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BOOK REVIEWS

Contemporary Rural Systems in Transition edited by Ian R. Bowler, Christopher R. Bryant, and M. Duane Nellis. Vol. 1: *Agriculture and Environment*, 1992. 277 pp. $66.50 cloth. Vol. 2: *Economy and Society*, 1992. 314 pp. $76.00 cloth. London: CAB International. (Distr. by U. of Arizona Press.)

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A radical restructuring, rooted in contemporary capitalist development, is taking place in rural areas of the developed Western world. The articles collected in the two volumes of *Contemporary Rural Systems in Transition* explore many facets of this transformation. An international team, including Ian R. Bowler, a British geographer, Christopher R. Bryant, a Canadian geographer, and M. Duane Nellis, an American geographer, edited both volumes. These volumes emerged from papers presented at an international conference of geographers held in Great Britain in 1991. Chaired by Bowler and sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council of the United Kingdom, the conference was convened to examine "the rapid and significant transition of rural areas in developed countries over the previous decade . . . (Vol. 1, p. xv)." Volume 1 contains eighteen articles that focus on changes in agriculture and the environment; Volume 2 includes twenty articles that more broadly explore the transformation of rural economy and society. These volumes reveal the processes through which capitalist development in the developed Western nations has fundamentally altered the structure of rural life.

As the articles in Volume 1 show, the agri-food system is undergoing a profound capitalist-led restructuring. In the opening article, Ian Wallace explains that not only has corporate concentration increased in the off-farm portions of the agri-food system, but a notable trend has evolved toward continent-wide free trade in Europe and North America that benefits larger corporations. These two structural changes mean that more than ever farmers confront control of their production from above and beyond. Looking at the case of Canada (but also applicable to the United States and Great Britain), Michael Troughton suggests that such restructuring has brought about an increasingly more rationalized, efficient, "industrialized" agricultural production and food distribution system, and resulted in a destructive "decoupling" of agriculture from rural society and the environment. As Quentin Chiotti illustrates in his discussion of the Canadian dairy and livestock industries, this profit-driven agri-food system also seems to be promoting a kind of uneven development (a phenomenon noted by many authors in both volumes) in which more efficient producers, those more favorably spatially (geographically) or structurally situated to maximize profit, are encouraged while those that are more marginal are neglected.

Although too seldom recognized, the environment is a key factor in the restructuring

of rural areas. Rebecca Roberts specifically explores the role of the environment in terms of how capitalist spatiality brings about a kind of social construction that results in uneven development. Through discussing an environmental resource, the location of groundwater on the Southern High Plains of the United States, she explains which areas are or are not developed. Duane Nellis extends consideration of the environment through exploring the impact of its externalities, the costs resulting from its damage or depletion. He finds that such externalities have historically been neglected in calculating the costs of agricultural production in the United States, but now are beginning to exact a price in the erosion of land, depletion and contamination of groundwater, and destruction of wetlands and wildlife. Nellis argues that economic arrangements accounting for these externalities must be fostered so that a "sustainable agriculture" can be created. John Pierce, Ian Bowler, and Janel Curry-Roper each provide an article on sustainable agriculture, bringing Volume 1 to a close. Bowler suggests that a sustainable agriculture seems to be slowly emerging, while Pierce and Curry-Roper conclude that the larger community must create values that will make a sustainable agriculture possible through balancing the values of the agri-food system and the environment.

Looking at the rural economy and society, the articles that make up Volume 2 examine the causes and consequences of uneven development and what is being done to alleviate the problems it creates. Owen Furuseth identifies the characteristics that typify geographical areas that have been impacted in the rural restructuring that has taken place in the United States. Counties with small minority populations, high educational levels and per capita incomes, more physicians per resident, service industries, proximity to metropolitan areas, and access to interstate highways experienced growth. In contrast, counties that had low incomes and were racially identifiable did poorly. Forty percent of the rural poor, Furuseth reports, were located in the South. Michael Bunce and Gerald Walker examine the greater Toronto countryside to understand the causes of rural restructuring. They suggest that two forces rooted in capitalist development, endogenous agricultural restructuring and exogenous capital investment, have acted to trigger this transformation. In other words, the authors' argue, rural restructuring in the Toronto area has taken place because agricultural producers have been forced to become more competitive in an increasingly global economy and wealthy urbanites have begun to purchase and drive up the price of land in rural areas. While the latter cause of restructuring is peculiar to the geography of the area studied, both causes reveal that forces of capitalism have led the transformation of rural areas in a way that results in a deepening of the patterns of uneven development. Nigel Curry, Sue Glyptis, and Richard Butler and Gordon Clark all provide particularly insightful additional discussion of this matter in connection with recreation and tourism.

People in rural areas have responded to the restructuring that has changed their world. Rural labor markets, Anthony Fuller and Ray Bollman observe, are changing as primary industries decline or go "off-shore" and manufacturing is subjected to an

international division of labor. These transformations have led farm households throughout developed Western nations to engage in "pluriactivity," work in addition to traditional farm work. Pluriactivity has revealed itself in women working away from farms, the growth of part-time work, and the decline of single-careers over a lifetime. Such shifts in work activities, Fuller and Bollman note, underscore the increasing interdependence between farm households and the surrounding local and regional communities. But as John Everitt and Robert Annis point out in their study of the Canadian Prairie provinces, rural communities are in serious economic difficulty with between forty and fifty percent of incorporated settlements declining in population size. They assert that these rural communities are becoming less able to sustain themselves, and this pattern of development bodes poorly for future job development. But, as both they and Floyd Dykeman note, those communities that are doing well are experiencing success because of local initiatives that create jobs. Paul Frederic adds that perhaps the most productive approach to dealing with restructuring will involve plans that recognize the social and economic linkages between rural and urban areas. The consensus that emerges out of both volumes is that the future must be one that assures autonomous rural sustainability.

In compiling the articles in these volumes, the editors have made a significant contribution to understanding the ongoing rural transformation. While ostensibly intended for geographers, their work provides an excellent rural sociology. It serves as an important reminder to sociologists that they should be careful not only to account for social and economic conditions, but also that spatiality (geography) is an important variable that must not be forgotten in explanatory models. While these volumes are intended to, and succinctly do, explore process changes in economic and social structures, they might only have been improved through the addition of discussion of the relationship between rural restructuring and ideological change. This matter is only briefly touched upon in the Pierce and Curry-Roper articles at the end of Volume 1. This criticism aside, the work these editors have produced forms the best collection of articles relating to the contemporary rural scene since Howard Newby and Frederick Buttel published their edited work *The Rural Sociology of the Advanced Societies* (1980). Compiling the proceedings of a conference, like Bowler and his colleagues have done, is far from unprecedented, but it is a task that is undertaken perhaps too infrequently. Other conferences might take a hint and consider publishing their proceedings. Anyone wanting to know more about the transformation of contemporary rural areas will want to read both volumes. Those teaching courses relating to contemporary rural life will want to give them serious consideration for adoption in their classes.

