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Book Reviews

BOOK REVIEWS

Against All Odds: Rural Community in the Information Age by John C. Allen and Don A. Dillman. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994. 238 pp. $55.00 cloth, $19.95 paper.

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In community literature, John C. Allen and Don A. Dillman's *Against All Odds* stands as a kind of "sequel" to Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman's *Small Town in Mass Society* (1958). The framework the authors present to understand community change posits three eras of social and economic organization for United States society during the twentieth century. The earliest era is depicted as a period of community control, followed by the ascendance of mass society around mid-century, and finally the Information Age which emerged over the past decade. Information is substituted in this model for other resources at the community level. The authors, building on Dillman's earlier work on the information era, have selected a farming community of roughly 1,000 members in the Pacific Northwest to illustrate ways in which the Information Age is affecting social institutions and processes of the community.

The title is strikingly apt for the social history of the community of Bremer, Washington, a community that exhibits an almost unbelievable level of Gemeinschaft for contemporary times. The whole community, which includes a town of about 500 people and the surrounding rural area of another 500 people or so, seems to interact on a primary group level. Bremer exemplifies the era of community control in the time of the Information Age. The authors, moreover, should be applauded for approaching this community with a high degree of cultural relativism, thus avoiding the pitfalls encountered by Vidich and Bensman in upstate New York.

This community study, carried out over ten years, offers a full array of triangulated methodological techniques layered over a fairly thorough effort at participant observation. If a reader were to question the validity of a particular observation, interview or

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questionnaire data is often used to further elaborate on it. In addition, secondary data are included as well as information from outside informants.

What can be learned from Bremer? Residents have formed groups to do what people in other communities rely on government grants to accomplish. Other community processes are equally integrative and independent of outside influences. In the realm of agriculture, where outside influences are impossible to avoid, farmers use personal computers to gain information and have formed a computer club to exchange information to help themselves bypass traditional representatives of mass society like extension agents. Yet, this does not appear to have affected structural change in this farming community.

Main street business practices are also discussed. These practices operate on an ethic that leans more toward mutual support than tough competition. Local citizens have made an important adaptation in this regard through formation of a community club which reaches beyond the boundaries of the town itself and integrates people from the surrounding rural area into the larger community. They have thus avoided the town country split that plagues so many rural communities.

Bremer has marshalled significant resources to bring the community together. Health care revolves around the tireless efforts of one family physician, but this community has found a strategy to perpetuate this type of personalized medical service. The educational system functions well enough for community needs, but questions are raised about the level of preparation provided to youths who leave the community. Church attendance has been somewhat disrupted, for many males prefer to spend Sunday mornings at the gun club rather than going to religious services with their wives. Social class distinctions are minimized, and a remarkable calendar contains vital events information on virtually all residents. Finally, the community celebrates events that cements it together in solidarity.

The authors toward the end of their work attempt a critique of the Bremer community and the social costs of the tightly integrated structure. They sum up their findings as follows: "the

tendency for horizontal ties of locality to weaken and be replaced with stronger vertical ties between individual organizations and regional and national organizations outside the community . . . has simply not occurred" (p. 206). They make a strong case for a holistic treatment of community as a fundamental development principle. A series of insightful lessons for community development specialists are found here.

There are some striking contrasts that can be made between Bremer and the community of Springdale that Vidich and Bensman studied. In Springdale, mass society had penetrated and altered community institutions. In Bremer, the Information Age has appeared, but seems to have worked to maintain the strong solidarity and values of the traditional community. Another important contrast emerges in that Allen and Dillman did a much better job in supporting the integrity of the community while carrying out the research process. The appendix will serve researchers well as a manual for dealing with ethical concerns related to this type of research. While there are some minor stylistic shortcomings in this book, it should quickly take a place as a classic in community studies.

This book will be useful in a variety of settings. Undergraduate courses in rural sociology, social work, or those that are community-related will find it good reading. It will also work well in a research methods course. Perhaps this book will best serve those who are involved with community development courses and programs.

The Farm Labor Movement in the Midwest: Social Change and Adaptation among Migrant Farmworkers by W. K. Barger and Ernesto M. Reza. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994. 235 pages. $35.00 cloth, $15.95 paper.

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This book provides an important contribution to existing scholarship on migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the Midwest.

While many are familiar with Cesar Chavez and the boycotts in California of the United Farm Workers, few would recognize the name Baldemar Velasquez, who along with other leaders, organized Midwestern farmworkers in an effort to achieve farm labor reform and agricultural restructuring. The authors of this book document the organization and growth of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), its impact on the farmworkers themselves, and the structural changes that took place in the agricultural production system as a result of union activities. Formation of an effective union significantly altered the negotiation processes among farmworkers, growers, and those in charge of corporations that process food.

The primary focus of this study is on union negotiations with the Campbell Soup, Heinz, and Dean Foods corporations and with growers in the states of Ohio and Michigan. But, the book also includes a section devoted to brief but insightful biographies of some of the farmworkers involved. These biographies add a richness and depth. Data was collected to support the findings through use of observation, survey, and interview techniques. The authors, in carrying out their research, readily acknowledge their biases, stating "we have been greatly impressed with FLOC's efforts," but also note that their "intimate involvement with the FLOC movement has also provided us with insights into FLOC's reasoning; strengths, and limitations . . . ." (p. xviii).

Baldemar Velasquez, a few years after Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta successfully organized farmworkers in California, founded FLOC in 1967. Velasquez, at that time, was only twenty years old, but already he had worked since age four as a farmworker and had obtained a college education that had laid the foundation for both his interest in the social sciences and a strong conviction about social justice and nonviolent resistance. Such an arrangement came only after a painstaking strike begun in 1978 against Campbell Soup and Libby. The strike eventually resulted in a seven-year boycott. A detailed discussion of this strike is provided, including an extensive examination of the network of civic, political, and religious groups that rallied to support the farmworkers. FLOC use of its limited resources to focus on the high-profile company Campbell

Soup proved to be a successful strategy. Campbell signed a formal statement of understanding in 1985. This statement included two key provisions: (1) formation of a private labor relations commission that became known as the Dunlap Commission and (2) creation of an association of growers that in part provided a mechanism for collective bargaining. This agreement allowed all parties to be involved in negotiating solutions, although even after this step forward major issues remained to be resolved. FLOC after this success continued efforts to expand its influence into other areas.

The authors conclude with a discussion of how agribusiness has changed for all parties involved. This discussion highlights impacts on farmworkers, such as improved working conditions, new feelings of security, and personal growth, as well as structural adjustments in relationships among farmworkers, growers, and corporate processors. The authors reiterate how new processes for conflict resolution and integration into the American socioeconomic system are revealed in this struggle. Theoretically the authors approach their analysis from a systems perspective stressing that the FLOC is a reform social movement rather than a revolutionary one. Farmworkers wish to share in the opportunities and benefits enjoyed by other segments of society rather than replacing the existing order. While this approach has certain advantages, the theoretical analysis might have been strengthened through including other perspectives. The general organization of this book lends itself to redundancy and repetition. Conclusions are repeatedly discussed at several different points. This book ultimately makes a descriptive rather than theoretical contribution.

American Agriculture: A Brief History by R. Douglas Hurt. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994. 424 pp. $34.95 cloth.

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Sociologists of the Great Plains who are the readers of this journal should find this "brief history" a helpful source. Douglas Hurt, a professor at Iowa State University who is well known for his

books and articles about agricultural history, has managed to cover the major highlights of four hundred years of American agriculture.

The author, as he notes in his preface, tries to avoid an over-dependence on statistical data and tables, while being "sweeping in approach but sufficiently specific to make the generalizations sound" (p. vii). This book is much broader in scope than other histories that have much more emphasized technological advances in farming. Much to his credit, Hurt begins his book with a discussion of the agriculture of Native Americans prior to European contact. The author calls the history of Native American agriculture a "story of supreme achievement" (p. 32), for these peoples farmed in harmony with nature and cultivated distinctive plant varieties.

The book is arranged in chronological order. Hurt provides for each historical period special treatment of the geographic regions of the country, comparing and contrasting them with one another. He also pays special attention to what he calls "rural living," examining the human aspect of life on the farm. This book focuses not only on technological advances in farming, but the roles of the individuals who have made agriculture happen, especially women. Women have been a long-neglected part of the history of agriculture. The effort of Hurt to include women is most welcome. Hurt also examines the experiences of African-American farmers. He notes their general exclusion from sharing in American agricultural prosperity and abundance. He also discusses the challenges of rural poverty, pointing out that billions of dollars spent on farm programs have failed to resolve the problem. His discussion of the contradictions inherent in the development of present-day farm policy is especially timely since Congress is looking to curtail federal government assistance in various areas.

Another attractive feature of this book is that it provides biographies of various key personalities in American agriculture. Among those receiving special notice are Eli Whitney, inventor of the cotton gin, Mary Elizabeth Lease, a Populist leader probably best known for a statement that she denied making, that is, farmers should "raise less corn and more hell," and Henry A. Wallace, the New Deal Secretary of Agriculture and founder of Pioneer Hi-Bred Corn Company.

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One of the strongest features of this book is its special treatment of agrarianism, or what Hurt describes as "the belief that farming is the best way of life and the most important economic endeavor" (p. 72). The author asserts that the Jeffersonian ideal still undergirds much of the political discussion surrounding agricultural policy, even though the idea of the yeoman farmer has been inoperative for generations and even as we close the twentieth century with our market economy. Hurt further observes that agrarian values have long operated in nonfarm settings and the current trend toward settlement in rural areas reflects this tradition. Yet, he concludes the agrarian tradition is a myth that "paints a mental image of a past that never was while denying the reality of contemporary life" (p. 77).

