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BOOK REVIEWS

Gendered Justice in the American West: Women Prisoners in Men's Penitentiaries by Anne M. Butler. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997. 328 pp. $29.95 cloth.

Cynthia L. Phillips
Our Lady of the Lake University

Anne Butler has written a fascinating socio-historical account of the experience of women in the criminal justice system of the western and north central United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Using newspaper accounts and prison archival data (where allowed access), Butler has produced an excellent study of women in the criminal justice system in the context of the pioneer experience. Experts had assured Butler that most female crimes of that era were acts of prostitution and that these women were incarcerated in county jails. She actually found that many women were imprisoned in men's state or territorial penitentiaries. Although women comprised a small percentage of the total penal population, and while some were there for relatively minor offenses, others were there for quite serious crimes like murder. This book is troubling because, although women's penal institutions today are separate from men's institutions and less brutal than the prisons Butler describes, many of the problems facing women in corrections one hundred years ago still exist today.

The theme of the book is that criminal justice was "gendered" in the American West. The gender aspect of justice arises from the status of women generally during this historical period, women being politically powerless and economically and socially disadvantaged relative to men. This period of the so-called

"cult of domesticity" demanded a femininity based on purity and submission to men. Even though some women in the West stretched the ideal of femininity by running businesses and ranches, Butler provides numerous examples of the serious legal consequences for women when their behavior went too far beyond the traditional female role.

Women who were sent to men's state and territorial prisons were then, as now, typically young, lower class, and racial-ethnic minorities. Women who had clearly "fallen" into prostitution and other sordid behavior were already deviantized prior to entry into the criminal justice system and consequently were dealt with severely. Racial and ethnic minority women were also deviantized prior to contact with the system, and were not infrequently convicted on flimsy evidence, often receiving serious sentences for minor crimes. For example, the only evidence that one young African-American woman of respectable family had aborted or killed a baby was testimony from a group of women who suspected she was pregnant (although she never gave birth). Despite the fact that there was no other evidence of an abortion or infanticide (or pregnancy, for that matter) she was convicted and sent to the Texas penitentiary. In another case, a young black woman was convicted of infanticide when the prosecutor knew that her mother had committed the crime. He convinced the daughter to plead guilty to protect her mother. The young woman had served four and a half years of a five year sentence when the prosecutor requested a pardon for her, indicating he knew it was late to be writing but his conscience was bothering him.

Even middle-class, European-American women could quickly drop from "respectable" to "fallen" once a crime had been committed (or was believed to have been committed). Jessie Carmon, a respectable, divorced mother, shot and killed a man breaking into her boarding house who had been viciously abusing his wife and who was violating a restraining order. Overnight her status changed from that of respectable woman to, as described in a

newspaper, that of a woman "Of Unsavory Repute." That the victim was a vicious wife beater was overlooked. He was described sympathetically by the newspaper as a man who merely "visited" the house to bid his little baby girl good bye." Butler points out that Lombroso's theory of the criminal woman as morally debased strongly influenced penal policy of the late nineteenth century, supporting the notion that women stepping outside traditional sex roles are not respectable.

Analysis of parole board records revealed that male parole boards demonstrated disapproval of the non-traditional woman by the reasons they gave for denying parole to women. Rather than basing decisions on the woman's risk to the community, the boards indicated they denied parole for such reasons as "hasn't been punished enough."

Butler also develops a sub theme of violence toward women. The world of violence outside prison was primarily in the home through chronic verbal and physical abuse. Many women ended up in prison as a result of fighting back. For example, just as today, most women who committed homicide murdered violent husbands, boyfriends, or pimps. Butler discovered that one young prostitute had murdered her boyfriend in self-defense after he was physically abusing her and threatening to kill her on a public street. Although witnesses saw him beating her prior to her shooting him, she was found guilty of manslaughter after the judge refused to instruct the jury on self-defense and was sent to the penitentiary for three years. Another woman was convicted of murder after her sheepherder husband shot into a crowd of cattle ranchers and killed a man. Apparently the community felt that she was *too* supportive of her husband's political position in the sheepherder-rancher grazing disputes, an interesting fact given that her supportiveness reflected the proper role behavior for women. In this case, the judge sent her to prison for six years, although he said it made him very sad to sentence a woman to the penitentiary (the husband received ten years in prison).

This book makes clear that where women were abused by men, women were often held just as responsible as men. A nineteen year old girl had a baby by her father. Witnesses later testified that her father had been sexually abusing her since she was fifteen. After she gave birth, both she and the father/grandfather were convicted of incest and sent to the penitentiary.

Inside the prison was another world of violence as women were treated brutally by guards and suffered horrible living conditions, such as overcrowded, filthy, unsanitary living conditions. Although men's prisons also were violent, filthy, and overcrowded, the conditions for women were just as bad or worse. In the American West women in prisons suffered from medical facilities described as inhumane to primitive. Women's basic health issues were not adequately addressed, while pregnancy and childbirth added to these concerns. Many women left prison with their health ruined. Although much has changed with respect to these sources of violence toward women in prison, women still do not receive adequate health care and often are crowded into facilities that do not have the same resources as men's facilities.

Butler follows cases through to pardon requests, parole decisions, and release. Women were at a disadvantage in requesting pardons and parole due to the fact that they were often illiterate and uneducated. They did nevertheless use what resources they had to try to gain release, such as legal options, family pressure, and community support (where it existed). Butler notes that the African-American community was particularly supportive of women unjustly convicted, although even fifty years or more after emancipation from slavery they still had to depend on European-American people of influence to pressure the governor or parole board.

This book is strongly recommended to anyone interested in a socio-historical analysis of women in the criminal justice system. Butler writes well and with sociological insight. The most interesting aspect of the book is the use of actual cases to illustrate

how the forces of race, class, and gender influenced women's treatment in the justice system. Photographs of some of the women discussed in the text are interesting. Reading the actual details of the many cases is truly shocking. This book could be used as a supplemental reading in a corrections course or a women's studies course. At any rate, it is a "must read" for anyone who wants to learn more about the history of women in corrections.

New Pioneers in the Heartland: Hmong Life in Wisconsin by JoAnn Koltyk. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998. 146pp. $19.95 paper.

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JoAnn Koltyk examines day-to-day life of the Hmong in Wausau, Wisconsin, and their more general adaptation and adjustment to life in the United States. She deals with many different cultural aspects of Hmong life and the merging of American culture with Hmong culture. Her book gives a solid understanding of the behavior patterns of the Hmong and dispels many of the stereotypes and popular beliefs about the Hmong that seem to run wild in a culture such as ours a culture that views anyone who is different as an outcast. For example, the author takes special pains to explain the Hmong attitude toward welfare and how they use it as a stepping stone for the next generation to elevate the whole family up. As a result, many Hmong have been able, through education of the second generation, to get off the welfare rolls and to live comfortable middle-class lives.

The major purpose of this book is to educate readers about the Hmong living in the United States. In achieving this objective, Koltyk also works to distinguish this group from other Asian

refugees in the United States. She distinguishes the Hmong from the Chinese, Laotians, Cambodians, and other Asians, and, therefore, shows how the Hmong have fared as compared to these other groups. More Hmong, according to Koltyk, are completing high school and some form of post-secondary education than most other Asians (only the Chinese complete more school and scores higher on tests). Koltyk explains this phenomenon in terms of Hmong exposure to education in the relocation camps since they have been initially the least educated of all the Asian refugee groups. The Hmong plainly recognize education as a means to success in the United States, and value it and stress it more than many other groups. Koltyk suggests that the Hmong have experienced success in a way that is similar to Cuban Americans thus making them a success story among the Asian immigrant groups.

The author uses participant observation to gather her data. She notes that she was generally well accepted by the Hmong, but did have some trouble in gaining information about their culture. For example, when the Hmong first immigrated to this country, they openly let others around them know that they practiced bride stealing, animal sacrifice, herbalism, and shamanism. This openness ended very quickly when their ways were criticized, and the Hmong subsequently became secretive and evasive about such customs and practices (p.14). Koltyk was not able to discuss in detail what many of these customs and practices meant to the Hmong so her examination of the life style of this group remains somewhat superficial.

Koltyk was at other points nevertheless able to provide important insights into Hmong attitudes and practices. For instance, Koltyk spends some time discussing how the Hmongs emphasis on the importance of children and obtaining an education come together to make a winning combination in their new homeland. For the Hmong, as with most traditional cultures, children are valued for their potential for generating future wealth.

Hmong children are educated in the United States so that they can obtain higher paying, white-collar work and to help raise up the rest of the family.

This book overall provides an educating and enlightening description of the everyday life of the Hmong in Wisconsin. At points, it gives in-depth analysis of how the Hmong have adapted to life in the United States and examines the synthesis of these two very different cultures. At other points, as mentioned above, its analysis is superficial. This book probably would have been better if Koltyk had left out her more shallow explorations and just explained why particular topics were not handled. This book might be best used in an Introduction to Cultural Anthropology course that examines the everyday life of a subculture that has recently come to the United States.

Transgressing Borders: Critical Perspectives on Gender, Household, and Culture by Suzan Ilcan and Lynne Phillips eds. London: Bergin & Garvey, 1998. 260 pp. $65.00 cloth, $22.95 paper.

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Suzan Ilcan and Lynn Phillips, associate professors in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Windsor, contribute to and edit this provocative collection of 13 ethnographic essays. Taken as a whole, the collection challenges the conventional, entrenched ideas of household, gender and family by unveiling the codes that govern the private spheres of people lives. The essays present a range of theoretical approaches and cross-cultural ethnographic case studies that contain

multidimensional critiques of recent debates on the definition of the family, gendered spaces, and household economies. Each essay breathes life into the unidimensional public/private boundaries that have defined much of the academic discourse surrounding living together by examining the ìmultidimensionality of peoples histories, work activities, and lived spaced in relation to the making and unmaking of family and household dwellings (p. xiii).

The collection is divided into four sections that mirror the themes that emerge in the volume. These themes can be implicitly linked to the editors explicit goal of illuminating the interrelationship between agency and structure.

The first theme is the impact of structure in defining the boundaries of the family and familial arrangements. The authors in a section entitled Health/Politics and the Family challenge the definitional boundaries of culturally distinct definitions of family by problematizing the definition of the family and exposing it as a tool of social control. Trumper and Tomic examine how the image of the patriarchal family is used as an authoritarian political strategy and tool for discipline and authority in post-Pinochet Chile. While Sears and Adam expose how people living with HIV and AIDS are denied access to basic services because of the non-recognition of family forms other the "official" nuclear family form (Sears and Adam).

This leads to the second theme in the collection: the role of agency in relation to globalism and structure. This theme is expressed in the strongest substantive chapters of the collection found in the part entitled "Gender-Geographies and the Changing Household.î The essays in the segment examine the concepts of space and time from a feminist perspective by ìtransgressing" the boundaries of gender, household, and culture. Ultimately, the authors seek to illustrate how globalization and global categories ignore the importance of agency and its relationship to structure. Toward this end, Phillips critically assesses how the conventional trends associated with women's roles under globalization, typically

understood to preserve women's responsibility for domesticity, ignore the ways in which women think about, experience, and create space and time that is theirs. Concomitantly, Ilcan, using nomadism as a methodological tool and drawing upon ethnographic and narrative accounts of Turkish women, examines the ways in which women create space and time for themselves through "alternative ways of living and thinking" that transform "authoritarian and controlling spaces (p. 55).

The methodological importance of the ethnographic study of human agency in cultural evaluations of kinship networks and the public sphere is the third theme of the collection explicitly emphasized in the segment of the collection entitled Colonialism, Community, and Kinship. These essays empirically ground and theoretically frame the salience of colonialism in defining household and kin relationships within cultural and community contexts. Hedley analyzes the transformation of First Nation communities in Canada and in the process highlights the profound and long-term effects of colonization on the institution of the household. Both MCloskey and Abwunza, who examine Navajo and Avalogoli women respectively, illustrate that although these women are marginalized from resources, they work daily to minimize the effects of colonialism and neocolonialism by crossing he boundaries of the private sphere typified as the woman's place.

The final collection of essays under the segment entitled Work and (En)gendered Dwellings, examines how economies shape households and their composition in particular ways highlighting the fourth theme of the collection: the ubiquity of structure and the need for structural change to eradicate gender inequality. More specifically, the essays in this section highlight how the often-unexamined role of agency is realized through culture and custom and ultimately shaped by structural inequality. The authors stress the importance of being mindful of the interplay between gender, household, and culture in promoting gender equity in marriage and property inheritance (Davis and McInnes), craft production

(MCloskey), rural women's access to resources (Ghorayshi), environmental practices (Hall), and lived-in and worked -in places (Forrest).

In the final analysis, the collection makes a salient contribution to the current debates on globalization by highlighting the relationship between individual lifeworlds and more general feminist and sociological claims about globalization. To the editors credit, the volume does a good job of presenting the multidimensionality of peoples lifeworlds in terms of the social construction of family and households. But, in the end, the editors fail to fully explicate the connection between agency and structure. Although Ilcan and Phillips assert that the selected essays are bound by their theoretical and methodological efforts to problematize gender and culture by examining the interplay between agency and structure, the collection lacks coherence. Further explication of the theme of the interrelationship between agency and structure in the editors introduction coupled with synthesizing essays in each section would have gone a long way in providing a coherent framework in which to interpret the methodological and theoretical issues woven throughout the chapters. By failing to emphasize the importance of multicentered knowledge creation through agency, the substantive content of the collection lacks a tangible connection to structure and social movements.

