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They Used To Call Us Witches: Chilean Exiles, Culture, and Feminism

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REVIEWS

Margins of Error: A Study of Reliability in Survey Measurement, by **Duane F. Alwin**. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-InterScience, 2007. 389pp. \$115.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780470081488.

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This important book assesses the level of unreliability—random measurement error—in individual survey items found in general-population surveys, on which much scholarship in sociology and kindred fields depends. Duane Alwin aspires to reduce measurement error at its source by identifying less error-prone methods of constructing and administering surveys. His study contributes to understanding survey quality by showing how reliability varies with item content and instrument design; many findings provide empirical grounding for well-established survey practices, while others suggest that some common data collection protocols may heighten error.

The study rests on an original, unique data base of reliability estimates for nearly 500 individual survey items drawn from longitudinal surveys representing well-defined populations. Questions included measure both basic sociodemographic facts and subjective phenomena (beliefs, attitudes, self-perceptions). Alwin coded item properties (number of response alternatives, length), question content (factual or nonfactual), and survey context (inclusion in a topical series or “battery” of related questions, ordinal position within a questionnaire), and then assessed associations between these design features and reliability.

As befits a study of data quality, much of *Margins of Error* justifies the measurement of its dependent variable, item reliability. Three chapters that outline and critique extant approaches to reliability assessment can be read profitably on their own. But the key here is that Alwin seeks reliability measures for single survey items, not composite scales. He stresses the distinction

between multiple measures (verbatim-replicated items) and multiple indicators (distinct items related to a common underlying construct). He finds widely-applied “internal consistency” approaches based on classical test score theory (coefficient α) wanting, because they estimate the reliability of multiple-indicator composites rather than individual items, and because such composites need not be “univocal”—that is, they combine indicators that often have imperfectly correlated true scores. A particular difficulty is that those methods understate item reliability by classifying stable, but measure-specific, variance in a survey response as erroneous rather than reliable.

Alwin argues that cross-sectional designs cannot adequately estimate the reliability of single items, because respondent memory raises correlations among multiple measures or indicators. He advocates longitudinal designs that administer identically worded questions on at least three occasions, suggesting that those measurements be separated by intervals of up to two years to avoid memory-induced inflation of reliability estimates. When these demanding data requirements are met, suitable analytic methods can distinguish reliability and stability, and incorporate stable item-specific variance within true score variance.

Many results substantiate widely-used and -taught guidelines for constructing survey instruments. For example, reliability tends to be higher for factual questions than for items measuring subjective content, for self-reports than for proxy responses about others, and (usually) for shorter questions. In keeping with much recent methodological research on survey data, Alwin invokes cognitive considerations to interpret such associations; he suggests, for instance, that respondents may better comprehend short questions, and more readily access and retrieve information needed to answer factual ones.

Of particular note is Alwin’s finding that the widespread survey practice of presenting items in batteries—sets of consecutive questions using the same response format—tends

to yield less reliable responses than presenting them alone or in a series of topically related questions with differing response formats. He conjectures that “[s]imilarity of question content and response format may actually distract a respondent from giving full attention to what information is being asked” (p. 180). Some might anticipate that similarity in response format would instead heighten reliability, by raising correlations among items in a battery. Alwin’s reliability estimates do not depend on within-occasion correlations between different items, however: the finding suggests that respondents vary across occasions in how they use a battery’s response format.

Other findings of interest include the higher reliability of questions using open-ended formats rather than fixed response categories, and of unipolar rating scales measuring intensity along a single continuum relative to bipolar scales reflecting both valence and intensity. Among notable non-findings is that making a “don’t know” response option explicitly available is negligibly linked to reliability.

Following the main analyses, Alwin explores variation in reliability by respondent age and education, combining his substantive life-course expertise and his methodological interests in reliability. Better-educated respondents in mid-life tend to give the most reliable answers about nonfactual content; age differences in reliability persist after adjustments for cohort variation in education.

The appendix to *Margins of Error* presents estimated reliabilities for all the survey items studied. Like all reliability estimates, these are population-specific, but other studies could use them judiciously to make statistical adjustments for measurement error. Alwin’s conclusion advocates an archive of reliability estimates that would be a resource for such adjustments and would support additional systematic studies about differences in data quality across data collection methods.

Alwin’s observational research design has high external validity: it includes items developed to address substantive rather than methodological issues; they appear generally representative of questions in social science surveys. Caution should be exercised,

however, when drawing implications for survey practice from the book’s empirical generalizations about how reliability varies with question and survey design. As Alwin notes, important explanatory variables are associated with one another; for example, factual questions are rarely presented in batteries (p. 168), and nonfactual items almost never use open-ended response formats (p. 185). While analyses apply some statistical controls, this confounding of predictors nonetheless means that findings have suggestive rather than definitive implications for practitioners. Supplementary experimental studies could help to clarify them, but might be complicated to conduct because Alwin’s preferred approach to reliability assessment requires an extended data collection period.

Methods courses routinely remind students that random response errors place an upper boundary on the validity of measurement and threaten the validity of conclusions based on survey data, but thoroughgoing studies of measurement error like *Margins of Error* are uncommon. It repays close reading, and many of its findings about how reliability differs by data collection method—especially the prospect that the battery format may reduce reliability—warrant additional investigation. Beyond reliability, developing evidence for validity—the correspondence between indicators and concepts of research interest—also requires due attention. Such issues of data quality well merit the sustained scrutiny exemplified here, which should be applied not only to surveys, but to all data sources used in social measurement.

Conflict, Citizenship and Civil Society, by **Patrick Baert, Sokratis Koniordos, Giovanna Procacci, and Carlo Ruzza**. New York, NY: Routledge, 2010. 267pp. \$130.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780415558730.

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From her presidential address at the 2007 European Sociological Association conference, Giovanna Procacci provides the introductory chapter of this book on conflict in

citizenship and civil society. She identifies six challenges to citizenship: three concern cosmopolitanism, cultural identity and/or human rights being new forms of citizenship, two ask whether the nation-state or community are still the locus of citizenship, and one questions whether citizenship can continue to be about reducing inequality. Twelve essays are then given "the freedom to articulate the theme of the conference in their preferred way" (p. 1), which differs considerably. While this book has its chapters organized into exploring concepts, thematizing conflict, and rethinking citizenship, I'll remix the chapters into differences, conflicts, and theory.

The differences concern gender, ethnic and religious minorities, and migrants. Ruth Lister and Arnlaug Leira discuss gendered and caring perspectives on the conference theme. Lister emphasizes the "re-gendering" aspects of citizenship and that "de-gendering citizenship" is simply not possible. She goes on to discuss disabled women, migrant women, gendered cultural symbols, and caring as a rouse and a burden that is not quite a political act. Leira focuses exclusively on caring and "caring regimes" that characterize different countries in Europe. Regarding democratization in Eastern and Central Europe, Janusz Mucha focuses extensively on minority ethnic and religious groups and how they are treated within the civil societies of these "re-forming states and societies" (e.g., can a citizen be Orthodox or Muslim in Roman-Catholic Poland?). Maria Baganha looks at citizenship rights for immigrants to Portugal and how the legacies of empire are having a privileged impact on former colonies and extensive openness. And Anniken Hagelund and Grete Brochmann examine citizenship problems for migrants in Scandinavia, which go beyond naturalization, and especially have to do with the rights and newly imposed duties of citizenship in this post-modern era.

The conflicts, discussed throughout the book, are especially evident in three chapters. Donatella della Porta examines social movements and how they challenge sociology. While identity politics in new social movements are evident, the global protest movements against capitalism gone world-wide are most important. Consuelo Corradi looks

at how violence has shifted from being an instrumental tool to becoming a degrading and symbolic end in itself. The body has become a battlefield through mass rape and suicide missions, and this is a challenge to theories of citizenship and civil society. And Jeffrey Alexander examines how post-colonial regimes deal with the collective trauma of colonial control, especially concerning the break-up of India into Hindu and Islamic states and the mass violence that accompanied it.

The theory, which is evident in each chapter, is strongest in four chapters. Nicos Mouzelis discusses how civil society in early modernity developed around a national center with top-down differentiation, but late or globalized modernity has developed massive unemployment, crime and terrorism, and decentered statism with greater intra- and inter-state inequalities. Finding a global balance of wobbly politics is the critical question for the next century. Margaret Archer extends reflexivity into Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to shine light on civil society. She provides a unique reading of George Herbert Mead's generalized other as being too deterministic. Instead, meta-reflexivity will "spearhead the reconstitution of civil society" with "the motor of reciprocity." David Silverman reinforces this approach with a sensitive methodological rendering of how identities can be more clearly put together through the "everyday work of identity and citizenship." And David McCrone asks if civil society is still relevant? He answers that civil society is necessary to analyze the looser environment of state, economy, nations and society in the twenty-first century, and that sociology must abandon the study of "society as a set of bounded institutions" to become a discipline organized around networks, mobilities, and horizontal fluidities.

In the conclusion, Carlo Ruzza emphasizes that civil society must shift from an "ideological stance" to one focused on new forms of participation, especially for politically marginalized groups. But just as the introduction did not impose "a rigid structure" on the authors, one cannot be imposed on the reviewer. I will make some observations. First, the book has five British, three Italian and three Scandinavian authors. German scholars were noticeably absent. Second,

there was a tendency to leap from T.H. Marshall to each author's own take on citizenship and civil society. Third, rights cannot exist without obligations, and sometimes authors seem indignant that duties are imposed. The question is really about the balance of rights and obligations. And finally, civil society certainly was the relevant concept when Adam Ferguson faced a dominant state, but in the twenty-first century when global markets dominate, it is really the public or civil sphere that one should be talking about. None of these comments take away from the fact that this is a fascinating book on citizenship and civil society, and one can learn a great deal from its diverse contributions.

The Social Construction of Sexuality and Perversion: Deconstructing Sadomasochism, by **Andrea Beckmann**. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 262pp. \$74.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780230522107.

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Andrea Beckmann's book reads like a dissertation which is unfortunate, because hidden inside this pedantic, heavily jargoned tome are some very uncommon insights and a fresh point of view. Beckmann's book is informed by "queer theorists" like Jeffrey Weeks and Michael Warner. She brings this "insider/outsider" perspective to the study of sadomasochism, a slightly different subject matter but still part of sexual practices generally considered by the mainstream to be not only variant but "deviant" or "perverted." The subjects of her study are a "snowball sample" of men and women who participated in the BDSM (bondage/discipline; dominance/submission; sadism/masochism) community in London. They are on the whole educated, sophisticated Londoners who frequented BDSM clubs, organizations, and public or semi-public "play parties." Her subjects are articulate and high-functioning, and their sexual behaviors, while unusual and somewhat extreme, are rarely dangerous, always involve adults, and are always

consensual. These practices include sexual "play" or "scenes," in which participants take dominant or submissive roles and may include floggings or other use of pain as well as bondage, psychological games, and fetishes. Beckmann's subjects included single men and women as well as long-term couples.

Beckmann conducts her research from the perspective that "differences" between people or groups of people can be viewed as resources, not pathological deviancy, and that the role of the criminologist is to expose injustice, not simply enforce the status quo. She is an unabashed advocate for the rights of her subjects. She is explicit about viewing BDSM as a "normal" sexual variant rather than a "deviance." She expertly exposes the ways in which the criminal justice system punishes and marginalizes practitioners of BDSM without a scientific, evidence-based rationale for classifying people as "paraphiliacs." Honoring the perspective that differences are resources, Beckmann devotes a significant part of her book to describing ways in which many S/M "players" use sexual techniques to achieve states of altered consciousness that many consider spiritual enlightenment. She describes the use of pain to achieve transcendence in a way that is highly convincing and will leave even a skeptical reader with more openness about apparently "strange" and "bizarre" sexual practices.

Moreover, Beckmann places all this within an historical and sociological context. She traces the stigmatization of nonprocreative sexual acts to the religious dominance of Christianity over paganism, and draws parallels between S/M use of pain to achieve transcendence and Sufi practices. She notes studies showing the ubiquitousness of S/M practices in human societies and even among animals. Beckmann also painstakingly details the more recent history of how contemporary social science and political movements have viewed S/M, including the controversy among feminist scholars. She describes most of the modern "explanations" of S/M behavior before deconstructing them. Beckmann draws analogies between her study of sadomasochism and the sociology of the body, sexuality, and social power and dominance. It is these sections and in her conclusions, however, that Beckmann is most pedantic.

The parts of her book that appear most "alive" and readable are the excerpts from interviews of her subjects. The densest and least accessible are the chapters steeped in literature review and sociological theory.

I am a clinical psychologist and sex therapist specializing in work with the "queer" community, including the BDSM community, and so I read this book with very little formal knowledge of the current trends and controversies in sociology but a lifelong immersion in how psychology and sexology deal with sexual variance. In my discipline, there are two views of BDSM. Mainstream mental health, including mainstream sexology, labels practitioners of S/M as "paraphilics": sadism and masochism are still psychiatric disorders according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association. But a vocal minority of sexologists, of which I am a member, sees BDSM practices as interesting variations of sexuality that might teach us something about sex in general but that are no more likely than more common practices to be "pathological." Many of us are "queer theorists" and/or members of a "queer" subculture that sees BDSM as normal and for the most part unremarkable. All of us see ourselves as advocates of people who practice kink, and, like Beckmann, we are aware of and enthusiastic about the positive aspects of BDSM. In the last decade this minority has increasingly challenged the prevailing psychiatric paradigm. In 2010 a petition was delivered to the American Psychiatric Association Sexual and Gender Disorders Workgroup for the upcoming DSM 5; the petition demanded the removal of the entire subgroup of "Paraphilias" from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual.

So it is fascinating to see that Andrea Beckmann is clearly a sociological counterpart to this movement within mental health, and that this book is an attempt to re-define BDSM within the field of sociology. But Beckmann's re-definition is extraordinarily ambitious. She is not content to make the case that sadomasochistic sexuality is a normal variant of sexual behavior unfairly miscast as perversion by the repressive forces of Western society and religion. She analyzes the way BDSM is viewed by the mainstream culture and finds parallels to torture,

cosmetic surgery, and "conditions of domination" in social relations. I am not qualified to comment on the sociological theory she describes, but as an observer from another discipline her reach seems over-long.

Perhaps only another sociologist can read and understand this book. Much of it was too obtuse for me, and while I am extremely familiar with the subject matter, I am not a sociologist. Beckmann might consider writing a more accessible version. Her ideas are interesting, and it is wonderful to see this challenge to the prevailing paradigms of sexual "deviance." But one must work very hard to gain the benefits of the good ideas in *The Social Construction of Sexuality and Perversion*. The book is a laborious (and high-priced) read and I suspect that few will decide the nuggets of interest sprinkled within are worth the effort.

Tyranny of the Minority: The Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation, by **Benjamin G. Bishin**. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009. 204pp. \$59.50 cloth. ISBN: 9781592136582.

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According to conventional democratic theories of government, public policy outcomes should reflect the will of the majority. According to the textbook view of democracy, policy decisions in the American political system tend to reflect this basic narrative. If most Americans favor or oppose a certain policy, then their elected representatives will comply with their wishes. For many observers of American politics, this understanding of representation grossly oversimplifies the way things really work. Whether it is through anecdotes or systematic studies examining the responsiveness of U.S. politicians, there is ample evidence to suggest that elected officials often support legislation favored by a minority of their constituents.

In his book *Tyranny of the Minority: The Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation*, Benjamin Bishin offers a compelling theory to explain why politicians do not always live up to the democratic ideal.

According to his subconstituency theory of American politics, there are powerful incentives for members of Congress to cater to the concerns of specific minority interests in their constituencies, even if those concerns are contrary to what the majority wants. This theory holds that most citizens know very little and care even less about most political developments. Because of this apathy and ignorance, politicians are basically free to ignore the majority will in favor of the preferences of more intensely committed minorities who reside within their state or district. Under this theoretical framework, citizens possess strong social identities which are activated by politicians who take positions designed to appeal to this sense of common identity. On most issues the bulk of the citizenry is not especially interested in monitoring the actions of their elected officials. However, certain issues can provoke a more passionate response from individuals who share a common group identity and feel strongly about the positions of their elected officials on one side of the issue or the other. Politicians are successful in applying this strategy by building a coalition of voters mobilized around a series of issues that appeal to various subconstituencies.

Bishin's theory does not hold that politicians are completely unconstrained in selecting which positions to take. When there are two competing subconstituencies in their jurisdiction who hold strong opposing views on a certain issue, the politician will voice support in favor of the position in line with party orthodoxy. Adopting such a strategy is the best way of minimizing the costs associated with taking positions that will alienate a powerful subconstituency which potentially threatens their reelection. When only a single subconstituency feels strongly about the issue then the representative naturally feels no competing pressure to side against the wishes of that group.

Bishin subjects the predictions generated by his theory to rigorous empirical scrutiny. He uses a plethora of data sources including case studies, survey data from multiple sources, analyses of congressional roll call voting behavior, and campaign position-taking by congressional incumbents and challengers

in order to test his claims. In almost every case his theory is confirmed by the data.

In spite of the book's many commendable attributes, there are some legitimate questions that scholars of representation in Congress will raise about its findings and their implications. Perhaps the most glaring issue with this study is that although he makes strides to estimate subconstituency opinion, in many cases Bishin relies on fairly crude proxies of what particular subconstituencies feel about various issues. Particularly at the House district level he identifies the presence of a subconstituency group in a district and assumes members of these groups support a specific position without direct survey evidence. While in most of the cases he selects it is logical to make such assumptions (e.g., farmers supporting an end to the Cuban trade embargo), his empirical case would still be stronger with superior measures of subconstituency opinion at the district level. While this problem is acute for all studies of representation in Congress considering the paucity of publicly available opinion polls conducted within House districts, it is a particularly serious issue for Bishin's theory.

Another concern with the book is Bishin's contention that his theory raises "a potentially serious problem with using ideology measures or measures of preferences aggregated across issues to summarize either district opinion or politicians' behavior," because these measures obscure "the nuanced manner though which representation occurs, since legislators may appeal to different constituents across multiple dimensions because citizens' intensities, interests and positions vary by issue" (p. 159). This assessment of relying upon aggregate measures of roll call ideology and district-level opinion is overly dismissive. There is little empirical evidence to indicate that there is more than a single dimension structuring voting in the contemporary Congress, even if legislators respond to subconstituency interests on some issues. Furthermore, there is a strong association between aggregate district opinion and aggregate roll call ideology, which should not be surprising considering how few issues can really activate the social identities of voters. On the other issues that fall outside of this domain there is still a sound empirical

connection between the general philosophical orientation of voters in a district and their representatives' voting records. Past research has shown that as politicians deviate too far from the ideological mainstream of their district, their probability of reelection will diminish. So if we want to explain why Representative X compiles a more conservative record across a range of issues than Representative Y, it is in large part causally related to the fact that Representative X's constituents are more conservative than Representative Y's. The evidence put forward by Bishin in this book does not undermine this basic conclusion.

However, even with these reservations about the study, overall this work represents an important theoretical and empirical contribution to the study of legislative representation. Future research in this area will have to account for the subconstituency theory and the findings produced by Bishin in this book. It is a convincing reminder that representation is a concept characterized by multiple layers of complexity. Scholars would be well advised to approach research on this subject with that reality in mind.

Immigration, Internal Migration, and Local Mobility in the U.S., by **Donald J. Bogue**, **Gregory Liegel**, and **Michael Kozloski**. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2009. 283pp. \$125.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781848444089.

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The United States is a society of movers. About one in seven Americans changes their residence each year. This volume provides a welcome overview of contemporary patterns of residential mobility within the United States. The importance of the book and the empirical information that it presents, rest on the argument that mobility is now the demographically most important source of changes in the size, composition and distribution of spatially defined populations in the United States.

The volume is an ambitious one: the authors present the results of original research based on national data from the

U.S. 2000 Census and the Current Population Survey in an attempt to provide objective information on the causes and consequences of mobility in all of its forms. The volume thus explores mobility up and down the continuum from localized moves to international migration, views mobility from the point of view of the individual movers, migration streams, and communities, while considering both the causes and consequences of mobility. The result is a set of chapters that employ widely differing analytic frameworks and investigate very different questions. One of the chapters, for example, explores residential mobility from the micro point of view by focusing on why individuals chose to move. The next chapter switches to a macro point of view by describing the composition of migration streams between metropolitan areas. Other chapters focus on migration streams between metropolitan areas and non-metropolitan areas, on selected types of metropolitan areas (e.g., "Gainer" versus "Loser" areas), and between central city and suburban areas.

The range of geographic detail and the range of perspectives is joined by attention paid to race, ethnicity, and nativity. Several of the chapters thus carefully parse out differences in the migration behavior of racially and ethnically defined groups or in the characteristics of migration streams sustaining or dissolving racially and ethnically defined communities. Unlike most previous works on migration, the authors further argue that the mobility of native-born Americans and of foreign-born Americans influence one another, sometimes in a complementary fashion and sometimes in opposition to one another. Several of the chapters in this volume thus attempt to integrate internal and international mobility phenomena. The most compelling of these chapters focuses on the differences in the migration flows of natives vis-à-vis international migrants between neighborhoods (operationalized through census tracts). In this same chapter, the authors then show how mobility between neighborhoods has changed the income stratification of neighborhoods. The authors also present analyses of how residence in the United States appears to be associated with changes among immigrants in their health

status and various dimensions of their social and economic adjustment to the United States.

The authors intended the volume to provide a factual foundation for social scientists wishing to learn more about the United States as a nation of movers. As the terms "immigration," "internal migration" and "local mobility" in the book's title imply, the volume attempts to provide empirical information stretching over a very wide range of migration phenomena. Although it is impossible for any one volume to be a full compendium of empirical information about all forms of mobility in the United States, most of the analyses that are presented in the book can stand on their own in terms of the theoretical perspective and presentation of findings. The theoretical discussions are concise and clearly written and are accompanied by detailed descriptive tables. And many of the noteworthy findings that are buried in the extensive tables are pulled out and stated forthrightly by the authors in the text. Some of these noteworthy findings include the fact that declining cities are losing population through their failure to attract new arrivals rather than through undue losses of residents, and that migration does little to equalize unemployment rates even though economic reasons predominate in individuals' decisions about whether to move. The separate chapters can serve as a empirically-based reference on a variety of different aspects of internal and local mobility in the United States. With this particular merit in mind, it is unfortunate that the book does not include a list of tables and figures to make it easier for readers to search for information about particular patterns of mobility.

Can Islam Be French?: Pluralism and Pragmatism in a Secularist State, by **John Bowen**. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 230pp. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780691132839.

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The book is the first rich ethnography of Islamic and Muslim practices in France.

John Bowen has conducted fieldwork in several French cities in mosques, institutes, and associations of Muslims. For colonial and postcolonial reasons, the Muslim population in question is mostly North African. Despite their diverse ethnic and national origins, Bowen refers to them as "Muslims" because, he says, Islam constitutes their cultural background. However, the book not only focuses on the lives of French Muslims, but also analyzes the role played by "Islamic public actors," to shape Muslim practices that are consistent with French secular norms.

Bowen undertakes what one might call "an ethnography of space," that is, an investigation of mosques, schools, and institutes where Islam is institutionally shaped and publicly practiced. The increasing number of Muslims by the mid-1970s, Bowen informs us, made a greater demand on building mosques for the worshippers. The French state gave in to these demands because it was a way to control and organize Islamic life within its territory. However, most of these mosques were built with the donations of Muslims themselves.

Bowen seeks to understand how Islamic knowledge is shaped in these institutions. Mosques, in France as well as elsewhere, are not only places of worship, but also places of knowledge and service. By studying several mosques in Paris, Lyon, and Marseilles, Bowen notices that despite the "congregational character" of these mosques due to transnational movement and communication, the teaching content concerns how to live as a French Muslim. This teaching is often negotiated with French officials, and negotiations are rarely easy because of the great suspicion towards Islam.

Bowen discusses the French Muslim approach to Islam that recognizes the need to search for new Islamic principles that conform with French secularism. He gives specific examples of schools and their imams to show the emergence of an Islam which results. One of the interesting examples is CERSI (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur l'Islam) founded by several scholars and activists. Its imam is a Tunisian-born young man. The student body is composed of French young men and women searching to learn how to live a proper Islamic life. Bowen remarks that the imam "reaches back into the

traditions of Islamic epistemology to emphasize the complexities of knowledge, and also builds on a set of general Qur'anic objectives or principles to extend that knowledge to new domains" (p. 74).

Living as a French Muslim entails fashioning an Islamic knowledge in conformity with the values of a secular French state. In addition to teaching the rituals and solutions to every day problems, schools and institutes also provide students with an "Islamic ambiance" in a country where a French-born Muslim may not feel at "home." Bowen also examines several new schools that offer technical training, but are not religious per se. Their teaching consists of modern languages and computer sciences, but they also offer an "Islamic ambiance" by organizing social events and family summer camps.