Hurt does a good job in discussing the various historic American agricultural protest movements as well as the impact of popular social change. He credits the Populists with pioneering in the 1890s "the use of politics to achieve substantive economic, social and political reform" (p. 213). The protest movements that followed in the late 1920s and early 1930s Hurt suggests followed the cue of the Populists. The book also tells how free rural delivery led to changes in shopping patterns and the development of the catalog industry, how the building of farm-to-market roads changed the lives of rural people, and how the tractor left its indelible mark on rural America.

The book closes with an epilogue that assesses the impact of three revolutions in American agriculture. The first involved the rapid adoption of horsepowered equipment during the late nineteenth century. The second brought the application of mechanical power, fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides, and the use of hybrid seeds during the early twentieth century. And, the third, is now signalled with the application of biotechnology to agricultural production. Hurt also acknowledges a sort of counter-movement in sustainable agriculture. These contemporary changes have taken place in the face of severe challenges to farmers from both exploitive contract farming arrangements and the vertical integration of the large agricultural conglomerates. In the end, Hurt describes the history of American agriculture as a "story of nearly constant change,

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for better and worse" (p. 392). There is plenty in our past to inspire both confidence and expectation, as well as desperation and fear.

This is an excellent book, but it suffers from one major shortcoming, the lack of specific documentation. The author says in the preface that his informal documentation style is used to save space. There is a dearth of specific references in this book that leaves the reader unable to verify sources. Another adverse consequence of this sparse documentation is that there are relatively few direct quotes, and those that appear are not put in context of time and place. Hurt does, nevertheless, supply an excellent list of readings at the close of each chapter as well as a limited bibliography at the end of the book. But, this book would have been better had more specific documentation been provided. This is a case where saving space created major problems for the serious reader. This objection aside, this book is a welcome addition to the list of books focusing on American agriculture. It will be especially useful for those readers who live on the Great Plains.

From Columbus to Conagra: The Globalization of Agriculture and Food edited by Alessandro Bonanno, Lawrence Busch, William Friedland, Lourdes Gouveia, and Enzo Mingione. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994. 294 pp. $40.00 cloth, $17.95 paper.

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Despite its title, this book is about neither Columbus nor Conagra, but it is about the emergence of contemporary transnational corporations (TNC)involved in the production and processing of food. The emergence of TNCs is only the most recent development in the globalization of agriculture, a globalization that started with new world exploration.

The editors developed this book from papers presented at "The Globalization of the Agricultural and Food Order" conference held at the University of Missouri at Columbia in June 1991. The book is divided into three parts. The first is concerned with

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strategies and patterns that have evolved in the globalization of agriculture. The second is concerned with case studies of what has happened, both good and bad, with TNCs and agri-food systems. The third, and final, part is concerned with theoretical issues that might impede, or assist, apparent patterns of current evolution in the globalization of food production and distribution. As expected, the impediments represented by national boundaries and trade bloc agreements receive special attention in this final part.

This book is not without problems which seem almost inherent in this genre of work. Despite the fact there is both a good introduction and each selection stands well on its merits, the parts do not always appear to fit into an integrated whole. This is not a fatal flaw, the book can be recommended for someone wanting a good introduction to globalization in the food production and processing industry. A petty complaint: if you are not good at acronyms, you may feel you have fallen into a bowl of alphabet soup in some of the selections. Still this is a better solution than repeating the full name of organizations.

One recurrent themes that runs through out the book involves the evolution of globalization from a "Fordist" order, mass production for mass consumption, to a "Sloanist" order, production flexibility for market flexibility. The acceptance of this implicit paradigm, inspired by the American auto industry, may possibly have excluded other possible treatments. Precisely because this book gives an excellent general introduction with a point of view, it would best be recommended as a text for a seminar course. With other points of view available, this book will assist in generating discussion.

Getting By: Women Homeworkers and Rural Economic Development by Christina E. Gringeri. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994. 200 pp. $27.50 cloth.

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Many areas in rural America have experienced sustained underdevelopment since early in the 1980s. Christina Gringeri, a

professor at a graduate school of social work, reveals in *Getting By: Women Homeworkers and Rural Economic Development* how structural forces have promoted this pattern of rural underdevelopment. More specifically, Gringeri focuses on one development strategy that officials of two Midwestern small towns, one in Wisconsin and the other in Iowa, adopted in part to deal with the economic decline that their communities experienced. The development strategy that they pursued involved homework, that is, work that is done at home for an outside employer. Homeworkers in these communities assembled auto parts for a subcontractor of General Motors (GM). Gringeri argues, borrowing from uneven development theory, homework reinforces an inequitable pattern of structural development in which an outside employer profits at the expense of a locale. Uneven development theory has not examined gender or the household as analytical categories, but Gringeri makes an important contribution to this theory by extending it to do so. She demonstrates how both the local community and subnational state as well as mostly female homeworkers subsidize the corporation through homework. Gringeri thereby encourages a closer look be taken at who gains and loses through the adoption of development strategies providing insight into the process of underdevelopment.

Homework has long been attractive to employers looking to maximize profit through the use of low-cost labor. It seems to have emerged in England late in the 1600s during the transition from feudalism to capitalism as employers sought to avoid paying the wages that town-based craft guilds demanded. Homework became popular in the United States toward the end of the 1700s. Textile production was first carried out in American homes, but other items, such as buttons, brooms, cigars, shoes, hats, chairs, shingles, woodenware, and a variety of edibles, were soon produced. Homework was not simply a transitional form of industrial production, but, as Gringeri points out, continues to play a limited role in capitalist development. Somewhat less than one-percent of workers in the United States, mostly women, presently engage in homework. Homework may accordingly seem a topic that might not be worthy of examination, but it emerges in this study as an important illustration of one direction that capitalist development

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may take. Gringeri notes that employers gain several ad
from the fracturing and decentralizing of work through ho
These advantages include a reserve labor pool that can
hired or fired, little likelihood that workers will be able to
reduction of overhead costs, such as rent, transportation, m
and utilities, through shifting them to workers, and easily a
production in response to consumer demand without the
risk of idle facilities. The employer who contracted
homeworkers in this study hoped to gain these same
advantages as it shifted the structure of work in an inc
competitive global economy.

One of the restructuring strategies that American e
have adopted to make themselves more competitive is ho
The restructuring that GM undertook through creating h
not only resulted in greater corporate control of empl
traditional plants, but also, Gringeri observes, affected hom
as their home and work lives became intermingled. N
studies, including the present one, show that women are
likely persons to perform homework. Gender then becomes
Gringeri convincingly argues, in understanding homework
norms and values concerning women in the Midwe
homework to be viewed as secondary labor that is not rea
Midwestern culture, along with the corporate goal
maximization, combine to create a structure that result
exploitation of women who are little noticed, unorgani
unfairly compensated. The exploitation that women hom
are subjected to, Gringeri shows, most importantly takes th
payment by piecerate and exclusion from corporate bene
Additionally, homework disrupts the home lives of women
such work to their already busy daily schedules and tur
members and friends into workers as they help to compl
Homework not only results in restructuring of corporate p
also alters the structure of the home in ways that impac
roles and household life.

Development officials in Wisconsin and Iowa p
homework as a development strategy. These officials confr
reality that attracting any work to their communities, e

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governmental subsidies, was difficult because of the depressed condition of their local economies. In the present period in which the federal government is encouraging decentralization, decisions concerning development, Gringeri explains, are increasingly made at a more local level. Development officials argued homework was congruent with local norms and values, and workers and their families similarly shared this view. All parties involved believed that homework would allow women to help supplement the incomes of their families while taking care of duties at home. Men ironically used other development monies to retrain for jobs beyond the home. The end result of using homework as a development strategy, Gringeri explains, was that it reinforced traditional Midwestern gender roles that have historically resulted in exploitation of women. While women often found homework offensive in terms of compensation and benefits, many, Gringeri astutely observes, also saw homework as beneficial because it allowed them to stay at home while helping with the financial situation of their families. Taking into consideration the realities of local culture, Gringeri concludes that if Midwestern communities intend to commit themselves to a development strategy involving homework, it must be carried out in a way that allows women to obtain fair compensation and benefits. Homework, as presently structured as a development strategy, allows outside employers to suck resources from communities, families, and especially women. The result is that this development strategy reinforces a structure that promotes continuing underdevelopment in rural America.

This work ultimately provides an excellent example of capitalism being used in a way that works against its potential promise to promote development that will result in a higher standard of living. Gringeri demonstrates, like social critics from Karl Marx up through present-day conflict theorists, that individual striving for profit, the principal structural imperative of capitalism, can bring about the unintended (and perhaps just as often intended) consequence of exploitation. This situation is well-illustrated in this study when homework is instituted without regard to the outcomes for either workers in plants or homeworkers. There is a message here: capitalism is a double-edged sword, powerful promoter of

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growth, potential exploiter of workers. Gringeri suggests that homeworkers must organize to defend their interests, but perhaps more important they must remember that their structural location makes them eternally subject to exploitation. This juxtaposition of the interests of workers and capital makes underdevelopment an always potentially ironic possibility of capitalist development. Gringeri, all in all, provides her readers with a carefully crafted book that belongs on the bookshelf with an emerging generation of critical works that examine underdevelopment in rural America, such as Howard Newby and Frederick Buttel, *The Rural Sociology of Advanced Societies* (1980), Patrick H. Mooney, *My Own Boss?* (1988), and Ian R. Bowler, ed., *Contemporary Rural Systems in Transition* (1992). Anyone interested in contemporary rural America or simply work in a capitalist economy will want to take a look at this book. Scholars teaching courses on these topics will want to consider this book for possible adoption.

Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing by Severt Young Bear and R.D. Theisz. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994. 191 pp. $30.00 cloth.

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Standing in the Light is a book to be "heard" rather than read. Much of the content of the book was related to Ron Theisz, a professor of communications and education at Black Hills State University, by the late Severt Young Bear, a respected Oglala elder and "hoka wicasa" (Lakota mastersinger). As Theisz pointed out in his "Introduction," this text "is not the molded story of an illiterate narrator -- as a number of classic Indian bi-autobiographies or as-told-to life histories have been -- but rather the narrative of a Lakota man" (p. xvi). Consequently, Theisz took great pains to minimize his editing so that the authentic voice of Severt Young Bear would be heard.

The narrative produced in the book was an outgrowth of a

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thirty-year collaboration between Young Bear and Theisz. During that period, they spent considerable time together as both were members of the Porcupine Singers, one of the most celebrated singing groups on the pow wow circuit in South Dakota, the Northern Plains, and beyond. Young Bear and Theisz were more than fellow musicians, they also came to be relatives through the Lakota tradition of "hunka" (adoption of relatives). The mutual respect of these two men for one another was apparent in this book.

The narrative related here is the story of Severt Young Bear. It begins with a brief history of "the Oglala Sioux" and his family, going back four generations to include relatives who died at, and who survived, Wounded Knee in 1890. Drawing upon his own personal, family, and community oral histories, Young Bear provides a distinctive perspective on both historic and contemporary events, including the migrations of "Sioux" bands and Wounded Knee I and II. Although his explanation of these events may not always correspond with those given by historians and anthropologists, they nonetheless provide the reader with an insider or "emic" perspective.

Theisz, in his brief introduction, tells the reader that about two-thirds of the way through the initial recording process, he and Young Bear came to recognize that they were creating a book about identity. Indeed, Young Bear later relates that his journey to embrace his own Lakota identity came largely through his involvement in Lakota singing, beginning on New Year's day in 1963. He tells how his experience that evening ultimately turned his life around. In his brief introduction to the book, Young Bear repeatedly contends that the purpose of this book is "educational." It is intended to speak of "some of the things that are troubling our Lakota young people" (p. 106). These things include questions such as: What is your place in this world? What is your history? Why are things done this way? What is your family tree? What do you believe in? These questions, too, ultimately relate to identity.

The book, then, is the story of a search for identity and a narrative of experiences that may be useful to others, particularly young Lakota as they attempt to sort out their own identity. For the non-Native American, the book provides insight into events and experiences from the perspective of a Lakota traditionalist. Yet, it

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is perhaps more than this, as is suggested by a recurrent imagery provided by Young Bear. He begins and ends his narrative with reference to "four circles," which may be observed at ceremonies, pow wows, or other public gatherings. At the center (the inner circle) are those who are respected and honored. These people are fully involved in the activities underway. In the second circle are people at a little distance from the center. These are supportive of the activities and have some understanding of what is taking place. These, however, are "not the real leaders and doers" (p. 175). Outside of them is the third circle, made up mostly of young people who are restless, on the move, and primarily interested in courtship and the opposite sex. Finally, there is a fourth, outer circle some greater distance away from the center. These persons are essentially not involved and often disinterested in the activities of the center. "They've lost their cultural center and so they wait out in the dark away from the center of activity and the center of light" (p. 176). This "educational project" is directed, in particular, to the two outer circles. As a singer and respected elder, Severt Young Bear was one who stood in the center circle -- the place "from which a voice comes...Sacred and important mind- and heart- engaging sounds are sent out from there. You can't send your voice from the outside" (ibid.). It is to those standing in the dark that Young Bear and Theisz send the message of this book, a message of the Lakota way.

This book would serve as a good supplemental text for a course in anthropology or sociology. In particular, it would provide students with an opportunity to confront some of the challenges to identity experienced by young Native Americans and to consider United States history and Native American affairs from the perspective of a traditional Lakota man. The book concludes with a selected bibliography that includes "Sioux Life Stories," a guide to sources for Native American music, and general readings dealing primarily with the "Sioux." These would be useful for further reading and research.

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The Sociology of Money: Economics, Reason & Contemporary Society by Nigel Dodd. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1994. 212 pp. $24.95 cloth.

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The analysis of Dodd is constructed on the following premise: monetary theories in classical and neoclassical economics are derived from a set of assumptions about how individuals behave that is empirically groundless and analytically questionable (pp. vi-vii, 23, 104, 129-130, 145, 150-151). Examples of these assumptions include the following: (1) the distinctive features of money can be defined by reference to a standard set of functions as well as other considerations (pp. 3, 11, 79, 125), (2) profit maximization is sufficient to explain why individuals use money in the ways that they do, (3) money simply mediates the production and exchange of goods, and (4) money expresses inequalities of wealth and power but cannot generate them. Dodd argues that a reappraisal of classical and neoclassical assumptions is required, a task which has far-reaching implications epistemologically (pp. xiii, xxi).

In this context, Dodd critiques extensively the monetary theories of Smith, Marx, Knapp, Weber, Hayek, Simmel, Parsons, Habermas, and Giddens. For example, although the theory of value that Marx posits is quintessentially sociological and although his work challenges the assumption that money is logically or politically neutral, the applicability of his work to an analysis of the role of money in contemporary society is debatable (pp. 18, 21-22). In addition, Marx reduces the role of the state to what he claims are more fundamental imperatives. How the state supports the legal and administrative frameworks for monetary relations in society he ignores (p. 23). In a separate chapter, Dodd examines whether the relationship between money and the state is an issue of functional and administrative necessities, or whether the relationship owes more to historical accident. According to Dodd, Knapp and Weber do not provide compelling reasons to conclude that the state plays an indispensable role in the validation and administration of money

(pp. 35-36), and recent arguments in support of the denationalization of money are not convincing either (pp. 36-40, 103). The view of Dodd on the matter is not very clear. He recognizes simply that the state has facilitated the development of international monetary networks which geopolitical boundaries to some extent constrain.

Dodd acknowledges the contributions of Parsons and Habermas to a more inclusive theory of money, that is, money is significant for what it reveals about the normative fabric of modern society. However, their work (1) reproduces the weaknesses associated with systems theory, (2) employs an overly narrow perspective on the way money is handled by individuals, (3) fails to recognize that the use of money in society plays an integral role in the reproduction of inequality, and (4) does not challenge the paradigmatic underpinnings of classical and neoclassical accounts (pp. 59-60, 64, 76, 78). In the work of Habermas, the characterization of money is confused, imprecise, and "too weak even to be categorically wrong" (pp. 75, 79).

Suffice to say, Dodd does not spare the other theorists either. He favors Simmel, however. In the work of Simmel are the keys to developing a substantive and systematic approach to the study of money. This approach rejects the assumption that money is logically or politically neutral. It focuses on the importance of the demand for money, the reasons people hold on to money, and their perceptions of how they use it (pp. 22, 42, 52-54). From the insights of Simmel, Dodd constructs the foundation of his own argument which at its core says the following: the assumption that information about money is simply transmitted and received cannot be sustained analytically because the relationship between the properties of money, information about money, and the development of monetary networks is inherently reflexive (pp. 79, 106, 112-113, 121, 125-126). The mass media, in part, form and mediate this relationship (p. 121). This latter observation is Dodd's concession to an otherwise unfriendly critique of postmodern commentaries on economic life (see pp. 117, 127-128 particularly).

The study of what money is and how it is used, as well as how monetary networks emerge historically and operate

contemporaneously, cannot thus proceed without an understanding of the assumptions, concepts, and discursive patterns and practices which constitute these phenomena (pp. 122, 124-125, 133, 135). Monetary networks, in turn, are linked institutionally with the agencies responsible for the administration of money. Although analyzing monetary administration is empirically complex and methodologically problematic (pp. 57, 102), in this respect it does not matter whether the belief that the state is responsible for validating money is technically correct: "if the belief is sufficiently widespread, it is significant enough to disrupt manoeuvres to denationalize money or embark on monetary union, for it will affect how money is actually used" (p. 57).

The claim of Dodd that he has a "fresh and distinctive" approach to monetary analysis in sociology (p. viii) comes down to his intention to: (1) introduce reflexivity as a general methodological principle in the study of money and monetary networks, (2) identify the abstract properties of monetary networks in comparative and historical contexts, (3) understand the specific sociological conditions in which monetary transactions take place, and (4) focus on the social relationships that monetary transactions involve, not on the objects which mediate those relationships. Trust in money, for example, is an essential property of monetary networks and is dependent on the substantive relationship between money and the social, political, and cultural conditions in which it is transacted (p. 136). The perceptions and uses of money within and between societies is important to the way in which money actually works in such contexts (p. xxvii).

In a book that, charitably, is a challenge to read, Dodd lays the groundwork for a distinctive sociology of money unencumbered by the assumptions of classical and neoclassical economic theories (pp. 153, 158). This approach questions the ontological status of money, identifies the abstract properties of monetary networks, and examines the operation of actual monetary networks in the context of the reflexive relationship between economic reasoning and monetary practices (p. 158). In this context, economic reasoning has no meaning other than as part of the discursive practices that reproduce monetary networks over time. Economic reasoning

excludes "the epistemological principles necessary to conduct an analysis of . . . the significance of such reasoning for the operation of money" (p. 166). For Dodd, "it should be the object, not the foundation, of the project to explain how money works. . ." (p. 166).