Despite its failing, the chapters contained in this collection present a range of theoretical approaches and ethnographic case studies accessible to and highly recommended for both upper-division undergraduate and graduate audiences in courses that examine the inter-relationships between gender, power, and culture. The volume would be of particular interest to students in comparative sociology, cultural, gender, and family studies.

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The Secret Life of Families: Truth-Telling, Privacy, and Reconciliation in a Tell-All Society by Evan Imber-Black. New York: Bantam Books, 1998. 315 pp. $23.95 cloth.

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As the title indicates, Evan Imber-Black's *The Secret Life of Families* asserts that families harbor various secrets from each other for reasons that range from fear to protection, and these secrets can continue to tear down a family's unity if not shared with all who are involved. Imber-Black further argues that families keep secrets for numerous reasons and there is not a set standard for dealing with areas shrouded in deceit. The structural forms that these secrets take should be of interest to sociologists, especially those who are working in practice settings. Imber-Black is the director of Program Development at the Ackerman Institute for the Family in New York City and Professor of Psychiatry at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, the immediate past-president of the American Family Therapy Academy, and practices family therapy in Westchester, New York. She has also written *Rituals for Our Times* (1998) and *Secrets in Families and Family Therapy* (1989). This book was written from her own experiences in family therapy practice and reflects the methods with which she used in bringing secrets to the surface to maintain family unity.

Imber-Black begins with an array of possible secrets that families may encounter. These secrets form a structure that will be obvious, and of interest, to sociologists who study or help families. In forming a structure these secrets prevent families from maintaining the unity and may even hinder them from gaining the necessary help to deal with secrets. Imber-Black does a wonderful job of giving examples of real people and real situations that make

the concept of harmful secrets easier for every person to grasp. For example, there are secrets, such as debating whether to tell a child that she was born through egg donation, that are retained to protect the member of the family from pain (p.19). She explains that secrets such as this are harmful for everyone involved. The pain and guilt that the parents feel about keeping such a secret is imposed upon the child. The child grows up having a sense of tension in the household and feelings of being different, or not belonging with the other children. Especially if there are other children who know about the secret. Imber-Black demonstrated how these deep and painful secrets attack the very heart and soul of those involved, and sociologists will be interested in their structural consequences.

Imber-Black also makes possible the use of her book as a workbook for those who need it. At the end of each section she has formulated a checklist. In these lists, there are questions that can be asked pertaining to individual feelings regarding secrets that are being kept. This is extremely helpful for two reasons. First, they help individuals to realize exactly what secrets are being kept. Second, they give them the tools needed to figure out whether the secret should be told or whether it can continue to be hidden. In this way, the book becomes a tool for everyone to utilize while also exploring the reasons for keeping secrets.

This book has two distinct sections. The first, "Secrets in a Talk Show Age" discusses the difference between sharing a secret on a talk show and authentic sharing. Imber-Black believes that throughout time people have been captivated by other people's secrets. Films and plays depict secrets and their immense impact on every member of the family. A story that exemplifies sweet secrets is O. Henry's story "Gifts of the Magi," where a woman sells her hair to buy her husband a watch, while he sells his watch to buy her silver combs (p.107). Although this is a sweet secret that does no real harm, many secrets can be fatal to family relations if left to linger. Imber-Black asserts that secrets opened through the

media, something possible in contemporary American culture with shows like that of Jerry Springer setting an example, are often harmful because the relationship is often ignored after the secrets have been exposed. Sociologists will want to give some thought to what happens when this kind of structural change occurs that alters the way in which secrets are revealed. This type of "opening up" enforces the misguided belief that secrets heal themselves simply because they have been told (p.114). Opening a secret in a talk show forum minimally seems disrespectful because the person hearing the secret is the last to know and has to deal with the secret being told in front of millions of strangers. In authentic secret telling, the person harboring the secret builds a relationship of trust and mutual respect with the therapist so when the secret is told there is a feeling of safety (p.122). In only that way can families move past the initial shock of the secret and work toward rebuilding a foundation of trust, respect, honesty, and love within the family unit. For authentic secret telling to be beneficial, there must be a support system a structure for both the secret teller and the person or persons who are hearing it for the first time. Respect is also given to both parties and the concern for other people's feelings are put at the forefront of the mind of everyone involved (p.122).

The second section entitled "Secret Passages" deals with secrets that form another distinctive social structure in which secrets are kept to protect ourselves or to protect other persons. For instance, when a child is being abused by a family member, the child may be told not to tell anyone, but more often than not, the child simply understands the importance of not telling anyone (p.163). Underlying this secret is shame and confusion about everything from understanding who they are as a person to questioning what trust and respect really means. These secrets provide a structure that protects the loved family member from scrutiny as well as self-doubt and embarrassment.

Certainly of special interest to sociologists, who are

concerned about the social structural formation that secrets take and also discussed in this second section, are the types of secrets kept between teens and parents, between couples, between grown children and their parents, and between siblings. These secrets, along with the examples that were provided earlier, Imber-Black explains, may be kept for many reasons. There are secrets, such as that a child is gay, that may be kept from a parent because the child either is in denial or to protect the feelings of the parent (p.197). There are also secrets such as one child knowing something that the other child did, and holding it over the head of the first child (p.221). Imber-Black has helped her readers to understand the pathology involved in simple secrets, and for sociologists their implicit structural form. This book does an excellent job of explaining why secrets are born, why secrets are kept, and most importantly, how secrets can harm everyone involved all structural issues that sociologists will certainly be interested in. By utilizing the checklists throughout this book, Imber-Black makes it possible to concisely keep a record of the secrets in an individuals life. The ways in which an individual may be hurting someone becomes easier to see, and the checklists help the person to decide whether or not sharing a secret with people whom they love would be beneficial. The way in which this book was written makes it extremely easy for every person to understand, regardless of their level of education. In short, Imber-Black achieved her goal in writing this book. Every thought was coupled with an example from real life in which she shared instances where clients realized that their secrets were harming someone and why sharing their secrets was in the best interest of everyone involved. In reading this book, I came to more fully understand how secrets can hinder relationships with others, and I have a better understanding of how to deal with those secrets. I suggest that sociologists and their students who are interested in family and interpersonal interaction will want to read this book because it provides useful information for those who are interested in the structure and impact of secrets

on family life. Practitioners will also find work this useful in gaining a possible new perspective when helping people to open their secrets to those who desperately need to hear them.

Murder Most Rare: The Female Serial Killer by Michael D. Kelleher and C.L. Kelleher. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. 213 pp. $26.95 cloth.

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Serial murderers have become something of a national cultural obsession, as evidenced by the latest exploits of the fictional Hannibal Lecter skyrocketing immediately to the top of the bestseller lists. Real life serial killers, such as Jeffrey Dahmer, Ted Bundy, and John Wayne Gacy, supply the factual basis for the cultural icon of the serial killer: intelligent, male psychopaths who kill for sexual thrills. The academic literature on serial murder also has concentrated on the male sexual predator. The attention given this particular type of serial killer has been so overwhelming that there were many surprised reactions to the case of Aileen Wuornos, described as the "first" female serial killer. An FBI expert was alleged to have announced that there are no female serial killers. Kelleher and Kelleher set out to balance this coverage by documenting the history of female serial killers since 1900. The book is focused on two main points. First, although statistically rare compared to their male counterpart, the female serial killer does occur much more frequently than one would suspect from reading the popular literature. Second, the authors assert that the female serial killer is often more subtle, complex, and deadlier than the male. Michael Kelleher is a specialist on threat assessment and strategic management who has written previously on the topic of

lethal violence in the workplace. The book reflects that perspective in its no-nonsense, straightforward descriptive approach. This approach serves the first point well, as the numerous case histories should convince any reader of the existence and dangerousness of the female serial killer. Their second theme, that female serial killers exhibit more complex motivation than the male is only weakly supported because the book examines only female perpetrators and lacks an organizing theoretical perspective.

The authors briefly set up the problem of correcting the lack of attention given female serial murderers, and make some preliminary comparisons between male and female serial killers. One of their more interesting assertions is that women are the quiet killers, whose median activity period is nearly twice that of the males. The implication is that women are more careful and methodical, hence deadlier. Some suspicion might be cast on this conclusion when one realizes that the authors data on female serial killers goes back to 1900 and includes several cases from other countries. The median length of activity may be inflated by cases that occurred in times and places where law enforcement was less efficient than in contemporary North America.

In fact, one of the more irritating features of this book is the reporting of averages and percentages on very small sample sizes that are referred to in terms such as approximately one hundred cases. The actual number of American cases (eighty-six) is only specifically revealed in an appendix. By the time these cases are sorted into the nine categories developed by the authors, the largest category includes only fourteen cases. For example, the authors assert that it is reasonable to assume that the average Black Widow will claim between six and thirteen victims, a claim apparently based on a mere thirteen cases. The reader should be cautioned against imputing too much scientific certainty to such percentages and averages as they could be seriously altered by the addition or deletion of a single case.

The authors nine-part topology itself is nevertheless a

heuristically useful device for starting the study of this topic. They are labeled Black Widows, Angels of Death, Sexual Predators, Revenge, For Profit or Crime, Team Killers, Question of Sanity, Unexplained, and Unsolved. After the introductory chapter, each type is described in greater detail in its own chapter, illustrated with fairly detailed selected case histories.

The topology, although useful, is somewhat problematic both in conception and implementation. The categories, based on type of victim and presumed or documented motive of the perpetrator, are not mutually exclusive. The Black Widow, for instance, kills spouses, lovers, or sometimes other family members. Black Widows usually kill for profit, and that motive overlaps another category labeled Profit or Crime. And, Black Widows sometimes select victims other than family or lovers.

The category of Sexual Predator illustrates further the inexact boundaries between the authors categories. Only two cases are documented, one from Spain around the turn of the century. The second case is that of Aileen Wuornos, the Florida prostitute who murdered at least seven of her customers during 1989 and 1990. Although it is obvious that Wuornos used sex to set up her victims for the kill, Sexual Predator implies that the killing was done for pleasure. A more convincing account of Wuornos motivations would suggest that rage, hatred, and displaced revenge appear to be the dominant motive. The label Sexual Predator would seem to better fit several of the women classified as Team Killers, that is, women who participate in the sexual predations of a husband or lover.

One purpose of the topology appears to have been to illustrate the authors claim that the motivations of female serial killers are more complex than those of male serial killers, who are primarily sexual predators. Such a claim cannot be supported by descriptions from data on only one gender, however. This methodological problem is glossed over by the authors, who rely mostly on the readers familiarity with the literature on male serial

killers to make implicit comparisons. For example, in describing Angels of Death (killers whose victims are under their care, often elderly patients in a hospital or nursing home), the authors acknowledge that there are documented cases of male Angels of Death, but only in a footnote explaining their use of feminine pronouns. The implications of male Angels of Death for the presentation of this type of murder as a feminine crime are left unexplored and unacknowledged. This is one of several points where the lack of a guiding theoretical perspective is most notable. The authors have virtually nothing to say about the role gender plays in the crimes documented, beyond some introductory comments about cultural stereotypes of serial killers as male.

In spite of the methodological limitations and lack of theory, the book makes a useful contribution to the literature. It definitely disabuses one of the notion that there are no female serial killers. And it supports, although not conclusively and universally, the proposition that they are significantly different in key respects from their male counterparts. Undergraduate and graduate students might find this book a worthwhile supplement in courses on homicide, violence, or women and crime. There is little doubt that researchers in these areas will find it to be a handy reference work. For both students and professional criminologists, the strongest feature of the book is the case histories, which can be used to suggest numerous lines of inquiry into issues of gender and violence.

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New Tribalisms: The Resurgence of Race and Ethnicity edited by Michael W. Hughey. Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1998. 373 pp. $18.50 paper.

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New Tribalisms is a scholarly work consisting of an introduction by the editor, followed by fifteen essays divided into three sections. Broadly, these essays demonstrate the failure of popular discourse today to move beyond an ideological understanding of racial and ethnic conflict. One section lays the groundwork for sociological critique by reprinting three classics: Max Webers critique of the concept of ethnic group, Herbert Blumers thesis titled Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position (which Michael W. Hughey defends as a useful framework for analyzing the resurgence of ethnic nationalism today), and Walker Connors argument identifying the "psychosocial" sources of ethnic nationalism. Connor also describes the conceptual ambiguities in, and the complex relationships between, concepts such as nation, nation-state, nationalism, and patriotism.

Another section identifies the contradictions inherent in the American liberal understanding of racial and ethnic relations, illustrated with a famous or infamous, depending on ones point of view excerpt from Gunnar Myrdals *An American Dilemma* that describes the so-called Negro problem. The American liberal emphasis on tolerance, inclusion, and universalism is contrasted with a history of intolerance, exclusion, and racism against blacks especially. Michael W. Hughey shows how this contradiction emerged historically. Then, he critiques the value structure of *An American Dilemma* on the grounds that exclusionary practices are not a pathological deviation; rather, they are rooted in, and arise

from, a Protestant religious heritage (p. 75). Importantly, the vagueness of the American Creed required that it be defined in terms of what it is not. What it is not became the racial and ethnic groups who differed enough from the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideal that they were viewed as a threat.