Reading Bowen, it is clear that Muslims in France face a new situation that makes it difficult for them to adhere to traditional Islamic teaching. He takes as an example the *ribâ* (the interest rate) that people have to take to buy a house. Islam is clear and strict about the *ribâ*, it is *harâm* (prohibited). Muslims in France discuss this issue within the new context where loans may be necessary. In Islamic legal traditions, there is something called the "objectives of the *shari'a*" that may allow a religious norm to be changed or even reversed if the situation brings more harm than good. French Muslims can rethink their new situation, having in mind the "objectives of the *shari'a*" that gives more flexibility to legal interpretations. The discussion of the issue of *ribâ* shows that Muslims are earnestly thinking about their new situation and trying to adapt and adopt a *shari'a* of minorities.

Bowen examines the ways most French Muslims adapt Islamic norms with French norms. To demonstrate, he takes two examples: marriage and food. Islamic marriage is, in his view, a religious union while French marriage is a civil union. He shows some of the complications resulting for Muslims who marry in a religious way, that is, by an imam and according to Islamic norms. Such a union is not recognized by the state. Therefore, Muslims find a way either to marry in a city hall and consider this civil marriage as fulfilling a religious demand, or they

marry in a religious manner that they consider *financiales* and then go to the city hall. But it is clear that despite the differences, there is a variety of ways to combine the two norms, the secular and the Islamic.

Bowen clearly provides an answer to his main question. The issue is not that Islam refuses to integrate itself with the French cultural landscape. This separation exists de facto as Bowen convincingly shows. The question is: Can French politicians, some of them openly and even angrily speaking of a Christian Europe under the name of *laïcité positive*, accept the fact that several million of their co-citizens have roots that are not Christian or Judeo-Christian?

The great merit of this book is not only that it empirically answers the question it asks, but in doing so, it opens up a series of questions pertaining to the place of Islam in France and the complex and different relations between citizenship and French religions in a postcolonial society.

Coping with Minority Status: Responses to Exclusion and Inclusion, edited by **Fabrizio Butera** and **John M. Levine**. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 359pp. \$29.99 paper. ISBN: 9780521671156.

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This collective volume is based on presentations given at an international conference entitled "Hoping and Coping: How Minorities Manage Their Social Environments" that took place in France in 2003. Contrary to many conference books, this one has a clear focus and is organized accordingly. Inter-group relations have been a central topic for the development of social psychological research. However, that research has until recently focused on responses given by majorities (cognitive, behavioral but also affective) in majority-minority situations. By doing so, it has downplayed and even ignored the impact that minorities can also have on majorities. The aim of this book is to join those who have challenged that dominant perspective by examining the

strategies developed by minority groups to cope with their unprivileged situation, low status and lack of power. All the chapters of the book deal with this core issue, each with its own theoretical apparatus and methodological approach applied to a specific configuration of majority-minority situation.

The book is divided into three parts. The first two parts focus on how different minorities respond to exclusion by majorities. The five chapters composing Part One examine the strategies developed by involuntary minorities defined by personal characteristics that cannot be controlled by their members such as race, gender or ethnicity. According to the editors, there is no choice involved at all in belonging to that type of group. On the contrary, the six chapters forming Part Two study voluntary minorities and how they respond to their social environment. The minority groups are defined by what the editors consider to be controllable characteristics like, for example, particular beliefs and behaviors. African Americans and women are the main involuntary minorities studied here. Delinquents, smokers, terrorists and white supremacists are the main voluntary minority groups examined in Part Two. Finally, Part Three tries to understand the meaning and effects of inclusion for minorities. Even though inclusion is often seen as the aim to achieve by minorities, it can have unpleasant consequences for its members that, in turn, develop strategies to cope with this unexpected evolution.

Clearly, the book is very well organized. The chapters are generally well written, carefully researched and solid from a methodological point of view. It is also, in part, original since it reverses the perspective as far as social psychological research on majority-minority relations is concerned. It offers stimulating insights as well as being highly informative. Another positive point to be underlined is that it creates a transatlantic space of intellectual exchange for social psychologists interested in similar issues.

A more critical remark deals with the completely mono-disciplinary character of this collective endeavor. All of the authors are distinguished social psychologists and they almost exclusively refer to the relevant social

psychological literature. There is no doubt that, though fashionable, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity may be difficult. Understanding of some issues in the social sciences would benefit from more openness and from building theoretical frameworks which would combine the insights of different academic disciplines, or be at least informed by them. Majority-minority relations need research across the disciplines. For example, writing on terrorists and white supremacists, while almost totally ignoring the political context and the political science literature is problematic.

Another remark concerns the units of analysis. Social psychology in general and this book in particular focus on the micro (the individual) and the meso (the group) level. Again, this is a limitation since the macro level (social structures, for example) is completely left aside. This leads to very partial explanations that do not feed into the long-standing theoretical discussions about the articulation between structure and agency and about the relevance of the meso level in explaining human action. Finally, the distinction used in the book between minorities based on controllable characteristics and minorities based on uncontrollable minorities is as clear-cut as presented here. Contrary to what is stated by the editors, ethnic affiliation for example is not always involuntary. Sociological research has demonstrated that, in certain circumstances, there are ethnic options: ethnic belonging can be the result of a negotiation involving an individual choice. Inversely, belonging to a delinquent group or a politically radical community may seem a matter of choice at first sight only. But after a thorough examination, it may be found that individuals are actually trapped in their group and they cannot actually escape even if they want to. This collection of studies remains important reading for all social scientists interested in understanding inclusion, exclusion, and the strategies developed by minority groups to cope with them as well as their effects on those minorities.

Red Families v. Blue Families: Legal Polarization and the Creation of Culture, by **Naomi Cahn** and **June Carbone**. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010. 288pp. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780195372175.

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Scholars have been debating about the “culture wars” for the last few decades, whether such categories actually exist, and for those whose research indicates they do, their impact on American society. *Red Families v. Blue Families* is a contribution to this debate. Naomi Cahn and June Carbone analyze the different moral world views of urban and coastal Blue families in contrast to rural and small town Red families. Their analysis, however, is different from others in the focus on how geography mediates law resulting from these differing world views, and how reproductive practices inform economic success among Blue and Red families in the current information economy. The former postpone childbirth for education, marry later, and have lower divorce rates than the latter, who have lower average ages of marriage, and higher teen pregnancy and divorce rates. The authors argue that “these different value orientations have become increasingly partisan—making family form in the twenty-first century one of the most accurate predictors of political loyalties” (p. 2).

The goal of the authors, who are both law professors, is to closely examine Red family/Blue family moral divisions and to propose family law that can mitigate some of these divisions. They seek to move past “divisive partisan rhetoric” to propose laws that support all varieties of families. The authors refocus debates on areas that “both sides” can agree on and consequently propose to (1) change the subject from sex to commitment in marriage, (2) change the subject from abortion to contraception, and (3) change the subject from family, to family and work in order to create workplaces that support families.

The crisis in family values is real, the authors point out, as the new information economy has increased income inequality for many Red families given their reproductive

practices. There have also been increasing numbers of single parents in both poor and “stable communities.” Different chapters of the book address ideological contention, differing family patterns, and law in Red and Blue states (as represented through voting patterns). Topics analyzed include contraception, abortion and the law, abstinence-only education, laws regarding marriage including same-sex marriage, and non-marital cohabitation in custody disputes, among others.

The book’s research involves mostly statistical analysis by scholars and government agencies to illustrate the differential reproductive patterns and outcomes of Blue and Red family practices within geographical regions. The analysis makes its greatest contribution by emphasizing the place of reproductive practices and economic conditions in the “culture wars” and by proposing legal changes that could best serve diverse families.

Perhaps the major problem with the book is the way the authors frame their proposals as a rational middle ground between equally partisan Red and Blue family proponents. This type of framing presupposes a false balance among those involved in Red and Blue reproductive debates. These moral worldviews and related legal outcomes should not be equated as similar but opposite world views in which both sides have to compromise. One example is abortion, which the authors recognize as highly contentious. In the book’s conclusion they argue for moving away from the impasse of abortion, rather to seek sex education and birth control access. They rightly argue that every woman, married or not, should have access to birth control and should be educated to make informed choices throughout their lives including high school. Such changes would require a compromise on the part of Red families who oppose both sex education and sex without marriage. To impute a false balance for Blue state abortion-rights activists, they are told that “they should acknowledge that almost every abortion that occurs is one that could have been prevented through more readily available access to contraception” (p. 176). Who disagrees? Sociologists of reproductive healthcare and women’s rights groups in Blue and

Red states have been arguing this point for years to no avail.

One other problem is the "culture war" framing in general, which organizes the analysis through a Red state/Blue state dichotomy that overstates tendencies and focuses mostly on Euro-American subjects. The Red state/Blue state dichotomy erases differing racial and ethnic populations as well as those with differing moral and religious beliefs who live in the Midwest and South and vote Democratic along with the many small-town and big city conservatives and those with differing religious beliefs in Blue states who vote Republican. To their credit the authors identify some of these limitations and interweave statistics about class and race into discussions about the impact of laws in different regions. However, and overall, the book reinforces this dichotomy.

The arguments and research presented in *Red Families v. Blue Families* will not come as a surprise to sociologists who have studied these issues, although it does provide recent evidence that supports earlier conclusions. The book, nevertheless, would be informative to undergraduates or academic audiences who are unfamiliar with these issues as well as to a popular audience.

Collective Resistance in China: Why Popular Protests Succeed or Fail, by **Yongshun Cai**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. 284pp. \$22.95 paper. ISBN: 9780804763400.

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This book studies protests, demonstrations, riots, and other contentious collective actions in China between 1994 and 2007. At the outset, readers may find resemblances between collective actions in China and in the United States. Collective actions happen as frequently in China as in the United States, and they have a good chance to compel China's local or central government to make concessions or policy adjustments. As for why some collective actions are more effective than the others, the book lists factors that will sound familiar to U.S.

readers: a collective action in China tends to be more effective when it draws more participants, acts more forcefully, has an effective frame (issue linkage), or is led by those who are better networked. Yet, behind this story there are larger structural forces that readers may overlook, which will be highlighted in the following.

The development of collective action in post-Mao China can be divided into three phases, and Yongshun Cai's book mainly focuses on the second one. Most collective actions that happened in the first phase between 1976 and 1989 were huge in scale and state-centered grievances. This is because the tragic policies of Mao's era, which often affected entire categories of people in a similar manner (e.g., the millions of students sent to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution who yearned to return home, the cadres who were dismissed during the Cultural Revolution, and the intellectuals who were labeled as rightists) demanded rehabilitation and needed to be redressed. Those who had suffered under the Maoist tyranny wanted to push the state for democratic reform. These legacies of the Maoist regime contributed to waves of large-scale protests that culminated in the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

After 1989, while the Chinese state refused to implement an Eastern European-style political reform, it nevertheless pushed forward a market-oriented economic reform with great success. Meanwhile, the reform also gave rise to new social problems ranging from corruption, growing inequality, massive worker layoffs, over-taxation of farmers, environmental degradation, to encroachment of farmland for urban expansion. Cai's study focuses on new kinds of collective actions that started to take shape around the mid-1990s. Compared to the 1980s, the new collective actions were considerably smaller in scale, and focused on economic issues, targeting the local businesses and local government. This is easy to understand because from the early 1990s, the lives of most Chinese were less determined by central state policies and more shaped by the performance of local government and businesses. In this period, as Cai's study shows, even when the central government had to handle a collective action, it acted as an arbiter instead of

providing the target. When the state acted properly, its intervention enhanced rather than undermined the state's legitimacy among the populace.

Yet, the development of collective actions is also shaped by the regime's nature. First, the Chinese government is not popularly elected and lacks procedural legitimacy. Therefore, it has to rely heavily on good performance to buttress its power. This gives the Chinese people a stronger feeling of righteousness to demand more benefits and better services from the government. Second, the regime's authoritarian nature compels the state to deal with collective actions in a paternalistic manner (e.g., concession is given as a favor) instead of allowing the people to organize themselves freely and institutionalize collective actions into interest group politics. Consequently, Chinese collective actions are poorly organized, with rumors and emotions playing a primary role in shaping their dynamics. It is more difficult for the Chinese in comparison to their U.S. counterparts to gain a sense of realism, to understand their rights, and to learn to compromise because of the lack of open and sustained dialogues among people of different interests. Gradually, as the skill to conduct more effective collective actions became more widely known (the government still lacks the institutionalized means to channel social protests), collective actions in China started to gain a strong populist tendency. Since 2005, China's collective actions have entered a new phase.

The populist development of collective actions is also intensified by the policies of the Hu Jintao administration. In recent years, the Chinese government has adopted policies favoring China's underprivileged population (e.g., elimination of all agricultural taxes in 2004). Yet, while the new policies have favored the underprivileged, contentious collective actions have mounted rather than abated in China. First, the new policies have raised people's expectations and fostered the development of the newly rising rights consciousness. Second, the Internet, cell phone text messages and other modern technologies are now widely used in the mobilization of contentious collective actions. It becomes very difficult for local government to control information. Third, the Hu

administration has placed more restrictions on the local government's use of violence against protests and loosened state control over the media's coverage of local unrests. The cost to stage contentious collective actions has declined recently. Right now, the Chinese government spends staggering amounts of money each year in dealing with issues that might undermine the regime's stability (one estimate puts the amount higher than China's military spending), and most of that money is used to appease the protesters. Yet, social unrest of various sorts has mounted rather than declined in recent years. The contentious collective actions in China have not turned into revolutionary turmoil largely because of the lack of an overarching anti-establishment ideology, and the booming economy that so far has allowed the state to mitigate social conflicts by spending increasingly more money.

Thus, readers may better understand why, under a seemingly strong authoritarian Chinese regime, the peasants of an entire village were able to refuse to pay any government taxes and fees for many years (p.83), why pulling down the walls and destroying the foundation of a construction site can be an effective strategy (p.101), and why beating up and injuring policemen and government officials can push the government not toward repression but concession (p.121). The extent to which Chinese protesters are able to break institutional routines and laws to bring substantial changes to their lives could make their U.S. counterparts envious. Yet, the Chinese regime's authoritarian nature does not allow the state to channel protests into institutionalized social movements. Large-scale turmoil and revolution remain a possibility in China.

Let us applaud Yongshun Cai. His book not only gives an excellent account of the second phase of collective actions in post-Mao China, but it also hints at recent trends of development in China's collective actions. Readers cannot fail to admire the author's remarkable command of the subject and deep understanding of the Chinese political system and society. The book will remain a must-read for those who want to understand post-Mao China and the potential directions of its development.

Remaking Citizenship: Latina Immigrants and New American Politics, by **Kathleen M. Coll**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. 233pp. \$22.95 paper. ISBN: 9780804758222.

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This September, Nicandra Diaz Santillan captured national headlines when she disclosed that her former employer Meg Whitman, the eBay billionaire and Republican candidate for California governor, knew for years that Santillan was an undocumented immigrant and yet threw her housekeeper away “like garbage” when she became a political liability. The “Maidgate” scandal ensued with Whitman accusing opponent Jerry Brown and Santillan’s liberal attorney of manipulating the housekeeper for campaign points, a charge that Democrats vociferously denied. The image of Santillan as political pawn stems from a colonialist view of Latin America where the state is clientalist and corrupt, and the poor participate in politics only to advance their most base self-interests. Whitman’s supporters have gone so far as to insinuate that Santillan, who cared for Whitman’s children and home for nearly a decade, sold herself to Democrats in exchange for a chance at legal residency in the United States. We do not need to dig deep for the racial and gender paternalism behind these charges of political prostitution. Reminiscent of the public furor over Anita Hill’s testimony about the sexual harassment perpetrated by now-Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, U.S. society has put another woman of color’s moral integrity and self-ownership on trial. Indeed, media coverage of Santillan’s experience has largely centered on one simplistic question: Was the Mexican nanny’s decision to speak out truly independent? Or, was her testimony political artillery, if not manufactured then loaded and pointed by Whitman’s liberal enemies? In 2010 it remains unthinkable that Latina immigrants can speak and act for themselves in the public arena.

The “Maidgate” spectacle reminds us of the urgent need for scholarly works like Kathleen M. Coll’s *Remaking Citizenship: Latina Immigrants and New American Politics*. Coll’s ethnographic study of Mexican and Central American women in San Francisco, California, offers a thorough refutation of the view that Latina immigrants stand outside the nation’s political community. Based on extensive participant-observation research with the grassroots organization Mujeres Unidas y Activas (MUA), Coll’s book provides a richly textured account of contemporary Latina social justice activism. MUA was founded in 1990 by two Latin American immigrant women, Clara Luz Navarro and María Olfea, to promote collective empowerment and self-advocacy among Latina immigrant women in the city’s unevenly gentrifying Mission neighborhood. Through participation in MUA’s educational forums, support groups, political lobbying and direct action on issues including domestic violence, public education, welfare rights, and immigration reform, Latinas combat isolation and fear by linking their personal empowerment to the cultural and political needs of the community.

Coll’s ethnographic study illuminates the myriad ways that immigrant women are enacting new forms of citizenship in their own image and on their own terms. The author builds on theories of social and cultural citizenship that extend beyond the traditionally limited focus on legal membership in the nation-state and individual participation in elections and political parties. She argues that as immigrant women interact and negotiate with state institutions, such as schools, public hospitals, and welfare offices, they stake a claim to rights and membership in U.S. society, and sustain a vibrant culture of civic engagement in Latino/a communities—a civic culture that is not visible if we limit our scope to the activities of only those who are state-recognized citizens. Latina immigrants are not merely living examples of theories of participatory citizenship produced in the halls of universities and government. Rather, they are sophisticated political theorists and actors who are creating a vernacular praxis of citizenship.

The strength of *Remaking Citizenship* is that Coll does not succumb to a linear narrative of women's self-empowerment, but remains attentive to the gaps and contradictions in Latina citizenship discourses. Coll shows how Latina activism unveils the fractures in the public/private dichotomy at the heart of liberal political thought, at the same time that it mobilizes liberal conceptions of rights, representation, and justice. Similarly, by Coll's account, the transnational frame of Latina citizenship can be illuminating as well as limiting. When California moved to restrict the medical services available to undocumented immigrants in the 1990s, many Latinas in MUA asserted their families' right to medical care by explaining how such services are included in the public infrastructure of their much poorer homelands. Latinas' talk of comparative welfare states constitutes a powerful inversion of evolutionary paradigms that posit developed nations as the sole purveyors and protectors of human rights. These women remind us that the United States can find much to emulate in the more humane welfare states of its southern neighbors. At the same time, however, because many of these women use their knowledge of their home countries as a blueprint for social rights in the United States, this can constrain their own sense of entitlement and produce a selective use of social services. This partially explains why Latina immigrants are more likely to stigmatize TANF over the MediCal and Food Stamp programs, as cash assistance programs do not exist in most Latin American nations whereas free medical care and food subsidies form a fundamental arm of the social contract. Careful not to essentialize Latinas' identities and responsibilities as mothers, Coll asserts that immigrant women's collective efforts to obtain material and social security for their children link the personal to the political, and form the basis of a practical and moral philosophy of human rights. At the same time, the author warns that MUA's grounding of citizenship in heterosexual motherhood risks excluding the voices and needs of lesbians and immigrant women who are not parents.

Over the past decade MUA has expanded its operations beyond the Mission Barrio,

building a network of Latina immigrant activists across the region. One can imagine Nicky Santillan as a MUA leader in her East Bay hometown of Hayward. Refusing to be labeled a pawn or victim, Santillan mobilizes her story to defend the dignity of all domestic workers and asserts that, "I make my own decisions and am not anyone's puppet." Like the Latinas who speak through Coll's ethnography, Santillan enacts the radical possibilities of a participatory citizenship that is being built action by action, word by word, by immigrant women across the United States.

The Impact of Parental Employment: Young People, Well-Being and Educational Achievement, by **Linda Cusworth**. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009. 243pp. \$114.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754675594.

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As parental employment patterns continue to change world-wide, sociologists are continually concerned with how parental employment affects children. Linda Cusworth addresses this topic with a longitudinal analysis of the effects of parental employment and family characteristics on both the emotional and educational well-being of adolescents in Great Britain. In a brief introductory chapter she outlines the book's purpose, approach and organization. In Chapter Two she provides a detailed account of changes in male and female employment patterns in Great Britain over the last century, with particular emphasis on changes beginning in the 1970s. She also provides a helpful summary of the evolution of social policy in Great Britain, thus tracing the continued development of the British welfare state as it pertains to family supports. Then she introduces her theoretical approach. After a brief review of earlier literature covering meritocracy and social mobility, she argues that addressing this problem requires understanding the effects of economic, social and cultural capital as they operate within the family. As these resources vary

with levels and patterns of parental employment, there should be observable effects on adolescent outcomes.

Chapter Three describes the data and methods of analysis. After an overview of several British longitudinal data sets, she describes the features of the British Youth Panel (BYP) and the British Household Panel Study (BHPS) that make them the most appropriate choices for her analyses. Her study includes young people (ages 11–15) from each of the eight waves (1994–2001) of the BYP, as well as the follow-up sample who were interviewed in both the BYP and the BHPS, which picks up the BYP respondents when they turn 16. Variables central to the analyses include measures of dual earner/single earner household status, lone-parent/dual-parent household status, adult educational qualifications, household income, owner-renter status, occupation, fathers' and mothers' emotional well-being, and family conflict and family communication.

The next three chapters form the analytic heart of the book. Chapter Four studies multiple dimensions of adolescent emotional well-being. Using logistic regression to predict the odds of being troubled, unhappy, having low self-efficacy and/or low self-esteem, she finds, for example, that while having a mother who is not employed reduces the odds of feeling troubled, high family conflict and being in a step- or lone-parent family increases it. Additional analyses break down how these processes differ between lone-mother and dual-parent families, although high conflict and poor family communication increase the odds for being troubled in each family type. In addition, these family process effects are stronger than those tapping parental employment patterns.

Chapter Five takes a similar approach to studying educational behaviors and attitudes that come causally prior to educational outcomes such as dropping out or achieving a given level of qualifications. It contains a relatively unique set of analyses of bullying as a dependent variable, along with analyses of truanting and school exclusions (being suspended or expelled). Again, parental employment patterns have no independent impact on adolescent worries about bullying, while

poor family communication and high levels of family conflict do. Living in a workless household increases the odds of truanting, and paternal unemployment increases the odds of school exclusion.

In Chapter Six, similar approaches reveal that lower levels of maternal qualifications increase the odds of adolescents expecting to leave school at age 16, along with having been truant, suspended or expelled from school in the last year. The odds of actually leaving school at age 16 increase when parents have low levels of qualifications themselves, when children have negative attitudes towards education, and if the child has ever lived in a workless household. These variables also predict decreased likelihood of higher levels of achievement in standardized tests. For each set of multivariate findings in Chapters Four–Six, the author briefly interprets findings as likely reflecting the operation of economic, social and/or cultural capital. A short concluding chapter summarizes the findings, reflects back to the guiding theories, and suggests directions for future research.

This is a useful book for those who seek a current account of how parental work, family structure and family process affect adolescent emotional and educational outcomes in Great Britain. The description of recent additional supports contained in the British welfare state is also important and, for U.S. readers, provides a contrasting picture to the supports we have in this country. The work is also helpful because it considers both maternal and paternal work effects on adolescent outcomes, an even-handed approach that not every analysis can claim. In addition, the book studies adolescent outcomes, thus going beyond analyses of parental work on young children. Finally, although its literature reviews rely substantially on prior work from Great Britain, it contains selected references to similar studies from the United States.

The book may neglect analysis at the expense of description. For example, each analytic chapter includes a large number of preliminary tables and models prior to reporting and interpreting the best fitting model for each dependent variable. In addition, the reader will miss a more thorough treatment of the relative efficacy of economic,

social and cultural capital as resources that benefit adolescents, as well as discussion of their interrelation. It is not always clear that the capital processes being studied are adequately captured by the analyses presented. Still, readers who investigate parental work and family effects on adolescent outcomes either in Great Britain or in comparative perspective will find the work to be of interest.

Emotions in the Field: The Psychology and Anthropology of Fieldwork Experience, edited by **James Davies** and **Dimitrina Spencer**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. 276pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780804769402.

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The goal of this volume is to “help retrieve emotion from the methodological margins of fieldwork” (p. 1). Rather than ignore certain feelings evoked by or during fieldwork, we are shown how a focus on and analysis of certain emotions might give us a deeper understanding of the context, the people being studied, and their lifeworlds. In the introductory chapter, James Davies, a trained anthropologist and practicing psychotherapist acknowledges that while anthropologists have expressed emotions in various fieldwork memoirs, the goal is to create a more consistent and systematic analysis of “field emotions” and their importance; to practice what William James coined “radical empiricism”: as serious and as systematic a focus on the relations between things as on the empirical world in which they are found. These relations include intersubjectivity (relations between person and person[s]), inter-methodology (between person and method), and inter-materiality (between person and materiality/environment).

Radical empiricism goes beyond a self reflexive focus and encompasses a shift in epistemology by negating the subject-object split and granting equal importance to the experiential aspects of fieldwork. This call to take seriously and investigate one’s emotions during fieldwork acknowledges feelings such as anxiety and disorientation that

are often experienced by fieldworkers but rarely articulated or acknowledged in scholarly work. Such feelings, if admitted by the fieldworker, are usually split off from “thinking” and analysis, designated to a personal journal rather than fieldnotes, and never integrated with the other empirical information. Investigating such emotions, it is argued, can bring important insights about the lives and environment of those under study.