This book is not a sociology of money per se, indeed, the book is mistitled. It is, more accurately, a philosophical investigation into the fragments of a sociology of money. Its primary purpose is to evaluate critically these fragments to gain an understanding of what a form of reasoning sets out to do and what it accomplishes (p. 85). To the extent that this book shows how epistemological and other underpinnings of theoretical work can constrain rather than facilitate understanding, it succeeds. This is particularly evident in the comparison and contrast of Parsons with Habermas. To the extent that this book constructs a distinctively new sociology of money, it fails. Its contribution is to argue the case for reflexivity as a methodological principle. However, this, in and of itself, does not constitute a sociology of money. For example, while Dodd criticizes various accounts for failing to address the relationship between money and inequality, he, himself, has little to say on the matter.

Finally, a question arises about readability. The book is written at a high level of abstraction, with complex grammatical constructions and cumbersome terminologies reproduced from theorists such as Parsons and Habermas. It assumes a working familiarity with the body of works of the social theorists identified earlier. As such, it is not suitable for use in undergraduate theory courses.

The Social Production of Urban Space, 2d ed. by Mark Gottdiener. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994. 336 pp. $17.95 paper.

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Gottdiener contends that the exodus of industry and manufacturing from the central city in the United States is a result of the mode of production characteristic of Late Capitalism. Late Capitalism, whose production features began to appear

hegemonically after 1920, involves the rise of multinational corporations and concomitant decentralization of productive processes to take advantage of favorable location.

Decentralization means working to achieve an economy of scale. And, it often means beginning operations in foreign countries, where labor is less expensive and raw materials indigenous. In the case of the United States, Gottdiener observes, the rise of Late Capitalism has resulted in business and industry (excepting the finance and insurance industries) removing productive operations from the central city and relocating operations both outside the central city limits (i.e., in suburban areas or along the rural-urban fringe), or in more isolated areas where raw materials and lower operating costs are characteristic. According to Gottdiener, this has resulted in a transformation of the settlement or "production" of social space, with poly-nucleated centers of settlement and production replacing the central city. Numerous regional and isolated production areas therefore replace the "corporate city." Productive operations are freed within these isolated areas from the traditional constraints imposed upon industries located within the inner city.

Gottdiener, analyzing these transformations from a Marxist perspective, characterizes the state (i.e., here the United States government) as subsidizing this transformation. He claims, through public subsidy of corporate growth and continued high profits and governmental encouragement of the "take-over" of central city downtown areas by financial interests, the mechanisms of government have resulted in a public-private relationship that effectively assists corporate expansion of productive operations outside the central city. This relocation, Gottdiener contends, has resulted in the fragmentation of worker solidarity and the lowering of wages and quality of life. The governmental subsidy of corporate competitiveness, Gottdiener believes, is resulting in heightened societal dysfunction within the United States. Workers are increasingly alienated and there is a lessened domestic demand for what they produce, which, in turn, lessens the impetus for growth and lowers their living conditions. A state subsidy of capitalism is in this manner being used to maintain United States corporate

competitiveness in the world economy. This subsidy of corporations and capitalism comes at the expense of downgraded workers who are relocated outside of the central city in part to circumvent their solidarity.

Gottdiener contends that more and more this governmental and worker subsidized relationship creates workers who must be increasingly "controlled" to prevent rebellion against their diminishing purchasing power and quality of life. The author writes "the United States has increasingly become a society organized to fight those deprived of the benefits development, as opposed to one which attempts to discover its root causes and alleviate its problems" (p. 278). He notes, "at present the U.S. prison population is the highest in history, with an estimated 500,000 inmates nationally" (ibid.). Gottdiener thus views the deconcentration of production places, assisted by the governmental apparatus, as a Machiavellian governmental policy designed to preserve worldwide dominance of United States corporations and industry at the expense of workers. He considers the current poly-nucleated organization of the centers of production a strategy intended to fragment and isolate workers, while hiding from them knowledge that they are subsidizing and contributing to their own downward movement out of the middle class.

The writing style of Gottdiener is, while accessible, too long-winded and full of jargon to appeal to, or be adequately understood, by the lay reader. The book was first published in 1985, and sometimes, confusingly, makes reference to that period in this second edition published in 1994. For instance, Gottdiener speaks of the "twin drivers of ideological control" in the United States as being the "threat of communist expansion" and "threat of domestic crime." Gottdiener contends that these "twin drivers," though waning (in 1985), are sufficient to convince United States workers to buy into the mistaken belief that government-corporate policy will alleviate domestic problems. Here the author might have beneficially chosen in the second edition to update his analysis and remove the reference to Communist expansion.

Gottdiener plainly disagrees with the ameliorative properties of growth, as contained within the current United States

government-industry subsidy relationship. He encourages a more humanistic, Marxist-oriented government-industry relationship, where human beings, not corporate profits, are the ultimate measure of organizational success. For Gottdiener, the current United States policy of governmentally assisting corporate success, comes at the expense of workers, though not the upper classes, and, eventually, at the expense of the future stability of the United States and the world.

The Suburbs by J. John Palen. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995. 236 pp. $18.75 paper.

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J. John Palen, also author of the leading urban sociology text *The Urban World*, has written a short but important book. This new book documents a major social trend in late twentieth-century American urban life which many sociologists have little noticed. This trend, the growth of the suburbs, also impacts North and South Dakota. The fastest growing counties in the Upper Midwest, and in the nation as a whole, are those surrounding cities. This book calls attention to how those communities are leading the United States toward becoming a nation of suburbs.

The notion of suburbs leads to thoughts of mostly sprawling one-story, ranch-style, tract-homes built on the same or mirror image blueprints, surrounded by well manicured ornamental lawns. It may also result in visions of residential developments separated by the occasional shopping mall, but the suburbs are much more than that. While most of us were not paying attention, suburbs have become centers for employment, commercial, manufacturing, and administrative activities, yet our "image" of suburbs as important centers of life has not kept pace with the actual reality. The goal of Palen, as he says, "is to sketch the scope and nature of contemporary suburbia and how we got to this point" (p. xiv). And, in fact, he documents these changes and brings awareness to our consciousness.

Suburbs these days are no longer "sub" to anywhere as they

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have for the most part ceased to rely on nearby central cities. They have become nearly self-sufficient, self-sustaining communities. More Americans now live in suburbs than in any other type of community. No longer are they just "bedroom" communities because most suburbanites now also work in the suburbs. The most common commute in American cities is now from one suburb to another, not to downtown. Suburbs offer twice the office space of central cities. As Palen points out, "more than three-quarters of the job growth during the 1980s in America's twenty largest metropolitan areas occurred in the suburbs" (p. xiii).

Early in his book Palen focuses on the development of suburbs over the past twenty-five years and seeks to answer the question, how did they come to dominate American life? In answering this question, he presents definitions of suburbs and paradigms for understanding them. Palen provides a useful working definition, stating a suburb refers "to unincorporated spatial communities of moderate density that lie outside the central city but within the metropolitan area" (p. 12-13). He offers two paradigms, ecological, which he favors, and political economy. The former examines city placement, population growth, and land-use patterns, and the latter focuses mostly on conflict theory to explain the consequences of land values.

The author provides a historical look at suburbs from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Here the influence of transportation is discussed. He also explores the impact of technology on the suburbs. Steam power in early industrial cities concentrated people in high density, small areas, while later technology such as streetcars led to a division of home and work. With the arrival of the automobile in the 1920s, suburban development allowed the more affluent middle-class to move out of the city. Palen furnishes an interesting discussion of the role of the federal government in road building and maintenance. Here he makes the point that government has felt responsible for roads for only the past one hundred years. Bicycle users, and the organization the American Wheelman, first pressured government to construct hard-surface smooth roads. These hard-surface roads, along with automobiles, facilitated the growth and prosperity of the suburbs in

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the 1920s. The expansion of the "modern" suburbs between the World Wars is documented. During this period, wealthy suburban areas emerged as well as middle-class bungalows. Home styles became smaller. Single-story houses were constructed more for their economy and utility rather than style. The post-World War II years brought great suburban growth, financed by federal programs.

Variation in contemporary suburbs is considered. Palen explores variation that a urban sociologist would be expected to examine, including wealth, education, occupation, age, race and ethnicity, and function. He gives considerable treatment to minorities in suburbs, especially focusing on African Americans but also Latin and Asian Americans. African Americans have been moving to the suburbs in large numbers in the 1980-90s. He notes that "between 1986 and 1990, some 73 percent of black population growth occurred in suburbs" (p. 117). This is in marked contrast with past federal programs that worked to maintain racial segregation through limiting mortgage money available to African Americans. Palen also looks at models explaining African-American suburbanization, mortgage fund availability, reasons for moving to suburbs, middle-class minority exodus from the city, predominantly one-group suburbs, and finally focuses on one case of racial integration in Oak Park, a suburb just west of Chicago.

In one of the most interesting parts of the book, Palen considers the impact of the suburbs on the roles of women and families. Women's roles are traced through a series of stages from nurturers of children, with the accompanying ideology of domesticity, to "domestic engineers" to shared domesticity. Palen suggests that "modern" kitchen design and household appliances freed women from domestic chores. They gained more time for leisure or for work outside the home. Changes such as these have led critics of the suburbs to charge that they have resulted in patriarchal or matriarchal families. Palen explores these charges. He discusses Philip Wylie's *A Generation of Vipers* (1942), a book that argues that matriarchy was emerging in the wake of men leaving to fight World War II. And, conversely, he explores Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) which asserts that middle-class females suffer from powerlessness. Additional research is reviewed that

indicates many women feel isolated in suburban communities. Palen makes the point that contemporary suburban women who were raised in suburbs may feel more comfortable living there than did their mothers.