Information and Organizations by Arthur L. Stinchcombe. Berkeley: California. 1990. 391 pp. NPL.

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Information and Organizations is an ambitious work with relevance for readers with interests as varied as organizational theory, stratification, and business and economic analysis. As an interdisciplinarian in the fields of sociology and business, I welcomed his multi-disciplinary approach to the study of information in organizations. I was not disappointed.

It soon became evident that the work is a complex, comprehensive piece of scholarship. Stinchcombe applies the area of information processing to topics as diverse as organizational structure and function, individual skills, manufacturing information systems, divisionalization, contracts, inventions and innovations, and market segmentation, to identify but a partial list. He also challenges and reworks some ideas from established works such as Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.'s well-respected *Strategy and Structure*, and E.P Thompson's work on the development of class consciousness.

In addition to its strong theoretical orientation, the book provides an in-depth analysis of the role of information and uncertainty in concrete organizations as varied as General Motors, DuPont, Sears, North Sea oil drillers and universities.

The focus of Stinchcombe's work is on understanding the significance of information processing and dissemination, and exploring the role of uncertainty in determining how organizations function. Historically, organizational scholars have tended to focus on information exchange at the micro-level of transactions, or more frequently, at the macro-level of information exchange in the organization as a whole. While Stinchcombe incorporates both a micro and macro orientation in his book, the emphasis is clearly a mid-level approach. He contends that the unit of analysis is rightfully the subpart of the organization. In his words, "The central argument of this book is that units of analysis should be subparts of organizations that deal with distinctive sorts of uncertainties, that are responsible for securing effective responses to different sorts of news" (p 358). The outline of his book follows a topical approach to substantiating this central argument.

Illustrations of the above can be found throughout the book in chapters such as the rather awkwardly titled "Individuals' Skills as Information Processing" (Chapter Two). While he takes a conventional approach in looking at organizations as rational entities, he breaks this down into the subpart of exploring how the individual contributes to this rationalization through routinization of tasks. The focus, therefore, is on differing skills, for Stinchcombe stresses "If organizations have to deal with uncertainties, then someplace in the organization there have to be people who bring information to bear on those

uncertainties. The capacity to use the news about what uncertainty has come in, to decide what to do and then to do it or arrange to have it done in a fast and effective way, is what a skill consists of" (p. 32). He is saying that when we identify someone as "skilled," "semiskilled," or "professional," we are in essence identifying the kind of information-processing system s/he is.

Given that it is not feasible to explore all the topics in this review, attention will be given to the particularly intriguing chapter on class consciousness (Chapter Eight). The central argument of the chapter, in Stinchcombe's words, is that "since class consciousness is the projection of organizational statuses onto a larger political and economic canvas, the cultural tools workers have to make these projections go as far to explain class consciousness as does the organizational process that creates groups with identical labor contracts" (p 308). The cultural tools referred to above are not only part of the general working-class culture, but also include organizational structure such as job evaluation schemes, and grievance procedures.

The importance of information, then, revolves around Stinchcombe's contention that "people get much of the information about their interests from the information in the incentive system of the organization they work for" (p 309). The significance is that, while workers may not understand that the market operates in a fashion where it is assumed to be in the employer's best interest to pay as low a wage as possible, they will learn that reality from the incentive system of their employer. There appears to be an incongruence here. While the book is premised on uncertainty, Stinchcombe implies there is complete information available, disseminated, and understood regarding the organizational incentive system.

The book is comprehensive and informative. Its major flaw can be found in the discussion of structure and function. While there is early emphasis on the assumptions and problems of functional analysis, he does little to develop this theme in subsequent chapters.

The reader will be challenged; the prose can be somewhat Parsonian. It was a bit reassuring to read that Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. (a well known business scholar whose work is critiqued by Stinchcombe) in his response to Stinchcombe's work, had come to that same conclusion (1991:340). It is, however, worth the effort.

References

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Analyzing Qualitative Data edited by Alan Bryman and Robert G. Burgess. London: Routledge, 1994. 232 pp. $62.60 cloth.

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This edited volume fills a void in the published work on qualitative methodology. As the editors note in their forward, most writing on qualitative methodology has focused on data collection and issues associated with the use of qualitative methodology, but has been relatively silent on the conduct on qualitative data analysis. This volume is intended to provide guidance to both students and postgraduate researchers as they confront and attempt to make sense of qualitative data.

The volume consists of twelve articles from researchers who have worked with various kinds of qualitative data. The first and last articles of the volume are by the book's editors. The first article provides an introduction to qualitative research and data analysis. It is useful in that it includes a brief summary of the development of qualitative research, with appropriate references to key works along the way, and an overview of the volume. The concluding article is also useful in that it pulls together key themes on qualitative data analysis that were developed in the articles included in the book.

The ten invited articles discuss data analysis from several different vantage points, including that of an anthropologist working in the ethnographic tradition, researchers working in discourse analysis, and applied sociologists who analyze their data for policy purposes. Generally the articles provide good illustrations of the data analysis process from the authors' research projects. The articles are not intended to provide a guidebook, per se, but rather to illustrate and make explicit the process that has been used by different researchers in varied research projects. To this end, the book succeeds in making the reader aware of a range of approaches that can be and have been used in qualitative data analysis.

Several of the articles discuss the data analysis process as carried out by teams of researchers. In a few instances, the authors discuss the linking of quantitative and qualitative data in their projects. An article by Lyn and Tom Richards provides insight to the use of computers in working with qualitative data. They begin by discussing the difficulty encountered in attempting to manually manage a vast quantity of data from interviews, field notes, and taped discussions. They then proceed to describe and discuss in some detail how they designed a computer program to handle and analyze their data. Throughout the ten articles, it is clear that there is no one strategy that is used in analyzing qualitative data and that the process does not follow a set sequence of phases, but is an interactive process of forward and backward movement.

All of the articles in the book are well documented and are concluded with a few brief end notes and appropriate references to works cited. The book itself does not have

a separate bibliography, but is concluded with both a name and a subject index.

While the editors contend that the audience for the book is both undergraduate students and postgraduate researchers, the level of writing and assumed familiarity with qualitative research methods are more appropriate to graduate students and postgraduate researchers. The cost of the book would be prohibitive for inclusion as a required text in a graduate level qualitative research methods course. However, the book is one that should be included in academic libraries since it addresses a topic not well covered in most other books on qualitative research methods.[Basic philosophical questions form the basis for all sociological analysis, at least in the form of assumptions. Hence, I have asked Kelly, a philosopher, to review this important book on the nature of consciousness. --RT (ed)]

Consciousness Reconsidered by Owen Flanagan. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1992. 234 pages. $12.95 paper.