The volume is divided into several parts: the psychology of field experience, political emotions in the field, and non-cognitive field experiences. Francine Lorimer’s study of a mental hospital underscores how countertransference can be utilized as a fieldwork technique that, when used critically and carefully, can provide another way of knowing. Anthropologists Vincent Crapanzo and Michael Jackson, in their respective chapters, also draw on psychological theory. For example, drawing on his fieldwork in Sierra Leone several decades ago, Jackson examines the importance of that liminal, in-between period, when the fieldworker has detached from his environment but is not yet integrated into the fieldsite, and how it created knowledge and understanding he would not have had otherwise.

The most useful part for sociologists is likely to be the middle section on political emotions. Ghassan Hage delves into his political emotions as a fieldworker who interviewed Lebanese Muslims living in the diaspora; he was about to do fieldwork in Southern Lebanon when Israel invaded and bombs killed his main informant and his two children. In this important and quite personal chapter, he also details the humiliation he felt when men in the Lebanese village he did study referred to him as a “talker”—a term that had a clear feminine connotation in that context. The fieldwork literature includes many examples of women academics being seen as more male due to their behavior, but there are few examples of the inverse.

Elisabeth Hsu was in Yunnan, China during the Tian’anmen Square tragedy and found that later, she experienced amnesia about that period even though she had recorded detailed fieldnotes. Her interpretation was that the silence imposed on Chinese society at that emotionally charged time also

affected her in a most personal and even corporal manner.

Lindsay Smith and Arthur Kleinman focused on emotional engagements in their respective research on the children (and grandmothers) of the disappeared in Argentina (Smith) and on mental health practices after the Cultural Revolution in the medical school in Hunan. In both cases, their emotional and moral engagements with those studied forced them to consider if not engage in some kind of action or advocacy work. When the frail 90-year-old mother of a daughter who was disappeared 30 years prior with her baby son begs Smith to promise to look for her daughter and grandson, Smith was shaken by her helplessness and guilt, acknowledging the unequal exchange between them. Kleinman was able to respond to requests for help by creating an exchange program between the medical school in Hunan and the United States. However, after bringing two of the psychiatrists he met to the United States, they expected him to host and care for anyone they knew who came to the United States. Kleinman realized that he was enmeshed in a web of reciprocity that eventually frustrated and angered him but also informed him of his colleagues' life-world. Building on Veena Das, the authors argue that intellectual, emotional or political engagement begins with "a moral act of acknowledgement," particularly with regard to the pain of the sufferer (p. 184). There is not sufficient space to go into the fascinating chapters on non-cognitive field experiences but they will be appreciated by anyone who has entered and experienced another reality through fieldwork.

Clearly, a focus on the emotional experiences during fieldwork will not go over well with colleagues in more mainstream and positivist sociological camps and I do not foresee this catching on in our discipline. As a feminist who does fieldwork in addition to teaching and writing about it, I welcome the way in which emotions are given center stage in this volume, seen as not only worthwhile, but also as potentially important and useful in the creation of knowledge. Issues such as transference and countertransference are not usually taught in methods classes, leaving neophyte fieldworkers sometimes holding incomprehensible and possibly upsetting

and disturbing feelings. Thus, sociologists should take note of the book and its message. However, feminist scholars long have written about the importance of inter-subjectivity as a way of gaining knowledge, linking the personal, the academic and the political; unfortunately the vast majority of that scholarship is ignored and not credited for its contribution. While it is heartening to see eminent male scholars such as anthropologists Michael Jackson and Vincent Crapanzo discover and approve of the potential role emotions could play in knowledge creation, it is, to a great extent, rediscovering a wheel feminist scholars have long had.

Building a Housewife's Paradise: Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century, by **Tracey Deutsch**. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 337pp. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780807833278.

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Food shopping is something most of us do, yet what do we know about the historical politics of the stores that shape our shopping experiences? In an insightful and eminently readable manner, historian Tracey Deutsch shows how politics, in particular the politics of gender, infuse the history, spaces, and social relations of food distribution and procurement in the twentieth century United States. Her study expounds upon intersections among institutional contexts and the less-formalized social relations that mark a gendered politics of consumption.

Focusing on the decades of the early twentieth century, Deutsch shows how the power, aesthetics, size, and business models we have come to associate with food shopping reflect social and political unsettledness, as well as historically-contingent policy decisions. Like many other scholars of consumption history, her analysis is focused on the city of Chicago. Using archival documents, Deutsch maps transformations from urban public markets to neighborhood grocers and chain stores, to the supermarkets that emerged in the post-WWII era that we know today.

The first few chapters simultaneously acknowledge the benefits brought to urban communities by chain stores in the 1910s and 1920s, and sympathize with the small-scale and independent grocers forced to compete with them. "Chain stores" were relatively small, firm-owned shops that sold standardized regional or national brands, mostly packaged goods and staples such as flour and sugar. They marketed their self-service practices as attractive to women customers (as well as working class, African American, and ethnic urban dwellers) "burnt" by price negotiation and discrimination, who were simultaneously vulnerable to waves of anti-chain store legislation and consumer demands for authority over food availability.

The middle chapters of the book, which analyze the rise and fall of co-operative food stores in Chicago, are a compelling exploration of politicized and gendered collective action. The final substantive chapters present a new take on a familiar story—that of the celebration of domesticity glorified by retailers interested in profits and market expansion. Deutsch explores several gaps between the advice of "experts" and women's actual lived experiences: most were *not* the dazed housewife pushing a shopping cart down brightly-lit, colorful supermarket aisles. She shows how policymakers during this period selected the dependent variable: in negotiating ever-tighter relationships between food purveyors and government regulations, they translated people's use of supermarkets as evidence that Americans were happy with them and did not want alternative forms of food provision.

Deutsch's argument is also, and importantly, one about gender relations. She underscores ways in which women's labor as shoppers was a spur to—and not a distraction from—political activism across the early decades of the twentieth century. She deftly offers instances in the early part of the century in which consumers' gains in political authority over stores meant giving *women* important new powers in both market and state activities. Questions about what women wanted, and what women *should* want, are present throughout her decades-long story of shopping as a (potential) conduit for political organizing and activism.

Positioning gender as a factor in the outcomes of efforts to claim authority over food retail and distribution structures (such as women's leadership roles in 1930s and 1940s food co-operatives) suggests that attitudes toward women's authority were inherent in the politics of consumption shaped by war efforts, new technologies, the mid-century specter of communism, and federal policy-making. In her conclusion, however, Deutsch finally acknowledges one of the fallacies of her argument: the very idea that "women" exist as a coherent entity. Even though it is quite evident that she does not believe that they do, there are instances throughout the book in which she lumps "women" together as targets of and potential activists for political and institutional change. In other words, at times she uses the very language in describing retailing strategies and resistance that she warns against.

What Deutsch does offer sociologists is a story about the ways in which certain spaces of consumption (chain stores, and later supermarkets) gained increasingly powerful footholds in the American sociopolitical landscape (such as their ability over that of independent retailers or co-ops to collect sales taxes, keep good records, work with federal officials on policy-making around wartime rations and price controls). Still, she did not address the increased role of regulation, organizational resources, and ties with technological innovation in offering *safe* food to the American public. While we know this model is not resistant to flaws (as the news media reports salmonella and E.coli outbreaks caused by foods produced by large-scale producers and sold in supermarkets), part of the benefit created for consumers by processed, packaged foods sold in supermarkets was that they lowered risks that the food being purchased would cause sickness or death.

Today, supermarkets' dominance in the consumer retail landscape and the power of their organizational form are social facts, where "bigger is better" and where investment in size and scope also means political and social investment in particular strategies of creating consumers. In many ways, this book is compelling in that it offers a clear look at the ways in which different forms of food procurement lost and gained footholds

in the American urban landscape. Deutsch can help sociologists of material culture appreciate a renewed need to consider the historical politics of consumption as they inform consumers' present-day abilities to demand changes in the ways in which production, distribution, and retail happen.

Workers and Welfare: Comparative Institutional Change in Twentieth-Century Mexico, by **Michelle L. Dion**. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010. 310pp. \$27.95 paper. ISBN: 9780822960454.

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"In the late 1930s, political elites were consolidating a new authoritarian regime and expanding social insurance. In the middle of the first decade after 2000, the political elites were consolidating a new democratic regime and retrenching social insurance" (p. 186).

Michelle L. Dion has written the most comprehensive account of Mexico's welfare institutions and policies to date. Dion traces the development of welfare in Mexico—its expansion and retrenchment in both the private and public sectors—through the interaction between labor unions and political elites. While this is a story about welfare, it is also an account of how organized labor has managed to influence, at times from a position of weakness, the development and continuing evolution of key institutions.

Dion employs historical-institutional and comparative analysis, quantitative data, and theories of class coalitions to produce this sweeping yet nuanced political history of the welfare institutions that would provide social insurance to formal-sector workers throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Her analysis centers on paired comparisons of attempted policy changes under successive presidential administrations during key moments in the evolution of welfare institutions. Dion first analyzes the Cárdenas (1934–1940) and Avila Camacho (1940–1946) governments during the 1930s and 1940s, the period of welfare initiation and expansion, to understand how the

second government was able to assemble the coalitional support for welfare expansion where the more populist administration of Cárdenas could not. This period marked the beginning of a more or less stable and continuous expansion of welfare institutions and social insurance throughout the twentieth century until the 1990s.

The period of economic liberalization signaled the beginning of pressures to scale back and change the nature of insurance provision from social insurance to targeted social assistance. Dion compares the relative successes of the Salinas (1988–1994) and Zedillo (1994–2000) governments in implementing this shift. Finally, the author considers the two administrations that followed Mexico's "democratic transition" after the historic defeat of the PRI in the 2000 presidential elections, those of Vicente Fox (2000–2006) and Felipe Calderón (2006–2012). Here the author explores how increased electoral competition affects labor's position in the ruling coalition and influences welfare reform outcomes. Her detailed account of the process of reform, especially the way in which negotiations with unions took place, is especially enlightening (pp. 178–79).

In her analysis of the Mexican case, Dion draws from the institutional change literature that has mostly been applied to advanced industrial democracies. She integrates descriptions of shifting class coalitions with accounts of institutional layering and reinterpretation, parametric and structural reform. These variations on institutional change are the product of both actors' strategies and institutional legacies, most of which reinforce resistance to reform. For instance, institutional layering—the creation of new institutions alongside the old—happens when officials decide not to confront the unions' resistance to reforming the old institutions. President Salinas' creation of the National Solidarity Program (PRONASOL) was such a case. Where unions opposed privatization of the Mexican Institute for Social Security (IMSS), the federal agency responsible for insuring private-sector workers, the government allowed for "backdoor" privatization through subcontracted services with the agency. This example reflects the use of existing institutions to pursue new ends, or institutional reinterpretation.

By the end of the first decade of this century, Dion argues, Mexican governments had produced a "dual pattern of welfare": a reduced set of social insurance programs for a core group of formal-sector workers and an expanded set of means-tested, non-contributory social assistance programs for the urban and rural poor (p. 250). In a measured and thoughtful conclusion, she questions the stability of these social assistance programs given their meager benefits, limited funding, and the weak mobilizational capacity of the unorganized to sustain these programs during economic downturns.

One of Dion's main contributions is her attention to the role of organized labor throughout this process of welfare expansion and retrenchment. Dion makes us see the ways in which organized labor initiates demands, pressures elites, stalls reform, builds coalitions, and ultimately, shapes policy. Even when labor is buffeted by economic liberalization or when its alliance with the ruling party is weakened by electoral competition, Dion shows how labor still matters. Governments and political parties may seek to attract the "unorganized voter," but they still cannot afford to ignore the unions, especially those located in what Dion refers to as the "nontradeable sectors" that remain relatively protected from economic liberalization.

At a point in much recent scholarship when labor unions have practically been written out of politics, Dion's focus on labor is refreshing. Yet she could do even more to spell out the precise mechanisms by which labor resists reform or exerts influence over elites. In parts the author seems to assume that labor has influence over policy simply because of structural or background conditions, such as an import-substitution-industrialization model of economic development or the formal alliance of the "official" labor unions with the ruling party.

This is a small quibble, however, and it should in no way detract from Dion's considerable achievement. The author has written an authoritative historical analysis of the politics of welfare in Mexico. Scholars and practitioners alike will benefit from Dion's careful research and clear writing. This volume is also suitable for graduate and advanced undergraduate courses in comparative

politics, welfare and work, and comparative social policy.

The Moral Underground: How Ordinary Americans Subvert an Unfair Economy, by **Lisa Dodson**. New York, NY: The New Press, 2009. 227pp. \$24.95 cloth. ISBN: 9781595584724.

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In the aftermath of welfare reform, the majority of poor single mothers must struggle for economic subsistence in the low-wage labor market. It is the arena in which workers and their managers have to adapt to and manage ill-paying jobs and difficult working conditions. Mothers must figure out how to sustain their families with wholly inadequate earnings; how to balance the harsh demands of the workplace while attending to complex and unpredictable family needs; and how to navigate shifting and unstable work schedules and child care arrangements. Their managers and supervisors are caught between pressures to enforce workplace rules and regulations, and the moral consequences of their own actions. Looking through an ethnographic lens at these dynamic and conflict-ridden relationships, Lisa Dodson attempts to answer three interrelated questions: What leads mothers to break workplace rules as they scramble to balance between their family needs and the demands of work? How do workplace supervisors and managers respond when mothers try to circumvent the work rules? When do their supervisors also decide to ignore or subvert the rules? The leitmotif of the book is that when people, both workers and managers, face the inherent injustices in low-wage workplaces, at least some of them are willing to subvert the rules. There is also an implicit subtext that runs through the book: Acts of rule violations in the workplace are forces of resistance against the dominant capitalist logic and its exaltation of the work ethic.

The book consists mostly of a series of narratives or stories of workers, supervisors and managers that the author has collected over

a period of eight years at different locations and various work settings. These include establishments that rely on low-wage workers such as retail stores, services and offices, hospitals, and nursing homes. Also included are child care centers, schools and community health centers on which the mothers depend for the care of their children. The author interviewed both low-wage workers and middle-income managerial workers. In what she terms "participatory" or "collaborative" research, the author also used focus groups whose members participated in analyzing the meanings of the data she has gathered.

The wrenching stories that the poor working mothers tell would be familiar to most students of the low-wage market (e.g., Edin and Lein 1997; Collins and Mayer 2010). The women give vivid accounts of what it means to survive on meager earnings; the constant pressures to balance between the demands of work and the care of their children; having to face frequent breakdowns in their child care arrangements due to irregular work schedules; working under-the-table to supplement their income; having to work even when they or their children are sick, for fear of being fired; experiencing persistent financial hardships that deprive their children of basic necessities; and being under constant fear that the demands of their job will force them to neglect their children. To survive they have to cut corners and break the rules such as bringing their child to the work place when care arrangements fall apart, skip work to attend to family needs, or subtly neglect certain work demands.

However, what is the distinct contribution of the book are the stories of how some managers and supervisors routinely break the rules on behalf of their workers. These include such things as giving their workers goods without having to pay for them; keeping double time sheets so their workers can leave work to care for their children; or simply bending or ignoring the rules so that their workers can succeed. In some settings such as hospitals, staff may break the rules to provide medical services to undocumented patients, and show patients how to fill out forms and omit certain information so that they qualify for the care they need. In schools, nurses, social workers and teachers may

bend the rules so that children can remain in school despite the difficulties their parents have in caring for them. In all of these and other instances the staffs engage in what Dobson calls moral disobedience. This is particularly evident when it comes to "rules vs. the child" choice. It is here that the moral dilemma between enforcing rules that might hurt the well-being of children or ignoring and bending them for the sake of the children comes into sharp relief.

To provide a broader context to these narratives, the author intersperses throughout the book brief summaries of well-known studies on the low-wage labor market, income inequality, child poverty, and poverty and health. Still, while the narratives on rule breaking are quite revealing, the book falters when it comes to explaining why some middle managers and supervisors are willing to break the rules and others do not. The author does argue that those who identify with the work-ethic ideology tend to blame the poor workers for their predicament. She also distinguishes between the sympathetic employers who may overlook rule violations, the marketeers who accept the market logic and dismiss the human costs of business practices, and the morally disobedient managers who actively respond to the economic injustices. But recognizing the general dominance of the work-ethic in American society and its differential acceptance by employers can hardly suffice as an explanation. Not only we do not know how prevalent is rule breaking, but more importantly, the author offers no theoretical framework that would put the rich data through an analysis that is informed by it. There is no attempt to explore what factors shape the belief systems, role expectations and practices of those who are willing to break the rule versus those who refuse. There is no discussion of how the organizational context might influence the degree to which staff members might be willing to bend the rules. Most importantly, there is no acknowledgement that in most of these organizations enforcement of the rules and rewards for conformity and compliance are institutionalized in their daily practices and routines. Put differently, the power allocations within these organizations make rule breaking an exception rather

than a common occurrence (see for example, Clegg, Courpasson and Phillips 2006). Even in such settings as schools, hospitals and child care centers where street-level workers do exercise considerable discretion, they may not act in the best interests of their clients (Lipsky 1980).

The book leaves the reader with a distinct sense that the author is on a moral crusade to expose the injustices of what she terms an “immoral economy,” and to promote the moral underground as a force for social change. One can, of course, sympathize with her stance, and I am among them. But, without putting her observations to an empirical test that is informed by theory, the narratives remain essentially descriptive. The book leaves unanswered the question of what conditions give rise to the moral underground.

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Injustice at Work, by **François Dubet**. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2010. 245pp. \$29.95 paper. ISBN: 97815945168787.

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Those in the United States who have long idealized the French working class, where militant general strikes are not just artifacts of history but actual ongoing possibilities, are in for a sobering experience when they dig in to the findings of *Injustice at Work*. Based upon a dozen focus groups,

hundreds of one-on-one interviews and over a thousand questionnaires with a cross section of the working population of France, it turns out that today's French workers sound an awful lot like, well, their American counterparts.

The book is in part a detailed elaboration of an argument François Dubet advanced in earlier work with Lustiger Thaler on social movement theory in which, drawing upon the work of Alain Touraine, they argue for placing the subjects themselves—rather than institutions or political opportunity structures—at the center of collective action research. When one does this, and takes seriously what workers say, all easy categorizations of class and class interests go by the wayside. In one especially memorable turn of phrase from the book, Dubet states: “Social reformers of the past envisioned a classless society. Today we are confronted with societyless classes” (p. 223).

Perhaps the book's greatest originality is in its premise (building upon Walzer's critique of equality) that in actuality, most societies and most workers implicitly embrace a just order of inequalities based upon age, academic and professional qualifications and employment history. It is these “just inequalities” that underlie workers' perceptions of justice. The resultant tensions are consistent with classic Durkheimian ideas about how dynamics of advanced industrial societies undermine social solidarity and explain why workers seldom identify a larger systemic culprit for their feelings of injustice at work.

Dubet begins by setting out the proposition that the *idea* of justice at work, and therefore the meaning and experience of injustice, is extremely complicated. He posits three underlying principles of justice in the workplace: equality, merit and autonomy, that must be explored in depth and disentangled from each other. Two of the central theoretical arguments the book makes is that for most workers, each of these three principles is internally complicated and contradictory, and that between them they are often at odds with one another. In analyzing what subjects say in their interviews, focus groups and questionnaires, Dubet finds they commonly apply several criteria of justice simultaneously and the adoption of any

single principle breeds criticism of the other two and adversely affects the favored principle. He concludes that since subjects espouse all three principles but are buffeted constantly by the contradictions between the three, they are "caught up in a critical spiral that gradually detaches them from their own situation." This "dynamic of perpetual circulation between contradictory principles of justice" leads them to default to the unfortunate conclusion that, as far as their individual situation was concerned, "things weren't so bad" (pp. 156–57).

For those interested in seeing more collective action around economic inequalities, one of Dubet's most fascinating but also most distressing findings about what happens when equality and merit are combined perceptually is that: "feeling exploited raises the probability of being opposed to the principle of redistribution, as does feeling underpaid. . . . The experience of a merit-related injustice tends to induce workers to call for a 'new deal' that would provide for their individual self-preservation" (p. 177). More generally, Dubet finds that "a great many injustices are ascribed to persons rather than systems" (p. 224). Most of the workers he surveyed did not have an ideology that linked their personal experience of injustice to a collective condition or social system. In fact, most workers did not think of society as "an integral system that can be changed by identifying the dominant groups and attempting to influence their actions" at all. As a result, according to the author, "social evils are not imputed to a dominant agent, but to an anonymous, impersonal system that people identify more with its ideological rationality than with who controls it. . . . Because it is harder to blame a class adversary for their sufferings, workers blame their immediate environment . . . and society itself" (p. 185).

Workers are ham-strung in terms of taking collective action because they see themselves as integral parts of the social system and as such guilty of or party to the injustices they condemn (p. 206). They also do not see political parties and unions as trustworthy vehicles for the pursuit of justice at work. Rather than a desire to join together in industrial action, what Dubet frequently heard in the interviews was a resolution to treat one's co-workers with greater respect,

not to complain, and in some cases to volunteer outside of work for an NGO.

Although a dense and challenging read, the book's marriage of in-depth behavioral research with social theory is an extremely useful combination and a necessary corrective to the tendency on the part of many scholars, this one included, to treat low-wage immigrant workers in particular as a group rather than as individuals.

Reactions to the Market: Small Farmers in the Economic Reshaping of Nicaragua, Cuba, Russia, and China, by **Laura J. Enríquez**. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010. 241pp. \$55.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780271036199.

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Development policies are often driven by a deep-rooted anti-rural bias, as seen in the tradition of modernization theory which suggests that the rural way of living is tied to backwardness, while an urban lifestyle is considered to be a more advanced, modern trait. After the end of the Cold War, a neo-liberal approach to development that emphasizes privatization, liberalization, and stabilization has been spread to most parts of the world as the ultimate panacea for developing countries to catch up with developed countries and enjoy the same level of affluence. Contrary to the expectation that wealth would trickle down, there have been increasing concerns over the widening gap between the rich and the poor within and between countries as a result of these neo-liberal prescriptions. To this end, Laura Enríquez's book is a timely volume that discusses the impact of the transition to a market-oriented economy on small farmers in Nicaragua and Cuba, and compares their experiences with those in Russia and China.

Situated in Polanyi's study on the Enclosure Movement in England where the Industrial Revolution led to the dismantling of the peasantry and his conclusion that "the elimination of this social category was both a precondition for, and a result of, the expansion of market relations" (p. 21), Enríquez joins the

discussion of this "agrarian question," and hopes to shed new light on the fate of the peasantry in today's globalized economy. She stresses that two things stand out in Polanyi's analysis: first, marketization is not a natural process but a result of state intervention; second, the spread of market relations often provokes countermovements in society in the form of protective measures (p.14). Moreover, transition to a capitalist market economy can take various hybrid forms as stated by Szelenyi and Kostello. By comparing small farmers in Nicaragua, Cuba, Russia, and China, she concludes that Nicaragua, similar to Russia's "shock therapy," chose to retreat quickly from socialism by adopting structural adjustment measures including fiscal austerity, trade liberalization, currency devaluation, and privatization. As a result, small farmers most vulnerable to those policies were severely hurt and became increasingly marginalized, as they could not compete with capitalist farmers and multinational agribusinesses. They had to find off-farm jobs or other sideline jobs in order to survive. On the other hand, Cuba, following a strategy more or less similar to China, worked on reconfiguring socialism, and state protection (secured land rights, credit, technical assistance) helped mitigate the blunt impact of the market on small farmers. In addition, the two pairs of countries took different views on the role of peasants in rebuilding their economies. Nicaragua and Russia did not think that peasants could be important economic actors in a market economy, while Cuba and China made use of peasants to jump-start their economic restructuring. In the case of Cuba, the number of peasants actually grew as farm jobs offered food security and a stable source of income in times of economic crisis and reform, leading to peasantization (pp. 176–181).

In terms of methodology, Enríquez's analysis of Russia and China, which serves as the backdrop to her study, is based on previous literature, while she conducted interviews and surveys in four municipalities in Nicaragua and Cuba respectively. The four municipalities chosen in each country are located in two provinces with distinct geographies, histories of farming (including crops grown), and available resources, and thus offer a good comparison as to why, under the

same set of state policies, some small farmers fare better than others. She found that even in Nicaragua where peasants were generally marginalized, small farmers in places where some level of peasant organization still existed, be it self-mobilized cooperatives or connections with foreign NGOs and governments, were better off than those where such organization completely dissolved (pp. 113–118). Therefore, her study of small farmers' coping strategies in economic reforms contributes to the existing literature by looking at market transition through the eyes of those who experience it. It also indicates the intertwining of domestic policies and international circumstances, which together affects the dynamics within a society.

