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controlled by the military. Chapter 8 discusses factional conflict during repression by revolutionary committees. Repression was at its highest by May 1968 and took two different forms: (1) the victimization of rebel factions that lost local struggles and (2) the military's final armed offensive against local rebels who remained resistant. To quickly restore state capacity, the actions of authorities were much more damaging than all the violent insurgencies combined.

Written with theoretical clarity, methodological rigor, and narrative elegance, this magisterial book has refreshed our understanding of the Cultural Revolution and has made important contributions to political and historical sociology. Different from structural theories that feature static positions, categorical identities, and predetermined causation, Walder has given sufficient and sophisticated discussions on historical contingency, sequential effects, and causal endogeneity in social change. At times, Walder claims that this book excels at examining the less studied political behavior of the party-state, but this claim seems to be an underestimate of his contributions. His analysis, instead, recounts the major political tensions across civilian, grassroots, and party-state entities and the sociopolitical relationships between grassroots and state actors across jurisdictional levels. Aptly put by Walder, this analysis is top-down as much as bottom-up and is inside-out as much as outside-in. To my knowledge, this book is the best *analytic* work about the Cultural Revolution and hence a must read for anyone who is interested in this movement as well as Chinese politics. It will also be of interest to scholars of collective behavior and social movements, political sociology, and historical sociology.

*Strategizing against Sweatshops: The Global Economy, Student Activism, and Worker Empowerment.* By Matthew S. Williams. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2020. Pp. xix+292. \$99.50 (cloth); \$34.95 (paper).

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In the mid-1990s, a series of high-profile sweatshop scandals involving major U.S. clothing brands propelled a wave of activism on college campuses. By the early 2000s, this loose network of activists had coalesced into a national organization, United Students against Sweatshops (USAS). As Matthew S. Williams argues in *Strategizing against Sweatshops: The Global Economy, Student Activism, and Worker Empowerment*, students understood that as a result of the rise of “buyer-driven supply chains”—in which big-name retailers in the Global North exert tremendous power over their suppliers in the Global South by virtue of their access to wealthy consumer markets—it would be useless to target the overseas suppliers on their own. Instead, students went after the power players, leveraging universities’ fear of reputational damage to pressure the big brands who produced their merchandise

to improve labor conditions in the factories of their overseas contractors. Notably, the students rejected a paternalistic approach, working collaboratively with overseas activists to expand not only workers' protective rights but also their enabling rights to form a trade union and exert power in the workplace. While the paradigmatic transnational campaigns that USAS helped to develop have received significant attention in the scholarly literature, Williams's contribution focuses instead on the process of strategic innovation within the U.S. student activist node of the global network. Covering a 10-year period (1997–2007), the book is a well-documented and welcome addition to the literature on transnational labor activism and organizational processes and, as an engaging case study of U.S. student organizing, would fit well into an undergraduate course on social movements.

Williams demonstrates that USAS activists formulated strategy over time in an iterative and relational manner, both responding to and attempting to anticipate the moves of their adversaries. In the first phase, with the help of trade unions and NGOs, which provided activist know-how and institutional memory, USAS activists across the country developed an increasingly standardized repertoire of action, adapted to the rhythm of the school year, which escalated from meetings with administrators, to rallies and media attention, to more confrontational forms of contention such as building occupations. As the students found success with their leverage strategy, more and more universities agreed to pressure the big brands. USAS's early success, however, led the big brands to adopt a corporate social responsibility approach, funding the creation of the Fair Labor Association, which Williams convincingly argues was created primarily to give the false impression that retailers were interested in transforming labor conditions in the industry.

For Williams, this development was a critical turning point, forcing the students to engage in strategic innovation. In the next phase, they launched a campaign to create a monitoring body—the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC)—independent of the big brands that would operate on a “fire alarm” model, responding to complaints by in-country activists. Yet, as factory owners made improvements to labor conditions in light of WRC investigations, costs rose and the big brands simply switched suppliers, effectively refusing to absorb the costs of improved labor standards. As a result, in the final phase, USAS went on the offensive, seeking to create a designated buyers program to certify ethical suppliers and require the brands to agree to longer contract periods. This proved a bridge too far for the brands, which put up more effective resistance than they had to the WRC, delaying the project indefinitely. In a final empirical chapter, Williams documents the migration of the USAS strategy beyond university campuses with the establishment of sweat-free communities, which sought to pressure local and state governments to adopt sweat-free procurement processes for uniforms, meeting with modest success.

Williams is clear from the outset that he is more interested in the process of strategizing than in the success of the strategies themselves, yet it is difficult to evaluate the process without a more in-depth consideration of the

outcomes. The campaigns were successful in that they effectively mobilized a large number of students, fostered meaningful cross-national ties between students and workers, taught students how to build democratic organizations and engage in collective process, and achieved local institutional change. Yet the big brands ultimately proved much better able to resist and adapt than the antisweatshop movement. The most successful campaign USAS worked on—to establish the WRC—ran up against the big brands' ability to easily switch suppliers when labor conditions improved, and the subsequent campaign to address the underlying issues through a designated supplier program was effectively resisted.

Given the evident limitations of the USAS strategy, it would have been instructive to consider what, if any, counterfactual strategic possibilities were occluded by USAS's worldview. For example, USAS does not seem to have considered the possibility of organizing workplace actions in campus retail stores, despite a long history of this type of solidarity action in the international trade union movement. A more critical eye on research participants' positive self-appraisal of internal processes within USAS, as well as the interests and influence of external organizations like the trade union UNITE, might have helped to elucidate some of the issues the organization faced in redressing strategic weaknesses.

A more serious oversight in Williams's analysis, however, concerns the role of the state. Williams faults the literature on political opportunity structures for focusing unduly on the state, yet the USAS story would seem to suggest that movement activists ignore the state at their peril. Despite the evident impossibility of transforming the industry through the creation of a private global governance regime, USAS's initial position that working through the state to improve working conditions in the neoliberal era was an impossibility never seems to have been revisited. Ultimately, the organization proved unable to find its way out of a strategic territory demarcated by symbolic protest, moral suasion, and consumer power. For a book ostensibly focused on the process of strategizing, it would have been valuable to explore why. Nevertheless, the book provides important insights into an understudied dimension of the global antisweatshop movement and will be of interest not only to scholars in the field but to student activists as well.

*Gender Inequalities in the Japanese Workplace and Employment: Theories and Empirical Evidence.* By Kazuo Yamaguchi. Singapore: Springer Nature, 2019. Pp. xiii+267. \$139.99 (cloth); \$99.99 (paper).

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Gender inequality has been a persistent feature of the Japanese labor market for many decades. Japan has consistently ranked at or near the bottom on the global gender gap index published by the World Economic Forum, driven in part by the country's extremely low score on gender equality in