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Throughout the history of philosophy a number of problems have arisen that are often thought to be intractable: 1) the question of God's existence; 2) the nature of free will; 3) what the Good is; 4) whether or not knowledge is justified true belief, and 5) what the precise relation of the mind (philosophers use the terms "mind" and "soul" interchangeably) to the body is. Owen Flanagan's Consciousness Reconsidered is a bold attempt to make serious headway on this last issue.

The author's goal is to explicate consciousness in such a way so that there is no need to postulate the existence of an immaterial mind. Contemporary philosophy of mind is dominated by various versions of what is generally called physicalism, which is the idea that all of the mental aspects of human existence (e.g., thoughts, beliefs, pain, and qualitative states) can be reduced to neurophysiology. Those who are inclined to reject physicalism, holding a view commonly called mind-body dualism, are left with the formidable challenge of how two very different entities somehow interact to produce the richness and complexity of the human mind. The matter is perhaps further complicated by the fact that "folk psychology" (the way average people construe the mental) seems initially committed to the sort of claims that physicalists such as Flanagan reject.

Flanagan suggests that we approach consciousness with what he calls "the natural method." This involves "treating three different lines of analysis with equal respect" (p. 11). These three lines are: 1) the phenomenological, which focuses on what things feel like from a first person point of view; 2) cognitive science, paying careful attention to the latest work in both psychology and the philosophy; and 3) neurobiology. The goal of the natural method is "to see whether and to what extent the three stories can be rendered coherent, meshed, and brought into reflective equilibrium" (p. 11).

Consider for example the problem of qualia. Qualia refers to the way things seem to us. For example, I am presently seated, listening to thunder and Chopin, and watching my hand write these words. Qualia refers to the way I, or anyone else, perceives things. It is not at all clear that others hear Chopin or thunder the way I do. We often ask others, "How do you think it tastes?," or "How does it affect you?" These are questions concerning qualia. People who are color blind, for example, see the green of a stop light differently than I, even though we have roughly the same visual input. How is it that two people can have the same input but have different qualitative experiences if physicalism is the best way to go?

Some well known philosophers of mind (e.g., Daniel Dennett) go so far as to deny the existence of qualia. Flanagan believes that though qualia are genuine, they can also be

tied to physical brain states (pp. 72-74). As Flanagan notes, Crick and Koch have proposed "that subjective consciousness, despite its heterogeneous form and despite its involving disparate brain locations, involves a basic common mechanism" (p. 82). The common mechanism proposed is one in which "neurons in many cortical areas (relevant to vision, for example) cooperate to form some sort of global activity and...this global activity corresponds to visual awareness" (p. 82).

Elsewhere Flanagan undertakes to demonstrate how a particular belief or feeling can be coherently described from the three perspectives that comprise the natural method, and how these varying perspectives in no way require us to postulate the existence of anything over and above the brain. In chapter Nine he argues that the posit of the mind's "I" is unnecessary. Flanagan believes that each of us has a material self (i.e., our body), a social self (constituted "by the patterns of thought and behavior that one deploys with different groups and on whose successful deployment one understands one's image with that group to depend" (p. 180)); and a spiritual self (referring to my states of consciousness, my mental faculties, and my concrete dispositions). But, he argues, there is no underlying "I" that exists above and beyond these three aspects of self. There is no transcendental ego that orchestrates all that goes on. Flanagan sees humans as a dynamic and ever changing combination of the three aspects mentioned, but that no part of the "system" resembles "the soul, the ego, the self, or the "I" of traditional metaphysics) (p. 108). The self is something that emerges over time and is "a complex construct that we are eventually able to represent in language and in thought" (p. 221).

Flanagan is to be highly commended for writing a remarkably accessible work on a complicated and controversial set of issues. His prose is lucid and elegant, the arguments are rigorous and nuanced, and he consistently interacts with the latest work in psychology, neurobiology, and the philosophy of mind. This is as well written a book in philosophy as I have read in fifteen years, and though I was not always persuaded, I came away with great respect for Flanagan's mastery of the philosophy of mind and of the English language itself.

Despite these strengths, and they are considerable, Flanagan could have done a few things to make this an even better book. First, he admittedly provides "no argument against nonnaturalism" [what I refer to as mind-body dualism] (p. 3). Karl Popper, Sir John Eccles, Robert Adams, Richard Swinburne, and Lynne Rudder Baker, all highly respected philosophers, believe that consciousness cannot be satisfactorily accounted for in purely physicalistic terms. And Flanagan admits that "from their point of view no naturalistic story will satisfy" (p. 3). Given his writing and argumentative skills, it would have been nice to see Flanagan critically interact with those who reject physicalism in favor of some sort of dualism.

Lynne Rudder Baker's *Saving Belief: A Critique of Physicalism* (1987) is a cogent argument by someone who finds mind-body physicalism not up to the task of capturing the richness of human mental activity. She argues that the concept of intentionality (a concept

going back to Franz Brentano that consciousness is always consciousness of something, about something, and directed toward that something) is inseparably connected to the idea of consciousness, and that physicalism simply cannot capture this notion of "aboutness" that intentionality brings to the forefront (see chapter 9).

Flanagan also makes no mention of studies by Penfield or work on near death experiences by Sabom and others. The findings of Penfield (1975), Sabom (1982), and others clearly point in the direction of a mind-body dualism.

Flanagan's failure to interact with, let alone mention, the work of Baker, Penfield, Sabom, and others is regrettable. It is not clear whether he chooses this route on the grounds that it would have made for a project even more formidable than the one he undertakes, or for some reason more ideological in nature. In any case, the result is an impressive work on a host of issues of interest to philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, and anyone interested in the cognitive sciences. But he does fail to address many of the major claims advanced by those who are not persuaded by the claims of physicalism, and this does detract from an otherwise very fine work.

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Vocabularies of Public life: Empirical Essays in Symbolic Structure edited by Robert Wuthnow. London: Routledge, 1992. 270 pages. $16.95 paper.

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Robert Wuthnow has brought together an interesting but uneven collection of essays in the sociology of culture. The studies are united by an interest in public discourse of various forms, existing at the intersection of cultural anthropology, communications studies and sociology.

In his well-written introduction Wuthnow sets forth the operating premises for a sociology of culture. He neatly defines the core of such a science. Unfortunately, most of the essays miss the core and merely peck at the edges of Wuthnow's framework. Wuthnow divides the collected works into three chapters or "vocabularies." The first explores the syntax of religious and scientific speech. Of the five papers in this section, the most interesting is Susan Harding's "The Gospel of Giving: the Narrative Construction of a Sacrificial Economy." Harding has produced a fascinating analysis of how religious speech is translated into significant social action. Her theoretical perspective is well-developed and consistent throughout. Other essays in this section borrow heavily from the field of communication science and are somewhat less successful in completing the link between symbolic analysis at the "micro" level and an expanded analysis of the interaction between cultural symbols and the basic structures of society.