There are, nonetheless, some limitations to the book. First, the interviews were carried out in 1997 for Nicaragua and 1998 for Cuba, more than 10 years ago, and the rest of the study is heavily based on existing literature. Although Enríquez supplies some post-1990s data in the tables and figures, most of these recent data are left unanalyzed. It is only in the postscript that some new trends in Nicaragua and Cuba are discussed. As marketization is an ongoing project, it would be interesting to know more about recent development in each country and whether the author's propositions remain valid. In addition, outliers in the tables are not sufficiently explained. For example, why did the harvested area for beans and sorghum suddenly decline in Nicaragua in 1995/96 while that for other food crops constantly grew? What about the sudden drop in the value of non-traditional agricultural exports in 1995, 1996 and 1998? Describing the general trend without taking into account the outliers may render the analysis less convincing.

Moreover, the typology that Enríquez offers at the beginning of the book is somewhat problematic. For example, post-1985 China is categorized as "practically self-sufficient" and a "socialist mixed economy" as opposed to Cuba, which is labeled as "exporting" and in-between "local markets within a redistributive economy" and a "socialist mixed economy." In recent years, China has become the workshop of the world with an increasingly export-oriented

economy especially after its entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001. Therefore, to lump post-1985 China together as one category (and as self-sufficient) ignores changes in the past decade. To a large extent, agriculture in China today is closely tied to its industry, as increasing agricultural productivity gained from the early years of reform also created a large amount of surplus labor, which led to millions of peasant workers moving from the countryside to cities. This trend of de-peasantization distances China from Enríquez's categorization and from the Cuban case. Furthermore, China's agricultural reform that restored the family as the basic unit of farming had a different ramification for peasants in regions where land was scarce and population density was high and where rural collective industries existed in addition to farming. Downsized production did not always lead to higher productivity or improved peasant well-being. As a result, in addition to the distinction between redistributive and capitalist-oriented economies, the level of industrialization is also an important indicator of small farmers' well-being.

In general, this book is an interesting addition to the literature for those who study market transitions and globalization and their implications for social inequalities, the life of peasants, and rural communities.

Beyond Punishment: Achieving International Criminal Justice, by **Mark Findlay** and **Ralph Henham**. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. \$90.00 cloth. 305pp. ISBN: 9780230222687.

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The field of international criminal justice has grown considerably over the past few decades. In fact, though still lagging behind the degree of internationalization of society, various aspects of internationalized criminal justice are arguably among the most researched social issues of the global era. In this book, international criminal justice scholars Mark Findlay and Ralph Henham undertake an analysis of the international

criminal court to argue that international justice should be achieved by principles other than punishment. In other words, this book has an explicit normative orientation.

The normative framework that this book spells out is argued to be based on new moralities concerning the interest of victim communities. Rights are invoked that protect victims, but it is thereby emphasized that such rights, in order to be more than mere words, have to be able to be enforced. The authors suggest such rights to be governed by a concern for "humanity," rather than political domination, and "coexistent rights protection" of both individual and collective rights. Importantly, these rights are not to be bound geographically and thus also extend beyond the traditional (national) contexts of legal sovereignty, for the crimes that are involved have these capacities as well. Additionally, Findlay and Henham view victim rights in such a way that the adversarial orientation of conventional trials would be replaced by a search for a collective form of accountability.

The authors suggest how international criminal trials need to be reoriented to reflect the needs and rights of victims and communities from a pluralistic conception. All participants in the trial need their justice demands reflected. The trial thus becomes more than a quest for retribution. Findlay and Henham suggest how justice professionals and the victim communities and communities of justice can be brought together. The central role of the judge in securing victim access is thereby confirmed. In conceptualizing victim communities, the authors are careful to argue that individual and collective rights need to be balanced. This effort would help towards identifying legitimate victims and their interests on the basis of a sense of communitarian justice.

On a more practical level, the authors advocate a perspective that moves beyond the conventional focus on evidence, suggesting shifts from fact to truth and from adversarial objectives to mediation. Enhanced inclusivity of victim communities in international criminal justice procedures will make them more legitimate. It is understood by the authors than the enhanced role they ascribe to criminal justice professionals would have

to be balanced by considerations of accountability. A humanitarian focus on the part of the legal professional would thereby have to be secured. Concrete trial programs have to be developed, so that international trials become effective instruments in securing justice.

The preceding paragraph was a brief summarization of the book under review. Not only is this book guided entirely by a normative orientation unhindered by any kind of grounding in pertinent sociological work or any other relevant social-science literature, it seeks to change the world of international criminal justice as we know it today, on a global scale no less. The authors are not constrained, either intellectually or morally, relying on their perspectives of such sweeping and profound notions as humanity, global justice, legitimate needs, and peace. Yes, Findlay and Henham have taken it upon themselves to save the world, one international criminal justice trial at a time. We may wish them best of luck were it not for the fact that there is no way of knowing if their efforts can be effective, nor even if their endeavor is a sound one. Not a single ground is offered to explain why any of their prescriptions would have to be accepted.

The area of international criminal justice has been fruitfully explored in a multitude of research efforts for quite a few years now. Many questions of international criminal justice are not only socially relevant in our global age, but have also been addressed proficiently on the basis of the standards of social science, especially in the occasionally overlapping fields of criminology and sociology. It is therefore more than puzzling that we continue to be confronted by the kind of normative speculation that is presented in this book and others like it. In the meantime, fortunately, the wheels of social science churn on and serious scholarship on international criminal justice continues to be produced. It is my hope that readers of this journal will be able to get to know and read such work, possibly aided by the editors of this and other journals deciding to have it reviewed.

Media and New Capitalism in the Digital Age: The Spirit of Networks, by **Eran Fisher**. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 259pp. \$85.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780230616073.

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The rapid social transformations associated with the emergence of networked information technologies are not themselves a purely technological matter. Instead, the embrace of such change is tied to a host of ideational frameworks that justify particular understandings and uses of networked technology. Eran Fisher's book *Media and New Capitalism in the Digital Age* critically analyzes these discourses, arguing that they have legitimated the transformation to post-Fordism and the rise of neoliberal economic forms.

To make this point, Fisher conducts an extended discourse analysis of the magazine *Wired*, concentrating on themes that have a bearing on changes in the contemporary dynamics of an increasingly informationalized capitalism. It is an astute methodological choice given *Wired's* status as the hip voice of the technocracy. Fisher's relationship to the magazine is also admirably parsimonious, in that he does not get bogged down in trying to incorporate every article that speaks to these themes nor does he conduct a laborious sentence-by-sentence deconstruction. Instead, he focuses on the big picture, deftly accentuating particularly illustrative examples of the networked discourse.

One of the more compelling themes that runs through the book is that the networked discourse represents a positive response to the longstanding humanist critique of Fordism as alienating and stifling to human creativity. At the same time, the networked discourse is largely silent on the social critique of capitalism, downplaying or rejecting demands for social emancipation. Admittedly, this is a point that Fisher takes from Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello's book *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (2007), but he nicely details the specifics of how this operates discursively.

The book identifies, and is structured around, four key transformative sites where

the ideology of networked computing is particularly significant: the market, the world of work, production practices, and conceptions of humans. The themes identified in these sites will be familiar to anyone who has paid attention to political developments over the past twenty years, but rarely have they been set out so clearly, nor have they previously been so explicitly connected to discourses on networked technology.

In the context of the market, the networked discourse assumes that networks, by virtue of connecting a host of "dumb" informational nodes, produce a new and greater form of intelligence. It is an idea that has a symbiotic relationship with conservative approaches to financial markets. Both networks and markets are understood to be chaotic and beyond the ability of any person (or regulator) to fully appreciate. At the same time, they have their own emergent order, which means that it is best to allow for forms of self-regulation that leave these domains to develop according to their own inherent logic. As such, the discourse on networked technologies has helped to legitimate the decline of the Keynesian welfare (interventionist) state and advance the emergence of unregulated neoliberal markets.

In the sphere of work, this discourse marks a shift from a Fordist focus on class to a post-Fordist fixation on networks, something that blurs the boundaries between work and leisure and also between worker and capitalist. Advocates of such change accentuate how networks enhance individual empowerment by virtue of decentralization, dehierarchization and flattening relations within the workplace. Information technology provides opportunities for workers to engage their skills and creativity, but the trade-off is that they must accept flexible employment and surrender stable employment and compensation. These workers operate in a production context that the networked discourse presents as undergoing a complete transformation, which is apparent from the emphasis on such things as open source software, crowd sourcing and the labor power of uncompensated workers. Such developments are again understood as responding to the humanist critiques of Fordist capitalism, while still allowing for the infinite process of capitalist accumulation.

Fisher's fourth theme concerns how the networked discourse advances new conceptions of what it means to be a human in a digital civilization. Echoing some key post-modern concepts, the networked discourse undermines notions of "the human" as a distinct autonomous entity demarcated from its environment and unique in its capacity for subjectivity. It also alternatively accentuates the commensurability of humans and technology or, more radically, completely conflates the two. Where in previous discursive formations the commensurable unit between humans and machines was understood to be energy, in the networked discourse both humans and network technologies are understood to be essentially information machines, or cyborg/human informational hybrids. Consequently, technology becomes the ideal conduit for human liberation as it allows for such ostensibly desirable things as disembodiment, fragmentation, flexibility and interactivity that were suppressed under industrial capitalism.

The most compelling part of the book is Chapter Seven, where Fisher synthesizes the main themes by outlining the cosmology of a networked ideology. It is a perceptive and occasionally unsettling account, given how it starkly reveals the missionary zeal of network ideologies. Here, life is understood to be information, and technology is a natural force. Technology is reified, and is understood as determining the shape of society, implying the inevitability of its impact and the futility of human and social intervention in this field. At the most extreme, one encounters a theologization of network technology and visions of humans being replaced by cognitive networked machines, who would identify humans as their ancestors.

Given his focus on discourse, Fisher is not particularly concerned with the empirical truth of such assertions, but with their truth effects; how they help to bring about and legitimize a particular type of society—in particular, how discourses about networked technology have been used to justify decomposing the Fordist social compact and constitute an alternative set of private relations within a global market and civil society.

Given that Fisher is dealing with a topic that touches on a range of social domains, this book will be of interest to a wide

assortment of scholars concerned about changes in the world of technology, work and capital accumulation. Even political economists, who often shy away from discourse analysis, will learn much about the wider social forces that buttress changes to informational capitalism.

Latino Lives in America: Making it Home, by Luis Ricardo Fraga, John A. Garcia, Rodney E. Hero, Michael Jones-Correa, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary M. Segura. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010. 212pp. \$26.95 paper. ISBN: 9781439900499.

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Latino Lives in America is a timely overview of the contemporary state of economic, sociocultural, and political incorporation among “Hispanic/Latinos” in the United States. Based on original data collected by the authors between 2003 and 2006, this book updates our existing knowledge in the field, which has been largely based on data collected in the 1989 Latino National Political Survey (LNPS). As Luis Fraga and his colleagues point out, critical changes that have taken place since 1990—including Latinos’ demographic growth and increasing national origin diversity, their geographic dispersion across the country, and their rising visibility within American politics—have great potential to reshape many dimensions of Latino life in the twenty-first century.

The main strength of this book lies in its impressive empirical data. On one hand, it draws from a large survey of representative samples of Latino households taken from 15 states and the District of Columbia in 2005–2006. This 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS) includes N = 8,634 self-identified Hispanic/Latino residents of areas of the United States where approximately 87.5 percent of Hispanics/Latinos now live, and each state sample can be analyzed alone as well as in comparison to other state samples. Importantly, this survey includes some voluntarily-offered information on respondents’ legal

statuses, making it one of the few data sets currently available to scholars who study unauthorized Latin American migrants in the United States.

On the other hand, this book also draws from a carefully selected set of 14 focus groups, which were conducted in 2003 and intended to aid in interpreting the survey results, as well as to clarify the complexity of Latinos’ characteristics and experiences. Thus, the focus groups were conducted across the full spectrum of “generational distance” (p. 18), with respondents of varying nativities, national origins, and legal statuses, and in both traditional and “new” Latino metropolitan areas.

Rather than making one central argument, Fraga et al. organize this book around several key themes which they believe capture and explain important paradoxes evident in the LNS data and focus groups. First, they emphasize *continuity* in several dimensions of Latino life—continuity that emerges alongside the demographic, geographic, and political *changes* mentioned above. Second, they emphasize *complexity* in several dimensions of Latino life, by variables as diverse as national origin, nativity, citizenship, race, and legal status, which they argue cautions against any strong overgeneralizations about the “Latino experience,” and instead points to distinct modalities of the Latino experience that are worthy of comparative investigation. Third, the authors emphasize *community*, both in terms of how Latinos are both seeking to create a sense of community and full inclusion in American society (what sociologists have traditionally called “assimilation”), and how Latinos are also becoming more dissimilar to Latin Americans abroad along the way (what sociologists Tomás R. Jiménez and David FitzGerald have termed “homeland dissimulation”).

Each of these themes is evident in the topical chapters that follow, all of which center around the two important sociological themes of incorporation and mobility. Chapters Two–Four explore Latinos’ attempts to create a sense of “home” in the United States, arguing that an unequal educational system and some persisting discrimination are the key structural impediments to Latinos’ feeling more included and becoming more

upwardly mobile. Chapter Five explores Latino life in new rural immigrant destinations, arguing that while geographic dispersion is producing economic gains for Latinos and rural communities alike, it can also be socially and politically isolating. And Chapters Six–Seven explore various aspects of Latinos' political behavior and identity formation, arguing that transnational linkages affirm (rather than undermine) Latinos' sense of American identity, and that a politically meaningful sense of panethnicity among Latinos has grown since the 1990s.

Overall, this book makes a serious contribution to the study of Latino life and political behavior in the United States. Clearly, the 2006 Latino National Survey sets the standard for future surveys conducted on Hispanics/Latinos in the twenty-first century. I commend the authors for not shying away from the patterns of ambivalence, paradox, ambiguity, and contradiction that emerge from their data, particularly in Chapter Four where they discuss Latinos' perceptions of intergroup relations and discrimination. Such patterns might make for a messier and less comfortable story than many social scientists would like to read, but they are also critical to our understanding of the complex contours of Latino life today.

At the same time, I would offer two general critiques of the book. First, it comes across as more political than sociological—perhaps not surprising given that all six of the authors are political scientists, not sociologists. The major benefit of this disciplinary slant is that the book does give significant attention to the various political dimensions involved in Latino migration, settlement, incorporation, identity formation, and behavior, which not all sociologists of Latinos or migration do adequately. However, its major disadvantage is that much of the sociological research and insights on these topics appears glossed over, if not overlooked entirely.

Second, the book comes across as simplified and overview-y. Perhaps this is also not surprising, given that the book is the first full-length publication to emerge from the enormous LNS data set, and given that the authors are clearly trying to reach a more general audience through it. Most scholarly readers will feel (as I did) that the book glosses over the topics they are most

interested in too easily and quickly, as it strives to cover an impressive range of topics both accessibly and in a small amount of space. The good news is that scholarly readers can also look forward to a range of more sophisticated and complex analyses based on the LNS that will emerge in future journal article and book publications.

One Less Car: Bicycling and the Politics of Automobility, by **Zack Furness**. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010. 348pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9781592136131.

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In *One Less Car: Bicycling and the Politics of Automobility*, Zack Furness brings us a lively and accessible glimpse into an important and oft-overlooked piece of the transportation topography. He puts forward an intelligent (and clearly impassioned) picture of a safer, saner, and sounder approach to mobility in the form of the bicycle, arguing that its more widespread use is a key element in moving us forward sustainably. Furness gives us some glimpses into the history of both the bicycle and the rider; an astute depiction of the stereotyping of bicycle riders that the media plays into and off of; as well as a portrait of local, national, and global initiatives around bicycles and bicycle culture. He also sensibly cautions us about privileging automobility over all other modes of transportation despite its clear disadvantages in terms of danger, road-hogging, resource guzzling, impersonality, and environmental degradation. This last theme is not unique, but bears repeating, and Furness highlights it in the context of bicycle subordination. As engaging as each of these aspects of the book are, its real strength lies in the author's exposition of the bicycle as a vehicle for a broad and deep social movement, or perhaps more aptly, set of social movements.

Two colorful and intertwining threads weave their way throughout this excursion, bringing to life for the reader the social actors involved in these movements. First, Furness

brings us the sheer pleasure and anarchic playfulness of those riders who wish to critique car culture via a bicycle joy-ride. This is exemplified through discussion of Critical Mass, (the semi-spontaneous social movement in which bicycle riders in various cities monthly participate in rides that fill lanes so that automobile traffic must follow their pace) intended to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions about what traffic is, (hence, one of their slogans is “we are not blocking traffic, we are traffic”). A simultaneous goal is to rejoice in the exposed, in-touch, open-to-the-elements-and-each-other aspects of the ride. This social criticism through creative mischief aspect of bicycle culture is one that is clearly near and dear to the author’s heart, and he adeptly brings it to life for the reader.

The second thread that runs throughout the book is a graver (and more Marxian) unease with the grand slew of social ills that plague our planet due to commercialism, imperialism, post-colonialism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, and that vast array of other - isms that sociologists grapple with in our analysis of everything from social to physical mobility and much in between—loosely referred to these days as globalization. To his credit, Furness acknowledges that bicycles clearly cannot be the solution to these larger issues of global inequality, poverty, disease, and injustice. Nonetheless, he modestly (and convincingly) puts forward the idea that pedal power can (and already does) play a respectable role in not only transgression and resistance, but also reshaping and renewing our relationship with the earth, each other, technologies, and mobility. This larger global discussion is most fully fleshed out in the two concluding chapters, in which Furness offers us some heartening examples of ways in which bicycles and their users and proponents are changing landscapes and life chances for the better. One example of this is the efforts of the organization “Bikes Not Bombs,” that, among other global initiatives, started a bicycle shop in Managua, Nicaragua training local mechanics who would eventually operate the store independently. This met multiple aims of providing training, skills, and work to locals as well as transportation and seed money for local sustainable development projects.

Furness’ self-admonitions to be wary of overestimating the salubriousness of bicycles and their human companions stop him short of claiming their capabilities as a panacea for all ills. His argument would have been strengthened however, if he had given a bit more attention to other modes of transportation in conjunction with bicycle use, especially in the discussion of global solutions. Granted, this was a book about the bicycle and he did mention public transportation frequently. But “mention” is the operative word, and given that much of his critique of automobility centered on its privatized properties, the bicycle alone is really not a corrective for that. Related to this, although it is possible (and often done) for families to move about on bicycles, for mothers to cart babies on them, for caretakers to buy and haul small and large objects on or with them, these were aspects of bike use that were underexplored. The collective nature of child and elder care and the running of households that transportation is such a crucial piece of and that is not always adequately met by the bicycle, was not really addressed. Families (and sometimes individuals) need public transportation for a variety of reasons that might have been given more notice. The ways in which public transportation disrupts and challenges the appropriation of public space by the privatized automobile is also worthy of note. Pedestrians were likewise given sort shrift.

No book should be expected to do all things. Overall, this book brings our attention to an understudied and significant arena in the understanding of mobility and its possible futures. The copious and detailed (and fascinating) endnotes make it clear that this is a well researched work. Furness manages to pull in many weighty issues and handle them with respect, nuance, and gravity, while retaining an optimism uncharacteristic of similar sociological critiques of capitalism. His hope for the potential of bike culture to help us steer clear of disaster is just one of the many reasons that this is a valuable and delightful read.

Blue-Ribbon Babies and Labors of Love: Race, Class and Gender in U.S. Adoption Practice, by **Christine Ward Gailey**. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010. 185pp. \$50.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780292721272.

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Christine Gailey's study is a welcome addition to the body of literature on domestic and international adoption. The aim of her study is to analyze how social location informs adopters' understandings of adoptees and, accordingly, their approach to kinship formation. To achieve this goal, Gailey recruited a diverse group of participants. Interviews with single black and white female, middle class African American, white working class and lesbian adoptive parents yields a complex picture of U.S. adoption practice.

Not surprisingly, social location shaped the path to adoption. Gailey found that single black and white women and married middle class black and working class white participants were over represented in public adoption. Since the route to public adoption is through foster care, these groups were more likely to adopt older and/or "special needs" children. Single white professional women and working class white couples were also more likely to conduct domestic transracial adoptions. White professional couples pursued "healthy white babies" through private agencies or independent adoption. White professionals moved to international adoption when they failed to secure a "healthy white baby" and/or because they were uncomfortable with the trend toward open adoption in the United States.

The link between social location and views of birth mothers and children is an important feature of Gailey's study. This is illustrated in Chapter Five where Gailey examines how standpoint influenced approaches to international adoption among two groups of white professionals (employees of NGOs and white non-academic professional couples). While both groups engaged in a "rescue" narrative, this was especially strong among white professionals. In contrast to NGO employees, white professionals showed

little interest in learning about the child's family or country of origin. This group aimed to reproduce social privilege by offering a "deserving" child the resources necessary to assimilate to white, middle class standards. International adoption was viewed as a more promising path to class reproduction. As Gailey states, white married professionals adhered to the myth that "children from other countries come from "better stock" . . . and from people with "greater moral fiber" than the birth parents of those available for adoption in the United States" (p. 100). White professionals tended to blame biology and/or birth mothers if emotional, behavioral, or learning problems surfaced. NGO and domestic public adopters were more willing to alter their expectations and accommodate children's needs. Both of these groups, "assumed that even very young children can suffer loss, may still be attached to birth relatives, and may have developmental problems that might not reveal themselves at time of placement" (p. 103).

Gailey's concluding chapter on standpoint and kinship is one of her strongest. Her exploration of how diverse groups of adopters incorporated children into family systems reveals a great deal about privilege and oppression in the United States. Gailey invokes the term "substantiation" to signify "the process through which people enter and are embraced in a web of sharing, obligation, reciprocal claiming [e.g., downplaying biology and claiming the adoptee as a full fledged member of the family], and emotional and material support" (p. 117). Gailey considers this to be, "the most sustaining kind of kinship . . ." (p. 117). Lack of material resources or a history of discrimination among single mothers, working class couples, and racially subordinated groups resulted in qualitatively different approaches to kinship. These groups were more likely to achieve "substantiation" through an incorporation of adoptees into family and friendship networks. (Once they adopted, single professional mothers worked to build reciprocal friendship and fictive kinship networks.) In contrast, white professionals adhered to what Gailey calls an exclusive, contractual view of family. White professional couples relied less on family and friends and were more likely to utilize the services of paid

professionals (e.g., nannies). Moreover, over time all of the adoptive parents in the study expressed some tendency to link love and acceptance to parental expectations, but this tendency was especially strong among white professional couples. For this group, “. . . family bonds were contingent upon performance that approached parental expectations” (p. 136).

Gailey does not fail to weigh the strengths of working class approaches to kinship against an adherence to an authoritarian parenting style which was embraced by some, but not all, of the working class parents in her study. While Gailey seems uneasy about the use of corporal punishment, she recognizes that some features of an authoritarian style can be beneficial in some cases. As Gailey notes, clear boundaries and rules inculcated feelings of safety among adoptees who had a history of disruption and abuse.

Although Gailey’s work has much to recommend it, there are some shortcomings. Gailey attempts to cover a lot of territory in a short space. For instance, the diversity of Gailey’s sample is both a strength and weakness of the study. At times, findings seem to revert to a dualistic comparison between white privileged professionals and “other” adopters. The adoption narratives of some subordinate groups seem overshadowed by other groups. This book would benefit from a fuller exploration of the nuanced differences among subordinate groups. For example, I wanted to hear more about the influence of class on African American adopters. Were constructions of single black mothers expressed in middle class African American adoption stories? What about lesbian adopters? How did homophobia shape extended family relations in the post-adoption phase?

Gailey’s rigorous theoretical analysis is also a strength and weakness of this book. For instance, Gailey’s examination of the impact of patriarchy on welfare reform policy and foster care is exemplary. In addition, she enhances our knowledge of the role of racism and patriarchy in structuring adoption policies that further gender violence. However, at times, participants are drowned out by the theoretical discussion. Gailey’s work would be richer if she allowed the theory to emerge from, rather than being laid over, the voice of participants. Despite these

shortcomings, this is a worthy read for students and scholars of race, class, gender and/or family.

Electing Chávez: The Business of Anti-Neoliberal Politics in Venezuela, by **Leslie C. Gates**. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010. 195pp. \$24.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780822960645.

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Leslie Gates’ book contributes to the discussion of how Hugo Chávez, a left-leaning, anti-neoliberal, political outsider opposed by the business community, managed to win the Presidential election in Venezuela in 1998. She breaks the puzzle down into two questions: Why did people vote for him? And why did a subset of the business community support his campaign? She emphasizes the role anti-business sentiment played in the election of Chávez. She argues that, in Venezuela, business was both dependent on the state as is common in petrostates and politically visible. Business leaders held prominent positions in government and were implicated in a number of corruption scandals, which discredited business. In addition, business’ dependency on the state, coupled with its political visibility, also produced intra-elite conflict. Certain political leaders had partnered with particular business leaders, excluding others. Those business elite who believed that they would be harmed if Chávez’s competitor were elected supported Chávez even though his platform suggested that he would not pursue policies advantageous to business more generally.