This book examines contemporary issues and problems of suburban communities. Among those reviewed are zoning, annexation and consolidation, growth policies, crime, government fragmentation, and political representation. Palen notes that decentralization seems to be emerging as a pattern for contemporary communities as suburban areas become subcenters of dispersed activity and function. He also examines planned utopian-like communities from the late nineteenth-century Llewellyn Park in New Jersey to a present-day one in Reston, Virginia. Another possible new trend is that suburban government is being handled through the private rather than public sector. Places like Tyson Corners, Virginia, have no elected public officials since this suburban community is a private corporation that makes and enforces its own rules. Such arrangements potentially threaten democratic institutions and citizen rights. Palen also reviews the history and impact of suburban shopping malls, including both enclosed and strip malls, from the first one, Country Club Plaza in Kansas City (1923), to those of the present. Palen concludes, despite his wish for urban revitalization, that the United States faces a future that will be suburban.

The book holds attention of readers, but at times it reads like the textbook it is. Despite this objection, this book should be applauded for its thorough scholarship that relies mostly on academic sources but also includes materials from popular magazines and newspapers. Palen manages to stay on the scholarly side of the fine line between academic and popular journalistic writing. This book might be used in either an undergraduate or graduate urban sociology class as a supplement to his text *The Urban World*. While there is some overlap of information between the two books, *The Suburbs* goes into far greater detail and includes much more information on its subject. This is a well-written book and should be read.

White-Collar Blues: Management Loyalties in an Age of Corporate Restructuring by Charles Heckscher. New York: Basic Books, 1995. 224 pages. $23.00 cloth.

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White Collar Blues argues that the current restructuring and downsizing trend among American corporations includes manager layoffs as never before. Its author, Charles Heckscher, contends that "for the first time managers are being treated as a variable cost rather than a part of the fixed base" (p 4). While it is known that restructuring profoundly affects middle-level management, research has historically focused on the blue-collar worker. Relatively little is known about middle management reaction to restructuring. Heckscher ambitiously sets out to correct this imbalance.

The traditional arguments that international competition and technological change are the primary culprits that force restructuring and downsizing are dismissed. The premise of the book is that we must go beyond those arguments to examine the impact of restructuring on the internal employee-employer relationship. This work is done through "loosely structured" interviews with over 250 middle managers in fourteen units of eight large industrial companies. Included are Honeywell, General Motors, Pitney-Bowes, Dow Chemical, Figgie International, Wang, Dupont, and AT&T. To preserve interviewee confidentiality, company and individual pseudonyms are used.

The concept of loyalty is discussed at length. Heckscher suggests a movement away from the traditional paternalistic employment relationship where the employee offers undivided loyalty in exchange for career protection and security. In its place, "professionals," i.e., managers, commit themselves to a mission or task rather than to a company.

Heckscher learned from the interviews that loyalty to the company remained strong among most managers, often to the point of denying the downsizing occurring around them. Interestingly, the persistent management loyalty did not seem to help the companies.

Those that evidenced the greatest amount of management loyalty were neither "the happiest nor the most effective organizations" (p 11). Indeed, loyalty appeared to trap those companies. Their bureaucratic structure, which had been the basis of trust and stability, made it difficult for managers to comprehend the depth or the challenges of change. The tendency among managers was to attempt to ward off change, isolate themselves, regress or go into denial, and grieve for "the way things were." Paradoxically, this occurred while the same managers agreed that change was necessary and could be good for the company. A useful insight provided was that managers tended to view the change as temporary, with the attendant feeling that they would "hold on" until things got back to normal. Ironically, the companies that most effectively dealt with change were staffed with managers who had largely rejected traditional loyalty. Additionally, these managers seemed to understand that the change would be continuous.

In his quest to understand why certain companies were successful in negotiating change, Heckscher discovered that developing a "community of purpose" is essential. This community consists of individuals with "a shared commitment to the accomplishment of a mission, without a permanent and dependent relation of employee to employer" (p 121). This does not mean that loyalty is irrelevant, but rather that one is dedicated to the task or project, not to the overall concept of the company.

From these observations, Heckscher suggests that a new employment relationship is emerging. He posits that the successful companies in his study, the ones he calls "dynamic" in that they were able to respond in a positive way to organizational change, are distinct from organizations that continued to rely on stability and loyalty. This distinction is evident in that successful dynamic companies combined "*individuals with commitments* and an *organization with a mission*" (p. 145). Employees of successful companies thus offer not blind loyalty, but specific skills, goals, and abilities to the company. The company, in turn, offers not permanent employment, but an opportunity for employees to best use and develop their talents.

While Heckscher submits that the professional ethic and the

community of purpose offer promise for resolving the dilemmas with which middle managers must deal when faced with continuous change, he concedes there are several limitations to this approach. The central one involves job security. A certain kind of individual is necessary to be comfortable with working for a company only until a project is over, and then moving on. What if there is nowhere for them to move? To achieve the end Heckscher suggests would require a large scale, societal-wide restructuring of the current employer-employee relationship. This kind of "professional ethic" is currently seen only on a very small scale at present.

Discussion of the notion of community of purpose and the manager as professional is insightful. The conclusions of Heckscher in this area, one should however note, are largely based upon the observations of only four companies. Wise readers will take care to not overgeneralize from this work, rather it should form the basis for further study.

The primary strength of this book is that it is not another rehash of corporate restructuring using an external focus on technological change and international competition. Using this approach too often leads to the conclusion that since the stimulus is external, the company has limited ability to react. This book instead centers on candid interviews with the managers directly affected by restructuring, and pivots around a variation of the question, "What's happening here, and how is it affecting not only the company, but you personally?" The answers are intriguing.

While Heckscher's writing style flows well, several modifications in this book would increase its clarity. Although the use of company pseudonyms is expected, some of the labels chosen are inopportune and a source of confusion. The author has chosen, for example, the pseudonym JVC to represent one of the researched companies. JVC is, of course, a well-known "real" company, but not a company in this study. Compounding the confusion Heckscher states that Honeywell is one of the companies studied, and therefore disguised with a pseudonym. He later uses the name Honeywell, but has the reader refer to an endnote that reveals the "Honeywell" mentioned in the book is a substitute name for a different real company. While flaws such as these can be irritating, they do not

detract from the significance of this book. The knowledge of the author is impressive. The strength of his work is reflected in how he makes broad comparisons among many companies. New insights into management loyalties in a time of organizational change can be gained from reading this book. It will be especially useful for those interested in social organization, social change, and the sociology of work.

Class, Ethnicity, and Social Inequality by Christopher McAll. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992. 295 pp. $19.95 paper.

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The purpose of Christopher McAll's work *Class, Ethnicity, and Social Inequality* is to provide an understanding of the relationship between class and ethnicity. It is an attempt to "face up to the reality of class and ethnicity and their apparent opposition to each other as bases for identity and political action in the context of inegalitarian society" (p. vii). Ethnicity, according to McAll, has been neglected and underestimated in the stratification literature by both the political right and left. This underestimation of ethnicity has left a gap in any attempt to explain and reduce social inequality. This underestimation has also lead to a fragmented literature on ethnicity at both the practical and theoretical levels. The work of McAll is ultimately an attempt to pull together a fuller explanation of inequality.

McAll begins with a basic theory lesson examining the different paradigms and conceptions of class. While he never implies which is his preferred paradigm, he devotes considerable space to Marx, Weber, Parsons, and Dahrendorf. More specifically, he examines each theory to determine the extent to which class is dealt with in it. He somewhat unusually asserts that class itself is not as precisely defined in the work of Marx as in that of Weber, but it is central to his work. The concept of class, he suggests, is more easily defined in the work of Weber because it is not so all

encompassing nor essential to his thought. The concept of class in Marx is more of a process or relationship than it is for Weber. Class, for Weber, is more life style, pure and simple.

The concept of class, McAll would say, is absent in Parsons. McAll never makes clear why he mentions Parsons outside of the fact that Dahrendorf has written most of his work in response to the latter. For Parsons, the question is not class or class conflict, but rather how "conflicting interests of the actors in a given social system are conciliated with one another to the extent that the system is able to exist in the first place" (p. 31). Dahrendorf, who claims to be a Marxist, redefines class to mean authority. Suggesting that capitalism has evolved to the point where there has been a split between the owners and managers of the means of production, Dahrendorf develops a new class division. He defines it as a relationship between those in authority and those without authority.

Once establishing the degree of importance of class in these several theories, McAll moves on to discuss their treatment of ethnicity. He asserts that ethnicity as a concept of inequality is not dealt with in Marxist literature and is given only fragmented attention in its non-Marxist counterpart. Even McAll himself does not deal with ethnicity until late in his book. He then asserts that colonizers, or the people in power, define ethnicity. And, he then defines ethnicity as a kind of multiculturalism rooted in ethnic origin. Under the rubric of ethnicity, McAll, like those he critiques, throws in everything, including nationalism and racism in explaining it. McAll uses Canada to show how the authority of the state defines multiculturalism. He also shows how ethnicity in Ireland makes a difference in class relations. What emerges from his discussion is the insight that the relationship of class and ethnicity are difficult to untangle. McAll thus ends up where he began: suggesting that both class and ethnicity are ultimately defined by the particular theoretical perspective one assumes. If one is a Marxian not only will the concept of class be important but so too will the concept of ethnicity be defined much differently than if one is a Weberian and vice versa.