In turn, Stanford M. Lyman shows how the uneasy relationship between the liberal ideals enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and exclusionary practices (expressed as racial subordination in a variety of institutional contexts such as Jim Crow) was embodied in the judicial systems decisions through a series of interpretations, sophistries, and justifications (p. 4). Lymans essay questions, implicitly, the liberal assumption that the state is a neutral arbiter in racial and ethnic relations. In the next essay, Michael W. Hughey and Arthur J. Vidich explain how Horace Kallens concept of cultural pluralism transmuted into multiculturalism during and after the Civil Rights Movement. A critical point is that the *concept* of ethnicity is reinvented to fulfill purposes that are often unclear. In turn, the *construction* of ethnicity is a complex process dependent on a shifting set of variables (see pp. 189-190). Understanding this process means identifying how (1) ethnic groups form, (2) constituencies are built, (3) political economic interests are articulated, and (4) contradictions are resolved for example, between the requirement for allegiances and alliances on the one hand (what Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton referred to in their book *Black Power* as closing ranks) and the freedom of the individual in a liberal society to leave the group on the other hand.

Then, Howard Winant shows how the Civil Rights Movement embodied this contradiction. As the Civil Rights Movement gained legal guarantees of formal equality for members of all groups, it deepened the racialization of society by claiming that integration and the politics of difference could coexist (pp. 189, 208). Thus, the post-Civil Rights era has witnessed the reinvention of racial categories, renewed processes of group

inclusion and exclusion, the emergence of "panethnicity" (p. 201), complex interactions between race and social class, and a simultaneously combative and accommodative relationship with the state. Because "race" is inherently subject to contestation and its meaning is intrinsically unstable (pp. 7, 198), no framework or program for the integration of groups into a larger unity has been articulated successfully. Multiculturalism fails in this respect because unlike Horace Kallen's original concept it is marred by historical revisionism, an ideological romanticization of ethnicity, a linguistic moralism (i.e., political correctness; see p. 191), and an intellectual particularism.

John Higham critiques the multicultural movement for its failure to understand the importance of social class struggle in the shaping of history. He argues that some multiculturalists do not acknowledge the concept of social class at all. Rhetorically, he asks how they can ignore one of the great structures of inequality, therefore unwittingly [defeating their] own egalitarian purpose (p. 219). Higham concludes that multiculturalism is a movement without an overall theory and that it does little more than reproduce the limitations of cultural pluralism (pp. 220, 225). For Higham, multiculturalism is a buzzword, a crusade, and a gigantic mystification (p. 224). (Ironically, the critiques by Winant and Higham describe Mary C. Waters essay, also included in this volume. Waters argues that the MultiMate goal of a pluralist society should be a situation of symbolic ethnicity for all Americans [p. 293]. Winant and Higham, as well as Joane Nagel below, make clear that this is wishful thinking.)

In the next essay, Joane Nagel challenges the popular idea that ethnicity is a primordial sentiment. On the basis of a rapidly growing and substantive research literature, she demonstrates that ethnicity emerges from complex social, ecological, and structural processes. She describes how (1) boundaries between groups are constructed and negotiated, (2) ethnic identities and cultures are created and recreated, (3) a sense of community emerges, and (4)

bases are built for the purpose of ethno-racial mobilization. For ethnic groups, questions of history, membership, and culture are solved by the construction process (p. 259). Ethnic groups thus constituted an attempt to articulate political and economic interests through the state under conditions of scarce resources.

The basis for Mary C. Waters essay is the following question: What does claiming an ethnic label mean for a white middle-class American? (p. 273). Basically, her answer is not much. She argues that symbolic ethnicity (a concept borrowed from Herbert Gans) represents a compromise between the desire for individuality and a craving for community. Apparently, that is why symbolic ethnicity is popular among white middle-class Americans. She suggests that symbolic ethnicity persists because of its ideological fit with racist beliefs (p. 273). Finally, in another sweeping generalization, Waters claims that ethnicity is voluntaristic for whites but ascribed for non-whites. The process of ascription, in turn, enforces racism. This generalization constitutes the foundation for a critique of Michael Novaks *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (pp. 282-283). However, Waters essay is not convincing. For example, its argument (1) is constructed on the basis of limited sampling, mainly interviews by the author, (2) reifies racial categories and treats them as if they were homogeneous, (3) does not identify racist beliefs or explain how symbolic ethnicity is congruent with, and reinforces, such beliefs, (4) does not define what constitutes racism, a concept that an increasing number of sociologists argue has dubious value because there are no ground rules for defining its use, (5) dismisses without sufficient justification Michael Novak's thesis, and (6) ignores the theoretical and empirical complications arising from the thesis of the declining significance of race.

In the final section, Yossi Shain describes attempts via "diaspora politics" (pp. 299 ff.) to offer the American liberal democratic tradition as a solution to ethnic and racial conflicts in other parts of the world. This tradition stresses the universality of

human rights, the introduction of democratic processes, the celebration of pluralism, and the right to self-determination. However, Rita Jalali and Seymour Martin Lipset argue that such attempts gloss over the following: that racial and ethnic conflicts are rooted in circumstances shaped by specific conditions that interact in complex ways. Conditions cited by the authors include migration patterns; state boundary formation; the evolution of state administrative structures; colonial, neo-colonial, and post-colonial state policies; processes of modernization and dependency; and international intervention. An understanding of them is crucial to determining why some inter-ethnic contacts evolve toward peaceful accommodation, whereas other inter-ethnic contacts evolve toward extreme conflict, including ethnic cleansing (p. 326).

In this context, Joane Nagel stresses that local racial and ethnic conflicts may be affected by other geopolitical forces as well, including attempts by global and regional powers to advance material interests. They subsidize ethnic movements as proxies for purposes that are not always made clear. Finally, Robert Wistrich argues that the reemergence in some countries of tribal loyalties that embody ancient hatreds and grievances results in part from the lack of an agreed-upon and unifying ideology, weak state administrative structures, and a backlash against Communism. In a prophetic observation, Wistrich noted that this reemergence is dangerous and would find expression in the suppression of basic human rights initially and ethnic cleansing eventually, especially in Eastern Europe.

With the exception of Waters essay, *New Tribalisms* is a well-integrated, carefully reasoned collection of essays that demonstrates the following: (1) challenges to the idea of ethnicity as primordial sentiment are not recent, (2) racial and ethnic relations have roots in the material circumstances of making a living, (3) racial and ethnic relations are embodied in, and reproduced by, state administrative structures, (4) racial and ethnic relations are dynamic, not static, (5) sociology is critical to any

attempt to understand these relations, (6) popular discourses on racial and ethnic relations are fraught with epistemological and other problems, and (7) good intentions, for example, as expressed in the multicultural movement may result in bad consequences as a result of the failure to place racial and ethnic relations in a broader context. On the whole, these essays represent an important sociological counterpoint to, and a warning about, the ideological inclinations in multicultural practice today.

On the other hand, *New Tribalisms* has flaws. For example, the intransigence of racial and ethnic conflicts is made apparent by the lack of solutions proffered in its essays. The reader is left to ponder (which may be good) the implications of these essays for multicultural practice specifically and geopolitics generally. The American liberal democratic tradition may be a necessary condition for peaceful coexistence among competing racial and ethnic groups. However, the essays make clear that it is not a sufficient condition. This volume would benefit from a conclusion, written in the same spirit as the Introduction, that synthesizes and evaluates rather than summarizes the main themes of the essays, identifies the most important strengths and weaknesses in the essays, and assesses the links between theory and practice. However, these are quibbles about a collection of essays that should be required reading of any student claiming to develop an expertise in racial and ethnic relations.

The Great Plains Sociologist Volume 12 Number 1, 2000

Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects by Russell Thornton ed. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998. 443 pp. $65.00 cloth, $27.95 paper.

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This collection of articles must be praised for its comprehensive coverage of the Native American experience in the United States and for its critical acumen. It draws attention to and reaffirms the intellectual legitimacy of Native American studies, and makes specific proposals toward their proper restructuration, while opposing their conventional characterization as merely a minority-oriented political program. The author is a professor of anthropology at UCLA and has written widely on the subject.

The work deals focuses on four issues (1) aspects of the present-day situation of Native Americans in U.S. society (as related, for instance, to the problem of identity), (2) the evolution of Native American studies in the system of higher education, and (3) the inter relatedness of Native American studies with the literary, linguistic, anthropological, and historical fields. The concern here is with incorporating Native American literature, language programs, and epistemology into Native-American studies, and at the same time integrating the latter into the mainstream of history and anthropology. This approach would expand and enrich higher education as such, both heuristically and substantively, by bringing to it the interconnectedness with which Native American cultures treat such diverse areas as culture, religion, and science. It would, in short, provide a Native-American frame of analysis for the Native American experience, American society at large, and the global community. It would also counter the traditional academic practice of treating the Native American

experience as a special kind of history an ethnohistory, and (4) an array of additional academic, social, legal, and political issues that are of interest to the Native American community.

The basic orientation of the work is indigenist, in that it seeks to neutralize the traditionally Eurocentric interpretation of the historical contact between indigenous peoples and the dominant European-American population in the United States. This Eurocentrism promotes a view of minority-group acculturation that conforms to the model Gordon (1964) has called Anglo-conformity, and has also rendered Native American studies merely an appendage to the higher-education curriculum, a less than legitimate field of study. The indigenist model, on the other hand, would encourage a more integrated treatment of the U.S. historical background, thus making it possible for aspects of Native American history to be portrayed not as something linked to the background of a particular segment of the population, but as part of the national history.

The various aspects discussed in this collection impinge on the larger discussion of how contemporary liberal democracies are to deal with the post colonial existence of ethnic minorities. This may be seen in Thorntons views that: (1) [t]o understand Native Americans is to understand . . . that [they] seek to remain as both sovereign tribes and people distinct from American society while participating in it (p. 5), (2) that Native American studies ought to be represented in higher education in a manner that is meaningful to both academe and Native Americans (p. 419), and (3) that it makes no sense to be involved in higher education if one is unwilling to embrace the values and objectives of higher education . . . [or] to be involved in Native American studies without a realistic understanding of Native Americans (p. 419).

In this connection, Thorntons proposal, and the collection as a whole, essentially reflect what Charles Taylor has called the politics of recognition,which has oriented subaltern groups in the United States in their quest for full representation in the wider

society, over the last decade. This recognition would ideally translate into a societal awareness of the unique character of Native American life, together with full participation of the Native American population in U.S. institutional life. By extension, this would mean integration of Native American studies and model of understanding into the larger educational process in the country.

These proposals are well articulated and persuasively argued. My only criticism and I can only offer it in abbreviated form here is that the work should have paid closer attention to the particular circumstances of race and ethnicity in the United States, specifically, to how cultural criteria are used to racialize dominant-minority social and political relations. The question should have been asked regarding what it means to function socially and institutionally in a racially bipolar social system (such as the U.S.), where race and ethnicity are regulated phylogenetically, rather than phenotypically, and considerations of race (such as, for instance, the rigid white/nonwhite dualism that sustains biracial classification) tend to supersede every other aspect of peoples lives.

In this regard, U.S. society is presently free of the harsh and direct suppression of nonhegemonic cultural ways of life that prevailed in earlier times, and the right of partially assimilated groups (i.e., the racial minorities) to preserve their ancestral traditions is formally protected, and the actual reenactment of these traditions is widely accepted and even encouraged in the society at large. The only problem with this is that biracial social organization equates "race" with culture, thus promoting the general perception that minority-group efforts to reknot the threads of their social life on the basis of aboriginal traditions express a natural impulse, that is, one that flows directly from their racial status and background. This racialization of dominant-minority relations in turn tends to essentialize the cultural way of life of minority communities with quasi-metaphysical fixedness. Since this occurs in the broader context of racially-based social inequality between the dominant

and non dominant groups, the latters cultural distinctiveness ends up being a badge of their social inferiority, exerting in the long run a reinforcing effect on dominant-minority structural inequality. Native Americans (and all other subaltern communities) ought to be able to establish continuities with their ancestral heritage without this detracting in any degree from their ability to have full-range membership in national life, in the way that the white ethnics are able to do (e.g., German-Americans and their Oktoberfest celebrations, Irish-Americans and their St. Patricks Day festivities, and so on).

This said, the work is still valuable to anyone concerned with the situation of Native Americans, and ethnic minorities in general, in U.S. society. It is well-organized, solidly researched, closely argued, and therefore an important contribution to the literature on race and ethnicity, and social and political philosophy.

Health Care Reform: Policy Innovation at the State Level in the United States by Larry E. Carter. New York: Garland, 1998. 109 pp. $50.00 cloth.

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This book will be of interest to students of federalism, policy diffusion, health policy, and political cultural history. It stands alone nicely, although it is one volume of the six part *Health Care Policy in the United States* series of which is John G. Bruhn is the editor. This book, the revised version of the authors University of Oklahoma dissertation, is a delight to read and affords thorough references on all of the aforementioned topics.

Carter in the first chapter thoroughly reviews the theories and practice of federalism in the United States, and elucidates diffusion theory particularly as it was expounded by the late Jack

Walker. Walkers framework for examining the process by which innovations, ideas or policies are spread among members of a social system (p. 18) is used effectively throughout the volume to explain health policy innovations at the state level. Carter himself also offers some intriguing hypotheses as to how technological developments, such as the internet, will influence policy innovation diffusion among the states.

The author effectively uses comparative analysis among nations and states when examining health policy development and the diffusion of health policy innovations. His selections are well-justified. In terms of nations, Carter examines Germany, Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. Germany and Great Britain are chosen for analysis because of their pioneering efforts in the development of national health policy which stands in contrast to the United States which even now does not have a national health policy. Canada is also appropriate for comparison to the others in light of its geographical contiguousness and cultural similarity to the United States.

All of the historical examinations are well-done. In the case of the United States the continuity of political coalitions which have formed in the realm of health policy over the past century is compelling. One of the few changes in position by an interest group in the United States is that of the American Medical Association from being a proponent of public health insurance in 1916 to its present position of opposition. Carter attributes the shift at least in part to a takeover of the organization by the practitioner wing from the academic wing (p. 29).