To answer her two questions, Gates used a mixed-methods approach. She undertook a statistical analysis of opinion poll data taken before the 1998 election. She also conducted interviews with business elites, insiders from Chávez’s 1998 presidential campaign and experts on Venezuelan corruption. In addition, she assembled a list of all the corruption scandals that occurred in Venezuela during the period from 1959 to 1998 and coded the scandals based on whether business elites were involved. By compiling

political biographies of cabinet members and federal legislators, she determined who among these actors could be considered "businocrats," or business executives who had become state bureaucrats.

Gates refocuses attention to the role played by anti-business sentiment. Her argument draws on three existing explanations of why Chávez won—the corruption thesis, the social polarization thesis, and the failed institutions thesis—but provides a twist to each. She agrees that frustration with corruption played an important role in securing Chávez's victory, but adds that corruption undermined the public's confidence in the business community more generally. Her findings also support the social polarization thesis that increasing inequality and the failure of political institutions to address this played a role in the election of Chávez. She found that lower-income Venezuelans were more likely to support Chávez, but Chávez supporters were not more likely to be anti-neoliberal or in favor of state intervention than people who supported other candidates. She agrees with the failed institutions thesis, that people who were dissatisfied with the existing political institutions were more likely to vote for Chávez, but adds that it was not just dissatisfaction with these institutions because of their exclusionary nature, but also because business actors were included in prominent government positions. The latter produced an anti-business sentiment on top of the existing anti-political establishment sentiment. In other words, Chávez won support from voters who were anti-business as a result of the previous high profile role of business in corruption scandals.

The most engaging section of the book was when she described the corruption scandals that occurred in Venezuela and the political-business alliances during the 1994 bank crisis. Her description of a few emblematic corruption cases provided a more tangible illustration of the nature of Venezuelan politics in this era. Through Gates' account of the bank crisis in 1994, the reader is able to visualize the political dynamics that existed in Venezuela and the role financial actors played. She describes particular alliances between members of the financial sector and political parties that resulted in some business actors benefiting and others suffering significant

losses. This resulted in intra-elite conflict. Her account helps the reader to understand better the complexities of Venezuelan politics prior to the election of Chávez.

Gates' book, however, would have benefited from more qualitative interviews to flesh out the statistical relationships she identifies through her quantitative analysis. In the first half of her book, which focuses on answering the question of why people voted for Chávez as opposed to other political outsiders, she selected questions from an opinion poll which she felt measured the potential factors underlying the decision to vote for Chávez. Her quantitative analysis shows how Chávez supporters were similar to and different from other voters. Her conclusions, however, would have been strengthened by also asking Chávez voters what, in their opinion, was different about Chávez and what was the most important factor that underlay their decision to vote for him. Through the questions she asked, she could have also tested her hypothesis that it was anti-business sentiment. Combining her statistical analysis of poll data with interviews with Chávez supporters would have strengthened her argument, as well as provided a fuller and more engaging narrative about what happened in the 1990s in Venezuela.

The section of the book in which she examines why some business elites decided to support financially Chávez's campaign could also have been bolstered by more interview data. She interviewed three out of twenty-eight "elite outliers." Had she interviewed more and heard, in their own words, why they decided to back Chávez, this section of the book would have been less speculative and more persuasive.

Gates' book addresses an interesting phenomenon in Latin America—the election of a number of left-leaning leaders throughout the hemisphere. In her attempt to understand why Chávez was elected, she draws attention to the role that intra-elite conflict can play. She reminds us that we should not assume the elite are always a cohesive, unified group, but that we should examine how conflicts within this group can lead to unexpected political outcomes. While one might anticipate widespread business opposition to a candidate like Hugo Chávez, there may exist political dynamics that lead a subset of the

business community to split off and support a candidate who appears to have an agenda contrary to their interests.

The Prestige Squeeze: Occupational Prestige in Canada Since 1965, by **John Goyder**. Montreal, CAN: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009. 235pp. \$34.95 paper. ISBN: 9780773536111.

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John Goyder reports dramatic changes in prestige scores of occupations over the past 40 years in Canada, and describes how these changes challenge some of the most established tenants of earlier sociological research on occupational prestige and stratification in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The book is based primarily on the comparative analysis of the findings of a 2005 survey of occupational prestige that replicates the landmark 1965 Pineo and Porter survey of occupational prestige in Canada. Analysis of this new survey data reveals fundamental and unexpected shifts in occupational prestige scores over the past 40 years, including a substantial inflationary trend of prestige scores assigned to occupations overall—averaging 12 points on a 100-point scale across 179 occupational titles—as well as a particularly large increase in the average ratings of prestige for occupations in the trades as well as helping, caring, and other occupations.

The book begins with a detailed discussion of the evolution of and key debates in the occupational prestige literature. Unsurprisingly as the economies of Canada and the United States shifted away from agriculture to manufacturing and now the service sector, the number of titles in farming as well as their associated prestige decreased. Deskilling has resulted in a decline in the average prestige scores of telephone operators, for example, while other occupations declined in prestige as a result of bad press and outrage over misdeeds, such as the clergy, or unpopularity, such as telemarketers, who are only ranked above those living on social assistance. Yet despite some of these expected changes to

occupational prestige scores over time, many of the main findings presented are both surprising and somewhat counterintuitive. While one might predict growing prestige scores for workers in the new knowledge economy over this period, mirroring the economic shifts toward this sector, the actual greatest increases in average prestige are for occupations in the trades, such as construction laborers, and even lower-tier service sector occupations including waitresses and restaurant cooks, which were ranked very low on average by respondents in the 1965 survey. The greatest increase in prestige scores was for childcare providers (an occupation that used to be called “professional babysitters”), who now rank above the occupation Member of the Canadian Senate or House of Commons (whose prestige scores experienced the greatest decline over this period). Overall, Goyder argues that the dramatic inflation of previously low-ranked jobs reflects a squeeze in the earlier dispersion of prestige scores assigned to occupations in the 1965 survey.

Goyder demonstrates that it is the increased prestige scores for previously lowly ranked occupations that explain the compression of prestige scores in the more recent survey. While highly educated respondents tend to rank what are considered lower-skill occupations with very low scores, less-educated respondents now rank lower-skill occupations more highly than in the 1965 survey, and devalue other occupations requiring extensive qualifications. Another explanation is that people today are also ranking their own occupations, and those similar to it, higher than in the previous era, and higher than other occupations that used to be considered as having similar levels of prestige.

While the book carefully documents the trends in both upward inflation of prestige scoring, and the growing “squeeze” or rapidly diminishing dispersion of scores across different occupations over time, the explanations for this marked over-time trend remain somewhat more speculative, and open to debate. Some of the greatest gains were in the caring / protecting professions, including firefighters, nurses, and police officers, which Goyder argues might reflect the greater risk-aversity of the modern era, especially post 9/11. Some qualitative,

open-ended data are used to provide insights into why people ranked some of these groups the way they did. Provocatively, Goyder argues that the macro over-time shifts in prestige scores represent growing individualism and multiculturalism in a postindustrial and postmodern era. This is where Goyder's survey opens up one possible avenue for cross-national comparison. As the Pineo and Porter study mirrored a famous U.S. occupational prestige study, a follow-up based on U.S. data could be very useful for helping understand these trends. Goyder, in fact, explicitly calls for a parallel analysis based on U.S. data, which would contribute to the understanding of the underlying mechanisms of this trend. He also calls for more research on the relationship between prestige and income, which would be an important contribution to stratification research. The book leaves us with an important question: Does the prestige squeeze mean that we will see an increase in the relative wages of those in lower-tier caring professions, such as child care?

The Prestige Squeeze presents the data and analysis in a thorough and historically grounded fashion, with detailed methodological background and discussion. For those scholars interested in stratification research, the book provides a full discussion of sociological history in this field and a concrete empirical contribution that reflects a career-long focus on the topic of occupational prestige scores. I recommend it for scholars and advanced graduate students interested in occupational prestige and social stratification.

Diagnoses, Therapy, and Evidence: Conundrums in Modern American Medicine, by **Gerald N. Grob** and **Allan V. Horwitz**. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010. 253pp. \$26.95 paper. ISBN: 9780813546728.

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Reading Gerald Grob and Allan Horwitz's quietly phrased but powerfully argued study of evidence in contemporary medical

diagnosis and treatment, I felt less badly about not having a doctor right now. Grob and Horwitz are certainly not debunking medicine as a whole, but they make painfully clear the limits of what physicians know and the lack of evidence for much of what physicians do. The deeper issue is what counts as evidence, and what evidence ought to count when medicine intervenes.

Their thesis is simply stated: "Etiological theories that have little or no basis in fact, diagnoses that lack reliability or validity, and therapies whose efficacy is at best problematic and at worst dangerous are all too common" (pp. 31–32). That thesis is supported by six case studies: peptic ulcers, tonsillectomy, coronary heart disease (CHD) and cancer, anxiety disorders, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorders. Each of these studies raises particular issues of why evidence of etiological validity or treatment efficacy is difficult to obtain, and in the absence of evidence, what the current version of etiology and treatment does for whom. Their arguments are both historical—when a condition was taken seriously or not, how it has been variously understood and treated—and epidemiological, showing how differing prevalence rates fail to confirm either etiological theories or treatment efficacy.

The case of peptic ulcers illustrates the rivalry between medical specialists. Surgeons developed a succession of operations to treat ulcers, each failure interpreted as a problem of faulty technique. "Inertia, combined with the fact that those who entered surgical specialties were predisposed to employ their skills, combined to reinforce the belief in the superiority of surgical treatment" (p. 39). Surgical treatment is eventually supplanted by pharmaceutical management, yet the narrative is less one of medical progress than of on-going shifts in "prevailing paradigms, ideological beliefs, and personal convictions" (p. 56). During the years of surgical dominance in treatment, physicians lacked a concept of double-blind randomized controlled studies (RCT). "Yet," the authors observe, "the application of RCTs to surgical therapies was and is often problematic" (p. 37). The ethics of subjecting a control group to a "sham operation" are troublesome (although this has been done to evaluate knee surgery), and the "gold standard" for

measuring therapeutic efficacy often “has significant problems” (p. 37).

The waxing and waning of tonsillectomy raises the issue of medical theory pushing a treatment intervention which then gains public, or in this instance, parental enthusiasm. “Changes in medical practice often do not follow new findings or evidence” (p. 70); instead, the history of tonsillectomy suggests the generalization that physicians “practiced as they had been taught” (p. 75). When tonsillectomy rates did decline, Grob and Horwitz emphasize this was “not due to conclusive evidence” of benefit (p. 78). “Perhaps the most important elements in reducing tonsillectomies were the change in specialty training and practice and a growing skepticism in medical school departments of pediatrics about the efficacy of the surgery” (p. 79). Again, RCTs have significant methodological problems and have yielded ambiguous results.

CHD and cancer are discussed in a single chapter because each exemplifies the importance attributed to risk factors in etiological theory and public-health practice. The argument here is primarily epidemiological, showing that changes in disease rates do not conform to what the risk factors would predict. “The problem is that risk factors are at best associations and do not necessarily explain changes in epidemiological patterns At best, cohort analysis can generate hypotheses, but say nothing about causation” (p. 92). The example of cholesterol as a risk factor for CHD may be most relevant to readers. As often, physicians’ capacity to offer treatment, in this case pharmaceutical, seems to drive both theory and practice. One of Grob and Horwitz’s most forcefully worded arguments is that “the availability of statins was accompanied by the creation of a new disease category. Elevated cholesterol, however, is a disorder of pure number, and the number is largely a function of a negotiating process between pharmaceutical companies and consensus committees that set numbers, often in an arbitrary manner” (p. 93). Which takes me back to my lack of guilt for not having a physician testing my risk factors.

The chapters on mental health disorders all focus on the evolution of the American Psychiatric Association’s Diagnostic and Statistical Manual and its shift from practice based

on psychoanalytic theory to emphasis on biological etiology and treatment by psychopharmacology. The DSM is constructed to meet psychiatry’s need for specific diagnoses, which Grob and Horwitz argue are necessary for “professional authority, legitimate treatments, and monetary reimbursement” (p. 111). But these needs are equally those of the pharmaceutical industry. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration “required that any new medication must have demonstrated efficacy with a specific type of illness; drugs that worked nonspecifically could not be put on the market” (p. 136). The diagnostic system is thus driven by the need to market pharmaceuticals. In another strong assertion, the authors argue: “The current diagnostic system creates the illusion of specificity from a morass of undifferentiated complaints” (p. 138). At worst, the pharmaceutical tail wags the diagnostic dog; for example: “the labeling of the SSRIs as ‘anti-depressants’ rather than ‘anti-anxiety’ drugs . . . led physicians to be more likely to call the conditions they treated ‘depression’ as opposed to ‘anxiety’” (p. 139).

Grob and Horwitz’s exposition is a model of social scientific argument. Their work makes no specific reference to studies of science and technology, but it certainly contributes to that literature. Their argument has equally significant implications for policy studies, given the enormous costs of questionable testing and treatment. Just as this review only touches the surface of the authors’ more quotable arguments, so the book opens up a more expansive agenda than it attempts to resolve. In particular, can sociologists contribute to the problem of what acceptable evidence ought to be, both in diagnosis and treatment intervention? Or, if there never can be a “gold standard,” how can medicine combine reflexive honesty about the limitations of its knowledge with cultural legitimacy? Grob and Horwitz write for their colleagues, but this book would make provocative reading in both undergraduate and graduate courses on sociology of medicine and applied science.

Marketing Dreams, Manufacturing Heroes: The Transnational Labor Brokering of Filipino Workers, by **Anna Romina Guevarra**. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010. 251pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780813546346.

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The Philippines is a major player in international migration. In 2007, almost 10 percent of the Philippine population lived abroad and approximately 4 million were contract workers. Although the Philippines is not unique in supplying labor overseas, its highly institutionalized labor-export process, and the occupational diversity of its overseas labor force distinguish it from other labor-exporting countries in the new millennium, prompting Philippine President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo to proclaim in 2002 that “the work and reputation of the overseas Filipinos confirm to the world that indeed, the Philippines is the home of the Great Filipino Worker.” In *Marketing Dreams, Manufacturing Heroes*, Anna Romina Guevarra illuminates and critically examines how the labor-brokering process plays a central role in the production of Filipino workers for a global economy.

According to Guevarra, the concept of the “Great Filipino Worker” is best understood as a complex social imaginary. Focusing on Filipino nurses and domestic workers who constitute a bulk of the Philippines’ overseas workforce, her transnational, ethnographic study pays close attention to how this social imaginary is carefully constructed by the Philippine state and private Philippine labor recruitment agencies. Guevarra rejects the essentialist idea that the Philippines is simply a “natural” source of ideal labor. Rather, she argues that the labor-brokering process actively and creatively produces “the Great Filipino Worker” by representing Filipinos as ideal global labor commodities to overseas employers, and by popularizing overseas employment as the ideal opportunity to Filipinos in the Philippines.

Marketing Dreams, Manufacturing Heroes is a highly original and well-researched book that makes three major significant

contributions to the scholarly literature on contemporary international labor migration. First, it illustrates concretely how Philippine overseas labor intensified in the early years of the new millennium. Guevarra conducted in-depth interviews with labor brokers—agency owners, recruitment specialists, and staff—from six employment agencies in the Philippines as well as state officials from the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas. She also engaged in participant observation of pre-departure orientations provided by private agencies and the state, and in textual analysis of their print ads, websites, and brochures related to overseas employment. Her astute analysis of their complementary as well as competitive practices makes visible the intricate web of institutional networks that inspire, enable, and facilitate Philippine international labor migration. Although the development of a labor export economy began in the 1970s as a temporary measure, Philippine state and private agencies increasingly institutionalized and popularized overseas employment over time. Today, their ubiquitous media programming and pre-employment orientation seminars target even Filipino elementary and high school students.

Second, the book skillfully analyzes how the labor-brokering process is highly gendered as well as racialized. In addition to care work being feminized labor performed primarily by women, Guevarra observes how the Philippine state perpetuates and promotes the notion that the social reproduction of Filipino families is the women’s sole responsibility. Through its mandatory pre-departure orientations for overseas workers, for example, Philippine state labor brokers encourage women workers, unlike men, to have an economically competitive attitude while also maintaining an image of femininity and motherhood. Furthermore, labor brokers in the private sector promote Filipina workers as ideal care workers by publicizing their “added export value” to overseas employers. This “added export value” attempts to distinguish Filipina labor from that of Canadian nurses or Indonesian domestic workers, a purported advantage

that, Guevarra argues, promotes a racialized form of Filipina docility.

Finally, the book calls for a more critical understanding of the Philippines' labor export economy. Although the Philippines continues to be touted as a cutting-edge economic model for other developing and labor-exporting nations, Guevarra emphasizes throughout her study that these celebratory depictions mask the inability of the Philippine state to sustain a local economy that can provide a living wage to its citizens. The final two chapters of her book feature in-depth interviews Guevarra conducted with two groups of recently recruited Filipino nurses in Texas and Arizona. While many of these nurses achieve socio-economic mobility through many hours of hard labor, their stories also reveal disappointment and estrangement. Ironically, these Filipino nurses chased their American dreams to discover that "the good life" was in the Philippines. They long to return home.

Marketing Dreams, Manufacturing Heroes will be of great interest to scholars and students of international labor migration, gender and women's studies, and Philippine and Asian American Studies. It should also be read by policy makers who are interested in the ethical recruitment and employment of foreign workers.

Tough Choices: Bearing an Illegitimate Child in Contemporary Japan, by **Ekaterina Hertog**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009. 228pp. \$55.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780804761291.

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The "unique" quality of Japanese society remains a persistent postwar stereotype. This idea, regularly offered in popular media and by non-specialists, suggests that social patterns in Japan are unusual to such an extent that Japanese society is "uniquely unique"—different even in the way it is different. Understanding such claims as incorrect, hyperbolic, and exoticizing has become central to contemporary Japanese studies, and it is with such awareness that Ekaterina

Hertog begins her discussion of extra-marital childbirth in contemporary Japan.

Such an awareness is necessary because Japanese patterns of extra-marital childbirth have been persistently minuscule compared with the rates of other industrialized nations. While American and Northern European rates of non-marital childbirth are now between one-third and one-half of all births, just 2 percent of Japanese babies are born to unmarried women. Moreover, this rate is striking even compared to other changes in Japanese society: despite a significant rise in age at first marriage, a falling birth rate, a steadily rising divorce rate and myriad other changes to family norms, the extra-marital birth rate has been consistently low throughout the postwar decades. Hertog analyzes why, in light of such other major changes in family forms, Japanese women remain incredibly reluctant to give birth outside of marriage.

Hertog explains that this preference persists because of the intersection of particular idealizations of the family form and maternal responsibility for minimizing risks in children's lives. Despite family changes, Japanese social norms continue to represent gendered role division as necessary to raise healthy children—in this model, not only are both a father and mother required to raise well-adjusted children, but having a husband enables a woman to be the best kind of mother. In this idealization, men are fundamental to a child for two reasons, both to fulfill their fatherly duties and facilitate their wife's maternal skills. Simply put, in this cultural understanding, even the best mother would be better with a husband.

Such a dynamic might be enough to explain how few unmarried women choose to give birth, but Hertog suggests there is a second element in common reasoning. In popular idioms, Japanese mothers are held responsible for problems their children face and a successful mother must reduce the risk of such difficulties as much as possible. Giving birth to an illegitimate child creates a serious social disability for the child, and thus is evidence, in and of itself, of failed maternal ability. In this logic, a good mother would never put her child in a situation without a father; moreover, the possible effects of this risk might not be visible for many years.

The deleterious results of being raised without a father might not be visible until the child grows up and therefore the mother cannot ever really be sure that she mitigated all the possible dangers.

Given these cultural logics, then, when women try not to give birth outside of marriage, they are making responsible decisions. These choices—the titular tough choices—are often between abortion, shotgun weddings, and extra-marital childbirth, with the vast majority of Japanese women choosing one of the first two options. Hertog cites literature that labels a substantial minority of contemporary Japanese brides as pregnant and such shotgun marriages are, in common Japanese understandings, the most responsible thing to do. Even a bad marriage that ends quickly in divorce means that the parents tried to make it work. Although there has been much work about Japanese attitudes accepting abortion, American readers might be surprised to read that these culture logics suggest that having an abortion is more morally correct than giving birth outside of marriage. In common Japanese perceptions about what is required to raise a healthy child and to be a responsible mother, it is more responsible to abort a fetus than to raise an illegitimate child.

Throughout her analysis, Hertog contrasts the consistently low rate of extra-marital births with the rising divorce rate. She uses this comparison to rightfully dismiss standard explanations for the consistently low extra-marital birth rate. While this birth rate has remained below 3 percent of all births in Japan, the divorce rate has been steadily increasing for most of the postwar period. Divorce now ends about 30 percent of marriages and 60 percent of those include minor children. Divorced single mothers face many experiences similar to those of never-married single mothers—for instance, a labor market that discriminates against women who want full-time work, and a legal system that stigmatizes divorce and illegitimacy. Because the divorce rate is increasing, these patterns of discrimination against and structural difficulties for single mothers cannot fully explain the consistently low numbers of women who decide to give birth outside of marriage. Hertog spends early chapters in this book articulating and dismissing these other possible explanations for the low rate of illegitimacy.

This book provides a thoughtful analysis of a phenomenon that has long been used as evidence of Japan's extreme difference. Although Japan's extra-marital birthrate is much lower than other industrialized nations, Hertog convincingly attributes it to social norms about maternity, families, and gendered roles, rather than legal or financial motivations. The research is based on qualitative interviews with unmarried mothers, divorced mothers, and never-married women, as well as media and statistical analysis. It does not include interviews with men or fathers, and though this volume can stand solidly with only female perspectives, it suggests broader future research. Readers with interest in contemporary Japan, family and gender studies, and public health will surely find it a welcomed addition to the literature.

Raising the Global Floor: Dismantling the Myth that We Can't Afford Good Working Conditions for Everyone, by **Jody Heymann** and **Alison Earle**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. 240pp. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780804768900.

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The Project on Global Working Families (<http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/globalworkingfamilies/index.html>), Jody Heymann and Alison Earle's massive research effort to understand the state of the world's working families, has been an invaluable resource for social scientists, policy-makers, and publics in many countries. *Raising the Global Floor: Dismantling the Myth that we Can't Afford Good Working Conditions for Everyone* represents the most recent installment in these researchers' decade-long examination of work and family life across the globe. Data-gathering for its own sake is not the authors' ultimate goal, but as this book (and their previous research) argues, providing reliable, comprehensive, and comparative information on families and work is an essential first step in any attempt to improve the global health of working parents and their children, reduce poverty, and eliminate inequalities.

In *Raising the Global Floor* the authors turn their attention to working conditions and the laws that regulate them. As their starting point, Heymann and Earle note a worldwide concern in the twentieth century with human rights, and moves by national and international bodies to promote equity in the political and civil arenas. Despite these expressions of concern, however, we have little real knowledge of countries' laws and public policies, nor do we know much about their relative effectiveness in promoting fairness, equity, and opportunity. As Heymann and Earle observe: "At a time when computer search engines can immediately locate a country's GDP, it is far more difficult to find out how many and which countries have effectively ensured basic rights at work; which nations have genuinely guaranteed equal rights across race, ethnicity, and gender, and religion; or how accessible and affordable is quality education—a critical foundation for equal opportunity" (p. x). Acknowledging that having laws and policies on the books does not guarantee their implementation or enforcement, Heymann and Earle argue persuasively that legislation matters nevertheless.

After convincing readers that their focus is important, the authors debate the relationship between humane working conditions—established by law and part of a broader commitment to equity and social welfare—and economic growth. Can countries that treat working families well by legislating such policies as paid leaves for mothers and fathers, paid sick leave, and limits on mandatory overtime, be competitive in the world economy? As Heymann and Earle recognize, answering this question in the affirmative is critical in enlisting support for a global effort to improve working conditions; and the bulk of the book thus is aimed at making this point and challenging other, affordability-related objections to better treatment for workers.

Raising the Global Floor is an academic book, but is not written to appeal to a scholarly audience of specialists. Those interested in understanding the nuances of the data or details of the authors' macro-economic analyses of the effects of social welfare legislation on unemployment rates will find much of this information in the appendix or notes. Those looking for a full-blown theoretical

justification for attending to legislation and policy over other societal characteristics will be disappointed. Instead, the book's main goal is to persuade its audience that good working conditions make sense—not just for Scandinavia and the "advanced economies," but for countries like Mexico and Cambodia, and for Barbados and Estonia.

To make their case Heymann and Earle provide a meticulous assessment of laws and policies governing workers and working conditions in countries across the globe. As one part of their effort to demonstrate that policies vary widely in their scope and approach—and that this variability cannot be easily explained by countries' levels of income and wealth—the authors invite readers to take a test involving matching a country with a particular policy. Beyond knowing that in the case of the United States the correct answer was often "none," I was stumped most of the time. This simple exercise is effective in driving home the authors' point that humane working conditions should not be viewed as a luxury that only wealthy countries can afford. By eschewing sophisticated regression models in favor of letting readers test their own understanding of countries' laws and policies regarding worker treatment, readers are asked to draw their conclusions, and the authors trust that common sense and decency will prevail.