McAll has taken on a monumental task of attempting to determine the relationship between class and ethnicity. In carrying

out this task, he uses about one-half of his work to discuss the different theories of social class. If his work is written for a student audience, this much space is needed, but if it is intended for a professional audience much less need be said. He becomes redundant, especially in regards to providing too many examples. He also uses the concept of ethnicity universally while ignoring that ethnicity has more of an effect on some groups rather than others (e.g., the situation of persons of European origin versus those of African origin). Overall, this book is an ambitious piece of work that is written clearly, and is must reading for anyone interested in ethnicity and class.

Countercultures: A Sociological Analysis by William W. Zellner. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995. 205 pp. $16.70 paper.

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With the fallout of the Oklahoma City bombing still settling, the publication of this work seems particularly well-timed. Perhaps this devastating act of "home-grown" political violence will stimulate a closer examination of exactly the terrain Zellner has been scouting, that is, the relatively recent rise of "hate groups" in the United States. Such events compel sociologists to venture into the realm of public discourse and contribute to the debate, and for this Zellner is to be congratulated for his endeavors. As my Social Problems course veered from the syllabus to examining the causes of the Oklahoma City bombing, Zellner provided a readable framework for such a discussion in his treatment of Survivalists. As the mystery behind the bombing began to unravel, the major suspect, Timothy McVeigh, could be used to illustrate, using the model in Zellner and some of the ideas of C. Wright Mills (1961), how the intersection of biography and history provides the foundation for good sociology. A veteran of one of the bloodiest battles of the Gulf War, McVeigh seems to have enmeshed himself within a growing counterculture populated by right-wing militias, "hate-radio" talk show hosts, and religious cults such as Branch Davidians (*New York Times*, 1995).

In this book, "behind the scenes" descriptions of six "countercultures" are provided. Zellner examines the worlds of the Skinheads, Ku Klux Klan, Survivalists, Satanists, Church of Scientology, and Unification Church. He sketches political and economic conditions that contribute to the rise of these groups. Zellner, for example, suggests that the vast expenditure on military hardware since World War II has created an unproductive economy that has marginalized workers in blue-collar neighborhoods. He supplies further insight in explaining these countercultures, providing: brief histories of them, portraits of members, and descriptions of their "solutions to the problem." Zellner draws upon journalistic sources, as well as his own investigative reporting, including participant observation and even interviews with members. Zellner certainly ventures into a realm many sociologists would find daunting. The result is a lively collage that draws the reader into the material.

Perhaps the reason Zellner includes in this book "A Sociological Analysis" is his desire to target a wider audience. In doing so, he keeps the language and tone simple, avoiding much of what lay readers consider jargon. Where sociological terms (e.g., scapegoating, alienation, and anomie) appear, Zellner provides clear definitions. Zellner interjects theories and terms where he thinks they might be appropriate to explain key questions (e.g., why do individuals join these groups?). Many of the ideas discussed in this book might be first encountered in introductory sociology, and this work may accordingly serve as a timely supplement to such a course. This book might also be used in courses on social problems or deviance.

If the validity and even the necessity of influencing public discourse through the application of sociology may be granted, then Zellner indeed is to be commended. He has taken topics of public interest and demonstrated that sociologists can "shed light" upon them. Zellner might also perhaps be criticized for not following basic conventions of the discipline despite his claim to being "sociological." At the risk of complaining, the following additions in this regard would be helpful: (1) a description of what constitutes a "counterculture" beyond the textbook definition provided in the

preface, (2) discussion of the reasons for selecting these particular countercultures, and (3) a chapter that offers comparisons of and conclusions about the various groups.

The first three groups handled, the Skinheads, Ku Klux Klan, and Survivalists, might themselves be easily dealt with in a book. The most powerful point that Zellner makes concerning them is that these groups are growing because of the Skinhead phenomenon. Zellner next notes that these groups have many individuals with overlapping memberships. The question becomes are these really distinct countercultures or parts of one larger, if less well-defined, counterculture?

The selection on Satanism is a fascinating example of a counterculture. But, Satanism, according to Zellner, exists as a counterculture only in the imaginations of those who believe in it (generally over-zealous, "born-again" Christians). Certainly there is some connection between this kind of "counterculture" and the others, but this is a very different type of case study that Zellner needs to connect in some way with the others.

Zellner closes his study with an examination of two further "countercultures" that are well-defined as well as well-funded organizations. These groups might also be well treated in a separate expanded book. Both of these groups are organizations that promote the hidden interests of a few under the guise of religion. The Church of Scientology supports an elite through cutthroat sales of its peculiar brand of "pop-psychology." The Unification Church acts as an arm of Korean intelligence through its links with right-wing politicians, politicized Evangelical Christians, and African-American civil rights groups.

This book is fascinating, but in the end we must ask how are each of these countercultures related? Are the several case studies in this book really separate cases? Or, are these cases part of a larger pattern that reflects a swing right in an increasingly fragmented American polity? Perhaps if Zellner gave attention to the literature on social movements these questions might be illuminated, but unfortunately the author never even introduces the concept. Perhaps at least this book will make an important contribution through stimulating more serious scholarly work on the

subject. There is a clear need for research in this area that is rigorous and tackles theoretical questions. This book has a kind of "cut-and-paste" feel, splicing bits of sociology (sometimes derived from contradictory theoretical frameworks) into what is basically a journalistic treatment. Most of the sources (which might have been beneficially listed in a bibliography) are popular rather than scholarly. Sometimes there is little choice but to rely on such sources. They are often of great value, and make for a more inductive work. Hopefully, the research will not stop here.

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Cultures and Societies in a Changing World by Wendy Griswold. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. 1994. 128 pp. $15.95 paper.

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This book is organized for the student. The objective of Griswold is to create for the student a "concise introduction to cultural sociology" through defining the concept of culture and its linkages with the social world, increasing understanding of structural issues by applying cultural analysis to them, and broadening cultural and social horizons to make possible more effective individual participation in the global economy and culture of the twenty-first century.

Griswold uses the device of the "cultural diamond." Through it she investigates the connections among cultural objects (symbols, beliefs, values, and practices), cultural creators, (including the organizations and systems that produce and distribute cultural objects), cultural receivers (the people who experience culture and specific cultural objects), and the social world (the context in which culture is created and experienced). The cultural diamond (a diamond in the two-dimensional sense of a baseball diamond) has

four points and six links or connections that link each point to every other one. Griswold states that the cultural diamond cannot be called a theory because it says nothing about how the points are related. Also, it cannot be considered a model because it fails to establish cause and effect. According to Griswold it, "is an accounting device intended to encourage a fuller understanding of any cultural object's relationship to the social world" (p. 15).

Culture, Griswold asserts, "is the mirror of social reality" (p. 22). And, cultural objects obtain their meaning from the social patterns and social structures they reflect. A cultural object, in other words, is a socially meaningful expression that is audible, visible, tangible, or can be articulated. Specifying a cultural object, Griswold explains, is a way of grasping some part of the broader system of culture through holding up that part for analysis. There is more to culture, she adds, than simply saying it is a collective product dependent upon the social context from which it is drawn. Further exploration into how culture is actually produced is needed. Emphasis must be placed on the impact that the means and processes of production have on cultural objects themselves.

Griswold draws upon organizational sociology to explain the structure that is interposed between cultural creators and consumers. Using a model that Paul Hirsch (1972) developed, which he calls the "culture industry system," Griswold looks at cultural production through a framework developed to explain mass-produced cultural objects. These mass-produced objects are things like compact discs, popular books, and low-budget films. Cultural objects such as these share a number of features. First, demand uncertainty, no one knows what the market will be for a new compact disc, for example. Second, relatively cheap technology, compact discs are inexpensive. And third, an oversupply of would-be cultural creators, all those singers, authors, and film makers waiting to be discovered so they can make their own discs. Griswold explains the operation of the Hirsch model. All of the combined creators of cultural objects make up the technical subsystem. The input of the technical subsystem is then filtered through the managerial subsystem. The managerial subsystem consists of the organizations that actually produce the product: film studios, publishing houses, and record companies.

From here the cultural objects go through another filter before the mass media, which Hirsch calls the institutional subsystem, promote them. The gatekeepers of the media include disc and video jockeys, talk show hosts, and book and film reviewers. The public, that is, the consumer, makes up the final part of the model. Despite the attempts of the managerial subsystem to control the popularity of a cultural object, the consumer creates a great deal of unpredictability in determining its consumption. Griswold points out that the Hirsch model is an important contribution to the study of culture, which although it creator designed it primarily for the analysis of tangible cultural objects, can be applied, with minimal modification, to any kind of cultural object.

This book closes with a discussion of the importance of understanding culture in a global context. Ultimately what Griswold tells the reader is that cultural objects are not as unique and different as people of various cultures often believe, but the meanings they attach to them are. She observes, "meanings are not implanted in a cultural object: they are constructed by those human beings who interact with the object" (p. 134). So, if different cultures are to understand one another, Griswold asserts, they must look at the context in which their objects are constructed and find similarities that link them. This sociological understanding of cultures and how they operate, might be used, according to Griswold, to predict areas of conflict and strategies to reduce or manage them when they arise. Beyond conflict, through sharing meanings there exists the possibility that conflicting cultures can set aside their differences in favor of over-arching universal meanings. The cultural diamond is the theoretical idea that Griswold has created to assist sociologists and others who examine the processes that link cultural objects and their creators and receivers.

