutions create hierarchies among them. The book discusses some of this in the introduction and the last chapter (Chapter 6), but here we reach the limits of what two country cases can tell us.

Beyond this, researchers will need to think about the next generation of energy transition studies. Hochstetler's book focuses on marginal changes to the power sector. Yet we know that systemic reforms will be needed to complete the energy transition. For instance, transportation will need to be electrified. We know less about the social and political barriers to these systemic reforms. To understand them, I suspect that we will need to create more partnerships between energy system experts and social scientists. Regardless of how this research agenda develops, this next generation will rely heavily on Hochstetler's excellent work.

MICHAËL AKLIN
University of Pittsburgh

Clash of Powers: US-China Rivalry in Global Trade Governance by Kristen Hopewell. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2020. 200 pp. Paper, $29.99.

Behind the zeitgeisty title and generic cover art, Kristen Hopewell's *Clash of Powers* delivers an original and laser-focused critique of two status quo assumptions about the international trading system: that America will maintain leadership of a system it fostered, and that China will further integrate into a system from which it benefits. In both cases, the source of tension, Hopewell argues, is that China, despite having features of a