Although *Raising the Global Floor* offers frequent reminders of just how far the United States lags behind other countries in humane treatment of workers, the book's broader point is that much more change is needed worldwide on this issue. Even countries with generous policies could do better, and better enforcement of labor laws is also critical. In the latter chapters the authors present a roadmap for this change. Particularly helpful here is their assessment of the global data. This involves not only an analysis of which policies are most available and which most lacking, but also an attempt to identify which work-related policies seem to make the most difference in improving the overall health and well-being of workers, their families, and societies.

Most sociologists probably do not need to be convinced about the value of good working conditions or the desirability of

policies that guarantee the humane treatment of workers. Nevertheless, sociologists—especially those interested in gender, work, and family—will find this book an invaluable resource. Cross-national research has become increasingly important in understanding gender inequality and its links to work and family policies, but we know much more about these issues in advanced economies than the rest of the world. With its numerous world maps depicting the availability of various work-related policies, *Raising the Global Floor* provides a valuable “big picture” look at the global landscape. (The maps alone are a reason to buy this book.) Sociologists take pride in their ability to “drill down,” to make sense of trends and relationships, but there is also something to be gained in a wide view. By reminding us that working conditions shape the quality of life for over three billion adults worldwide, *Raising the Global Floor* makes that point extremely well.

Second Promised Land: Migration to Alberta and the Transformation of Canadian Society, by **Harry H. Hiller**. Montreal, CAN: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009. 512pp. \$29.95 paper. ISBN: 9780773535268.

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Second Promised Land has a modest billing: “an important contribution to migration literature.” It is much more. University of Calgary sociologist Harry Hiller has written a detailed, nuanced, empirically exacting study guided by a multidisciplinary methodology. *Second Promised Land* has problems, but it is one of the “must read” books of Canadian social science. Hiller’s study explores Canadian internal—that is, inter-provincial—migration, looking at the factors drawing people to Alberta, a western province that is the centre of Canada’s massive oil industry. Through fifteen chapters, a preface, conclusion, and a long methodological and statistical appendix, Hiller charts the history of Canadian western migration, the demographic and economic growth of Alberta, the shifting political economy of

Canadian federalism and, most expansively, the dynamics of movement to Alberta over the last decade. Hiller’s scholarship is transparent. His careful methodological explanations, for example, allow readers to assess the heuristic and empirical basis on which his conclusions rest.

Hiller’s key insights are twofold, with one related to the other. First, *Second Promised Land* is about social and political-economic change. More specifically, it is about the rise of what other scholars have called the “new west” and its implications for Canadian federalism and demographics. Regional discontent is nothing new in Canada. Indeed, old-style “western alienation” based in the prairie agricultural economy was a defining feature of twentieth-century Canada. The new west is different. It is characterized by the growth of large cities (Calgary and Edmonton), the movement of corporate head offices from the Pacific or Central Canada, shifting regional metropolises, and rural depopulation. Where Winnipeg once served as the gateway to the prairies and its economic center, Calgary—with its oil industry and head offices migrated from other locations—is the power center of the new west. If traditional modes of protest were characterized by populism; neo-liberalism is the hallmark of the new. In effect, Hiller argues, Canada is in transition: the west is no longer a disaffected hinterland but a new regional center of political and economic power in its own right. He does not say this, but his assessment helps explain the shifting dynamics of Canadian politics, particularly the shift from central Canadian-based liberalism to an Americanesque “neo-conservatism” rooted intellectually and politically in Calgary. The rise of the new west reorganized the fault lines of Canadian politics. Demographically, Alberta’s powerhouse economy drew Canadians from every region of the country, expanding cities and the provincial population.

Second, Canadian public discourse usually treats internal migration as an economic matter: people move from regions of low to high employment. Hiller’s study shows not that this conclusion is false, but simplistic. It is the product of a methodological bias of macro-level data analysis that infers motivation from behavior. Micro-level data (specifically

personal interviews) show a more complex picture. People move across provincial boundaries for a range of reasons: family connections, a xenophobic flight from regions that draw international immigrants, youthful adventurism, and politics. The right-wing pro-business character of Albertan politics, for example, attracts those who are not enamored of the more centrist or left wing politics of other provinces. The most important motivation is social marginalization. Macro-level analysis, Hiller argues, disguises an important consideration: not everyone migrates. The differences between those who do and those who do not relates to one's sense of their position in their home community. Lack of employment is a key cause of marginalization, but others—frustration with family, a sense of stultification, blocked career prospects, differing social or political values—are also present. Inter-provincial migration is not simply an employment strategy. It is a social strategy designed to reconstruct status, to de-marginalize, as it were. The same consideration works in reverse. Migration becomes a success and hence permanent to the degree that this strategy succeeds. Those for whom it does not work are almost pre-determined to become part of a return migration wave at some point in the future.

The only time Hiller runs into problems is when he breaks from his carefully considered methodology and narrative. His discussion of migrant "encounters" with Alberta is the key example. In this chapter he contrasts migrants views of Alberta with those of their province of origin, but treats these views as if they were fact. Originating communities are described as plagued by employment nepotism, culturally "pessimistic," risk adverse, and politically "apathetic." One can easily agree that marginalized individuals might view their communities in this way, but is this actually the case? Are Atlantic Canadians (a source of Albertan migrants), any more politically apathetic than Albertans? On the basis of his interviews, Hiller suggests that this is the case. But, those interviews cannot provide evidence for this conclusion because they are necessarily the perception of a select group. Other sources of data—say, voter turnout rates, which do tell a different story—would be needed to make this case. It is odd that such a careful scholar did not

make use of this source and drew conclusions from, at best, a very tentative evidentiary base. Using a different data source would only add to Hiller's analysis. For example, it would have helped to separate out migrant perceptions and realities.

Second Promised Land is scholarship; it was not written to influence policy but it should be required reading for civil servants mandated to address internal migration. In the last decade, politicians in provinces experiencing population losses have promised policies to maintain the population base. By and large, these focus on job creation. Hiller's study suggests that this approach will have little effect since employment is not, in-and-of-itself, the key to leaving home. Counter-acting out-migration will be much more difficult because it will run against the grain of changes in national political economy and community dynamics, both of which are beyond the ability of provinces to control. One should not, of course, become a fatalist but good scholarship should give us reason to question public policy. *Second Promised Land* is good scholarship.

Online a Lot of the Time: Ritual, Fetish, Sign, by **Ken Hillis**. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 316pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780822344483.

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Ken Hillis' *Online a Lot of the Time* is not the sort of book that many sociologists would pick off the bookstore shelf. To begin with, it is about the Internet. Furthermore, it is about interactions that take place exclusively online. Beneath this Internet Studies surface, however, lies a strong contribution to the sociological study of communications technologies: the location of online interactions within broader socio-historical context and cultural theory.

Sociologists have often dismissed online interactions as meaningless; even though he is not explicitly writing for a sociological audience, Hillis addresses this very critique. Rather than treating Internet interactions and virtual embodiment as something

that arose within the last few decades, Hillis explores the ties between current trends in virtual interaction and a wide variety of foregoing cultural and theoretical moments. With this exhaustive review of the precursors to this moment of the fetishized sign/body, Hillis presents a compelling argument that Internet interaction did not spring fully formed from the head of DARPA-net. This comprehensive review turns out to be both the book's strength and its weakness.

Hillis begins his examination of the sign/body with theories related to ritual, showing how the Internet and online interactions can be viewed through that lens. He broadens the conventional association of ritual with religion, including rituals of media and transmission, coming eventually to ritualized play and performance as it occurs in the social sphere of online interactions. The process of transmitting the sign/body is ritualized and, like religious rituals, an individual's participation in online interactions is distinct from their offline everyday life but still a part of it. Having established the significance of rituals surrounding online interactions, Hillis expands his focus to the fetish. Most often, a fetish is a material object, visible to but separated from the individual desiring it. Hillis shows that representations can also be fetishized, as can means of communication. Following that logic, the virtual space created by webcam communications and the representation of the body within that space can also be fetishized—hence the term “teletetish.”

Having shown that online interaction is ritualized and that ideas (signs) can be fetishized, Hillis introduces the concept of the avatar. Drawing on the work of Charles Sanders Peirce, he shows that avatars are signs of the body, which can also be ritualized and fetishized. As a sign/body, the avatar is a flexible extension of the body with a very long history. It would be expected for Hillis to trace his treatment of avatars back to early online interactive environments like multi-user domains (MUDs); it would not be a huge stretch for him to relate avatars as they exist today to Dungeons and Dragons (which inspired many early interactive Internet sites). It is, however, outside the norm for

him to draw connections between the sign/body as it exists in the twenty-first century and the nineteenth century literary technique known as “free indirect discourse” in which authors shifted seamlessly between third-person perspective and descriptions of internal thought processes. This, Hillis suggests, is very similar to what participants in multi-user virtual environments (MUVEs) do as they either describe their avatar's actions in the third person or use third-person-style commands to “drive” the avatar around the virtual space. Furthermore, telepresence is at its very core a liminal space; the actor is neither fully present in the virtual world nor in the physical one.

All of the above themes come together in the final chapter of the book, as Hillis considers the concepts of telepresence and the teletetish. Focusing on gay men who operate webcam sites, he points out that the webcam operator “is neither subject nor object, sender nor receiver, sign nor body, but, synechistically, he is all of these at once” (p. 221). This liminal existence is the telepresence, and that very liminality is what allows the telepresent body to be fetishized, to become a teletetish. Hillis goes on to point out that once a fetish loses its magical power, it is discarded; similarly, identity (both online and offline) must be constantly negotiated and kept fresh and relevant.

It is very hard to separate the strengths and weaknesses of this book, because they really are one and the same. *Online a Lot of the Time* is nothing if not comprehensive. Hillis draws convincing connections between the online social environment and a wide variety of other theoretical, cultural, and historical trends. The progression from ritual to fetish to sign and finally to the connections between those three is logical and clearly laid out, and Hillis brings together bodies of thought that might otherwise never have been considered together. At the same time, though, this comprehensiveness is overwhelming. While the introduction suggests that Hillis' research on multi-user virtual environments will play a large role in the shape of the book, in the end this is more a theoretical work than an empirical one. Because of this, *Online a Lot of the Time* will hold the most interest for scholars focusing on cultural studies and the theory of new

media. For those scholars, though, it is a strong contribution to the theory of online life.

Critical Intersex, edited by **Morgan Holmes**. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009. 257pp. \$99.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754673118.

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My heart sank as I read the prefatory material for this book, which is part of a series called "Queer Interventions." Leaden prose, invocations of the deities of queer theory and deconstruction, denunciation of liberal humanism, celebration of the monstrous, the fluid, the "capacious moments of productive undecidability" [yes, a real quote]. . . . Who needs more of this? But I was pleasantly surprised. The book is better than its cover. It is a collection of papers by eleven North American and Western European scholars, broadly on cultural aspects of intersexuality. It contains, to be sure, some vague and pretentious stuff of the kind announced by the preface, which I hope the authors will get over, by and by. But there are other contributions that are precise, plainly written and very illuminating.

The book appears at an interesting moment. An intersex activist movement emerged in the United States in the 1990s, sharply criticizing the medicalization of intersex conditions, protesting especially against "corrective surgery" on the genitals of infants. Leading figures found their inspiration in queer theory, criticizing medical interventions as colluding with heteronormativity in the wider culture. Intersex people became, at least in imagination, pioneers for a future in which dichotomies of gender and sex would be dissolved.

Something very similar happened among a group of transsexual activists in the United States about the same time, under the banner of "transgender." For a while, intersex and transgender were rolled up with gay, lesbian and bisexual cultural activism in a queer project of contesting normativity and escaping from fixed medical and legal categorizations. This project gained some traction, especially

in human rights work. The acronym LGBTI—lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex—has circulated very widely in the last decade, as if it were the name of an oppressed identity group. (Ironically, the foundational move of queer theory was to reject identity politics.)

But recently, the principal intersex activist group in the United States has dissolved. Some of its leaders have rejected the queer alignment and turned back towards medical understandings of intersex conditions. They argue that most intersex people never saw themselves as gender warriors and were not benefited by a queer alignment. Further, changes in medical classifications and treatment protocols now make possible a productive alliance with doctors. It is a pity that none of the people taking this path have chapters in the book; the story is told with regret in the chapters by Alyson K. Spurgas and Iain Morland.

Reviewing a collection of essays is always a little unfair, as one must select a few chapters to discuss. These are the ones I found most interesting. Lena Eckert's chapter "Diagnosticism" explores how medical anthropology has construed intersex, by taking a close look at three well-known research projects by scholars from the metropole investigating the periphery. The settings are Papua New Guinea and the Dominican Republic, the central figures are Gilbert Herdt and Robert Stoller, very well known in ethnography and psychoanalysis. The Foucaultian conclusion is predictable, but the detail is fascinating and somewhat unnerving.

Margriet van Heesch's chapter "Do I Have XY Chromosomes?" explores intersex people's negotiations with doctors in the Netherlands. It is based on specific life stories and documentary history, and is beautifully clear and compassionate. Rather than sweeping generalizations about culture, van Heesch locates medical practices, including the withholding of knowledge from patients, precisely in the changing context of biomedical knowledge and professional beliefs.

Two chapters by German scholars relate how German law and medicine have dealt with intersex issues. Angela Kolbe tells an interesting historical story. In earlier periods, there were legal categories outside male and female, such as 'altvil' or

hermaphrodite—recognized, though likely to be refused full rights. These categories were gradually squeezed out, as an alliance formed between law and medicine, and recent attempts at legal reform have had limited success. Ulrike Klöppel's chapter "Who Has the Right to Change Gender Status?" engages even more complex issues of categorization. Klöppel explores how law and medicine have drawn distinctions between intersexuality and transsexuality, up to and including the Transsexuals Law of 1980, that regulated legal change of sex. (The German word "Geschlecht" does not make the English distinction between sex and gender.) These two chapters have a lot of fascinating detail, and tell a story that Anglophone gender researchers usually know nothing about, and really ought to know.

The collection has its Unexpected Gem. The last chapter, by Susannah Cornwall, is about theology. There is a queer theology, and there is a disability theology, and there is of course liberation theology, and Cornwall makes a heroic effort to bring them to bear on issues about intersex. My only regret is that this chapter presupposes Trinitarian Christianity. It would be a struggle to connect this argument with Islamic theology, especially the concept of *tawhid*, the unity of God; but it would be worth trying.

I have some regrets about this book. It speaks about postcolonialism, but has no authors from the majority world, beyond Europe and North America, where the majority of intersex people live. The book treats intersex categories and consciousness as socially produced, but makes no use that I noticed of research in sociology, even the sociology of gender. Those are all-too-common problems in queer studies, and I hope the next generation of research and activism will find ways to make these connections.

Hard Lives, Mean Streets: Violence in the Lives of Homeless Women, by **Jana L. Jasinski, Jennifer K. Wesely, James D. Wright, and Elizabeth E. Mustaine**. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2010. 193pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9781555537210.

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That many homeless women are subjected to violence over the life-course is not surprising, but this slim volume is based on one of the first research projects that tries to understand systematically how violence fits into the everyday lives of homeless women. The self-report survey in four Florida cities of 773 women living in homeless shelters was supplemented by 20 in-depth interviews and about 100 surveyed homeless men. The women were asked to report on their homelessness patterns, drinking and drug use, mental health, and exposures to a variety of types of violence at different life stages.

As expected, a high percentage of these women were victims of several kinds of violence as children—almost 60 percent self-reported some victimization. Slightly fewer (50 percent of the sample) suffered severe violence. Many were subjected to sexual assaults at an early age. Those who experienced violence were more likely to be unhappy and the qualitative interviewees said they learned early on that they were victims and good only for sex and having babies. Importantly, childhood victims became adult victims and sometimes perpetrators, and were more likely to say they were depressed. According to the authors' estimates, one in four women is homeless largely because of the abuse and violence suffered. Abused women tended to become homeless earlier, for longer periods, and found the streets more welcoming than their homes. Women often "chose" the streets rather than suffer more of the abuse at home. Problems are compounded; those who suffered from violence as children also suffered as adults and tended to have significant mental health problems and to be those using alcohol and drugs. Nevertheless, a significant percentage used neither drugs nor alcohol at the time of

the survey, some were working, and a significant number claimed that they were happy or very happy growing up.

The data supports the "routine activities" approach to understanding victimization. It mattered where and with whom the women spent time. While many of these women were homeless for only short periods of time, shifting from friends' or relatives' couches to homeless shelters, those who spent time outdoors particularly where drugs were sold and prostitutes hung out, or lived in cars, cheap motels or the streets rather than with family were more likely to be victimized. Those who traveled alone to work at night were also more likely to be victimized.

Some comparisons are offered both with a national sample of women and the sample of homeless men the authors collected. The women in this sample were much more likely to be victims of sexual and other physical violence and stalking than a national sample of women, and to be much more afraid of violence than their sample of homeless men. The women also were much more often the victims of violence from intimates than the men and rarely felt safe. Yet some women explained that their use of violence was in response to their own victimization. Nevertheless, the men admitted to significantly more offending than the women and were more likely to have been arrested and convicted.

The homeless women felt victimized by the authorities, as their reports of victimization often led nowhere. They also explained that they were less likely to report sexual assaults to authorities than other forms of physical assault as they blamed themselves or did not think they could prove anything. Additionally, women under-reported physical assaults more than men in part because they feared retaliation.

The authors' in-depth interviews and use of the women's stories provide meaning for the survey data that generally affirms what we knew or imagined about homeless women, and that is important. More interviews with women with the range of victimization in the survey data might better suggest what the different experiences meant to the women and would tell us more about the women who said they were happy growing

up (about 45 percent), those who used little drugs or alcohol, or those who did not suffer from serious mental distress.

The focus of the book is violence and the findings concerning violence would be affirmed in almost any part of the country. One policy that follows from this research might focus on the living arrangements of children, as early victimization is related to the compounding of problems and chronic or episodic homelessness. We do not, however, know how often childhood victims of violence become homeless. But about half the sample was happy growing up, about 2 in 5 experienced little or no violence, and about 70 percent were not drug users. Many had finished high school or were employed, and some experienced a single or only a few incidents of homelessness. One wonders whether somewhat distinct groups of homeless women existed. Little is revealed about the paths of those who were not victimized or those who were less likely to use drugs and alcohol and suffer from mental illness and low self-esteem than the others. Were these women's experiences distinct or were they spread along the continuum?

What were the state housing and welfare policies that might contextualize the findings? Were the joblessness or apartment vacancy rates above or below national averages? There was one mention of the high rents which one woman discovered when she moved to Florida to work. Were the housing and welfare policies more or less extensive than the national average? Perhaps, like the single incident or long-term users of welfare, many of the homeless have a single episode whose situations are related more to housing policies and markets while others who experience persistent patterns of homelessness are also related to violence which compounds problems. It may be time to explore the varying patterns of homelessness, in addition to its relationship to violence.

The Invention of International Crime: A Global Issue in the Making, 1881–1914, by **Paul Knepper**. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 254pp. \$90.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780230238183.

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There has been a growing body of research in criminology on transnational crime in recent times. Most of these studies focus on the global links between crime syndicates and terrorist groups and/ or the cooperation or jurisdictional conflicts between law enforcement and security agencies across nations. This book addresses international crime from a relatively under-researched perspective. Paul Knepper traces the emergence of crime as a transnational problem in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the process, he illustrates the way the problem of international crime was framed and portrayed by various institutional actors based on their own interests and agenda, as well as the development of scientific theories of crime in that time period.

While the book concerns the internationalization of the problem of crime, like most historical scholarship on the construction of crime as a social problem, it is focused on developments within one nation—in this case, the United Kingdom. Of course, given its position as a colonial empire that spread across the globe in that period, the British case provides a good analytical vantage point for the study. The time period under study is also appropriate given that the technological, industrial, demographic and political changes associated with industrialization of Europe and North America led to the development of the idea of the “dangerous classes.” This resulted in a number of programs and efforts by both governmental and civil society organizations to control the threat of crime and disorder in the cities.

The objective of this work is not to analyze the global causes or consequences of crime. Rather, like other constructivist studies of crime/ deviance, it studies the framing of crime as an international issue. It begins with a short discussion of the recognition of

crime as a global problem by the League of Nations in the 1920s, and the United Nations in the 1950s. However, Knepper traces the roots of these efforts farther back in the late nineteenth century. Following Hobsbawm, he argues that the technological advances and the global spread of commerce and trade following the industrial revolution resulted in an historical moment quite analogous to the current round of globalization. This era laid the foundation of the global political-economic order of industrial capitalism that shaped much of the history of the twentieth century.

One of the primary factors identified by Knepper for the internationalization of the problem of crime was the scientific inventions emerging in the late nineteenth century that carried forward the technological tradition of the industrial revolution. The introduction of transoceanic steam ships, transcontinental railroads and automobiles facilitated the development of a perception of mobility of criminals across national boundaries. At the same time, developments in communication technology not only facilitated international coordination of law enforcement agencies, but also led to the internationalization of newspaper coverage of social issues with a significant effect on public opinion. The growth of the British Empire in the nineteenth century, and the establishment of an imperial administrative infrastructure are also cited as contributing factors. Knepper argues that the power/ knowledge axis of the imperial administrative machinery invented the existence of criminal groups among colonized populations. This, coupled with the perception of the domestic working class as a source of amorality and criminal danger, internationalized the issue of criminality.

Ethnic prejudices influenced contemporary concerns with crime as a social problem. Fueled by anti-Semitic sentiments and suspicion of foreigners in an era of great social change, newspapers and politicians put forward accounts of the criminality of certain immigrant groups in a manner that echoes current controversies over illegal immigration. Knepper shows how this was linked to the establishment of a modern immigration control regime in the United Kingdom and other countries. Contemporary racial and

ethnic sentiments were also evident in the mobilization against "white slavery" in that era. Knepper's account resonates with the literature on similar mobilizations in the United States in showing that the moral panic against white slavery reflected collective unease with the sweeping social changes brought forth by industrialization and immigration. It was perhaps the most international of all the contemporary issues regarding crime control, and it led to several international conferences involving both government as well as non-governmental organizations.

Industrialization and the rapid rise of the urban working class contributed to the rise of radical political movements in the contemporary era. The threat of foreign anarchists crystallized in the British public imagination following the attack on the Royal Observatory in Greenwich by a French national in 1894. Perceptions of the danger posed by anarchists and other radical groups were widely shared among most governments in Europe and the United States. This led to the establishment of institutional cooperation between police agencies of different nations in the last decades of the nineteenth century, in order to control the alleged threat from radical politics.

The final chapter of the book outlines the development of criminology in the late-nineteenth century following the publication of the works of Cesare Lombroso. Lombroso's theory of hereditary atavism, degeneracy and the existence of the so-called "criminal type" identifiable by physiognomy gained a sizeable following among contemporary scholars of criminal behavior. In spite of the later infamy of the biological determinism inherent in the Lombrosian perspective, it was instrumental in establishing an informal international network of research that influenced the developmental trajectory of criminology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This book provides a compelling account of the constructions of popular and scientific conceptions of criminality in a defining moment in the history of industrial modernity. It will be of interest not only to scholars in criminology, but also to historical sociologists and others interested in the early history of the modern global order of nation states.

Healing Together: The Labor-Management Partnership at Kaiser Permanente, by **Thomas A. Kochan, Adrienne E. Eaton, Robert B. McKersie, and Paul S. Adler**. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 258pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780801475467.

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Healing Together provides a rich, historic case study of the Kaiser Labor Management Partnership that spans from 1995 to 2009, with a focus on the first ten years. The book captures an important time of transition and change in U.S. healthcare, when many organizations underwent rapid restructuring in response to increased competition and cost pressures. Nationally during this period, healthcare providers increasingly complained about work intensification and declines in both working conditions and in the quality of care that could be provided, while many healthcare organizations struggled with financial losses that threatened to put them out of business.

In 1995, Kaiser Permanente, the largest non-profit health maintenance organization in the country, operating in several states and serving over six million patients in California alone, faced losses of \$250 million. Management consultants advised them to abandon their integrated model of care delivery and to break up the various parts of the organization. Unions, worried about their constituents' job security, were ready to fight. Both sides recognized that they had more to gain by working together than by adopting the adversarial stance that traditionally characterizes most labor-management relationships. In labor relations in general and in healthcare in particular, they were in the rare minority.

The book provides an in-depth case study of how the parties forged a partnership; the pivotal events that shaped it; and its successes, failures, and challenges. Using interviews with participants, internal documents and memos, surveys, and participant observation, it provides a fascinating window on an important experiment both in labor-management relations and in healthcare organization. In the healthcare research community,

Kaiser is commonly recognized as a special case, a leader in managing care due to their large market share, exclusive relationship with their physicians, and integrated care delivery that includes prepaid health insurance and care in Kaiser-owned outpatient facilities and hospitals.