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The Social Psychologists: Research Adventures edited by Gary G. Brannigan and Matthew R. Merrens. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995. 279 pp. $15.95 paper.

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Brannigan and Merrens bring together an impressive array of social psychologists, each telling a story of research remembered. The treatments are informal and range from descriptions of single projects to the recounting of careers (e.g., Berkowitz). For the most part this book is uniformly well-written in the kind of first-person format designed to capture the attention of the undergraduate.

For the sociologist the book is one of those "good news-bad news" phenomenon. The good news is that this is the kind of book a class in social psychology (or research methods for that matter) would love to read: stimulating, challenging, and exciting. The bad news is that all of the researchers are psychologists, thus limiting the scope of research experiences and perhaps leaving students with the impression that one must enter psychology to get in on the "good stuff" in the social-behavior sciences.

In focusing the opening of their book on a discussion of the psychology of the self, the editors feature the story of how Anthony Greenwald developed the EBC concept. Greenwald traces the various influences that led him to the conclusion that three important generalizations of the (psychological) self involve egocentricity (E), beneffectance (B), and cognitive conservatism (C). Susan Fiske follows addressing social cognition through tracing her journey from a bleak reading of attribution theory in Martha's Vineyard to the heady excitement of applying the concepts at the United States Supreme Court. Mark Snyder next examines his work in personality and behavior, focusing on self-monitoring. Then, Robert Cialdini discusses social influence and compliance, calling for social-psychological research to begin in the field rather than in preconceived theory or artificial settings. Relating his vast scholarly journey in interpersonal psychology, Roy Baumeister, explores self-presentation and interweaves it with considerations of emotion

and motivation. John Dovidio focuses on prosocial behavior, chiefly relating his experimental research concerning who will help and when. The book next turns to selections that cover the related themes of attraction, love, and relationships. Karen and Kenneth Dion link perception to both interpersonal attraction and love. And, Elaine Hatfield traces her journey of discovery of the loving-relationship and self-esteem connection.

In some ways the centerpiece of the book lies in an article that Leonard Berkowitz writes that provides an account of his life-long career investigating aggression. While the other authors tend to be toward the middle of their professional careers, Berkowitz can look back over what is surely one of the most remarkable careers in the behavioral sciences.

Still an additional article includes the work of Patricia Devine who relates and analyzes a research project inspecting the effects of prejudice on the eyewitness of a crime. Michael Bond is the only author to focus on cross-cultural social psychology. The final articles feature psychologists doing research in somewhat less central areas of social psychology. Robin DiMatteo explores the interpersonal aspects of health psychology. Paul Paulus presents his ideas about environmental psychology. Norbert Kerr considers prejudicial pretrial publicity. And, Philip Tetlock traces his trek through political psychology.

This is a well-written book that contains the views of insiders not often available to students or professionals. By all means, get the book and read it. Now if Brannigan and Merrens would take sociological social psychology seriously (or, more likely, if the publisher would consider it profitable) perhaps they might decide to include a few sociologists in their next edition.

Frameworks for Studying Families by Chester Winton. Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group, 1995. 211 pp. $14.95 paper.

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This is an excellent book for introducing undergraduate

students to the nature, implications, and applications of sociological theory as applied to the family. *Frameworks for Studying Families* avoids overwhelming the student with dense sentence construction and difficult jargon. Anyone who has ever taught undergraduates theory using a text like George Ritzer's *Sociological Theory* would appreciate the different demands that the two texts impose. While students must struggle and agonize their way through Ritzer, students may move comfortably through Winton.

Difficult theoretical concepts, such as postmodernism, reification, and teleology, are found throughout the work, but they are clearly and simply defined as soon as they are introduced. A glossary of theoretical terms is also provided. Winton manages to produce a concise, interesting coverage of both the essential classical and modern theoretical "frameworks".

The critiques at the end of each chapter are well done. They cover current concerns over synthesis of theories, agency versus structure, and macro versus micro emphases. Winton signals the reader to be aware of the implications of diverse experiences of women, cultural communities, racial minorities, and different social classes. Theorists can refine and extend theories by specifying the additional "diverse" circumstances under which a causal relationship occurs. This is preferable to the strategy of building theories from homogeneous settings and then attempting to understand everyone via a biased standard.

Confusion does exist in the inclusion of application sections. There is no clear explanation of how to apply theory. "Apply" would seem to mean to take the previously discussed theories and see how they fit reality. In most cases this is indeed what the author does in the application section. However, when the application section simply introduces another set of theories, many of which seem to be more middle-range, though related to the more abstract theories covered earlier, the idea of application gets muddled.

There are a number of places in the text where Winton says that the theorists using X theoretical approach tend to use such and such (a) method(s) of data collection. These statements are hard to agree with even in a very general sense.. While specific methods often match well with specific theoretical orientations, the methods

Winton identifies are often not those commonly associated with the theoretical frameworks being considered. Winton contends, for example, that those who use a structural-functional approach tend to use questionnaires. However, one could just as well argue that structural-functionalist researchers would be more likely to use participant observation. Neither the contention of Winton nor the alternative can be proven true without some type of meta-analysis of the research in this area. In fact, the characteristic methodological trait in recent years has been a borrowing and blending of diverse methods within theoretical frameworks. This methodological trend parallels the theoretical efforts at synthesis of the formerly mutually exclusive theories.

The use of blocked sections that add information is largely ineffective. These sections appear in parts of the text without any clear connection to the adjacent text and no reference to another part of the text. There should have been a key word at the top of the block to guide the reader, for example, Application, Policy Issue, or Legal Issue. Additionally, a number of the headings in these blocks are misleading. The block "Downwardly Mobile Parents," for instance, deals with the pros and cons of day care. The heading should reflect this fact. Instead the heading and the discussion in the block seem to indict working parents.

Although Winton does accomplish his twin goals of providing a succinct overview of a wide range of theoretical areas in sociology and in applying these theories to family issues, the book has additional limitations. These limitations are implied in the title of the work which refers to frameworks not theories. Specifically, the author should have distinguished between theories and paradigms, and between inductively derived theories and deductive theoretical approaches. The lack of clarification of these concepts means that the reader is left with the impression that theories are interchangeable. Even worse is the suggestion made near the end of the work that different issues demand different theories. How can one theory surpass another in its explanatory power? A simple listing of the criteria of a good theory including parsimony, generalizability, and other characteristics would have rounded out an otherwise quality text. A brief mention of the issue of falsification

would have sufficed to alert the students to the complexity of the use of theories.

While the author uses an analogy of theories being like eyeglasses, the reader is left with the impression that personal preferences and fads are acceptable when applying or utilizing theory. As with the idea of texts in the poststructuralist literature, the reader is led to believe that every person, even those untrained in a discipline, can understand anything read and that the reading of any person is equally valid with any other including a theorist.

Finally, if the Winton text excites students and they seem ready to progress to a higher level of theorizing, a good choice would be the two volume *Contemporary Theories About the Family* (1979) edited by Wesley Burr, Reuben Hill, F. Ivan Nye, and Ira Reiss. Volume One, subtitled, *Research-Based Theories*, illustrates inductive theorizing. Volume Two, subtitled, *General Theories/Theoretical Orientations* is an excellent example of a deductive theoretical approach. The Winton book is most appropriate for first and second year students in courses on the family. The book might conceivably be used in a theory class at the first or second year level, though it would not be adequate as the sole text in an undergraduate theory class.

Who Stole Feminism: How Women Have Betrayed Women by Christina Hoff Sommers. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. 320 pp. $23.00 Cloth, $12.00 paper.

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I reviewed Dorothy E. Smith's *The Everyday World As Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (1987) for this journal in 1992. It was required reading for a graduate class in sociological theory, and I chose to review the book because it had been the most difficult of our readings for me to understand. I had tried, time and again, to explain to my professor why I truly identified with the experience of Dorothy Smith, yet felt that her feminist sociology excluded me. First, I felt that because I happened to be female I

was not allowed to do sociology from a traditional (male) perspective and, second, try as I might, I could not view the world from the theoretical perspective of Smith.

Why now when I am reviewing a different book do I bring up this past review? Because the present book *Who Stole Feminism: How Women Have Betrayed Women* not only debunks many myths, based on inadequate research and poor statistics, about women, but also finally makes clear to me why I had difficulty with Smith. To put it succinctly, as author Christina Hoff Sommers says, "being a feminist has nothing to do with resenting men" (p. 8).

Sommers is trained in philosophy rather than sociology, but her dedication to thorough research should make others envy her work. She examines the political agendas of several prominent feminist groups and what the results of their agendas have been. Sommers divides the current American feminist movement into two camps, "gender" feminists and "equity" feminists. The gender feminists, she asserts, argue that an organized patriarchy is repressing women and that feminists are in a "gender war." She suggests that gender feminists share a political goal of gaining bureaucratic power and suppressing the participation of men. She further asserts that gender feminists have regularly distorted, misquoted, and magnified statistics to support their position. In contrast, equity feminism calls for women to rally and return the feminist movement to its original goals of "fair treatment, without discrimination" for everyone (p. 22).

This book is constructed in a way that it builds one argument upon another. Its author early on describes her personal experiences, especially the cognitive dissonance she experienced during some feminist meetings. She then turns to describe how the academic community (colleges, universities) has been used to promote gender feminism. Next she discusses specific statistical myths regarding women and traces them, if possible, back to their origins. Such myths involve, for example, studies relating to self-esteem, rape, disease, and the current career environment. She notes her great concern that ill-founded research and bad statistics have damaged individual women, the feminist movement, and social structures, such as education. Sommers concludes asserting that

eventually the feminist movement will return to equity feminism. This book is documented extensively, and the final thirty-two pages are devoted to bibliographical notes. *Who Stole Feminism* is a pleasure to read even when the reader may disagree with its author.