The second section, "Vocabularies of Expression," deals with the symbolic structure of dance, art and music. This section illustrates the possibilities and pitfalls of the systematic empirical investigation of symbolism as a social reality. Two essays authored by the University of Arizona's Albert Bergesen take on the task of separating syntactic analysis from mere content analysis. He shows how, in both visual art and modern dance, changing conditions in the sociology of the "arts world" are reflected in changes of visual representation and choreographic style. The other two essays, as are most of the papers in the collection, are products of Wuthnow's students and associates at Princeton. Karen Cerulo's comments on the syntax of aural and visual symbols is representative of the state of empirical investigation in this field. It is very difficult to begin at so basic a measurement as the color contrast between fields of color in various national flags, through the construction of an overall visual and graphic "language" of symbols, to the level of showing these indicators to be an "accessible source of social science data, amenable to all of the rigorous methods that are central to the social science tradition" (p. 125). Cerulo only partly succeeds in walking this path.

The final section, "Vocabularies of Persuasion," plays on the larger stage of industrial and public policy. Perhaps due to the more direct linkage between speech,

influence and change in industrial organizations and the polity, these four essays are more successful in meeting the editor's stated objectives. Indeed, these broader social institutions can be shown to be as symbolic and normative as institutions of the arts, science and religion.

The book itself is poorly constructed, destined to fall apart after only a few readings. Diagrams and illustrations were not particularly well-chosen and often lacked titles and appropriate labels. There were an unacceptably large number of typographical errors.

Overall, this volume will be of most interest to readers at the graduate level with an interest in the specific topics covered in the individual papers. Those who are interested in exploring the methodological boundaries of the sociology of culture will also benefit. Wuthnow's introduction is definitely worth reading for anyone with even a passing interest in this field, or the related fields of social thought concerning religion, knowledge, and social reality.

The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality by Sandra Lipsitz Bem. New Haven: Yale, 1993. 244 pp. NPL.

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Drawing on many years of thought, theorizing, and testing preceding the writing of this work, the author draws successfully upon sociology, history, law, and psychology. Bem, a psychologist and leading theorist on sex and gender, writes with a thoughtfulness which invites understanding rather than argumentation over the social debates regarding "sexism." Bem says that it is the "embeddedness" of assumptions about sex and gender which have rendered them invisible as elements of the cultural formulae of U.S. society. She calls these assumptions "lenses of gender" and identifies them as androcentrism, gender polarization, and biological essentialism.

Androcentrism accepts the male experience as the "normal" human experience in American society and history. Bem illustrates the effect of this assumption as it has affected social development from preclassical times throughout Western history, culminating in its current effects in equal rights debates in this country. *Gender polarization* is "an organizing principle for the social life of the culture." The assumption is that sex is linked to expectations regarding all aspects of one's behaviors and proclivities beginning with interpersonal relationships at the moment of birth. The result is a dichotomization Bem considers disabling to both men and women. *Biological essentialism* amends the elemental physical facts of strictly biological differences to include cultural interpretations of the meanings of the differences when applied in social and cultural contexts, thus going beyond science while claiming to be "scientific."

Discussion of each of these hidden assumptions occupies a separate chapter in this book; together they comprise more than half of the pages, and represent an essential foundation for the presentation. As important as these chapters are, it is Chapter Five, "The Construction of Gender Identity," which illuminates the function of gendered lenses. Here Bem examines the processes by which the lenses of gender are acquired and concurrently employed by individuals as they move through life constructing a gendered self and conforming to conventional expectations; or, she suggests, becoming one who "resists acquiring those gender lenses and thereby becomes a gender subversive."

Briefly reviewing a variety of socialization theories centering on such themes as social structure, stereotypical expectations of individuals, psychoanalytic elements, and behavioral accounts, Bem focuses on their distinctive explanations of how male and female infants are transformed into masculine and feminine adults who accept the roles assigned to them in society. Each of these theories explains a way of seeing how individuals become enculturated into the society which has been and continues to be unequal and biased on the basis of gender. Bem illustrates the ways in which the process of enculturation fosters

the effect--without advocating nor identifying it--of the hidden lenses of androcentrism, gender polarization, and biological determinism. She challenges the chauvinism in which "conventionally gendered women and men *limit themselves* to only half their potential by unconsciously imposing a gender-based classification on social reality" (italics in original). "Cross-gendered" behavior for these individuals fosters anxiety; they view such action as inconsistent with who they are. Yet, "who they are" has been limited by their choices among options constrained by gendered lenses and based on criteria which in reality is independent of their biological sex.

A thread which runs through this work is the effect of the gendered view of sexual activity among individuals in Western society. Procreation is the strictly biological function of sexual activity. In most of society in this country, a broader concept of the function of sexual activity is conceived and accepted but only for the heterosexual "normals." Bem challenges this bias and the chauvinistic antagonism which inflames many heterosexuals regarding alternative sexual affinities. Her explanation of this situation is an extension of the effect of the assumptions basic to the three lenses of gender. She asks why there seem to be "mismatches" between the sex of the body and the gender of the psyche, suggesting that the potential for diversity is actually enormous "across different cultures and across different males and females within the same culture." It is the political power of the dominant culture which continues the cultural oppression of homosexual, bisexual, and other cultural minorities in American society.

In the concluding chapter of this work Bem seeks to refocus the debate regarding female disadvantage. She points out that it is generally accepted that women are inherently as competent as men, but in improving social equity it should also recognize that women are different from men "in a special way having to do with their biological capacity for childbearing." Bem argues that the requisite base for equitable social change must rise from both the recognition of this difference and the valuing of women's distinctive concern with the welfare for their own and other children. She reminds us that gender neutrality, as in the present idea of "equal rights," does not imply equitablity between women and men in an androcentrically derived society.

Rabbis, Lawyers, Immigrants, Thieves: Exploring Women's Roles by Rita J. Simon. Wesport, CT: Praeger, 1993. 272 pages. $49.95 cloth.

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Since the beginning of the women's movement in the 1850s, the roles of women have been changing both slightly (hardly noticeable) and in more noticeable terms. Many of the "jobs" that were at one time considered part of the job description of a wife and mother are now legitimate professions outside of the home. The results of the changing roles of women do not affect women alone; both genders have a stake in the changing roles. This is one reason why this work has great importance for today's world.

More specifically, Simons' book is timely and much needed, not only in the academic sphere, but also in society in general. It is a general description of some of the major roles women play in society. It is also, as Simon puts it, "more than twenty-five years worth of studies, ideas, and observations about women in American society" (xi). Generally, the author puts together various studies that use objective data and subjective information to develop a clear picture of women's status in American society. She has divided the picture into four parts: Part I features women in academia and other professions; Part II focuses on the status of women immigrants; Part III deals with women, status, and crime; and Part IV examines the gender gap.