Given the likelihood that the political elements which make the formulation of national health policy an elusive goal in the United States are at least as robust today as earlier in the century, Carter turns his attention to state governments. He first presents Walkers findings concerning all of the states in terms of innovativeness in general and health policy innovation in particular. There is a correlation between the two variables, although far from

a perfect one. Tennessee, for example, is the pacesetter in health policy innovation while it is something of a laggard when it comes to the composite innovation score which Walker assigned it.

Carter examines state policy innovation and diffusion for eight health care areas, including small business reforms, preexisting conditions, and portability. He found evidence of regional influence when it came to states pioneering specific reforms or lagging in their adoption. The South, for example, has led the way in adopting certificate of need reform, while the Northeast has taken the lead in renewal reform, but lagged in the adoption of high risk insurance pools.

Carter analyzes the states of Hawaii, Oregon, and Oklahoma in-depth. Hawaii and Oregon are noteworthy in that both states were among the first states to enact universal access laws (p. 61). Oklahoma is interesting in that it shifted from being a relatively progressive state in the first half of the twentieth century to being one of the most conservative states in the second half of to being one of the most conservative states in the second half of the century.

The notion in Hawaii that the entire population should be afforded the essentials of health care dates back to the earliest days of the Hawaiian kingdom. Besides having a political culture amenable to the provision of health care, another factor to consider is that Hawaii is geographically non-contiguous (which makes it infeasible for businesses to relocate to avoid employee mandates and for non-residents to immigrate there *en masse* to utilize its benefits).

While critics contend that Hawaii's isolation makes its health insurance coverage of roughly 95 percent of its population difficult to achieve for the mainland states, Carter presents an interesting overview of Hawaii's history and culture which convincingly demonstrates that these factors explain why it has set the pace and serves as a model for enacting major health care reform. At any rate, although the author does not mention it, the

Hawaiian life span average is the greatest among the fifty states.

This is a fine work which provides clear analysis and thorough explanations. It should have been more scrupulously proof-read as it is marred by some errors including misspellings, and its concluding chapter should have been more forceful. Still, this reviewer can only highly recommend it.

Physicians' Attitudes toward Elder Suicide by Lori M. Secouler. New York: Garland, 1998. 91 pp. $35.00 cloth.

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By and large, I have been satisfied with the quality of publications in Garland's studies on the elderly in America, of which this book is one. However, in my opinion, this is particular work does not meet Garland's previous standards for show casing unique and quality research in the field of aging.

As a student in Clinical Psychology, Lori Secouler conducted interviews averaging less than one-half hour with twenty white, male, suburban family physicians within one county in Pennsylvania in an attempt to better understand physicians' attitudes toward elder suicide. While the limitations of the sample size might be acceptable for a qualitative study based on in-depth interviews, the framing of the context of this research study, the rigor of the research methodology, and the final analysis and conclusions by the author give me great concern. Let me elaborate.

First, conceptualization is weak. Secouler defines suicide as "choice of death over life" (p. 4). Initially, this seemed quite clear to me. For instance, I imagined an elder male shooting himself with a firearm or an older woman asphyxiating herself in a sealed garage.

Yet, later Secouler examines issues of "physician assisted suicide" and active or passive forms of physician intervention in the suicide process. An example comes to mind of cognitively alert, terminally ill elders requesting the aid of their physicians in ending their own suffering. To me, this is quite different conceptually. To be able to talk clearly about physicians' attitudes toward elder suicide demands greater clarity about what suicide is and their role (or lack thereof) in the process.

Next Secouler does not present a very cogent argument in framing this topic. Significant gaps appear in her literature review and subsequent argument. For instance, she examines prevalence of elder suicide, but relies on data for the period 1970-88, even though her original dissertation was (presumably) published in 1997. Factors contributing to elder suicide are presented, but use of outdated references or secondary sources limit the appropriateness of the argument. For example, an undergraduate text by Atchley (1980) is used to argue that aging (and retirement) is harder for men than for women due to the central work roles men traditionally have played in society. Little explication of the influences of changing family structure, demography, nor debates related to allocation of societally scarce resources for health care and the challenges of increasing longevity within the American population was presented. Secouler also claims to offer an historical overview of suicide, yet the role of physicians in these changing eras or even more specifically, the interpretation of suicide as demonism, moral/spiritual failing, or mental illness through the ages seems to be significantly under-emphasized. Ultimately, if Secouler's research is to examine physician attitudes toward elder suicide, it seems to me that the literature should have taken the reader through the interface of these complex yet interconnected issues: the meaning of suicide, attitudes toward aging, and physicians' roles/training/understanding of aging and death. This was not accomplished to my satisfaction.

Finally the research methodology was shallow. A very

small sample was used, and only white males in suburban family practice were included. While an interview seemed appropriate for this topic, the interview schedule was comprised mostly of closed-ended questions which resulted in interviews averaging twenty-five minutes and that were superficial. Excerpts of interviews led the reviewer to believe that very little probing occurred, and the types of questions really limited the physician in responding to Secouler's central points (as shaped by her literature review): physician's attitudes about aging and the sanctity of life, their opinions about why elders commit suicide, and their preparation to deal with (or diagnose) suicidal elders. Analysis of the data from this study was completed in less than five full pages, and no percentages nor statistical significance of variations were presented to the reader. Interpretation of the data and author's conclusions were summarized in one page.

Overall I felt that the topic was an important one but insufficiently understood by the author to develop a sound research study or related findings. For example, there was virtually no allusion to mental illness as a concomitant of suicide until after the presentation of interview data. The author's identity as a clinical psychologist and the potential impact or influence of that identity on the physicians' construction of reality for suicide seemed to evade Secouler. Further, the idea that some elder suicides are not outcomes of mental illness but rather deliberate and careful decision-making was also not addressed as a possibility by Secouler. If the study was to be couched in understanding suicide as a consequence of mental illness, then that grounding in the literature should have been presented.

Toward the end of the book Secouler offers a sermon or reasoned response to suicide, concluding by asking, "can this society let our elders go when they are mentally and physically ready?" (p. 73). As a reviewer, I wondered about Secouler's own ageism as a premise for this study. With little support from interviews or research, Secouler asserts that physicians' knowledge

and attitudes toward elder suicide are shaped by what they read. While she offers obscure citations to present arguments about suicide from the perspective of ethicists, health care professionals, clergy, elders, and care givers, I would suggest that she (and potential readers) ground themselves in more central works shaping the societal discourse on this topic of elder suicide and the health care imperatives shaping physicians' roles in and responses to important societal trends of elder suicide.

Hyperculture: The Human Cost of Speed by Stephen Bertman. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998. 266 pp. $24.95 cloth.

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Stephen Bertman, a professor of Classical Studies, weaves in *Hyperculture* a critical, compelling, and, most significant for the sociologist, multi-level analytic argument about the human dimensions of living an accelerated life. Despite a technological determinist perspective and lack of overarching social theory, readers will find a great deal of sociology to ponder throughout this book. The intermixing of anecdotes and vignettes from the classics with contemporary primary sources and hyper-real and virtual experiences make this book a novel exception to the many recent commentaries on the implications of the Information Age.

The cover of *Hyperculture* requires a double-take. It is a very blurred profile of a person in a crowd perhaps analogous to viewing an Impressionist painting from your car at a drive-up museum on the Interstate. The title necessitates a cognitive double-take as well. This book is not about amphetamines, but the metaphor is not lost on the reader. Professor Bertman writes: the

opposite qualities that characterize aging slowness and deliberation tend to be devalued. The long-term consequence of this devaluation may be that society self-destructs for want of those very qualities . . . . Thus, like the addict hooked on amphetamines, an accelerated society may collapse from its ruinous addiction to speed (p. 51).

The book has an uncomplicated structure. It consists of a brief introduction, nine substantive chapters, a brief conclusion, 27 pages of user-friendly end notes, an outstanding 24-page list of recommended reading, and a helpful index. Bertmans approach is interdisciplinary and comprehensive: any theory that advances one explanation for so many features of reality is bound to go too far. And any author who theorizes so broadly is certain to be faulted (p. xii). The focus is technological determinist a view that technology serves as a social force in our lives. Sociologists will recognized a veil of psychological reductionism that permeates the book. For example, immediately following his definition of hyperculture, the concept is linked to the type A personality.

At the outset technology becomes a metaphor of sorts a way of examining ourselves in time and space, but focusing more on temporal and less on spatial experience. The metaphor is The Power of Now a preoccupation with the moment, transience, immediacy, ephemeral, fragmentary, instant, impulsive, and superficial.

Next Bertman outlines the three sources of Nows power technology, history, and the senses. These three sources are defined and described in some detail and ultimately linked tangentially through biology technology is an extension of the nervous system, history, primarily American, is connected to our collective sense of geographic space, and the senses are neurological. The main body of the work include discussion of the biological to the micro to meso to the macro level of analysis. He argues that the preoccupation with Now has moral implications at these multiple levels. Beginning at the individual level, he argues

that our subconscious, psychology, behavior, and ultimately, the self, is driven by speed. Next, the family, from courtship to marriage and the complete life course are discussed. The transformation of society is also examined. Many social arenas are noted here: religion, poverty, culture, deviance, elites, sports (or $port$), education, political economy, communication, work, marketing, privacy, and conformity. At the end of this discussion, hyperculture is defined as a pathological cultural state induced by high speed (p. 123).

The author then turns from the social to the political. He examines democracy, international relations, and the global environment. In his discussion of democracy, the reader is left wanting for more discussion of citizenship and patriotism. The focus is more on the resources for democratic participation (e.g., the electronic town hall meeting and television news) rather than the implications of media for citizenry. International media (e.g., the CNN effect), global culture, and a world economy is the stuff of international relations. Ethnic conflicts are noted but clearly this salient area is underdeveloped. Finally, the last transformation discussed involves the environment where we have moved from tuning into nature to tuning nature into us.

At last, Bertman puts forth a passionate plea for the mindful reconstruction of the negative effects of the power of Now. He offers some insightful, thoughtful, and conservative strategies for restraining our technology, retaining our history, and regaining our senses.î What Bertram says is written in the humanist tradition where his own voice and experiences are reflective anecdotes in the context of the broader text.

This book is not written by a sociologist nor framed in sociological theory. Yet, there is a great deal of sociological detail in this book and references to authors whose books are located on the "Sociology" shelf of off-campus bookstores (e.g., Rifkin, Toffler, Postman, Turkle, and de Tocqueville). Commingled with quotes and ideas from these and other authors, Bertman cites primary

sociological studies and cleverly uses interesting and appropriate classical legends and tales such as *The Wings of Icarus, Platos Cave,* and *the Myth of Oedipus*. Lastly, a number of new and fun words are introduced. Among them: *Datashadow* the trail each of us leaves behind in our computer-recorded actions and transactions . . . (p.118); *chronocentrism* -- the habit of seeing ones own time as central (p. 144) versus the post modern definition of chronophonism offered by Derrida the modern assumption that time is chronological or linear; and *chronocosms* private domestic worlds that operate at a slower pace than the hyperculture outside, worlds within which we can heal the wounds of time and rediscover through intimacy a sense of purpose (p. 206).

Sociologists will expect but not find a basic discussion of social change theories such as Ogburns *cultural lag* or of soft techno-determinism such evolutionary, cyclical, and conflict theories. Likewise, race, class, and gender issues are absent and there is very little reflection on how specific social groups might fair differently under the power of Now. Given the provocative argument and sociological tidbits of *Hyperculture*, this book could be used as supplemental reading in Introductory Sociology or Social Problems courses that have a social change orientation. This book could easily be integrated into courses such as American Society, Social Movements, Technology and Society, Social Change, and Social Theory and portions could be integrated into Family or Social Psychology courses.

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Reaching for Reality: Seven Incredible True Stories of Alien Abduction by Constance Clear. San Antonio: Consciousness Now, 1999. 229 pp. $16.95 paper.

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This book presents a challenge for sociological thinkers, and that is precisely why it needs to be reviewed. Constance Clear, a psychotherapist for nearly thirty years who has master degrees in psychology and social work, provides in *Reaching for Reality* seven first-hand accounts of persons who believe that aliens have abducted them. The abduction phenomenon was first cast into public consciousness in an important way with the publication of John G. Fullers *The Interrupted Journey* (1966), which recounted the story of Betty and Barney Hill who reported that they had been abducted in New Hampshire in 1961. Clear became involved in dealing with alien abductees after a conference at which she included her name on a list of therapists who would be willing to counsel them. The first abductee in the book approached Clear for assistance in 1995, and six additional abductees contacted her over the next one and one-half years. Clear uses a combination of talking therapy and hypnosis to help her clients uncover and deal with their experiences. This book provides a forum for her seven clients to tell their stories. What comes to the surface from the abductees stories are remarkable accounts that deserve sociological consideration.

Sociologists have been limited in their ability to explain the alien abduction phenomenon because they have rooted their inquiry in a very narrow use of the scientific method, which is a very powerful but limited means of rational, objective explanation that restricts observations about the world to what can be discerned through the senses hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch. The sociological application of the scientific method to external,

contextual features of the social world unfortunately largely ignores a vast realm of subjective, mental experience that is real for those who experience it but difficult for scientists, and perhaps especially sociologists, to access objectively. Much of the evidence available to support alien abduction, aside from the tantalizing works of Harvard psychiatrist John E. Macks *Abduction* (1995) that explores the abductions of thirteen persons and surgeon Roger K. Leirs new *The Aliens and the Scalpel* (1999) that examines implants in humans, is subjective and mental due to the very nature of the abduction experience. Perhaps the often skeptical responses of sociologists to alien abduction, as with the study of supernatural aspects of religion which can be equally intangible, says more about the limits of the sociological approach and the creativity of sociologists than the study of this scientifically challenging reality. To ignore the phenomenon of alien abduction because it cannot be easily observed is to neglect an issue that has captured the popular mind of our times and, if for no other reason than this popular interest, should be something that all scholars might wish more thoroughly to understand.