Using Murder: The Social Construction of Serial Homicide by Philip Jenkins. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1994. 272 pp. $20.95 paper.

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Americans fear serial murder, but it simultaneously intrigues them. Talk shows, "true crime" books, television documentaries, and feature films portray serial murder as a serious problem. Philip Jenkins in *Using Murder* evaluates whether our fears are justified. He uses a contextual constructionist approach to scrutinize the occurrence of serial homicide. He also provides a rhetorical analysis of the construction of serial murder in public debate and analyzes how the media shape our definitions of it. This approach shows how the definition of serial murder as a serious threat was created, shaped, and used to advance personal agendas even though serial murder is relatively uncommon. If you want both a tightly crafted examination of our fears and stereotypes about serial murder as well as an illustration of the contextual constructionist approach, read this book.

Jenkins deals with the topic of serial murder in three parts. He sets the stage in this first part for his argument that "claims-makers" with diverse agendas and social forces shape the popular understanding of serial murder. He outlines the contextual constructionist approach and chronologically examines changes in our concerns about serial murder beginning in 1970. This reveals how public interest in serial homicide coincided with the political trend of reevaluating the etiology of social problems. Politicians and lay people began to view improper behavior as a result of personal badness instead of social or economic conditions.

The veracity of official statistics on serial murder are

evaluated. Jenkins clarifies the definition of serial murder as "involving an offender associated with the killing of at least four victims, over a period of greater than seventy-two hours" (p. 23). He uses data from the Justice Department, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Chicago Tribune* to assess claims about its prevalence. Despite higher official statistics, the data that Jenkins provides show that serial killings account for only about one percent of all United States deaths and that most serial killers are not lone white males.

Jenkins reveals how multiple murder through use of the media is constructed as a broader social problem than the data indicate. The resultant cultural images of serial killers in television, film, and novels, and how they influence media coverage of serial murder, is scrutinized. He notes, for example, that "slasher" films were popular in 1980-81 while media attention was focused on the multiple murder cases of Ted Bundy and Henry Lucas. Semi-documentaries like "America's Most Wanted" and the television series "Twin Peaks" also kept serial murder in the public eye as a serious social problem.

The second part of this book examines the evolution of stereotypes and images linked to serial killers and the claims-making activities of the New Right, women's groups, racial minorities, and the FBI. Jenkins reveals how serial murder has been linked to other activities that have been held up for criticism. The New Right, for example, argued that serial murder resulted from the consumption of pornography and media violence. The implication of this claims-making activity was that serial murder was the result of social liberalism.

Ideological and political perspectives attached to serial murder are examined in the third part of the book. Here Jenkins focuses on sexual violence as a generalized assault against women and girls. He argues that feminists have portrayed serial murder as a gender based crime and an act of terrorism intended to repress females. Jenkins also shows how the media glamorizes these crimes and romanticizes criminals while simultaneously trivializing and neglecting female victims. Finally, he bursts the myth that there are no female serial killers through an examination of the Aileen

Wuornos case. Racial, homosexual, and ritualistic cult dimensions of serial murder are also treated.

Jenkins closes with a review of the differences in the objectivist and the strict constructionist versus the contextual constructionist approaches toward social problems. He reminds the reader that an advantage of contextual constructionism is that it allows an evaluation of the veracity of claims. Serial homicide, in this case, is shown not to be the pervasive social problem that some claims-makers would have the public believe.

The strengths of this book are numerous. Jenkins is systematic without being plodding, draws on diverse cases, and provides strong examples that well illustrate the contextual constructionist approach. Yet, this book is not without problems. Additional background material on contextual constructionism would help readers unfamiliar with this perspective. Also the book could benefit from some reorganizing. Some readers, for example, might be better served from reading later chapters earlier ones. Also Jenkins mistakenly suggests that all feminists embrace the same ideology. He similarly errs when he discusses the ideology of conservatives. While these characterizations are expedient, they mask important differences that should be acknowledged. Jenkins also uses the generic term homosexual when gay and lesbian might better clarify discussion. Given the care he takes to address stereotypes about serial murderers, this inattention is peculiar.

Jenkins succeeds in explaining why serial murder elicits our interest and fear. And, beyond this achievement, he also systematically challenges popular cultural beliefs about serial homicide, provides an approach from which to examine other "serious" social problems, and shows how to use that approach. This book is more than a text book, and those who are interested in the social constructionist paradigm will find it useful. *Using Murder* makes a significant and refreshing contribution to the social problems-theory literature. It should not be overlooked.

Crime Control as Industry: Towards Gulags, Western Style by Nils Christie. London: Routledge. 1994. 208 pp. $17.95 paper.

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What is the role of the criminal-deviant in the modern social order? Emile Durkheim asserted that there is fundamentally nothing abnormal about deviance since it performs functions that are essential to society. He observed, "contrary to current ideas, the criminal no longer seems a totally unsociable being, a sort of parasitic element, a strange and inassimilatable body, introduced into the midst of society. On the contrary, he plays a definite role in social life" (Durkheim, 1964:72). Consequently crime becomes a normal and useful aspect of social life, born of the very elements that make society possible. At the time of Durkheim's pioneering study of deviance, profit was not one of the functional motives used to explain the existence of deviant or criminal behavior. According to Nils Christie, in his book *Crime Control as Industry: Towards Gulags, Western Style*, criminal behavior has ceased to be a normative sentinel that promotes social unity and change, but instead its function lies in the generation of profit through the commodification of crime via the management of potentially threatening segments of society.

Arguably one of the most dramatic changes in the United States during the past decade has been the rise of the "prison industrial" complex. According to Christie, the United States prison system houses the largest prison population (on a per capita basis) in the world surpassing South Africa and Russia. By way of a comparative analysis of industrialized societies that make limited use of imprisonment and industrialized nations that have ten-fold the prisoner rate (i.e., the United States). Christie illustrates the limitations of prison figures as indicators of crime while situating the growth phenomena within a broader organizational framework. Christie alerts us to the possibility of a future in which crime control, rather than crime itself, becomes the real threat to Western democracies. To give substance to his admonition, Christie examines in detail the economic, social, and structural conditions that have given rise to what he terms the "crime control industry."

The thesis of the argument that Christie makes addresses two

basic economic concerns confronted by modern Western-type societies: the unequal distribution of wealth and paid work. The crime control industry, in response to the resultant inequities effected by the dissolution of the cold war and the onset of economic recession, provides the potential for profit and job opportunities while at the same time offering a means of controlling those that pose a conceivable threat to the social order. More generally, Christie reminds us that the criminal justice system does not function in isolation from corporate and state structures in United States society. It is one reaction to a jobless future faced by an increasing number of the politically and economically disadvantaged, especially African and Latin Americans. Prison systems keep young men off the street and provide jobs and considerable profit for other sectors of the populace.

As a result of providing what Christie terms as the "ultimate solution" to the principal problems facing modern industrialized societies, the crime control industry has come to occupy a most privileged position within United States society. Crime, the raw material necessary for its maintenance, seems to be in endless supply, as is the demand for security and the supply of money that entails. "The brakes are gone," asserts Christie, that will never willingly seek to destroy the very thing it depends on. He adds, "never will those working in or for any industry say that now, just now, the size is about right" (p. 13).

If the crime control industry provides such an all encompassing solution to the challenges wrought by modernity, wherein lies the danger? Christie perceives the threat of an ever burgeoning crime control industry as twofold. First, Christie contends that the modern system of crime control contains the potential for developing Western type "Gulags." Citing Zygmunt Bauman's (1989) landmark book entitled *Modernity and the Holocaust*, the danger lurking in the analysis of Christie manifests itself as a logical extension of our own social organization which echos that of the Holocaust: "the conditions of the Holocaust are precisely those that have helped to create the industrial society: division of labor, the modern bureaucracy, the rational spirit, the efficiency, the scientific mentality, and relegation of values from

important sectors of society" (p. 162). Christie argues that the noble, honorable, and rational elimination of violence from social life contains the seeds of democratic destruction coupled with the threat of lapsing into a totalitarian state in the face of fighting criminal behavior. Albeit these Western type "Gulags" will probably not resort to extermination, they still possess the possibility of removing selected segments of potential trouble-makers from ordinary social life. Secondly, Christie fears the likelihood that this trend will spread into other industrialized nations, particularly Eastern Europe. Christie poses the possibility that in the quest to establish a competitive market economy, other Western nations may resort to the levels of imprisonment found within the United States.

Christie through his analysis attempts to come to an understanding of the central paradox of modern life: the loss of freedom, meaning, and respect for human life (Held, 1987). Though his inference is clear, Christie does not go far enough toward explaining the effects of rationalization and bureaucratization as it relates to crime control. Crime has become a commodity that is being bureaucratically managed in an ever burgeoning crime control industry. Criminals become objects, or profit making entities, providing a means to a particular end and a legitimation of the existence of the crime control organization itself.

To the credit of Christie, his cautionary tale is not merely a fatalistic overview of crime control, but his "warning is also an act of some optimism . . . implying belief in the possibilities for change" (p. 16). Christie notes exceptions and counterforces in other Western nations which offset "rational" economic-industrial solutions. The size of the prison population is a normative question; consequently, the limits to the population must be man-made and designed to counteract an industry that is well-suited for growth. The size of the prison population is a result of decisions, and these decisions must be driven by morality and not economic-material conditions.

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