In Part I, Women in Academia and the Professions, Simon uses both quantitative and qualitative data to make the case that women are discriminated against in the professions. This material comes at a time when the courts are becoming involved in this issue. The results of a recent court parallel Simon's findings concerning women in academia, namely, married women with children have the least chance of being promoted or of receiving tenure, even though they are as productive as their male counterparts and more productive than single women. The recent ruling was in favor of the female, who is to receive tenure from the Northeastern college and $400,000 in compensation. The judge also noted, as Simon has indicated in her work, that as many as six departments in that college have not granted tenure to a married women in a 30 year period (CNN, May 16, 1994).

Throughout Part I, Simon documents the presence or absence of bias toward women in particular professions. It appears that academia and law have as much bias as do other areas such as the ministry and corrections. Objectively, women in the ministry of the church and the synagogue find themselves either at the lower end of the scale (just as women in academia) or in their own small church or temple. Subjectively, women see themselves differently than do men in the ministry. Women see themselves as more in a nurturing light whereas men see themselves as administrators. As in academia and law, very few women in the ministry are in the most prestigious positions. Rather, they appear

to have hit the "glass ceiling" phenomena. The same may be said of women correction officers in their relationships to male correction officers even after they "have proven themselves". Prisoners, on the other hand, take a different position. Once a woman correction officer has proven herself, she is treated with respect and most prisoners prefer female officers.

The major focus of Part II is on the social, economic, and personal experiences of women immigrants from the Soviet Union (Jewish women), Vietnam (after the end of the conflict), Mexico, and their American-born daughters. Simon selects these groups because of the availability of information about the different roles these women play and what they hope for their daughters. Although the groups differ extensively in terms of motivations, mobility, skills, and aspirations, Simon ignores the cultural differences that may have an impact on these women. The reader should keep this in mind.

One area that does make these three groups comparable is their reasons for coming to the United States. Most of the immigrant women came during a time in which the group was discriminated against in their own countries. Soviet Jewish women had few expectations in the Soviet Union because of religious persecution. Most of the Vietnamese women immigrated because they had supported the United States in the conflict and either experienced or feared discrimination. Mexican women entered the United States because of economic conditions in Mexico and wanted to either have a better life for themselves and their children or just to be near their children that had already migrated. In general, all women felt that they were better off in the United States. All three groups did imply that they felt they were discriminated against in the U.S. They felt that their jobs would command higher wages if they were not foreign born. Some, the illegals, felt they were discriminated against because of their illegal status.

In all three cases, the second generation appears to differ from their mothers in their expectations for the future. In most cases, both the daughters and mothers expected the daughters to get more education than the mothers even though they did not always have the same expectations in terms of the daughters' careers. In general, both mothers and daughters expected the daughters to work and have families. In comparison to daughters native-born of mothers, the second generation appears to have greater expectations in terms of "having it all" (career, marriage and children).

In Part III, "Women in Crime," Simon's makes a valuable contribution by examining data from the 1400s to the present. She found that as women gained more status in society, they had more opportunity to commit crime. She found that the crime rate for women has risen, but only for property offenses. One important point noted by Simon was the types of crime receiving noticed in the media.

Here again, the question of cultural differences must again be raised. While most of Part III fits in quite well with the other sections of this book in examining middle class gender roles in society, Simon ignores the issue of cultural background when she comments about women from other societies who fight in revolutions that "would place women in a

lower and more oppressed position than they presently occupy" (p. 203). There appears to be a lack of understanding not only of the role of women in those societies, but also what types of oppression seem worse to these women. The same may be said of black women in this society who consider racism more serious than sexism.

In the final part of this work, "Friendships, Images, and Public Opinion on Gender Issues," Simon attempts to determine whether or not there is a gender gap on issues that are considered salient in the contemporary women's movement. According to 50 years of poll data, there is no significant difference between males and females on issues such as abortion, equal rights, family size, and affirmative action. Simon contends that the post-1960s women's organizations do not reflect or share the same interests and beliefs of most in this society.

But I must suggest that the women's movement is not inclusive of everyone in the society. In fact I am concerned about the whole idea of "inclusiveness." Although Simon says that this book is about American women and lists the areas of focus, her work, like most middle class academics (mine included) is not inclusive of women of color, be they black, Native American, Hispanic, etc. Patricia Hill Collins (1990), in her book, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, suggests that neither academics nor organizations attempt to speak for women of color even though the assumption is that they do. Simon does not say that she is focusing on white middle class women in most of her work, but she is. Except for the roles of Mexican and Vietnamese women, the roles she describes involve white middle class women. A major consequence of this lack of inclusion is a danger in over-generalizing to all women.

In general, Simon has taken on an ambitious endeavor. Although there is nothing really new in this work, it does provide one extremely important service in drawing together years of data in one place, including government documents, national polls, personal interviews and content analysis. In doing so she has touched upon many of the issues significant to women, and, overall, has done a good job.

References

Patricia Hill-Collins. *1990. Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.* London: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall.

World Changes in Divorce Patterns by William Goode. New Haven: Yale, 1993. 354 pp. $35.00 cloth.

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World Changes in Divorce Patterns is written by the preeminent sociologist in comparative family studies, William Goode. His *World Revolution in Family Patterns* (1963) was required reading for beginning family sociology students for at least a decade after its publication.

The book contains some brilliant insights into the conceptualization and measurement of societal divorce rate changes. Among the topics covered in the book are: patterns of cohabitation, remarriage, divorce laws and post-divorce settlements.

His main thesis is: increasing rates of divorce worldwide point to a disturbing trend--a decline in commitment to and long-term investment in the collectivity of the family. Divorce has now become a worldwide social problem in terms of its negative impacts on women and children. However, he notes that the reported effects of divorce on children are more due to social class differences and preexisting conditions in the families than with the divorce itself. Perhaps more researchers will take his advice and conduct longitudinal studies of families before and after divorce rather than compare children from divorced families with those from intact families.

Goode is not very interested in the reasons for the divorce given by those who are divorcing. He contends that those who want to divorce will use whatever reasons are politically, socially and legally acceptable. His emphasis is on the macro-level causes of changes in rates of divorce.

He cautions researchers against the misuse of the concepts of industrialization, urbanization and modernization. Inconsistent operationalization of these concepts from one study to the next creates confusion in understanding the cause of changes in divorce rates. Furthermore, cross-cultural evidence demonstrates that any of these large-scale processes may have opposite effects in different national environments. Goode provides evidence that industrialization decreases the rate of divorce in traditionally high-divorce societies. This finding contradicts the pattern in many nations of increasing rate of divorce with industrialization.

A related idea is the effect of legal changes on divorce patterns. He notes that sociologists have for decades shown that changes in divorce laws have only a temporary, minot effect on divorce rates. It seems appropriate that family researchers evaluate Goode's conclusion on the role of law in a more rigorous fashion using techniques such as time series analyses.