The abductees stories in this book are reported in the sequence in which they presented themselves to Clear. They wrote their stories independent of one another, although some did have contact through their support group after they began writing the accounts. While their stories are similar, they are distinctive. Some reports are more detailed than others. Some recount contacts with different aliens and different kinds of experiences. Some have had positive experiences and others decidedly negative. One abductee Kay (all contributors to the volume were provided fictitious names to protect their identity) seems to have come to terms with her abductors and is even looking forward to permanently joining them at some future time, while others, like Andrew, have had very bad experiences with aliens who have reportedly subjected them to all kinds of biological experiments for no comprehensible purpose. Andrews account of his abductions, spanning about ninety pages,

is the most detailed and compelling. All of the abductees in Clears group continue to experience abductions. The continuing nature of the abductions, like the physical marks on the abductees bodies (see photographs on pp. 85 and 171), beg for more detailed scientific inquiry, especially such as Roger Leir has begun.

Sociologists might take a hint from Clear on the need to study the phenomenon of alien abduction and, by extension, other nonrational experiences. Therapist Clear, a practitioner who plainly stays rooted in her scientific training, notes that her book was not compiled to convince you that alien abduction exists, but rather to give voice to those forced to live with such realities (p. 1). She furnishes in this statement an implicit, practical rationale for carrying out such inquiry in that she is dealing with persons who are experiencing day-to-day problems that are very real for them. For example, Andrew comments as I live with this secret, I have periods of doubts about my mental health. Am I insane or going insane? . . . [This is a] secret that tends to destroy my self-worth and makes me feel substandard to others. . . . Insomnia, anxiety attacks, detachment, recurrent dreams and depression are all my unwelcome friends (p. 104). While open mindedness is key for the therapist as well as the researcher, it does not explain what is *actually* happening to the abductees. This raises for sociologists and others the larger question of what is going on? How can this phenomenon be explained? What insights might sociologists as well as other researchers bring to the discussion concerning abductions? Unfortunately this has been a topic that has been until quite recently little open for discussion among scholars who have been insistent on perhaps too narrow an interpretation of reality. The title of Clears book, *Reaching for Reality*, provides a challenge for what scholars need to do.

Alien abduction is a timely topic that students will enjoy reading about and discussing in the classroom. Students will find that they cannot put down Clears book. The work of Clear is an excellent one for student use because it provides essentially raw

data that offers an opportunity for exploring alternative theoretical explanations and methodological avenues for comprehending the abduction phenomenon. This book also provides a gateway to a rich body of literature that moves from science to fantasy, and thus can be used to help students understand the importance of the use of the scientific method in doing sociology and explaining the world around them. For those persons interested in further exploring the contemporary literature on alien abduction beyond the work of Clear, they might read Mack and Leirs books mentioned above as well as take a look at Whitley Striebers classic work on alien abduction *Communion* (1987) and his new book *Confirmation* (1998) that begins the discussion of what needs to be done to get at the hard scientific evidence. For yet another angle on the phenomenon that explores the social construction of myths, sociologists will also be particularly interested in Terry Mathesons *Alien Abductions* (1998). Readers of Mathesons book would be well served to remember, of course, that myths do often develop up around what is real. Alienation abduction in the end poses a challenge for those who are interested in it. This is a challenge that sociologists might beneficially take up in an effort to broaden their understanding of the nonrational. Clears book might best be used in undergraduate sociology of knowledge, sociology of religion, popular culture, or research methods courses or, for the more brave, perhaps in a special course that might explore aspects of the nonrational world that science has trouble explaining.

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Angles of Vision: How to Understand Social Problems by Leonard Beeghley. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999. 258 pp. $24.00 paper.

Annette Prosterman
Our Lady of the Lake University

"Angles of vision," sociologist Leonard Beeghley explains, are ways of looking at social phenomena. In the book bearing this title, Beeghley presents angles of vision on social problems that are predominantly structural in their point of view. This book is intended for undergraduate students, and in some ways it is quite suitable for an introductory Social Problems course.

This book is very readable. It engages readers. To support his points, Beeghley invites students to use their sociological imagination in illustrations that students may easily grasp. For example, in an illustration of social class, he engrosses readers in a game of Monopoly in which one of the four groups playing starts out with property and more money than the rest. In addition, to ensure that readers can relate to the potential violence of those who are regularly and routinely blocked from their goals in life by discrimination, Beeghley asks them to *think* about the road rage they, themselves, might feel when their "goals" are just temporarily blocked on the street.

This book is not the typical, huge Social Problems textbook in which a smorgasbord of subjects with far more details than students can possibly digest are presented. It is compact and uncluttered with minutia. In addition to an introductory and a concluding chapter on the study of social problems, there are chapters on selected social problems including abortion, gender inequality, racial and ethnic inequality, poverty, drugs, homicide, an aging population, and health. Each of these chapters is divided into sections, providing the dimensions of the problem, the consequences of the problem, the impact of the problem on the

lives of individual people, the structural sources of the problem, and the implications of the problem. Notes are conveniently provided at the end of the chapter as opposed to the end of the book, and finally, a short list of recommended readings is offered.

While the readability and concise organization of this book are quite appealing, there are also two aspects of it that this reviewer finds troubling. One concerns the fundamental issue of the purpose of sociology, while the other concerns the way in which a particular problem, homicide (and more broadly, crime), is presented.

First, as many Social Problems texts on the market do, this one also under sells sociology to students as a worthwhile field of study by neglecting to emphasize its applied aspects. Sociology does not only provide insight into how social problems may be understood within their social contexts, but also into how social problems may be effectively addressed and alleviated. For some issues, such as abortion, drugs, and homicide, Beeghley does introduce some possible approaches from a sociological perspective. The sections in which he has done this not only provide a glimmer of the practical side of sociology but also engage readers in critical thinking that may elicit lively class discussions. However, many of his chapters seem to end on a note of doom and gloom, as if nothing could really be done to address the problem. At the close of the chapter on poverty, for example, Beeghley simply states that he is "pessimistic about plans to reduce poverty" (p. 118), without clearly identifying which plans he refers to, let alone explaining how sociologists might inform social programs or policies. What message about sociology does this impart to students?

In his effort to drive home the point that what happens in individual life is shaped and determined by social structure, Beeghley fails to emphasize that social structure is, in essence, social interaction that has become organized into patterned relationships. Therefore, changes in social interaction (some of

which are deliberately planned) may eventually have an impact on the structural level. He comes close to making this point at the end of his chapter on gender, when he states, "my guess is that . . . the impact of traditional gender relations will decline over time, and so will discrimination. Equality is a powerful idea" (p. 69). But with this, he drops the subject. He could be more explicit in connecting social interaction and social structure, and more demonstrative in presenting examples of efforts to bring about social change. For example: What are some feminists doing to overcome discrimination and how are their efforts working? What about programs to reduce racial prejudice through socialization? From a sociological perspective, how might an effective program to address an issue of inequality be designed?

Second, Beeghley's choice of homicide as a "metaphor for crime in the United States" (p. 147) is not a prudent choice. Rather than challenging students to look at issues of crime in uncommon ways, the chapter on homicide reinforces stereotypes about what crime is and who commits it. Here, for example, Beeghley states that African Americans are more likely to commit homicide than people of other racial and ethnic groups and that people of the lower class are more likely to commit homicide than those of higher classes. Beeghley does not even mention the white-collar crimes committed by relatively well-off (and often, white) members of society from which people actually die (sometimes as a direct result), and which often do not show up in statistical data. With his breakdown of those *arrested* for homicide by racial group, he does not explain that, due to discrimination within the criminal justice system, these percentages do not necessarily reflect the numbers of people from these groups who have actually *committed* homicide. This chapter, therefore, provides a rather slanted view on issues of crime. Furthermore, it would have been more interesting and provocative for students to be presented with some information contrary to their "common sense" understandings. This was a missed opportunity to reiterate the social construction of social

problems.

Any review of a textbook comes down to a final test: Would the reviewer use it in a course of his or her own? Regardless of the reservations I have about this book, I would seriously consider using it. With any book, the professor usually has to point out weaknesses and fill in what she or he feels is missing. It would not be an overwhelmingly difficult task in this case, and, considering the book's strengths as a user friendly text, it may well be worth the effort to do so.

Directions in Applied Sociology: Presidential Addresses of the Society for Applied Sociology by Stephen F. Steele and Joyce M. Iutcovich eds. Arnold, MD: Society for Applied Sociology, 1997. 337 pp. $13.00.

Thomas C. Langham
Our Lady of the Lake University

This edited volume is primarily comprised of a selection of presidential addresses of the presidents of the Society for Applied Sociology from 1985-95. Its editors are Stephen F. Steele, well-known in the world of sociological practice for his pioneering contributions and for his work in constructing a model lower division program in sociological practice at Anne Arundel Community College, and Joyce M. Iutcovich, a leader in the modern-day sociological practice movement and president of a leading sociological practice private-sector business known as the Keystone University Research Corporation. Steele and Iutcovich state that their volume is intended to give insight into the development of applied sociology, the challenges it faces, its relationship to the discipline of sociology, and a vision for its

future (p. vii). This volume gives its readers a sense of the emerging identity of sociological practice and suggests directions that those in this area of the discipline might pursue.

At the outset of the volume Iutcovich in Professionalization of Applied Sociology recounts the history of the sociological practice movement, especially during the 1970-90s period. Iutcovich begins with an insightful discussion of what is necessary for an occupation to become a profession. She states that a strong professional association and monopoly of functions are essential, and adds that the occupation must be a full-time pursuit, link the training of its workers to a special educational institute, and develop a code of ethics that regulates professional behavior. Iutcovich further reminds that an occupation will not gain the status of a profession without significant effort on the part of individuals seeking professional status (p. 7). Iutcovich provides for her readers perhaps the best available detailed discussion of the historic efforts of practicing sociologists to establish the professional status of the applied sociologist. She observes in discussing the rise of sociological practice that sociologys earliest roots lie in the practical application of its knowledge . . . [to] the social problems of the day, with an emphasis on finding solutions and making society a better place to live (p. 13). She also examines how from the Great Depression of the 1930s to the late 1970s the practical use of sociology took a backseat to the establishment of sociology as a scientific discipline. Over the last two decades sociological practice, Iutcovich shows, has blossomed under the direction of Society for Applied Sociology, the Sociological Practice Association, and the American Sociological Associations section on Sociological Practice to become an important part of the sociological enterprise.

The SAS presidential addresses in this volume help readers in a valuable way to gain a sense of how modern leaders in the sociological practice movement see sociological practice itself. Alexander Boros, the founder and president of SAS, delivered the

organizations founders address in 1984 entitled Sociology: The Workable Myth. Boros in his address asserts that all science, including sociology, is mythical, never final or absolute, and endures only so long as it provides workable (practical) solutions in solving the problems of life. Boros argues that the challenge of sociological practice is to make itself a workable myth. Mark Iutcovich builds on what Boros says in his presidential address The Sociology of Success. He explores what is success in an effort to suggest what sociological practitioners must do make their efforts successful. Iutcovich concludes applied sociologists might realize that success is not an isolated action by individuals, but is rooted in historical and socio-cultural conditions . . . (p. 77). In his address Howard M. Garrison argues that sociological practice requires the discipline of sociology to undergo a paradigm shift from simply studying the world to using sociological knowledge to change the world.

The presidential addresses also clarify what sociological practitioners must do to ply their trade. In delineating his vision of the paradigm shift that sociological practice will bring to sociology, Garrison further adds that sociological insight is, and will be, useful in at least three ways: (1) provision of intellectuals tools for data collection and organization, (2) synthesis of research for use in public policy formation, and (3) making sense out of the everyday social world (p. 92). Garrison closes with the observation that academics need to step off campus, shedding their disdain for the bureaucratic and commercial settings in which the majority of the population labors (p. 100). Stephen Steele in The Craft of Applied Sociology argues that sociological practice must be imaginatively adjusted or grounded in the clients environment with the focus on a practical, real-world problem (p.154). In achieving this end, Steele argues that the sociological practitioner brings at least three key assets: (1) "tools" of the sociological perspective which are macro and interactionist in nature, (2) unique sociological research and statistical methodologies, and (3) ability to do both research for

clients and teaching of clients while solving problems (p. 155). In their presidential addresses, Marvin E. Olsen and Harold Cox discuss the role that sociological practice may play in bringing about change. Olsen in Strategies for Changing Society examines sociological strategies for intentionally creating change, including social mobilization, social involvement, and social confrontation (p. 175). Olsen ends noting that sociological practice can provide the knowledge necessary to . . . facilitate the process of intentionally creating social change (p. 188). Cox argues that sociological practitioners in doing their work should assume an activist position.î This social activism springs from the sociological desire to improve the quality of life, and is a necessary role for sociologists in completing the circle of professional obligation.