Partnerships between unions and management are rare, and the few instances, even those producing successful innovation or change, have been short-lived and have sometimes ended badly. The longitudinal perspective of this case study highlights the fragility of the partnership in the context of both internal and external challenges as well as a string of both accomplishments and false starts. The partnership is not presented as a panacea, but rather as showing a potential new direction for mutually beneficial labor-management relationships in an era of union decline. The authors acknowledge the potential threats to workers' interests inherent in partnerships that expand unions' activities beyond those traditionally covered in collective bargaining. While they may expand workers' influence, they may also compromise a union's ability to represent and advocate strongly for workers' interests.

The book provides background chapters on healthcare labor relations and labor management partnerships and a detailed history of Kaiser Permanente before diving into the particulars of the labor-management partnership. Over a series of chapters, it describes the development and structure of the partnership, the key players, the challenges to extending and maintaining the partnership across such a complex organization, its successful collective bargaining agreements negotiated in 2000 and 2005, and its attempts to implement new initiatives that engaged frontline workers in quality improvement and in use of electronic medical record (EMR) technologies.

Healing Together uses the Kaiser Labor Management Partnership as a teaching case highlighting the circumstances, resources, and commitments necessary for a successful labor-management partnership. However, there is much about the case that is unique – including Kaiser's roots as a health plan for union workers, its relationship with the Permanente Medical Groups representing close

to 14,000 doctors, and its high union density (77 percent of workers in 2007, in an industry in which 80 percent are not organized) as well as the inter-union coalition of twenty-seven union locals engaged in the partnership, an achievement in itself. Moreover, the book details the roles of particular individuals in championing the partnership and its initiatives and in achieving consensus among factions with competing interests and loyalties. These unique aspects of the case raise questions about its generalizability and the potential to launch and sustain partnerships in other organizations, but they also contribute to the historical significance and import of the work.

The penultimate chapter assesses the success of the partnership and finds evidence of clear gains on a number of metrics. The authors are careful to acknowledge the limits of this evidence, given the lack of a comparison. What would have happened if instead of forming a partnership, labor and management had remained adversarial? It is, of course, impossible to know, but it is worth noting that during the same period the California Nurses' Association, which rejected and remained highly critical of the partnership, was instrumental in California's adoption of nurse staffing ratios in hospitals, an achievement that current research suggests promotes patient safety, reduces costs, and increases nurses' job satisfaction. The EMR and quality improvement initiatives focused on the involvement of frontline workers in decision-making and implementation, and the authors judge this involvement successful. But could worker involvement have been successfully achieved without the cumbersome machinery of a formal labor-management partnership or even in an organization without union representation?

The book does not explore what other arrangements might mutually benefit both workers and organizations or how, absent a union presence, employees might enjoy job protection while also becoming engaged in organizational change and improvement. By skirting these questions *Healing Together* upholds the union-focused tradition that has defined the industrial labor relations field and limits the applicability of its case. Given that only 7.5 percent of the private sector U.S. workforce is unionized, it is

time to expand our thinking about employee relations. The book takes an important first step in that direction, suggesting that partnership rather than conflict is not only possible but preferable and highlighting the importance of frontline involvement for organizational success. While the field itself needs to broaden its perspective beyond the traditional union-management dyad, this ambitious portrayal of the Kaiser Labor Management Partnership's early years promises to become a classic account of an exceptional organization forging a promising, though uncertain path in labor relations.

The Race of Time: The Charles Lemert Reader, by **Charles Lemert**, edited by **Daniel Chaffee** and **Sam Han**. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2010. 230pp. \$26.95 paper. ISBN: 9781594516467.

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Richard Sennett has argued in a recent lecture at Cambridge University that sociology should be good literature, that it should achieve "lived experience on the page." Like Sennett, Charles Lemert exemplifies this ideal. In books, articles, essays, and in brilliant cameos found in such texts as *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classical Readings*, Lemert has written a literary narrative about sociology and social theory, about how we should understand, as he calls them, "social things," and the limits to any such understandings. In *The Race of Time* he writes that "good sociology is good literature, in particular, good fiction, as Marx first demonstrated" (p. 83).

This excellent selection of Lemert's writings, spanning his academic career, is edited by two of his former students Daniel Chaffee and Sam Han, who have also written a fine, contextualizing introduction to guide the reader through the trajectory of Lemert's thought and major preoccupations. These stretch from early 1970s writings on epistemology, relativism and the relationship between religion and sociology, to a later concentration on the ramifications of globalization. In between there are essays dealing

with race and multiculturalism, poverty and inequality, modernity and postmodernism, Durkheim's legacy (using the evocative notions of "Durkheim's ghosts," and of sociology as "theories of lost worlds"), French structuralism, psychoanalysis and the meaning of dreams, the difficulties of living in increasingly deadly, disorienting, globalized worlds, and the fate of individualism.

Lemert frequently intersperses his narratives with stories about the lives of sociologists and social theorists, including his own—the latter most compellingly, and sometimes tragically, in his book *Dark Thoughts*, represented with three chapters here—but also those of people outside academia who he has known, including family, friends and acquaintances, and from whom he has learned about "social worlds." The biographical is never far away when Lemert discusses sociology or social theory, and as this collection shows, the stories have become more prominent in his later writing, though this does not make it any less sociological. For, as he writes in the last essay in this book, "The stories that at first seem to be acutely personal are in fact caught up and suspended in social space" (p. 215). The echoes of C. Wright Mills, about whom Lemert has also written insightfully, are unmistakable: the task of the sociological imagination is to show how the personal problem is also a public problem, how biography relates to history and change.

Lemert has always been concerned with the nature and prospects of the discipline of sociology, and several essays here reflect this concern. Two essays dealing with Durkheim probe the hidden dilemmas and doubts that Durkheim himself obscured through his apparent certainty about sociology as a distinct discipline concerned with "social facts." "Sociology: Prometheus among the Sciences of Man" traces the history and fate of sociology in Europe and America. Lemert uses the metaphor of Prometheus to suggest that sociology had the task of bringing fire to man, and failed after the 1960s because it did not honor that difficult task. Sociology's uniqueness among the social sciences was its transdisciplinarity—the way that it drew on many other knowledges—and to the extent that it withdrew into the narrow confines of a discipline, it

lost its fire and the enthusiasm of those, including students, it originally attracted. Sociology had also put itself in the straight-jacket of science, a discipline that crushed its passion, especially in America where it had never had a secure home outside of the university. But this had also been part of its initial success—its alignment with science and with the hope that it inspired within and without the university that it could find the answers to society's social problems had meant that it had the ears of important decision makers. But the game was up by the 1960s—sociologists didn't have the answers after all—and the politicians and funding bodies turned elsewhere.

Globalization has become the master narrative of Lemert's work since the 1990s; he sees it in terms of globalized worlds, not one global world. As he argues in "Whose We? Dark Thoughts on the Universal Self, 1998," globalization has brought many different social worlds together, in conversation and conflict with each other; in some important instances this has revealed the incommensurability of such worlds, further undermining the idea of universal man, and the "universal we." Social differences, differences in value and culture, need to be taken seriously. Lemert also addresses these issues in relation to multiculturalism ("Can Worlds Be Changed? Ethics and the Multicultural Dream"), where he argues that any reading of the multicultural, according to its inherent principle, renders the possibility of reaching universal ethical consensus impossible. It also raises serious questions for those who abide by Marx's eleventh thesis: if the point of philosophy is to change the world, how does this work when we are speaking of myriad worlds rather than a single world, as Marx had imagined it? Relativism, Lemert argues here, is the one truth of our contemporary worlds.

Some of this is troubling, especially for the left whose hopes have been so firmly pinned, Lemert argues, on global enlightenment (or as he calls it, "enwhitenment"), guided by the idea that humanity is (or will be) as one. What is politics like if the left gives up on those ideas? And what of the whole architecture of human rights, built up since the Second World War, that rests upon a concept of common or universal humanity, and the

certainly that there are fundamental rights that should not be breached, even if they are achieved in various ways in different social, cultural, economic and political circumstances? What would the true embrace of relativism, the acceptance of a strong notion of social and cultural autonomy (p. 169) and really giving up on the belief in a "universal we," mean for doctrines of global human rights? Lemert does not directly address the latter here, but his embrace of relativism certainly does not lead to him giving up the idea of global economic and social justice. In fact, he argues that elites have an unreserved responsibility to raise their voices in the name of global justice, but are too often silent.

Provocative, eloquent and always engaging, Lemert's work is well represented in *The Race of Time*. If you are interested in the fate and future of sociology and social theory, buy and read this book—and after that, go back and read Lemert's oeuvre.

The Civil Rights Movement and the Logic of Social Change, by **Joseph E. Luders**. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 246pp. \$25.99 paper. ISBN: 9780521133395.

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If the outcomes of political processes retroactively look as if some kind of Hegelian "cunning of reason" did the work behind the movement's and actor's back, this only means that the complexity was not sufficiently noticed in the attempt to understand the past. The very core of politics, its unpredictability, was not taken seriously (in particular the political potentials that lay in the background). This, apparently, is not the case with Joseph E. Luders' *The Civil Rights Movement and the Logic of Social Change*. This book opens new and important horizons not only in the field of social movement theory and research, but also in the larger domain of explaining the "logic" of the social change puzzle. It offers a deeper understanding of political action and is thus highly valuable reading for both

scholars and social activists alike. While dealing with a very specific aspect of the social movement research field, the movement's targets and "third parties," it challenges the traditional perspectives regarding who and what matters in the course of such struggles to arrive at positive political outcomes.

How is this achieved? Mainly through the author's central research question, "Why do movements succeed or fail?" or more precisely, "Under what conditions are movements capable of extracting desired concessions from their targets?" The question refocuses attention from the conventional emphasis on (social) movements themselves (their motives, drives, strategies, tactics, structures, aims) to what they can achieve in regard to the target's vulnerability and to what the author calls "third parties." How the movement's targets, its political and economic addressees, will respond to the action depends not only on their own measuring of the costs of capitulation but also on the third parties' reactions. The book examines the U.S. Civil Rights Movement in the South, from the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 through the peak activism in the 1960s and into the 1970s, with the majority white population of the U.S. Deep South forming the main category of analysis. An emphasis on would-be "bystanders"—the segments of population that do not intend to get involved or participate but are willy-nilly dragged into the whirling of events—redefines the issue of strategic perspective in the political field, and refines the horizon of further questioning.

How do lawyers, professors and doctors act or react when confronted with radical social movements bent on achieving major change? How do bankers, insurers, real estate dealers, construction workers, businesspeople, and utility providers act in times of disruption by political protesters? How do downtown merchants, restaurateurs, hoteliers, and waiters cope with disturbances that accompany demands for socio-political change? In short, what do "ordinary people" do in times of protest by social movements? (Particularly if these movements radically challenge their "way of life" such as was the case in the life of whites under the system of racial segregation in the U.S. South until

the mid-1950s). How do their reactions frame the political (local authorities, federal government) and the economic actors' responses to the demands—and thus the outcomes of the Civil Rights Movement?

Luders answers these questions by demonstrating from case to case how the behavior, actions and reactions of "ordinary people" are framed by their calculation of both (convergent) disruption and concession costs, and how these actions and reactions meet in the process of local, regional and federal struggles. Presented in the first chapter, he develops a model of four "predicted," ideal type "responses to movement demands": accommodators, conformers, vacillators, and resisters. This, together with the main conceptual definitions, is the explanatory frame for the "logic of social movements" that is then used and refined in concrete research in the subsequent chapters. Luders carefully moves "up" from grassroots action to higher organizational levels, capturing the social movement's logic within its own structure. Beginning with the local and regional struggles (rather than with the well known final achievements), and concluding with federal responses and policy legislations (the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Act, etc.), Luders shows how these resulted from the diversified processes of various cost and benefit calculations and negotiations. Chapter Two analyzes how the combination of high concession and low disruption costs induced a forceful counter-mobilization to the Civil Rights Movement (Citizen's Council activities and Ku Klux Klan attendance and support) and gauges the importance of this in terms of outcome. Chapter Three, demonstrating the critical argument of the book, analyses how concessions were extracted by the movement's targeting of local vulnerable economic actors, prompting them to compromise. The emphasis is on sectoral analysis, showing the cost exposure by which some bystanders become "interested" third parties. Chapter Four offers concrete cases of local struggles in several Southern states and highlights the dynamic between the local targets, third parties, federal government decisions and final outcomes. Federal administration's cost calculations and policy outcomes are the subject of Chapter Six while the final chapter draws general conclusions for the theory of

social movements and proposes several new research directions.

The author elegantly moves back and forth between the rich empirical data and the theoretical framework to refine his main arguments. Drawing upon existing literature on the Civil Rights Movement and social movement theory, he effectively integrates a wide range of previous historic and social studies into his own arguments. The result is a comprehensive, concrete and concise analysis of the successful legislation and implementation of the Civil Rights Movement's demands, and a case for a different narrative of that troubling yet promising period of (post)modern U.S. history.

The emphasis on what can be seen as calculus seems to advocate for a raw "economic," pure "material" reasoning (costs and benefits logic) in explaining action. (In a number of important footnotes the author alleviates this position; purely non-calculable action might also explain for some actors' moves, though not for the "third party"). This notwithstanding, the performed cost-benefit analysis in fact moves beyond an exclusive economic or pure "material" emphasis as various behaviors of both political and economic targets, as well as the wider "ordinary people's" reactions, is actually successfully translated into a series of assumed strategic calculations. Concrete responses are offered to questions that might otherwise appear difficult to explain: for example, why did some whites organize and support the Ku Klux Klan and others not (even if none seemed to be affected by the public school desegregation)? How did the Klan succeed to mobilize populations locally? Why did some willingly support the racist cause while others did not, some even becoming petition signatories? The Klan was neither a random sector of Southern society nor were the supporters of the Klan part of a uniform mass of intemperate racists. A lot of personal and group calculations were involved in the reasoning of counter-activists. That actors from certain professions or businesses could move from fierce opposition to the movement to capitulation proves exactly that these calculations could change the overall relation toward the movement.

Both "targets" and "third parties" are seen as highly dynamic, segmented entities with

immanent potential for different kinds of counter-action. Even if they did not intend to react, they might do so, making concessions if disrupted and if costs are not considered too high. Thus, although remaining within the concept of strategic reasoning, the author opens an important window in thinking about non-intentional framing of the movement's politics and alters the optic of understanding the logic of social change. A new light is thrown over the whole "ensemble of relationships" concerning movements, politics and policy outcomes, or put differently, over the issue of political transformation. The relations are not based on the "old gnosis" schematic between subject (active) and object (target, passive), but rather formed of two or more inter-active (interested) subjects, even if represented through the language of "economy" and calculation. Here the emphasis on costs in fact challenges the instrumental view of politics as "calculus." When we see others as living beings with the capacity to act and not as mere objects that can be shaped by our actions, the calculus does not have to shrink to a simple and predictable response. Luders also illustrates "the logic" of our current language games (Wittgenstein) by which we try to make sense of our (post)modern past.

This study gives valuable historical insights to those interested in the logic of the U.S. political system (the dynamics between the federal, regional and the local authorities). Still, for a non-U.S. reader, especially a student, some specific historical terms (such as "Jim Crow institutions") would be best clarified from the beginning.

Joseph E. Luders' book opens new research possibilities: similar analyses of calculations of third parties in other anti-segregationist struggles, or other movements' outcomes (Eastern European non-violent 1989 revolutions, for example) would offer insightful conclusions. Comparable analyses of the "third parties" role could throw additional light upon struggles with violent outcomes, such as mass crimes of the last decade of the twentieth century, especially as some results from this book converge with recent insights on mass mobilization of bystanders to support anti-egalitarian movements.

The Limits to Governance: The Challenge of Policy-making for the New Life Sciences, edited by **Catherine Lyall, Theo Papaioannou, and James Smith**. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009. 284pp. \$114.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754675082.

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In his *New Atlantis*, Francis Bacon depicted a utopian society where citizens benefit from the dependable, though mysterious, work of scientists. Improved health, wealth, and happiness flow automatically from autonomous science. There is no mention of the state's role in managing the linkages between scientific progress and social progress. It just happens naturally, and where there is doubt about the value or safety of a scientific finding, the scientists take an oath of secrecy and agree not to publish it. Society passively benefits from a beneficent elite.

Twenty-first century reality is just a tad harsher and more complex. Pharmaceutical companies reap massive profits even when their products do not contribute to discernable improvements in public health. Health care spending, driven largely by the new capabilities made possible by science, is skyrocketing. Regulators are often in bed with industry. There are winners and losers. Risks and rewards are not distributed equitably. Reality differs from Bacon's utopia in two important respects. First, science has the potential for bad as well as good. Second, society is comprised of a plurality of interest groups that will often disagree about what is bad and good and how to rank the many goods at stake.

These realities make it a challenge to get the governance of the new life sciences "right." The title of *The Limits to Governance* (TLG) is intended to temper the optimism of the recent turn to governance for the new life sciences (e.g., genomics, stem cells, cloning, assisted reproductive techniques, GMOs, and synthetic biology). Over the past two decades, many hoped that the state could be hollowed out and transformed from a top-down provider of regulation into a facilitator of interactions across

a horizontal network of values and interests. The central argument of TLG is that this paradigm shift from hierarchy (government) to network (governance) has not worked as planned: "our analysis highlights the enduring capacity of the state (in the North at least) to control and also to frame debates about new technology—hence 'the limits to governance'" (pp. 3 and 261). Regulation remains "the key factor" in shaping research and development in the life sciences (p. xiv).

TLG collects twelve essays (including introductory and concluding chapters by the editors) arranged into three sections: principles, processes, and people. Every chapter employs some blend of theory and case study to defend the "limits to governance" thesis by showing that governments retain decisive powers and/or that values supposedly served by governance (e.g., participation, transparency, or legitimacy) are not advanced effectively.

Each chapter is well-researched and of outstanding quality. For example, Chapter Two by Theo Papaioannou undertakes the daunting task of surveying five classes of principles of distributive justice (egalitarian liberalism, libertarianism, utilitarianism, communitarianism, and Marxism) and using each one to assess three challenges of genomics (genetic discrimination, a new form of eugenics, and social inequality). It does so in order to argue that, no matter what principle of justice society adopts, governance alone will not be able to achieve social justice. The chapter is rich with insights, presents difficult material in a compact and readable manner, and develops a cogent argument. Much the same can be said for all of the contributions.

Each chapter is also full of nuance and attention to context. For example, Chapter Eleven by Peter Bryant begins by arguing that the buzzwords of democratic governance (e.g., citizen engagement and community involvement) are often in reality hegemonic tools that reinforce interests of the powerful. But he goes on to outline an alternative, deliberative style of governance and detail a case study from Mali that is a "rare success story" in terms of empowering democratic control of science and technology. Chapter Seven by James Smith similarly draws multiple lessons about various facets of the government-governance dynamic

from three case studies spanning Asia and Africa.

TLG strikes a nice balance between diversity and coherence, which is a rare feat for an edited volume. Each chapter adopts unique perspectives on novel case studies, but each also contributes to the unifying "limits to governance" thesis. A final strength that may at first appear to be a weakness of the volume is its normative non-commitment. The central question is: what are "successful" or "good" policies for the new life sciences? There is no definitive answer to be found. Rather, the question is left open, which allows each author to define the goals in his or her own way, which in turn allows the reader to assess multiple answers.

A minor weakness of TLG is an underdeveloped comparison between North and South. Some of the research presented suggests that there are salient differences, but those are never fully explicated. The main weakness of TLG is its ambiguity about the intended audience. The foreword notes that policy-makers and regulators are the book's "primary focus." But this does not seem to mean that they are the intended audience. Rather, the book seems to be written largely for academics in the social sciences. This is not necessarily a problem, but it is a missed opportunity to translate the rigorous research into a form more accessible to those engaged in both government and governance. Summaries for policy-makers are absent, but these could have been employed to connect the research more effectively to the practices and practitioners being researched. TLG missed a chance to not just talk about policy-makers and regulators but to talk with them.

global phenomenon of urban growth spurred by poverty. But rather than focusing on cities and their future development, Cheleen Ann-Catherine Mahar takes an historical look at a slum's development to present us with a study of urban transformation. This book is based on an ethnographic study of Colonia Hermosa, an urban *colonia* (shantytown) in Oaxaca, Mexico and its evolution from a poor squatter settlement into a working class suburb. This book examines how urbanization alters the lives of rural *mestizo* (mixed Spanish and Indian descent) and indigenous migrants who settled in this colonia beginning in the late 1950s.

Following Pierre Bourdieu, Mahar frames her analysis of urban poverty using a structural determinist approach that challenges popular conceptions of poverty based on "racist fatalism," which attributes poverty to personal failure. The stories of survival that are the focus of this book belie this explanation (p. 7). They demonstrate colonia residents' continual efforts to improve the social conditions in which they live, even under extreme moments of duress and as economic opportunities vanish. The book suggests that the roots of urban poverty cannot be so easily glossed over, but must take into account the dialectical relationship between social structures and individual dispositions.

The book is structured around the life stories of colonia residents. What makes this book unique is that Mahar worked collaboratively with her informants to construct their life histories over a thirty-year period, beginning with Mahar's first visit in 1968 and concluding with her visit in 2000. Consequently, this book provides a longitudinal and intergenerational analysis that is missing in most ethnographic studies. The book examines the cultural logics that guide these individuals' actions. It dedicates a chapter to understanding how these cultural logics shape strategies for economic survival, social identities, ideas about work, narratives of success, and community relations. The book vividly captures how the colonia residents adapt themselves to urban life by gradually replacing collectivist ideals with the mantra of individual responsibility and hard work. Lacking economic capital and urban social ties, the initial settlers of Colonia Hermosa relied on cultural practices imported from the

Reinventing Practice in a Disenchanted World: Bourdieu and Urban Poverty in Oaxaca, Mexico, by **Cheleen Ann-Catherine Mahar**. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010. 181pp. \$55.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780292721920.

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According to Mike Davis, slums are the "cities of the future" (2006: 19). *Reinventing Practice in a Disenchanted World* examines the

countryside, like the *compadrazgo* system and communal labor (referred to as *tequio*), to establish social networks and develop the colonia's infrastructure. As they became more economically stable, they relied less upon community ties and instead turned to family members for aid. Mahar relies on Bourdieu's concept of disenchantment to explain this transition from collectivist to individual orientation, from a system that emphasized symbolic and cultural capital to one that now exalts economic capital. Mahar laments the loss of rural convictions because it reduces migrants' worldviews to an economic logic. At the same time, she points out that it is through this process that migrants are transformed into urban citizens.

Given this social logic and its affirmation of individual sacrifice, it is not surprising that colonia residents define success as dependent not on structural opportunities, but on individual initiative. One of the strengths of this book is Mahar's attention to individual explanations of broader economic processes. She provides rich and compelling narratives that detail the complexity of her informants' lives. Colonia residents claim they are successful because they are no longer as poor as they used to be. This optimism serves a dual purpose; it gives meaning to the lives of the urban poor, but it also affirms a capitalist logic that thrives on class difference and economic insecurity. As a result, colonia residents fail to recognize the structural violence that is inherent in urban life. Mahar astutely suggests that this ideological framework of individualism and hard work leads to a process of misrecognition among urban migrants that reproduces poverty. The book's detailed analysis of the choices colonia residents make and why they make them will prove fruitful to scholars of urban studies and social movements.

Although the book covers a thirty-year period, the history of Colonia Hermosa is too brief. As a result, the ethnographic moments, although rich in detail, lacked context. Given Oaxaca's contentious political history, it was unclear how the political mobilization in Colonia Hermosa (and later its lack thereof) fit into the city of Oaxaca's political landscape and national politics. The book also relies on a sharp dichotomy between

precapitalist and capitalist societies. Mahar depicts rural life—what she calls “the world of mystical reasoning”—as precapitalist (p. 98). This division romanticizes rural life and ignores the economic and social ties that bind rural life to regional and global capitalist structures. Finally, Mahar discusses in length the working poor's attachment to consumer goods, but by failing to place this discussion within studies of material culture and consumption, the book gives us a superficial treatment of a complex topic.

Reinventing Practice in a Disenchanted World offers a compelling analysis of urbanization. Mahar presents us with a collaborative project that allows us to hear the dreams and desires of the working poor. The book provides a great introduction to urban studies for undergraduates and will be a significant reference for scholars in anthropology, sociology, and Latin American Studies.

Reference

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Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism: The Rise of Muslim Consciousness, by **Nasar Meer**. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 248pp. \$85.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780230576667.

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This book's aim is to establish theoretically the notion of “Muslim-consciousness” as a category of ethnic/racial consciousness that transcends the limits of ethnicity and race. Drawing on the work of W.E.B. Du Bois and grounding the notion in an empirical study of Muslim mobilization in Britain, Nasar Meer engages with theoreticians of multiculturalism and anti-racist policies, mirroring the way in which Muslim communities themselves have engaged with public institutions in Britain and have challenged the way in which multicultural policies have been conceptualized and practiced. The main thesis is clear, and the discussion

of the literature is rich and subtle. The book is well written, well organized, and intellectually stimulating. Yet it leaves out important questions that will be discussed shortly.