His approach involves covering regions that he has created based on factors which he sees as creating unique divorce environments. These regions and his label for them are:

the stable high divorce rate systems of Japan and Malaysia; declining divorce rate systems in Indonesia, Taiwan and China; the Nordic countries and their public programs; Southern European Catholic countries and recent permission to divorce; the Arab World; Western Europe; Eastern Europe with polities as agents of dissolution; Anglo countries with their common-law tradition; and the Latin American informal divorce pattern.

His rationale for classification of these areas as "regions" is convincing and very perceptive. The classification demonstrates his depth of knowledge of the diverse historical and cultural contexts of divorce. What is problematic is the extent to which his factors within some regions provides a sound basis for his conclusions. For instance, in countries like Malaysia and Indonesia he looks only at the Muslim portion of the population and ignores the other ethnic groups or the national patterns. He does acknowledge the fact that the divorce rates make more theoretical sense when they apply to culturally homogenous units. Unfortunately he has stumbled into "Galton's problem," a problem faced by researchers in comparative sociology and anthropology. Galton's problem refers to the situation which arises in the real world when we attempt to treat social groups as distinct and neglect the fact of diffusion of ideas across adjacent geographical regions. (See Przeworski and Teune, 1970.) The basic question is the extent to which we are justified in assuming that, for example, the Moslems are not influenced in their ideas by the non-Moslems with whom they come into contact.

The Methodology utilized in this study includes available national statistics on rates of divorce and selected studies on divorce. Goode makes excellent use of whatever national statistics there are, rigorously pointing out the various deficiencies in the existing statistics. Although he attempts to use one of the best demographic measures of divorce rates, the number of divorces per every 1000 married women, he is limited in doing so. The requisite information was not available for every nation. In terms of these national or regional rates several additions would have made it much easier for the reader to evaluate Goode's arguments. He could have had an appendix with a brief explanation of demographic measures used through the text for those with a limited background in demography. There was also a need for a summary table of all regions for which the same divorce rate measure was available. This is especially evident when Goode refers to one region as having an extremely high rate and another a low rate. The reader must go back and forth through the text to see what is meant by high and low.

Some tables have missing data without any not at the bottom of the table or in the text explaining why the data is missing. Goode wanted to summarize general patterns rather than formally test hypotheses. However, it becomes difficult for the reader to understand what a "substantial increase" is without any demographic or statistical measures being provided.

The book might have been slightly improved if a more academic format for referencing was utilized. The referencing style is suitable and less"journal-like" for general readers and students taking a class in this area. However, the referencing style will

frustrate any person interested in follow-up research or theorizing. There are broad generalizations and specific statements, for which Goode provides no direct reference to the source or data from which he drew his conclusion. As well, there are no references at the end of the book. The reader must search for references at the bottom of pages through the book.

At the end of the work we are left with a paradox. Goode makes a continuous effort to present regional differences and to show that culture will continue to "color" the macro-level divorce process. Yet he makes an abrupt turn at the end. He argues that the solution to the social problems connected with divorce is to institutionalize divorce. By this he means that we need to create a collective economic and social support system akin to that of the Nordic countries. How can an approach which worked within a unique regional setting, no become a universal solution to problems in all nations? Though Goode never says this, he suggestion of institutionalization of divorce for the United States implies that there is a universal solution.

References

Przeworski, Adam, and Henry Teune. 1970. *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry.* NY: Wiley.

Constructing Social Research by Charles C. Ragin. 1994. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. 194 pp. $16.95 paper.

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Constructing Social Research describes how social scientists do research. Despite claims in the Preface, this book is not a good choice for novices in research methods. It would make an excellent addition to an advanced undergraduate research methods class, a senior capstone course, a graduate methods class, or your personal library. In short, order this book if you want an articulate, challenging discussion of social research methods and the social worlds they help us construct.

The six chapters of Ragin's book are evenly divided into two parts. Part One describes the basic elements of research and prepares us for further examination of select research methods. Detailed presentations of qualitative, comparative, and quantitative methods comprise Part Two. Ragin also includes and informative preface, afterward (co-authored with Mary Driscoll), and a readable appendix on how to compute correlation coefficients.

Chapter One answers the question, "What is social research?" by arguing that it is one of many ways people construct representations of social life. Particularly useful is Ragin's comparison of social scientific research to that done by documentary photographers and film makers, novelists, and journalists. He argues that regardless of the discipline, investigators present us with only a fraction of the evidence that comprises a larger body of data. What makes social scientific research distinctive is its audience and their expectations. Unlike other audiences, social scientists expect an empirical representation that addresses important social phenomena, is relevant to theory, uses carefully collected and appropriate evidence, and results in the systematic analysis of this evidence (p. 23). Moreover, it clarifies the interests of investigators, is theoretically and empirically grounded, and may influence social policy.

Chapter Two describes the goals of social research and introduces qualitative, comparative, and quantitative methods as means to achieve them. Ragin uses a table to show which strategies help us meet each of seven investigative goals and reveals the tradeoff between studying cases (qualitative research) and aspects of cases (quantitative research). He provides contemporary examples from the literature to illustrate each pairing. For example, Arlene Daniels' (1988) study of women's invisible careers shows how qualitative methods gave voice to her subjects.

Ragin explains how ideas and evidence help us construct depictions of life in chapter Three. Social scientific representations result from the "interaction between images and analytic frames. It is evidence shaped by ideas, which may have been selected and perhaps revised in response to evidence" (p. 59). Like photographic images that emerge

from a photographer's dark room, social science representations present only one of many possible views of the world.

Chapters Four through Six are detailed accounts of the research techniques introduced in Part One. They focus on the use of qualitative methods to study commonalities, comparative methods to analyze diversity, and quantitative methods to examine covariation. In each, Ragin describes the goals that lead us to choose the technique, presents relevant concepts, and provides both brief and detailed examples. For example, in Chapter Five he provides hypothetical data on tracking in school districts to illustrate comparative research. He shows how to organize the patterns of similarities and differences.

Ragin, with co-author Mary Driscoll, addresses the "promise of social research" in the afterward. In addition to reviewing key points, they address to common criticisms leveled against social research; uniqueness and multiplicity. They dismiss the first criticism by saying individual cases are only relevant as part of much larger social patterns as E. Write Mills (1959) argued in *The Sociological Imagination.* Multiplicity, representations of social life in particular versus representing social life in general, is the second criticism. They contend that a single representation of any topic is misleading and use homelessness to illustrate. Ragin and Driscoll note that one research may present homeless people as victims, while others may depict them as schemers, drug abusers, or as mentally ill. Thus, investigators' questions, strategies, politics, and emotions play roles in their social representations. Finally, the authors make a case for why the public should become savvy consumers of representations of social life.