This volume also reflects on what the future of sociological practice might hold for the discipline of sociology as well as the broader community. In her presidential address which examines the articulation between applied undergraduate programs and market needs, Jeanne Ballantine points out, citing data, that bachelor level sociology graduates are already being hired in a wide array of private and public sector positions. But, she adds by knowing market needs and integrating applied content and skills into our curricula, we can sell our products in the marketplace and infuse these structures with doses of sociology (p. 122). Ballantine thus frames the challenges for those who educate future sociological practitioners. Joyce Iutcovich in her presidential address Sociology at the Crossroads sets the agenda for the future of sociological practice. She says, we must get out act together (p. 268). She suggests six specific actions to push forward the subdiscipline of sociological practice: (1) accreditation of programs and certification or licensure of individuals, (2) student internships and job placements doing sociological practice, (3) professional socialization in educational institutions, (4) collaborative work with other disciplines, (5) tie sociology departmental priorities to those of higher education to create greater relevance of sociology, and (6)

mount a public relations campaign that tells and shows what sociology can do (p. 269).

If the presidents of SAS are correct, sociological practice will lead the discipline of sociology forward in the twenty-first century. Their addresses provide a good introduction to the issues that resonate through the world of sociological practice. Steele and Iutcovichs volume is a must read book if you are interested in sociological practice. If you want to learn more, you may also want to read John G. Bruhn and Howard M. Rebachs *Clinical Sociology: An Agenda for Action* (1996), Calvin J. Larsons *Pure and Applied Sociological Theory* (1993), and Stephen F. Steele et al.s new *Solution-Centered Sociology* (1999). These three books along with the volume under review might be used as core works in both undergraduate and graduate courses in sociological practice or in other courses that emphasize sociological practice.

Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism by Steven M. Buechler. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. 240 pp. $41.95 cloth, $22.95 paper.

Carol J. Cumber
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This work is premised on the assertion that collective behavior and social movements, as a subfield of sociology, lacks a historical and structural emphasis. The author embraces a historical view as the foundation for reflection and assessment of our understanding of the social world. He concedes that his own view of history might differ from the traditional approach, which

he justifies by delineating the distinct purposes of his perspective. This included his desire to provide a primer in social movement theory that encapsulates the major themes of different conceptual frameworks in consecutive historical movements. He also proposes to link the major themes to their respective sociohistorical climates and theoretical paradigms, and states his intention to use his overview of social movement theory as the foundation for a critical evaluation of the latest developments in the field (page 20).

Steven M. Buechler is Professor of Sociology at Minnesota State University, Mankato. He is known for his work on women's movements (The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement: The Case of Illinois, 1850-1920; Women's Movement in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights and Beyond); and has co-edited a manuscript on social movements (Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues).

Buechler divides this work into three parts. Initially, he lays the groundwork for the rest of the book by providing the reader with a concise, yet methodical discussion of the sociology of social movements. As I read his descriptions of social movement origins and discussion of classical collective behavior, as well as his treatment of more recent social movement theories, I find myself wishing this book had been available when I was completing my doctoral work. The first section is stand-alone, and should be suggested reading for sociology graduate students preparing for comprehensive exams.

The presentation of the work stays true to the authors emphasis on historical context and understanding. He links the sociology of knowledge to understanding theoretical development. This development is presented chronologically, which aids the reader in understanding the influence a theory had on the one that followed. This is an excellent approach for demonstrating how the theoretical traditions are not mutually exclusive, but rather have linkages we can explore to increase our understanding of social movements.

By exploring various theoretical themes, Buechler sets the stage for his assertion that the development of social movements needed to be explored via a structural, macro level context. He offers evidence that most social movement theory is "undertheorized" in reference to macro level, sociohistorical structures. Buechler argues that social movement theory has not been mindful of the above, using world-system theory as an illustration of the relevance of a broad perspective, particularly for issues such as revolution played out on a global stage. He offers the changing international position of the United States as an illustration of a situation that corresponds to the expectations of world-system theory for a hegemonic power in decline. He contends that since the 70s the U.S. has been plagued by a variety of domestic economic crises while seeing challenges to its international predominance as well (page 68). However, considering that the decade of the 90s has seen the U.S. enjoying low inflation rates, relatively low unemployment, and for the most part a bull stock market, I question the depth of the current economic crisis.

Buechler continues his discussion of social movements, analyzing national, regional and local structures while staying true to his sociohistorical emphasis. His handling of how social movements in the post-Fordism era are related to an advanced society is especially informative.

The authors scholarly skills are highlighted in his treatment of power. By delineating both similarities and dissimilarities of class, racial, and gender structures of power, he leads the reader to a greater understanding of the structural manifests of power and its relationship to social movements.

Although Buechler deems the political economy and cultural construction of social activism to be central enough to be a sub-title of his book, the topic is not addressed until the final section. Having thoroughly enmeshed the reader in a sociohistorical, structural perspective, he argues that all social movements contain both cultural and political elements. He

broadens his discussion of power by going beyond the traditional power bases discussed above to include state and social politics. His treatment of the cultural aspects of social activism is thought provoking. He focuses on the construction of collective identity, the return of grievances and ideology, and the symbolism of organizational form. He formulates a convincing argument that all movements inescapably possess political and cultural dimensions.

A well-researched, referenced and indexed book, Steven Buechler has produced a compelling work. Its coverage of diverse theoretical traditions coupled with the presentation of a structural sociohistorical model for analyzing social movements makes it worthy of inclusion in reference, sociology and political science libraries. It would be appropriate as supplemental reading for graduate students in sociology and political science, particularly for courses in collective action and political protest.

References

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Family, Religion, and Social Change in Diverse Societies by Sharon K. Houseknecht and Jerry G. Pankhurst. 1999. New York: Oxford University Press. 416 pp. $27.50 paper.

Duk Byeong Park
North Dakota State University

[Note: Dr. Byeong Park is writing in English as a second language. In order not to destroy the flavor of his review, I have refrained from rewriting it in more standard form.]

This book is good to show the relation of family and religion with social change. It shows that what is normally conceived of as the public world, encompassing economy and politics, is intimately interlocked with the private spheres of family and religion. The goal of the book is to close the gap between the private and the public spheres analytically. Comparative study examines the interrelationships between family and religion.

The book explains well three dimensions: type of religion, the structure of the religious sphere, and family patterns. I wish to add the variation of relation such as density, scale, and distance to these three dimensions. But it is important to compensate for the gap between the private and the public. I think the structures as a type of religion, the structure of the religious sphere, and family patterns are far from the private. Such attributes as income, education, and age have lots of variation to relate with social structure.

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Feminist Approaches to Theory and Methodology: An Interdisciplinary Reader by Sharlene Hesse-Biber, Christina Gilmartin, and Robin Lydenberg, eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. 388 pp. $49.95 cloth, $29.95 paper.

Janet Kelly Moen
University of North Dakota

This book is not for the faint of heart. As a person with deep interests in theory, methods and interdisciplinary studies, I was looking forward to reviewing this volume; after reading the forward, I was even more intrigued. The book was an outgrowth of a creative consortium of scholars in the Boston area who had worked together for much of the past decade to develop graduate-level women's studies curricula. Contributing faculty members from Boston College, Brandeis, Harvard, MIT, Northeastern and Tufts (twenty-one women were mentioned as contributors) had worked to develop the Graduate Consortium in Women's Studies at Radcliff College, and this book is the outgrowth of their collective efforts. Indeed, this is a model of the type of intellectual activity and effort which should launch us into the new century. Why then, did I become less and less enthusiastic as I read through the collection?

The volume is well introduced and organized. Six major headings feminist critiques within the disciplines, the politics of identity and experience, the social construction of difference, power and resistance, representations of the body, and social policy and female agency provide a comprehensive overview for the articles. Moreover, there is a very global orientation, with works ranging from experiences of Algerian girls in French school to containing AIDS in Africa. Perhaps it is the vast array of topics, locals and constructions which also makes it difficult to

focus on the works embodied here.

At issue in the first section is the way in which feminist issues have been raised in biology, philosophy and history. In this set of critiques we learn that male physiological processes have dominated medical descriptions in biology. In philosophy, the article selected for inclusion exhorts the reader to beware that the discipline does not lose the use of gender, particularly women's perspectives as a feminist analytical category. In history, poststructuralism challenged and had a destabilizing effect; the ramifications of this are illustrated in the example of female textile workers who developed a unique vocabulary to articulate their special needs, which impacted the imagery of class struggle as unidimensional.

The politics of identity and experience also challenges recent thinking in any number of disciplines. The first warning comes against the reaction which emphasizes experience as the base of knowledge, a practice which maintains the dominant ideological system. A westernized writer on development struggles with the transformation in her own identity, which is illuminated by the question of which identity tends to dominate scholarly writing. A refreshing description of young women defined as other in a developed nation reveals insights into the dominant culture of that nation. This raises the serious question, from a feminist perspective, of just which culture is in fact more aware of its own gender inequalities.

A third section is devoted to the impact of black feminist, or womanist, thought. These articles highlight the importance of the interlocking notion of oppression and alert readers to the distinctive contribution to be made by the combination of race and gender. In fact, there are so many intersections that any combination provides a distinct vantage point from which to critique some aspect of dominant ideological and epistemological formations. Blind spots are found everywhere, culminating with those which are lurking in white feminist academic literary

criticism, and which can be brought to light.

In a wide-ranging discourse on power and resistance, basic feminist underpinnings are reexamined. An article on patriarchy reviews this unquestionably historic social formation from an altered viewpoint. The possibilities for women to manipulate the system are discussed as a caveat that even the most powerful of conceptualizations about power may have counter views and anomalies within. This is followed by an interesting overview of three different sets of feminist critique and application of Foucaults theories of power, with an admonition to ground them in the variety of women's experiences.

The body, the critical source of differentiation for feminist thinking, is discussed in three articles, beginning with a complex discussion of the way in which art history has been influenced by feminists writing in psychoanalysis, cultural studies, ecology, and theology. In a completely different twist, interviews of couples undergoing amniocentesis are used to reveal the way in which sanitized medical discourse is used to deal with life and death issues, a process which leaves women trapped and anxiety ridden. Finally, a discussion of the way in which psychoanalysis dominated female sexuality leads the reader to see how the constraining stereotypes based on early homophobic and racist ideologies have been produced to define conventional thinking about sexuality.

The final section of the book is of greatest interest to social scientists. The long-standing quantitative/qualitative data issue is taken up, with the argument for a dualistic approach utilizing both types of data; it seems that this is pretty well accepted practice among social scientists today, so not much new is added here. An interesting critique of AIDS policy in Africa argues that quantitative data and maps are used to dominate African policy makers, and to impose yet another, post-colonialist, perspective which disempowers Africans from their own policy decisions. Finally, the volume ends with a discussion of the plight of third-

world women who are workers victimized by global capitalism and need to develop some kind of political solidarity (an article which may have been better placed in another section of the book).

Are you still with me? If so, then you might be interested in reading or using this book. But, overall, it was difficult to make connections between these pieces, despite excellent editing and section introductions. Perhaps that is the nature of the beast. But I had the distinct impression that no amount of careful synthesis could alleviate what I felt was the frustrating nature of the enormous task of uniting this disparity of topics.

This book is probably most useful for the audience for which it was intended, graduate students in feminist studies. It could be used in a graduate level sociology theory course, with exceptionally sophisticated students. Other than that, it might be used as a background piece, or to provide selected readings for a class.

After reading this volume, I am rethinking my interests in interdisciplinary studies. Maybe after some long-term reflection on these articles, the obvious will strike, but until that happens, I am hesitant to recommend this book to other than the most knowledgeable and dedicated feminists.

Mighty Like a River: The Black Church and Social Reform by Andrew Billingsley. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. 288 pp. $26.00 cloth.

Jack Niemonen
University of South Dakota

Based on extensive ethnographic case studies (p. 87), Billingsley, a professor of sociology and African American studies

at the University of South Carolina, documents the evolution of black churches from antebellum times to the civil rights era in selected Southern states. He also explains how these churches have fulfilled to varying degrees both spiritual and community outreach roles. Then, through the use of surveys, Billingsley examines how common the community outreach role of the contemporary black church is. In this context, the author provides a brief overview of black sociologists scholarly work on the black church; notes how black churches emphasized from 1865 onward the necessity to acquire education through self-help initiatives; chronicles the heroic efforts of black leaders to establish primary, secondary, and higher education for blacks in the American South; outlines the contributions of the black church to the development of the black business community, such as supporting banks and insurance companies; and details the consequences (mainly negative) of a series of strikes by blacks in the late 1800s to improve wages. Recognizing the use of black strikebreakers by capitalists and the ambiguous role of the black church in this context, Billingsley admits that the history of blacks in labor organizing is spotty at best (p. 47). Finally, the author explains how the early black church was a nurturing ground for black leadership. He weaves into his analysis fascinating biographical details of black activists in religion, education, and politics. In this context, Chapters 2-4 focus mainly on the Civil War and Reconstruction periods; Chapter 5 jumps to the 1950s-60s; and Chapter 6 returns to the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, chronicling a series of events in Richmond, VA, which was taken by black Union troops.

According to Billingsley, a majority of the black churches in urban areas are involved to some degree in community outreach today (pp. 88-89). However, their focus has changed from social protest (which characterized the 1950s-60s) to social service or community development (pp. 88-89). Social service subsumes family support programs; youth programs, including mentoring, academic support, drug counseling, pregnancy prevention, and

parenting skills; and services to the elderly, such as home care. Nevertheless, a substantial minority of black churches do not engage in community outreach programs (p. 94). Compared to non-activist black churches, activist black churches are more likely to be Methodist as opposed to Baptist or Pentecostal (the author notes exceptions, however); older and established; large congregationally, with a majority of members from the middle class; financially more secure (e.g., the congregation owns its building and has a high percentage of paid clergy and staff); and served by ministers who are relatively young, highly educated, married, and active in civic affairs (pp. 95, 97-99). The two most important factors that predict activism appear to be the size of the congregation and the education and training of the senior ministers (p. 100).

Billingsley chronicles examples of black church involvement in youth programs, including alternative schooling and AIDS awareness and prevention programs. Involvement in the latter has taken place with the assistance of the National Black Leadership Commission on AIDS and the Southern Christian Leadership Conferences Reducing AIDS Through Community Education program. However, the churches have had to be prompted on occasion to engage in AIDS education (pp. 110 ff.). The author identifies briefly the barriers that have undercut a constructive Christian response to the AIDS epidemic (p. 115). Chapter 10, especially, is a detailed examination of church and community initiatives and collaboration in Denver and Atlanta. The intent of these efforts was to identify community needs and develop activist programs, including protecting low- and moderate-income housing stocks from encroaching business developments. Billingsley cites numerous examples of black churches that have become involved in community development, and he notes the circumstances that must be present for these churches to be successful (pp. 149 ff.) Successful ventures require partnership with the federal government; however, the Reagan Administration especially was not kind to some of these ventures.

In Chapter 11, Billingsley notes the history of resistance to the ordination of black women and the difficulties that they have experienced entering the ministerial and leadership ranks of the black church. He discusses the few exceptions, comments on patriarchy in this context, and cites evidence that the black male ministry has discriminated against women who aspire to be ministers (p. 141) . However, Billingsleys comments on page 143 are more apologetic than analytical: he implies that black ministers, specifically, and black men, generally, discriminate sexually as a consequence of their own oppression in a racist society. In this treatment, the patriarchal values of the church aren't analyzed. Furthermore, he does not comment on the unorthodox views put forth by some black female theologians, including the claim that Jesus is a black woman (p. 140). The concluding chapters identify challenges facing the black church, such as how to balance spiritual and social missions, the resistance to admitting women into the pulpit, and the construction of a black value system (pp. 172-173) that will sustain a dynamic black worship service (p. 176).

Although Mighty Like a River seems hastily organized and begs more questions than it answers, my reaction to it was mostly positive. For example, Billingsleys recounting of certain aspects of the Civil War makes for delightful reading, particularly the famous meeting of General Sherman and Secretary of War Stanton with twenty black religious leaders in Savanna, GA, on January 12, 1865. Billingsley offers a radically different view of the black experience compared to that found in the work of William Julius Wilson (The Declining Significance of Race). In Billingsleys framework, the black experience is active and characterized by a high degree of self-initiative; in Wilsons framework, the black experience is passive and at the mercy of abstract structural processes. Also, Billingsley offers a more nuanced account of contradictory state activities in the post-Civil War period than Wilson does. Mighty Like a River is free of the virulent value judgments that characterize many works on race today, as

evidenced in Billingleys compassionate account of whites ambivalent attitudes and behaviors toward the early black church, for example. His portrayal of Dr. Robert Ryland, the white minister of the all-black First African Baptist Church of Richmond, VA, is a model of self-restraint. Ryland, who today would have been vilified as a hypocrite at best and a racist at worst, was one of the most ambiguous characters in Billingsleys litany of characters.

Nevertheless, the reader is left wanting to learn more about processes of dissension and accommodation between the black churches and black organizations such as the NAACP. In a broader sense, Mighty Like a River is a fascinating but basically topical analysis that is part ethnography, part history, part sociology, and part sermon on the mount. It glosses over controversial issues, such as the movement toward Afrocentrism in some black churches. Afrocentrism raises profound epistemological issues. Within the black community itself, one finds little consensus on the merits or lack there of Afrocentrist views. The meaning of race (extensively debated in British sociology), sexism toward female ministers, and other issues also are slighted. On the other hand, the book shows well the ambivalent centrality of the black church to the black community. It provides an important and necessary counterpoint to the tendency among some sociologists to view blacks as victims of abstract structural processes; that is, Mighty Like a River shows that against the odds blacks are engaged actively in the creation of their own histories. I recommend it highly as a supplementary text for any undergraduate or graduate level course that addresses the black experience in the United States.

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Thinking about Social Problems: An Introduction to Constructionist Perspectives by Donileen R. Loseke. New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1999. 227 pp. $35.95 cloth, $17.95 paper.

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A constructionist approach offers the reader of this book insight into the creation, maintenance, and consequences of a social problem. We are compelled to analyze how a social problem is packaged for audience consumption, according to a format outlined by Loseke. The book provides an overview of social problems explained in clear and concise language, making it accessible to the social constructionist novice.

Thinking about Social Problems consists of a preface, eight chapters, appendix, references, and index. The chapters are divided into three sections: (Part I) Issues in Studying Social Problems; (Part II) Constructing Successful Packages of Claims; and (Part III) From Social Constructions to Social Actions. In the first section, we learn what a social problem is: Loseke defines a social problem as a condition perceived by the public as wrong, widespread, and in need of change. Listed conditions described as social problems include poverty, child abuse, drug abuse, teen violence, AIDS, and drunk driving. All these conditions are dependent on audience perception. People who drink and drive might not agree that drunk driving is a problem; heterosexuals don't necessarily agree that AIDS is a problem. Conditions are not problems until audiences agree that the condition warrants change.

Key terms such as claims, claims-making, claims-makers, audiences, and claims competitions are defined in this section and appear throughout the book. For example, a claim is any verbal, visual, or behavioral statement that tries to convince audiences to

take a condition seriously.Note the plural term audiences used in the prior sentence; in the United States, the public consists of many audiences. A claim of police brutality might succeed in New York and fail in North Dakota. The successful claim is tailored to the type of audience that hears it. A claims-maker speaking to members of the National Rifle Association (NRA) wouldn't give the same speech to a group of mothers supporting stricter gun control laws.

In part two, Loseke explains that a claim is successfully constructed when the audience is convinced that a condition is in need of change. If an audience believes a moral wrong has occurred, whether that moral wrong is religious or secular, the claim will gain support of an audience. Child abuse is an example of a moral wrong, since most people would be against physically or emotionally abusing a child. Laws enacted against child abuse have changed the way some parents discipline their children, just as laws enacted against drunk driving have influenced both establishments that serve alcohol and their customers.

A claim must be available to large audiences and packaged accordingly. Media outlets such as television, radio, newspapers and the internet are used to gain audience support, but framing a "problem" for mass appeal involves strategy. One way to convince others of a harmful condition is constructing a victim and villain. The victim gains audience sympathy, while the villain is blamed for causing the harmful condition. A recent case involves the NRA as the villain opposing stricter gun control laws. The innocent victim is either injured or killed due to poorly worded laws.

A discussion on social policy change leads the last section of Losekes book. If a claim is successful, our social world objectively changes. Legal changes due to these successes include stricter penalties for child abuse, drunk driving, or drug abuse. New gun control laws might mean longer waiting periods for the purchaser, or harsher sentences in criminal proceedings. Whenever

social policy is enacted because of a successful claim, consequences of that action must also be taken into account. Due to scarce resources, concentration on one condition means fewer resources for another condition. Extra police officers and metal detectors in a high school mean less money for teachers or supplies. Building more prisons means fewer resources for rehabilitative services such as drug counseling centers.

I enjoyed reading Loseke's book. The writing is insightful, challenging the reader to analyze claim strategy. Each section focuses on specific topics related to social problems, making the book easy to understand. The appendix is an added bonus, addressing controversies in social construction theory and related issues. The only criticism I have is that occasionally a condition perceived as troublesome still fails to gain audience support despite strategies used to sustain it, or a claim may succeed despite strong opposition. Either way, sometimes no explanation is forthcoming when one claim succeeds and another fails. I recommend this book for those who want greater understanding of the social problems arena.

The Politics of Medicare, 2nd edition by Theodore R. Marmor. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2000. 191 pp. $35.95 cloth, $16.95 paper.

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In some ways this book could be subtitled, Everything you wanted to know about Medicare but were afraid to ask. As a teacher of public policy and politics at Yale, Marmor draws on his first edition (published in 1973) and his later works to develop a

lucid account of the genesis and transformation of Medicare. He writes cogently, frequently framing his analysis in a point-by-point style. The book captures the readers curiosity by intermittently asking the most provocative question in public policy discourse--"Why"?

What I found particularly illuminating about Marmors work is his ability to provide a clear understanding of the synthesis of social forces at work in the story of Medicare. To do so, he provides a forceful, well-documented account of this public policy, drawing heavily from sources from each historic era and acknowledging his own cautions to avoid reinterpretation of Medicare's history from the sageful upper ground of hindsight. What results is a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics that undergirded Medicare before, at, and since its inception.

First, Marmor examines why Medicare emerged at the time it did and in the shape it did. Second, he describes patterned responses to Medicare as characterized by public opinion, legislative proposals, and group conflict (p. xx). Finally, as America enters the 21st century, Marmor provides an explanation of the national health insurance debate as it is linked to Medicare.

Versions of national health insurance were debated through two decades and five Presidents before passage of Medicare (Title XVIII of the Social Security Act) by the U.S. Congress in 1965. Marmor argues decisively that public opinion typically has not been sufficient to generate public policy. So, what were the dynamics that shaped the introduction of this particular form of compulsory health insurance? And why was it made available only to a subset of the American population (the aged) when so many other industrialized countries had adopted universal health insurance much earlier? Marmor carefully wends his way through historical documents, identifying dynamics such as these shaping the debate: ideology (fears of socialism, socialized medicine, and stigma), pressure groups for (AFL-CIO) and against (AMA), politics of incrementalism (choosing poor aged as a target group,

with expectations of programmatic expansion after enactment), implications of shifts in the American economy and population, technological changes and medical inflation, partisan politics, and the unexpected consequences of compromise and bargaining within prestigious political groups (such as the Ways and Means Committee).

As a public policy analyst, Marmor also offers an analytic examination of Medicare as a case study. For example, he uses Lowis (1964) typology of political conflict to argue that the Medicare debate was initially redistributive in nature in that the debate over Medicare was in fact cast in the terms of class conflict, of socialized medicine vs. the voluntary American way, of private enterprise and local control against the octopus of the federal government (p. 73). In another section, Marmor articulates the relationship between social policy and political outcomes (p. 81) using Medicare as a template; later, he offers an eloquent examination of the political puzzles and patterns inherent in Medicare politics (pp.171-182).

I found this book to be extremely useful in understanding the historical roots of a very important social policy. But, even more, I found the historical expose to be very helpful as I examine the current debates and rhetoric surrounding national health insurance and other health care issues being presented to the American public (i.e., Medicare coverage for prescription drugs, cost containment, insolvency, and Medicare waivers). For example, Marmors discussion of the creation of the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) in 1977, in essence socially reconstructing Medicare's administrative focus from social insurance to health care financing was extremely useful to me in understanding more recent debates over a managed competition plan for Medicare, with vouchers renamed premium support (p. 177).

As I read this book, I reflected on audience. Clearly, the text demands a basic understanding of public policy and Medicare

in general. For example, the reader would be better served having a cursory understanding of terminology/structures such as entitlements, diagnostic related groups, Medicare waivers, and managed care before embarking on this reading. With foundational understanding in hand, the book would be well-suited for public policy courses, graduate courses in health care policy or political science, and upper division undergraduate gerontology courses. Certainly for sociology and political science teachers interested in using a case study about American health care policy, this book provides an excellent examination of one social program in all its complexity (Medicare) while examining American social policy formation in general.

The Rise and Fall of Catholic Religious Orders: A Social Movement Perspective by Patricia Wittberg. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994, 423 pp. NPL

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Finally someone has chosen to use the tools of Sociology in seriously analyzing that ubiquitous phenomena called variously, nuns, monks, convents, communities, monasteries, et al. These institutions were the backbone of Europe's Medieval world. They pioneered education and hospital work throughout the Americas, and, indeed, in much of the Great Plains. Only a generation ago they were educating millions of the young people in perhaps ten thousand American schools. Yet they are in danger of becoming extinct (the authors word) in North America and Europe.

Patricia Wittberg has undertaken an almost impossible task.

She has characterized some nineteen centuries of the emergence and decline of several hundred religious orders. In addition she has used archival material from 350 American communities. And she's made sense of it all. Starting, not surprisingly, with insights from Max Weber and drawing from extensive social movement literature, she discusses this particular set of religious movements in terms of the cultural circumstances, the virtuosity (charisma), the growth, the opposition, the routinization, the legitimization, the renewals and the declines.

Of special interest is the life cycles of these movements as they took place within a well defined doctrinal context and under the gaze of suspicious and sometimes hostile ecclesiastical authorities. Wittberg takes a careful look at what is and was, in most cases, the power source of the various religious enterprises: the vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience. How these three necessary frameworks are defined and applied through the centuries is most interesting. The study also looks at geographical peculiarities, communal variations and the backgrounds of the founders. In some instances the author can only present an introduction but any one of these topics should give rise to further scholarly investigation.

It is curious that sociological insights have seldom if ever been used to understand the religious orders of the past or the present day. (Were talking of cumulative membership totals that number in the millions.) Historical accounts are multiple and in recent decades the psychologists have contributed their bits of wisdom. Yet the social movement perspective is such a obvious approach, why has it been neglected?

Wittberg had to develop her own typologies. Others will surely follow her leads. Nonetheless, her terminology is understandable. Her work will be of interest to students in the social sciences, and certainly to anyone curious about the institutional health of Catholicism. An occasional critic may quibble with some of Wittbergs generalization, but the broad

perspectives will hold up.