Despite this book's strengths, there are weaknesses. For example, when Ragin compares investigations of social researchers to those done by journalists, he critiques the former, but not the latter. By ignoring the influence of journalists' values and the interference of editors and lawyers who help shape journalistic constructions to avoid litigation, Ragin gives the impression that these accounts of life are unbiased. He notes that social scientific constructions are subject to peer scrutiny and that this helps insure the accuracy of our depictions. However, this point fails to erase the impression that social scientific accounts of social life are biased and journalistic accounts are "Truth."

Despite his attempt at a simple explanation of ideas, evidence, and analytic frames in Chapter Three, those new to social scientific thinking will find the discussion too abstract. Using concepts students may know like theory, data, and paradigms would help. Students will also define many of Ragin's examples boring even though they neatly illustrate key points.

Finally, Ragin has misnamed both his book and the afterward. Calling the book *Constructing Social Worlds Through Social Research* is more informative than the current title. Moreover, labeling Chapter Seven an afterward does the excellent discussion found there a disservice as those pressed for time may overlook it.

Despite its shortcomings, this book would make an excellent addition to a senior

capstone course or a graduate methods course. Using it in introductory research methods would be challenging to both students and their instructor. However, those who are willing to work through these ideas closely with students should have a rewarding payoff.

References

Daniels, Arlene. 1988. *Invisible Careers.* Chicago: U. of Chicago.
Mills, C. Wright. 1961. *The Sociological Imagination.* NY: Grove Press.

American Skinheads: The Criminology and Control of Hate Crime by Mark S. Hamm. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. 243 pp. NPL.

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When I mentioned to an acquaintance I had been invited to review a book on American skinheads, she promptly replied, "those rotten people." I assume she was referring to the skinheads and that this comment reflects the attitude of the general as well. However, in a fascinating but flawed book, Hamm shows that the reality of skinheads is not the same as the appearance. Essentially, he 1) constructs a socio-cultural history of the emergence of the skinhead subculture; 2) argues that the theory and research on traditional juvenile gangs have little relevance for understanding skinheads; 3) tests the applicability of three contrasting theories to the skinhead subculture (only a British version of neoMarxist theory emphasizing cultural processes receives consistent support); 4) examines empirically a claim that Tom Metzger--a Fallbrook, CA, television repairman turned right-wing revolutionary--defined the organizational characteristics of the skinhead subculture (he didn't); and 5) summarizes the results of 36 interviews conducted with skinheads, using "native field study methods, clandestine community agency techniques, and prison field study strategies" (p. 102).

That Hamm was able to get 36 in-depth interviews is credit to his resourcefulness in the face of considerable danger. But to proceed, as Hamm does, as if this were a representative sample of an admittedly elusive subculture of "thousands" is questionable on methodological grounds (see pp. 11, 134-135). Nobody seems to know how many skinheads are to be found in the United States, and the veracity of estimates provided by organizations such as the AntiDefamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) is open to debate. Further, the author's search for interviewees reads like a parody of Mutual of Omaha's *Wild Kingdom:*

> ...I started the investigation by visiting various U.S. cities where I tracked down skinheads in their natural habitat (street corners, bars, coffee shops, record stores, survivalist outlets, rock concerts, and motorcycle shops). These subjects were not hard to identify. They all had shaved heads and wore white power and/or Bazu regakua.... Often I would wait for hours to see these skinheads in their natural habitat, frequently in heat and humidity, and sometimes at night (pp. 100-101).

Nevertheless, these 36 interviews provide valuable insights that, if separated from the excesses of the text (see below), contribute to a more objective account of skinheads

than those provided by the ADL and other organizations. As Hamm Notes, in some ways skinheads are unique, but in other respects they are unexpectedly conventional. In the sample of 36 skinheads, 22 are characterized as violent and 14 as nonviolent. (See pp. 109-110 for an operationalization). The former differ in significant respects from the latter as Table 1 shows; this table is a summary of pages 100-115, 153, 166, and 168 in the book.

If these observations prove valid, then Hamm is correct in observing that skinheads are not revels in the classic sociological sense; they are mainly working-class conformists with a "hyperactive commitment" to dominant goals and means (p. 130). Unlike gangs, skinheads are neither neighborhood based nor very cohesive. Some come together because they share a common value structure rooted in a neoNazism that they view as positive (pp. 167-168). How the skinhead subculture is constructed is not very clear, although a number of causal processes appear to be involved. Evidence suggests that Tom Metzger failed to organize this subculture because he couldn't offer a coherent method of rewarding skinheads for acts of violence (pp. 151-152).

Violence is widespread in the skinhead subculture. However, contrary to popular belief, much of the violence is directed at other whites (including skinheads) in nonracial contexts. This violence is viewed by skinheads as a means of protecting in-group values against out-group antagonists (pp. 156, 158). Highly publicized racial incidents have created a misleading impression of the most common patterns of violence. Interestingly, Hamm confirms an impression I had of skinheads in Minneapolis,

Table 1. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Violent Skinheads Contrasted with Nonviolent Skinheads

Violent Skinheads	Nonviolent Skinheads
1. Lower- to working-class background	1. "White-collar" background
2. Few, if any, traumatic early childhood or family experiences	2. Few, if any, traumatic early childhood or family experiences
3. High value placed on formal education	3. Less value placed on formal education
4. One-third enrolled in college	4. One-fifth enrolled in college
5. Planned on, and most employed in, blue-collar jobs	5. Planned on, but only half employed in, white-collar jobs
6. Strong commitment to the Protestant work ethic	6. Ambiguous about the Protestant work ethic
7. Reject the British skinhead style	7. Embrace the British skinhead style
8. Embrace neoNazi values	8. Don't embrace neoNazi values
9. Prefer "white power" rock music almost exclusively	9. Prefer a wider variety of rock music

and that is, that the most menacing-looking skinheads on the streets were the least dangerous. Hamm's research shows that the most violent of the skinheads were indistinguishable from their mainstream working class counterparts; for example, they did not shave their heads or display Nazi paraphernalia such as swastikas and SS badges (p. 130).

Hamm's account of why skinheads turn to racial and ethnic violence is not satisfactory, however. As he explains it, the skinheads' "path to terrorism begins to take shape and form when they are introduced to white power heavy metal" (p. 221). Best represented by a rock group called Skrewdriver, the music presents "an elaborate fantasy wherein minorities and Jews are portrayed as agents in a conspiracy to threaten the well-being of the average blue-collar worker" (p. 211). Skrewdriver is the most important element in the transmissions of neoNazi ideologies, generally, and anti-Semitic attitudes, specifically--evidenced in songs titled "White Power," "Nigger, Nigger," "Race and Nation," "Rudolph Hess (Prisoner of Peace)," and "Dead Paki in a Gutter." (See p. 38, 74, 130, 138, 144-145). The emotional appeal of "white power," combined with the attractions of skinhead "style," apparently draw youth into the subculture where they are, in effect, indoctrinated by a rock band.