Its interesting that when approaching the modern day, the authors private points of view peek through: the Vatican and some of the hierarchy are the bad boys, and the rather successful new orders like Opus Dei, Legionaires of Christ, and Mother Theresa are often overlooked.

The author has no concluding light at the end of the tunnel paragraphs. Nonetheless her book presents a clear-headed analysis of this very complex subject. Religious professionals who worry about the end of the tunnel would do well if they studied her portrayal of the successes and failures of the past.

Gender Diversity: Crosscultural Variations by Serena Nanda. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2000. 127 pp. $9.95. paper.

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I was not sure that I wanted to read yet another book, no matter how well written, on gender variations. However, once I began to read Gender Diversity: Crosscultural Variations, I found it difficult to put down. In this lean book, cultural anthropologist Serena Nanda uses ethnographic accounts to illustrate how various cultures construct their sex/gender system. In doing so, she reveals that these systems are not always neatly divided into male and female, man and woman. Her descriptions of the social construction of masculinity and femininity in India, Brazil, Polynesia, Thailand, the Philippines, within some Native American tribes and in contemporary Euro-American cultures challenge what

we may believe is natural,"normal" or "moral" about gender, and sexuality. By presenting gender variations historically and as they are currently understood and displayed, Nanda reveals the social, historical and cultural forces that have created changes in these sex/gender systems. Moreover, she convincingly demonstrates that to fully understand the association between sexuality and sex/gender diversity, the association must be examined within its specific historical and cultural context.

This book has eight short chapters and is accompanied by useful ancillary materials. The introductory chapter lays the foundation for the book. It defines important terms (i.e., gender diversity, sex, gender, sexual orientation, transgendered, and sex/gender identity) with which those new to gender studies must be familiar to understand gender variation. Novice and sophisticated readers alike will find Nandas discussion of the effects of Euro-American contact on a society"s view of its sex/gender belief system useful.

Chapters 1 through 5 provide ethnographic accounts of multiple genders among Native Americans, the hijra and s dhin of India, the travestìs, bichas, and viados of Brazil, the m h in Polynesia, the kathoey of Thailand, and the bayot/bantut/bakla in the Philippines. What readers will find most interesting and provocative is accounts of how contact with Western cultures influenced extant gender constructs in these cultures. For example, Nanda describes how the religious beliefs of Spanish explorers of the 15th through 17th centuries lead them to demean Native American men who dressed like women, who did women's work, and who had sexual relations with men (the infamous Captain Bligh was similarly distressed by the behavior of the m h in Polynesia). Europeans called these men "berdache" (Arabic for a male prostitute) and tried to suppress their behavior. What these explorers failed to understand was the spiritual and social functions addressed by these gender variations. As more Europeans (especially missionaries) explored North America, their influence

on the sex/gender systems of the Navajo, Crow, Mohave, and other tribes was deeply felt. This is reflected in ethnographic accounts that show the shift in the thinking of many Native Americans about two-spirit people (berdache); people who were once revered members of their tribes but who are now more often ostracized than revered.

Chapter 6 focuses on sex and gender diversity in Euro-American cultures. While the present-day view is that there are only two sexes and two genders, Nanda reveals other models of sex/gender that are part of the Euro-American heritage. For example, in 16th and 17th century Europe three sexes (male, female, and hermaphrodite) and two genders (man and woman) were recognized as legitimate. However, by the early 18th century, this changed when the acceptance of same-sex behavior declined and two illegitimate social roles were created the molly (male same-sex sexual desire) and sapphist (female same-sex sexual desire). Descriptions of the transvestite female saints of the Middle Ages, the sworn virgins of the Balkans of the 19th century, and a look at contemporary transsexualism, transgenderism, and intersexuality round out this historical snapshot of Euro-American sex/gender diversity.

In chapter 7, Nanda summarizes important concepts from the preceding chapters and compares sex/gender variations. This exercise reveals the extent to which sex/gender variants challenge the binary concept of sex, gender, and sexuality embraced in Western cultures. She concludes

> "this evidence argues against any one-way, cause-and-effect relationship between homosexuality and sex/gender diversity, and a specific sexuality may well emerge from a sex/gender variant role, rather than the reverse...the association between sexuality and sex/gender diversity cannot be assumed, but rather must be examined within specific cultural/historical contexts (p. 101-02)."

The book ends with a glossary of key terms and a reference section that indicates which ethnographies should be useful to those who want to do additional research. For instructors who want cross cultural materials on gender diversity there is an added bonus; the inclusion of a list of selected films. In addition to a synopsis of each film, Nanda explains how it complements materials presented in a particular chapter and where to obtain it.

While some readers may be dissatisfied with the brief ethnographic accounts of the cultures covered in the book, Nanda states that this book is only meant to be an introduction to gender diversity. Others may be disappointed that there is little coverage of female gender diversity. However, this shortcoming is not Nandas. For reasons that are not completely clear but involve (among others) socialization (child rearing), patriarchy, and biology, male gender variance occurs more frequently than female gender variance (p. 7). To her credit, where female gender variance is well documented, as is the case with Native American tribes, the s dhin of India, and Euro-American variations, Nanda provides ample coverage.

In short, Gender Diversity: Crosscultural Variations is a refreshing and significant addition to the literature on gender, sexuality, cultural studies, and gay and lesbian studies that should not be overlooked.

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Fairness and Futurity: Essays on Environmental Sustainability and Social Justice, by Andrew Dobson ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. 328 pp. $19.99 paper.

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Fairness and Futurity contains a series of papers and commentaries drawn from three 1996 seminars sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council at Keele University. The collection of eclectic articles is assembled around a basic common sense theme: social justice must be applied to environmental sustainability for the sake of future generations. The volume contains divergent tracks of knowledge that spontaneously emerge from a hodgepodge of papers by environmental theorists, "mainstream" political theorists, and policy community leaders. The number of topics are overwhelming and includes the concepts of sustainable development, technocentric environmentalism, ecology and opportunity, intergenerational justice and equity, environmental "green" taxation, environmental refugees, and ecological degradation. The work contains an introduction, ten articles, notes, bibliography and a brief index.

Part I contains two articles that are appropriately organized around questions of the conceptual origins and development of sustainability. Jacobs addresses the issue of Sustainable Development as a Contested Concept and Holland asks the question, "Sustainability: Should We Start From Here?" These highly ambitious articles expose the political underpinnings that create divergence in the conceptualization of sustainable development. Jacobs rightly argues that sustainable development is better viewed as a contested rather than as an empty concept, the meaning of which is up for grabs (p. 6). He also claims that

sustainable development appears to have the remarkable capacity to articulate, nourish, and propagate quite radical political ideas while appearing respectably nonpolitical (p.30). In the second article, Holland also supports the political nature of sustainability and argues that the apparent "non-political" or business as usual approach must be recognized and consequently halted. Holland bridges the gap between the political and economic relationship underlying sustainability. His ultimate solution is to call for constraints on economic development: First, there is a growing belief that the headlong pursuit of development does not pay economically.... Secondly, there is a growing belief that unrestrained development is indefensible morally.... Finally, there is a growing belief that the costs of unrestrained development are unacceptable ecologically (pp. 46-47).

Part II contains six articles that focus on intergenerational sustainability and justice. This section appears to have a central core with multiple tracks that veer to endless ideological, theoretical and methodological directions. In the first article, Beckerman states that among our obligations priority should be given to the relatively simple humanitarian objective of moving towards just institutions and a decent society (p. 91). Barry poses a variety of demographic questions concerning population growth and resource distribution and our future ability to meet the criterion of sustainability. He poses multiple questions throughout the article and concludes that political activists want the necessary ammunition in their fight for greater ecological awareness and responsibility. Nortons paper questions the non-compensable character of the resource base. He claims that he transcends previous arguments concerning the moral completeness of economic methodology and capital accumulation and instead argues that the best way to achieve a stronger form of sustainability is to specify certain aspects or features of the world, to associate these with physically measurable indicators, and to insist that these features be protected (p. 149). Miller and Wissenburg discuss

sustainability within the context of liberal theories of distributive justice. Finally, Benton concludes Part II with an elaboration of the movement from liberalism to socialism. In Bentons view, there is a dynamic tendency in market systems for over-exploitation and for the institutionalization of capitalist relations. His recommendation for the future is in the strengthening of coalitions around movements and activities, rather than in reliance on the green wash of the big corporations, and the merely rhetorical adherence to sustainability on the part of many powerful nation states (p. 226).

Part III of the collection contains two poignant articles on economic and ecological conflict: environmental taxation, sustainable development, social justice and ecological degradation in the future. Environmental taxation is perhaps one of the most politically heated and intellectually stimulating issues in the collection. The green taxi is viewed as regressive and poses questions concerning social justice. Tindale and Hewett argue for a progressive tax package that focuses on "ecobonuses" for conservation efforts and they suggest implementing reforms that would benefit both wealthy and poor. The final article by Neefjes discusses the contributions that technology and growth will make toward social justice. His article is constructed upon the notion that turmoil and instability will create the necessary social spark for change. Complex emergencies, a history without sustainability and social justice, resource competition and the breakdown of societies, the explosion of multiple civil wars and the emergence of environmental refugees will encourage ecological change for the sake of survival in the future. Neefjes conclusion offers an array of academically stimulating suggestions for surviving ecological degradation and conflict.

Andrew Dobson is to be commended on his ability to assemble a volume that revisits environmental sustainability and social justice. The collection is significant in at least four ways. First, it is a compendium of cutting-edge theory, research and

public policy. Second, the studies reported in this collection make a significant gain in mainstreaming sustainability issues. Third, the book itself contributes to consciousness raising and consequently attempts to ameliorate the injustices it documents. Fourth, this book will be particularly challenging to advanced students interested in the topics that range from the conceptual roots of sustainability to the futuristic implications of injustice and environmental sustainability. On the other hand, this assemblage of papers is marred by several weaknesses, especially in the six chapter segment contained in Part II. These include an emphasis on breath at the expense of depth, the appearance of theoretical chaos rather than synthesis, heterogeneity rather than homogeneity of style, and finally the lack of an afterword by Andrew Dobson. This book is not easily evaluated and is recommended primarily in conjunction with other environmental source books for sustainability-oriented students in economics, philosophy, political science, and sociology.

Pigs, Profits, and Rural Communities, Kendall M. Thu and E. Paul Durrenberger, editors, State University of New York Press, 1998.

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The focus of this book is the impact of agricultural industrialization on swine production in the United States. It contains eleven chapters written by people connected with swine production from a variety of backgrounds. Authors include a U.S. Senator, farmers, a veterinarian, a medical psychologist, an agricultural economist, a biological ecologist, a farm organization president, and anthropologists. Central to all the writers are the consequences of industrial production effecting rural communities,

the environment, and justice and equity. The last section of the book has two chapters on alternative models of swine production and on sustainable agriculture.

Often books assembled from a number of chapters with different author or sets of authors very widely in quality, focus, and perspective with each chapter. To some extend this is also true of this book. Writing quality, and voice changes widely from one chapter to another, but there is also a drum beat of consistency from chapter to chapter. That drum beat is the relentlessness, and irresistibleness of the changes in pork production across the country. These chapters document the passage of an era of pork production from the small, independent, family run farm to the large scale, vertically integrated hog confinement units using an industrial model.

The book uses Walter Goldschmidt's theoretical framework on the community consequences of industrial food production. He conducted research on industrialized agriculture in California in the early 1940s and its impact on the quality of life. He demonstrated deterioration in the quality of life, and a decline in economic and social conditions as ownership, management, and labor were separated using an industrial model of production.

Common assumptions about efficiency, rationality, and increased profits appear not to hold when taking into account the deterioration of community, family, and life style changes associated with increasingly vertically integrated hog production. "Efficiency" seldom takes into account the human and community costs of large scale hog operations. Several chapters in the book attempt to do just this. Susan Schiffman, an expert in odor research shows in her chapter that people living near large-scale hog units have declining psychological, and physical health. The chapter clearly shows that these problems are real and have a physiological basis.

Laura Delind investigates the community-consequences of large-scale hog facilities in her chapter. She investigates the

consequences of the arrival of such a facility in a Michigan community. Community problems centered on the large manure lagoons (42 million gallons). The stench created, manure spills, employee illness, and lack of disposal for dead hogs were among some of the problems. The community formed grass roots organizations to have large-scale hog facilities removed. For activist residents the conflict with the facility consumed their lives, and there were no winners. The hog facility closed; many of activist residents moved away feeling that they were physically and psychological exhausted by the conflict.

Jim and Pam Braun, an Iowa farm couple, cover the myths and realities of change on the farm. The Brauns realized that the only way they could survive is to work in Iowa state politics, and farm organizations rather than on attempting to increase the "efficiency" of their farm operations.

Blaine Nickles covers his experience with the consequences of large-scale hog production. These include foul odor, deteriorating water quality, negative economic impact, and changing social relations. Former U.S. senator and state attorney general from North Carolina, Robert Morgan, tells the legal and political side of the story.

Perhaps most insightful is the chapter by John Morrison, executive director of the National Contract Poultry Growers Association, who discusses the parallels between the vertically integrated poultry industry and the increasingly vertically integrated swine industry. Poultry production has increasingly come into the hands of a few contractors. Hog production seems destine to follow this same path. Can beef production be far behind?

The book discusses the social and community consequences of large-scale production more than agricultural considerations, so readers in the social sciences would be more interested in this information than might others. Sociology classes where this 207 page volume might be used includes rural sociology, but it might

also be used in courses focusing of small communities, community planning, or community action. Writing is straight forward in most cases and should be well within the abilities of most undergraduate students.