Frankly, I find this hard to believe. Numerous studies in the field of mass communications challenge the claim that rock music lyrics have a significant and, especially, long-term impact on the listener's values, attitudes, or behaviors. More likely, skinheads listen to music which reinforces what they already believe or it provides scapegoats. If this is the case, Skrewdriver, Brutal Attack, Doc Marten, No Remorse, and other white power rock groups serve to articulate skinheads' discontent. Hamm only hints at the source of this discontent; for example, economic marginalization is mentioned in passing (see pp. 151-152). By overstating the causal role of music, he engages in a form of reductionism and misses an opportunity to draw historical lessons from the Nazi Germany and contemporary European immigration experiences to understand the rise of neoNazism in the United States.

Some segments of the population link heavy metal rock groups to Satanism. Thus, given the skinheads' musical tastes and--on occasion--startling appearances, it comes as no surprise that the ADL claims that among "skinhead gangs" there is "substantial evidence of . . . Satanism" (quoted on p. 198). Hamm demolishes this claim (see pp. 198-203). Some skinheads embrace religious beliefs that depart from conventional morality--for example, they value vengeance over forgiveness, stress selective compassion over unconditional compassion, and deny the inherent goodness of "man." However, their morality structures do not incorporate the common components of Satanism, such as hedonism and "perverse sex magick" [sic] (p. 202), or Satanic costumes and jewelry. With the exception of beer, substance abuse is rare; and for social, political, and religious reasons, drugs are despised (p. 195). If it weren't for a virulent racism and anti-Semitism,

skinheads would epitomize those qualities that fall under the rubric of "traditional family values," including monogamy and respect for elders (for a comment on the role of women in this context, see pp. 178-183).

Hamm argues that the "psychopharmacological effects of beer intoxication are a primary cause of [skinheads'] violent behavior" (p. 194). Perhaps he means that drinking a lot of beer loosens inhibitions. No doubt alcohol is a factor in violent behavior; however, Hamm succeeds in obfuscating a number of important issues, including the historical reality and circumstances of the legitimation of violence at a state level against racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. In this context, Hamm's conclusion reads as if it were scripted by the hyperbolic TV talk-show host, Geraldo Rivera:

> Riding the powerful waves of guns, synanomia [sic], ideology, heavy metal, vengeance, and group bonding, these youths then mix in the most powerful elixir contained within this theory of terrorist youth subculture--beer. And it is beer, and only beer, that triggers a terrorist act against individuals perceived as threats to the skinhead way of thinking (p. 212).

(A version of this statement on page 195 adds "bizarre forms of social learning" to the waves of guns et al., encouraging skinheads to develop the emotional capacity to "go berserk on outsiders who agitate them.")

Hamm believes that violent skinheads in the United States are "the hard prototype of an indigenous American terrorist of historical proportions" (p. 153). With souls "full of chaos" (p. 205), they

> represent a nonliterate, nontechnical tribe of primitive men who respond to the world around them with a rational form of violence. This violence involves a political science of the concrete, not an abstract science of the civilized (p. 184).

I'll leave aside Hamm's dubious moral distinction between subcultural and state-sanctioned forms of violence against minorities in order to identify another significant flaw of his book. His closing comments illustrate text marred by hyperbolic phrasing, dubious claims, overstatements, value judgments, and excessive moralizing (see pp. 19, 25, 35-36, 42, 44, 58, 64, and 73-75 for examples not cited in this review). Furthermore, his statement above is not consistent with the evidence cited in the book. If Hamm had left the moralizing to TV talk show hosts (ironically, Oprah Winfrey became speechless in one encounter with skinheads; see p. 54), and if he had developed the theoretical foundation to explain the skinheads' discontent, he would have had a very good book. As it is, the insights from the 36 interviews speak for themselves.

Fathers and Families: Paternal Factors in Child Development, Henry B. Biller, Auburn House, Westport, Connecticut, 1993. ISBN 0-86569-227-0 (paperback) $19.95, 328 pages. A hardback edition is also available at $59.95.

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The implications of research findings for fathers' family roles is the subject explicated in this book. It focuses on the positive relationship between fathers and their children, but it also looks at all family relationship involving fathers. Most of the research cited here is from the past twenty years when researchers first began to look beyond mother-child relationships.

This book should be of interest to professional researchers as well as social service providers and parents. Henry Biller attempts to interconnect biological, psychological and social information as it relates to fathers and their children's development. Fields drawn on here go beyond sociology to encompass cultural anthropology, early childhood, nursing, education, pediatrics, and social work. Complete references are provided in a 48 page bibliography. This should be an important resource to scholars or to those wishing to read further on the subject. Each chapter contains a section called, "Further Reading" which is a brief annotated bibliography.

The first chapter investigates the advantage enjoyed by two parent families. Father's impact on individual and family development is underlined as the emphasis through out the book. The author attempts to balance what he sees as an overemphasis on the mother-child relationship to the exclusion of father-child relationships. Father are seen as important for a child's normal social development. Biller points out that those societies which have parental child rearing expectations for males also have a more positive attitude toward women's and children's rights.

Chapters 2-10 focus on the father's role in enhancing competencies of children in two parent, intact families. Chapter 2 examines the development of father-mother-infant relationships. Chapter 3 looks at father-mother partnerships. Chapter 4 emphasizes parental roles in the development of children's self concept and gender identity. Chapter 5 examines the parental contribution to self-control and moral development. Chapter 6 examines parental roles in stimulating various types of problem solving and creativity. Chapter 7 focuses on education and school, chapter 8 looks at independence and assertiveness. Chapter 9 analyses ways fathers contribute to positive body image and physical fitness, and chapter 10 is an overview of socialization into social competence and sexuality.

The last section of the book contains two chapters concentrating on ways to prevent family difficulties and problems. The author sees many of these problems as having their

origin in lack of father's active participation in the family. The last chapter addresses the impact of community and social factors on parents and children. Conclusion stresses the author's contention that both sons and daughters benefit from father-child relationships. Lacking a father in the family means that children are unlikely to find other male alternatives for these relationships.

The topic of this book may be too specialized for most undergraduate sociology classes in marriage and the family, unless the professor wishes to focus an extensive proportion of the class on these topics. This work would be more appropriate for graduate school classes in the family. While the writing style is most readable, it is a scholarly work with extensive academic citation. It is written for those who already know something of the sociology of the family, but wish to learn more.

OTHER BOOKS OF NOTE

[Due to limited space and publication schedule, few of the important books published each year can be reviewed in *GPS*. Some other titles of interest are cited here.--RT (ed.)]

Anthias, Floya, and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1992. *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-racist Struggle.* NY: Routledge. 226 pp. NPL.

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Jackman, Mary R. 1994. *The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and conflict in Gender, Class, and Race Relations.* Berkeley: California. 441 pp. $38.00 cloth.

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Walters, Suzanna D. 1994. *Lives Together/Worlds Apart: Mothers and Daughters in Popular Culture.* Berkeley: California. 308 pp. $14.00 paper.