At the theoretical level, the crucial point that informs the logical argument of the book is the shift from race to religion as a category for thinking about multicultural policies. The argument is grounded in the observation that a parallel shift has been happening in society, where religion seems to have replaced race and ethnicity as a "legitimate" category of political mobilization, at least for Muslims. This political mobilization reveals a consciousness rooted in religious identification, thus leading to the notion of Muslim-consciousness.

From the work of Du Bois, Meer draws upon the notions of *double consciousness*, and *gifted second sight*, to show how the notion of consciousness *in itself* (as impaired and reactive) becomes transformed into consciousness *for itself* (as pragmatic and potentially synthesized; p. 199) when communities mobilize to fight against marginalization and claim for themselves the full benefits of citizenship, not only its requirements.

The reflections of Du Bois are extended to include religion as a basis for consciousness and political mobilization. This is done in Chapter Three, "Conceptualizing Muslim-Consciousness: From Race to Religion?" and is thus the corner stone of the argument of the book. The author argues that religion is a legitimate category to think about anti-racist policies and about the consciousness that underlies political mobilizations. In addition to its rich and subtle engagement with the literature, the strength of the theoretical argument lies in the fact that it is a reflection of an empirical phenomenon: the mobilization in Britain of Muslim communities around issues they deemed fundamental—respect and dignity (the Rushdie Affair), schooling, and media representations. That mobilization is an aspect of the politics of multiculturalism. Indeed, as noted by Tariq Modood in the foreword to the book, "The new political relevance of religion has not come from the state or from 'top-down' but from the political mobilisation of specific minorities [. . .] who prioritised their religious identity over that of ethnicity and 'colour' [. . .]" (p. xi).

But how should religion be conceptualized in this context? The author explains that participation in some or all of the practices that being a Muslim entails is not a requirement to consider oneself a Muslim. "Instead," he writes, "is argued that the relationship between Islam and a Muslim identity might be analogous to the relationship between the categorisation of one's sex and one's gendered identity" (p. 59–60). A section titled *Is Muslim identity a prescriptive religiosity?* clarifies this point. The author concludes it by asserting that "competing accounts of *religiously informed Muslim identities* can simultaneously be held without necessarily invalidating one another" (p. 62; emphasis added).

In arguing that Muslim identity can be seen as a sociological category, the author effectively challenges the very notion of "race," agreeing with G. Younge who points out its "constructiveness and malleability" (p. 65). This leads him to address the limits of Banton's formulation of race-relations, who "mischaracterizes the idea of 'pluralism,' describing it as something closer to separate development [. . .]" (p. 69). He then traces the evolution of the notion of race-relations through the work of John Rex and Paul Gilroy to conclude that the problematic of the "new ethnicities" is better suited to "engage the shifting complexities of ethnic identities, specifically their processes of formation and change" (p. 79). Here the local and the global interact, drawing into the discussion the multiplicity and hybridity of Muslim identity. Noting that the "literal and prescriptive accounts, surveyed in Chapter 3, do not satisfactorily explain the adoption and promotion of Muslim identities *per se*" (p. 104), the author concludes that "subscribing to a Muslim identification is not necessarily synonymous with religiosity alone, but relates to a transformation of ethnic identity within the context of British Society" (p. 105). He notes that "normative grammars of involuntary identities are obviously disrupted by the emergence of Muslim identities which seek all the benefits and protections afforded to other minority identities. These identities are neither passive objects of racism nor frozen articulations tied to their country of origin. They have emerged in Britain as an articulation of Muslim-consciousness" (p. 105–106).

The empirical settings where Muslim consciousness has emerged in Britain are then examined with some degree of detail. Meer identifies four types of Muslim consciousness that reflect the development of a minority consciousness in Du Boisian terms, from being impaired and reactive to being pragmatic and synthesized. He insists on the fact that Muslim-consciousness has gone through a pragmatic stage. "That Muslim mobilisations are engaging with a range of established educational conventions, norms, regulations and precedents suggests that [. . .] Muslims in Britain are demonstrating a willingness and ability to proceed through the sorts of multicultural citizenship set out in Chapter 1" (p. 141). Noting that Muslims themselves are moving toward some form of synthesized or hyphenated identity, he states: "Britain boasts a public sphere that has historically included and incorporated other religious minorities. The questions with which it is currently wrestling concern the extent to which it can accommodate Muslims in a manner that will allow them to reconcile their faith commitments with their citizenship requirements" (p. 202).

Perhaps the weakness of this otherwise interesting book lies in the blind spots of the very notion of Muslim consciousness as defined. There is a strong debate, in Muslim societies, about the place of religion in political processes, some trends arguing that it should be at the center of political identity and other trends arguing that it should be left out. By insisting that Muslim identity must indeed be "religiously informed," even if different interpretations of Islam are allowed, a whole sector of secular-oriented Muslim consciousness is excluded.

Can Muslim consciousness be secular-oriented? In other words, can one feel Muslim and mobilize around the marginalization of Muslims while being radically critical of certain aspects of religion? Is the support given to the censorship of Salman Rushdie or to the fatwa against him a necessary component of Muslim consciousness? Inversely, "radical Muslim consciousness" is dismissed too easily as constituting a "problematic" research agenda. Radical movements are not an invention of the imagination, and their impact on Islamic societies is much more important at the societal level than in the realm of political

conflicts, as many dissenting Muslims can testify.

Thus Muslim consciousness is defined by what constitutes presently its "center," while leaving out the very important role of the margins, which, while not symmetric and quantitatively less important, play nevertheless a crucial role in defining what this center is. In spite of this theoretical and normative orientation, the book is a strong and constructive element in a conversation that is becoming central in debates about multiculturalism.

To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise, by **Bethany Moreton**. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. 372pp. \$27.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780674033221.

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The title and subtitle of the book under review refer, in a sense, to two different works. *To Serve God and Wal-Mart* is a title that suits the first half of the book, a social and cultural history of the world's largest business firm. *The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* is a better title for the second half, which is a contribution to the political history of conservatism in late twentieth-century America. Both halves are very good, although the author sometimes exaggerates the influence of Wal-Mart on the rise of the right, perhaps in order to make the two halves of the book seem more connected than they are.

The social history of Wal-Mart that occupies the first half of the book will be of particular interest to sociologists of work and organizations. It advances the argument that many distinctive characteristics of Wal-Mart, from its corporate structure to its shop-floor practices, are rooted in agrarian cultural traditions of the Ozarks region. Successive chapters argue, for example, that the corporate structure of Wal-Mart "arose out of the populist tradition of farmers' cooperatives" (p. 24); that the yeoman farm family provided the cultural template for the authority exercised by store managers (p. 55); that the service ethic of front-line retail clerks

reflected norms of courtesy and respect characteristic of the homogeneous farm communities of Northwest Arkansas (p. 77); and that the evangelical Christian content of much of the store's merchandise, and much of its in-store managerial discourse, resulted from a religious revival that swept the region in the 1970s (p. 92). The analogy between Wal-Mart's practices and Ozarks culture is not always convincing evidence of causation, but in every case the cultural argument is at least plausible. In many cases Bethany Moreton is able to strengthen the argument by showing that certain practices were first adopted on the shop floor and only later embraced by top management. The historical reconstruction of shop-floor life in Wal-Mart from the available sources is outstanding.

The second half of the book abruptly changes the subject to the political activities of "companies like Wal-Mart" (p. 249), although Wal-Mart still looms large here as a privileged case study. This part of the book will be of particular interest to political sociologists. Moreton uses Wal-Mart's corporate philanthropy as a case study to tell the story of "Christian Free Enterprise," the peculiar ideological synthesis that characterizes today's Republican Party. The story focuses on regional colleges that provided institutional infrastructure for an emerging ideological alliance between theologically conservative Christianity and free market economics. The alliance depended on a convergence of interests among corporate leaders who worried that business was losing the PR battle on college campuses; business owners who needed training programs for their managerial workforce; and regional colleges, many of them Christian, that needed to raise money. When these three groups came together the result was a flood of corporate funding into Christian colleges for programs in entrepreneurship that taught a mix of business-relevant skills and free-market ideology. Successive chapters show how Wal-Mart and other corporate funders helped to finance undergraduate business programs in entrepreneurship (Chapters 8 and 9), conservative student groups (Chapters 10 and 11), and international scholarships for Latin American students who were indoctrinated into free-market politics and theologically conservative Protestant Christianity (Chapter 12). Moreton

argues that the relationships and careers forged in scholarship programs like these were ultimately important for exporting the neoliberal "Washington Consensus"—they were, she says, "the quiet back story of free trade in the Americas" (p. 223).

This is fascinating and important history. In particular, Moreton's careful reconstruction of institutional history is a valuable corrective to accounts of conservatism or "market fundamentalism" that treat the ideological alliance between conservative Christianity and free-market economics as a foregone conclusion resulting from some intrinsic affinity of ideas. I hope this part of the book propels many more scholars into the archives to trace the influence of conservative corporate giving in this period.

The book's main weakness in my view is that it goes beyond the available evidence in asserting the centrality of Wal-Mart to the history of the American right. At various points, the text appears to cast Wal-Mart as the prime mover in the rise of postindustrial capitalism, neoliberalism, and globalization. Thus, for instance, the preface tells us that "The postindustrial society grew from a specific regional history and the heritage of Populism" (p. 5), as if Wal-Mart were the whole of postindustrialism. And the penultimate chapter asserts that "For a brief but decisive moment in U.S. politics, the key to imagining free trade"—not one important player in the debate, not one important rhetorical figure in the debate, but the key to the whole thing—"was Wal-Mart in Mexico" (p. 253). No Wal-Mart, in other words, no NAFTA. Maybe claims like these are meant to justify why a social history of Wal-Mart's workforce and a case study of Wal-Mart's political activities belong under the same cover. In any case, they are overreaching. They are also an unnecessary distraction from the book's merits. There is no need to believe that Wal-Mart's existence was necessary, much less sufficient, to bring about the rise of the right in American politics, the Washington consensus, globalization, the Sun Belt service economy, or the post-industrial transformation. All of these things might have come about even if Sam Walton had been hit by a truck crossing the street in 1940.

But Wal-Mart is nevertheless an important organization that has an outsized impact on

labor practices worldwide. Moreton has written a very good social history of the firm. The Walton family are also influential business philanthropists. As it happens, Moreton has written a very good history of their political activities, too. You can get both of these histories for the price of one book, so I recommend that sociologists read and learn from both.

Impossible Engineering: Technology and Territoriality on the Canal du Midi, by **Chandra Mukerji**. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. 304pp. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780691140322.

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The 150-mile long Canal du Midi across southern France, linking the Atlantic and Mediterranean across the continental divide and built under the Sun King between 1662 and 1681 (though with precursors and taking decades longer to be fully stable), has long held a place in the list of amazing engineering feats. Chandra Mukerji has now argued that it should in fact be elevated further, to a status of “impossible engineering,” for she claims that the endeavor was technically, politically, socially, economically, and even in some ways, conceptually “impossible” in the seventeenth century.

Traditional history as well as the propaganda of Colbert made the Canal the product of the genius of its engineer, Pierre-Paul Riquet. Mukerji shows how the whole project was led by Riquet (a tax collector, not an engineer), but “made” by numerous other engineers, politicians, and especially local skilled laborers, embedding knowledge from Roman hydraulics to local policy and tacit knowledge. The social engineering of the canal got provincial tax farmers and Parisian bureaucrats to integrate the technical voices of Occitan women and the natural pressures of hydrology, flow, and soil pressures into a harmonious ribbon of transport and modest grandeur that extended the impersonal rule of the King to the edge of his kingdom.

Her fundamental insight on display throughout the book is how “stewardship politics” were transformed into the modern

concept of “impersonal rule”—this latter term is used in the monarchical sense of the Sun King, but also in the engineering sense of bureaucratic genius and technocratic control of large technological systems. Adding a strong layer of interpretation and intention to the actions of her actors, Mukerji deftly shows how engineering is a social process, involving all layers of society from the King to peasants (and in this case with a nice gender layer as well), though she cannot quite make the case that natural processes themselves are social. While perhaps overstating the technological ignorance of her actors and occasionally seeming to be too astonished by the audacity of it all herself, Mukerji adroitly rewrites the history of the Canal du Midi as one of the largest-scale engineering works since Roman times.

Mukerji is an historian of technology by profession, and this book is essentially an historical work with an opening and closing chapter that puts the story in a theoretical context—harnessing Hutchin’s ideas of distributed cognition and Coles’ concept of social cognition as well as the cannon of sociology of science to mixed effect. For better or worse, the sociological literature does not penetrate the central narrative to any great extent. This is not to say that the work is not intensely sociological; it is just not as deeply theorized within the narrative as much contemporary historical sociology. As such, this book will probably be appealing to historians more than sociologists, and perhaps more to historians of technology than to sociologists of science. In some ways her insights on, for example, the role of local women in developing local hydraulic expertise for irrigation that was then re-manifested as invaluable in the canal (Chapter Six) will probably strike historians of technology as worthy of note, though perhaps just another example of eclipsed groups’ contributions to technological development. That said, her insistence that the canal represents preserved Roman engineering that lived in the local peasants of Languedoc until re-conjured for Riquet seems a bit of a stretch.

In fact, it is the Roman-ness of the canal that threads throughout the book, and brings up important concepts of technological duration and memory. It is not until Chapter Eight that she offers a broad historiography of the

canal and how it has been seen as an example of individual genius vs. a rebirth of Roman greatness. Her chapter "The New Romans" lingers on Michale Serres' meditations on classicism, but it seems that the Roman-ness was in many ways a *post facto* construction of what had been done in the mountains of southern France. Beyond that, her repeated assertions that this canal was "impossible" (reiterated forcefully in her conclusion) deeply understate the evidence that she herself cites of considerable hydraulic knowledge—admittedly on smaller scales—in northern Italy and the Low Countries for a century or more before the Canal du Midi broke ground. It seems she believes the rhetoric of seventeenth-century French engineers that they were rediscovering Vitruvian engineering while ignoring all the "rediscovery" and reinvention of that engineering which had taken place across Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The book argues that the technology of the canal should have been impossible because the science of formal hydraulics did not exist yet, implicitly and unfortunately prioritizing science over technology, which has historically rarely been the case. That said, she has a strong claim that the whole undertaking should have been *socially* "impossible" for Riquet, and although the whole thing might have been called "Audacious Engineering," her point that the project only came to fruition through the interaction and negotiation of quite disparate groups is quite valuable.

Finally, the writing throughout the book is such that some sections are quite gripping while others seem prolix, and her overall arguments seem to be repeated too frequently throughout. Oddly for an academic press book, there are a great number of illustrations in the book. Those of period maps of the canal are often reproduced far too small and redrawing would have been a better strategy to analyze the various proposed routes of the canal (and on that matter, it was ultimately frustrating that without overall modern maps, all the arguments about routing are lost on the reader unless one either intimately knows the south of France or has an atlas on hand). There are also dozens of black and white photos of the canal on regular paper taken by Mukerji throughout the book,

though as they are in no way keyed to the text. They serve more as visual diversions and although they do sometimes illustrate mundane but important technological features of the canal, most of the time they are simply "touristic" views. If Mukerji was expecting the images to do more work for her analysis, that intent was lost in the presentation. This culmination of the work Mukerji has been publishing for the last decade is a worthy synthesis of her work that will likely be cited for some time to come.

The Cybernetic Brain: Sketches of Another Future, by **Andrew Pickering**. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010. 526pp. \$55.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780226667898.

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Nowadays "cybernetics" is remembered as the paradigmatic Cold War intellectual project. Its birth is normally traced to geopolitical security issues surrounding signal detection and target accuracy in high-tech environments that are only partly known yet easily destabilized. Its aspirations were focused on the construction of a "science of science" governed by an extended version of thermodynamics that covers information exchanges in "closed" and "open" systems. Cybernetics in this sense captured the imaginations of the leading philosophical and social scientific movements of both sides of the Iron Curtain, logical positivism and dialectical materialism. Philip Mirowski and Loren Graham have been the most interesting critical historians of the respective strands. In *The Cybernetic Brain*, Andrew Pickering, long included among the most intellectually sophisticated and ambitious practitioners of science and technology studies, sets aside this general image—without denying its validity—to argue for the continued relevance of cybernetics to a broadly postmodern world-view.

Pickering's book is organized around the main figures of the British strand of cybernetics: the brain scientists Grey Walter and Ross Ashby, the organizational theorist Stafford Beer, the anthropologist Gregory Bateson,

the psychiatrist R.D. Laing, and the intellectual all-rounder Gordon Pask. By focusing his philosophically laced social history in this way, Pickering effectively shifts the field's center of gravity from strategic operations research to a more open-ended inquiry aimed at exploring the brain's adaptive capacities. The reader is then invited to rethink cybernetics as the consummate anti-establishment, counter-cultural science, staffed by brilliant eccentrics who were more anti- than inter-disciplinary. But Pickering wants us to do more. He wants us to see these cyberneticians as having blurred the boundaries between human, animal, and machine in ways that anticipate the "posthumanist" turn in science studies associated with Donna Haraway and Bruno Latour.

Pickering is most obviously right in a "my enemy's enemy is my friend" way. In other words, the cyberneticians certainly rejected the closed systems approach to the world associated with Newtonian mechanics that is also rejected by today's postmodernists, indeed, often in the name of systems that demonstrate the sort of "complex" and "emergent" properties that interested the original cyberneticians. However, the cyberneticians outdid Newton in aspiring to a god-like view of the world, something that Pickering studiously avoids addressing. However, this is crucial for understanding the enthusiasm and confidence that they attached to the activity of "modelling," taken broadly to range from engineering blueprints and computer programs to the curious customized machines that especially fascinate Pickering. The target domains of these models ranged from the internal workings of an individual brain to the entire globe, even as their creators openly admitted the models' oversimplified and precarious natures.

Pickering's emblematic cybernetic machine is Ashby's "homeostat," which *Time* magazine described in 1949 as the first synthetic brain. It was literally four Royal Air Force bomb control units that were designed to remain functional in the face of a wide range of external disturbances. (Pickering radically downplays the obvious military inspiration.) The homeostat had an enormous capacity for adaptive response through self-initiated reorganization, which rendered the device "ultrastable." In other

words, the homeostat would not simply do whatever it took to stay in one piece; rather, through trial-and-error it would manage to find an analogue to its old normal state. For Ashby and the other British cyberneticians, machines of this sort served as "models" for how the brain seeks equilibrium in an ever changing environment. Conversely, failure at this ongoing task suggested an understanding—and possible treatment—for people who become mentally disturbed.

At the time, observers of these developments were most struck by the very idea that the brain could be seen as an engineering project, once one accepts that the nervous system does not merely conduct electrochemical impulses but is literally an elaborate piece of electrochemical circuitry, as seemed to follow from an understanding of thermodynamics as a universal science of energy transfers. But again Pickering resists this obvious reductionist reading that led many to see cybernetics as a bigger, braver form of behaviorism that dared to open the "black box" of the brain by allowing it to dictate its own schedules of reinforcement. (Indeed, Bateson arrived at his famous concept of "deutero-learning" just this way, after observing how dolphins radically reprogrammed themselves once they had become insufficiently challenged by their trainers.) Instead Pickering prefers to imagine the performance of cybernetic machines at their limit: If maximum flexibility is required in an increasingly complex world, then such machines might through a series of stepwise adaptations turn into something else, if not completely merge into the environment as its "mind." It is striking just how many cyberneticians headed that way over their careers, most notably—and with Pickering's approval—Stafford Beer's drift from management guru to Buddhist guru.

Although it is clear that I disagree with the spin that Pickering has given to the history of cybernetics (I am more of the Norbert Wiener persuasion), *The Cybernetic Brain* is nevertheless an exemplary work in what I have called "Tory historiography," namely, the project of recovering forgotten futures by exploring a set of deviant trajectories, whose intellectual direction was perhaps quite clear in its day but whose full realization came to be overtaken by events. And here I would agree

with Pickering that we live in a time where such histories are more than ever needed.

Mama Africa: Reinventing Blackness in Bahia, by **Patrícia de Santana Pinho**. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. 266pp. \$23.95 paper. ISBN: 9180822346463.

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Histories of domination and exploitation can create new categories of individuals that oppressors invent and define to further their own interests. Such is the history of "race" in the New World and, in a particularly sinister way, of the "black race." However, these same categories can be reinvented or their meanings inverted, providing tools used by the oppressed to unite, mobilize, and build their own destinies. That describes well the history of U.S. African Americans. What about Brazil? Do Afro-Brazilians have a similar history?

Patrícia de Santana Pinho explores two black movement organizations in Brazil that adopt that strategy. They are actively involved in "*Reinventing Blackness*," as the subtitle of her book describes. Hence, the storyline might seem familiar; however, the reader would be wrong to make that assumption. Pinho does not frame this process as inherently liberating; rather, the goal of her book is to present a cautionary tale that suggests the limited value of embracing oppressors' categories as candidates for inversion, especially one so deeply flawed as "race."

Towards that goal, she employs participant observation and in-depth interviewing of leaders and members of two Carnaval performance groups, or *blocos afros*, in Bahia: *Ilê Aiyê* and *Odulum*. These are highly respected, influential, year-around black movement organizations whose ultimate goals are antiracism and furthering the interests of black Brazilians. To reach those goals, they believe in the need to redefine the boundaries of a new blackness.

The material for this reconstruction comes from what the author labels the myth of Mama Africa. She does not use the term

"myth" to signal a lie or sinister ideology, as many Brazilianist scholars do in regards to the "myth of racial democracy." Rather, myths are narratives that individuals and groups call upon to explain and interpret the world. The myth of Mama Africa contains the values, messages, and ideals that connect black people around the world to an African past, to the traditions, the characteristics, and the "character" of Afro-descendants. The myth takes on particularities across the Diaspora, but continuities are striking as well.

In her interviews and observations, Pinho draws forth the bits and pieces of this myth as utilized by these movements. Two core themes are black appearance and black essence. The former refers to the promotion of what blacks should look like: Afro clothes, Afro make-up, Afro hairstyles, Afro jewelry. In these Bahian organizations, Afro-aesthetics play a fundamental role in establishing diacritical symbols for their goal of ethnizing blackness. Beyond body-centric identity work, the movements help define the essence, the soul, of blackness. She finds that her research subjects believe black culture is "transmitted through blood" (p. 9) to all black people. With their race comes a spirit that is different from non-blacks. Blacks have more *gingado* (rhythm, swing); they are better at playing drums, at dancing, at doing the things that the Carnaval season calls forth and that go well beyond this yearly event.

It is certainly not the author's intent to reveal the falsity of such notions. Rather, the main point she seeks to make is that this process of the redefinition of blackness may fail to break with the tenets of biological race, as it also falls into stereotypical beliefs about blacks. Hence she believes this identity process may be ineffective in challenging many principles of racist thought. For these black movement organizations and others, the myth of Mama Africa is utilized as a counter-myth to that of racial democracy. In fact, the author frames racial democracy as "the myth of *mestiçagem*" (p. 184) or racial mixing. *Ilê Aiyê* and *Odulum* are about deconstructing that myth and its supposed celebration of racial mixing in the midst of racialized alienation. Theirs is, in some core way, a strategic attempt to unmix, to

separate, and to recuperate the "black race." She writes, "Mama Africa is conceived as a source of purity where one can recover from *mestiçagem* and . . . racial democracy" (p. 3).

The perceived need to separate blackness from whiteness is further exemplified in Pinho's discussion of the new race-targeted affirmative action policies in Brazil. The author writes: "In order to benefit from the new racial laws, one must disengage from *mestiçagem* and surrender one's non-black ancestors. On a collective scale, this demands a radical transformation of *mestiços*, *pardos*, and *mulatos* into blacks" (pp. 14–15).

This is a revised and expanded edition of her 2004 book *Reinvenções da África na Bahia* (translated by Elena Langdon). Pinho writes that *Mama Africa* is more than a translation; rather, preserving the original argument, this book develops more fully the idea of the myth of Mama Africa, benefits from reviewers' critiques, and incorporates literature published after the original publication date. This book makes an important, sophisticated, and bold contribution and is especially apt for scholars of the social construction of race/ethnicity/nation. It is bold because some might view it as somewhat "conservative" (politically-speaking) in not readily buying into the tide of strategies to define Brazil in black and white and to raise a binary racial consciousness. However, the author certainly does not reject black subjectivity, nor is hers an attempt to delegitimize blackness as an identity. Moreover, antiracism clearly motivates her scholarship. Instead, she is a social constructivist disturbed by the biological tint of some popular race discourses, and by the pigeonholing of blackness into stereotypes that may be more constraining than liberating.

In terms of a criticism, Pinho writes: "the book provides insight into how to respond to the undeniable reality of racism without further strengthening the notion of race" (p. 11); however, I am not convinced she does this. Of course, that is the conundrum of many antiracist scholars who cannot quite stomach "race." As she says, "Once we take into account how much wrongdoing and suffering the belief in the idea of 'race' has caused throughout the history of humankind,

what does it mean to embrace the affirmation of difference based on 'race' (p. 221)? I can sympathize.

Social Vulnerability in Europe: The New Configuration of Social Risks, edited by **Costanzo Ranci**. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 299pp. \$100.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780230580916.

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Social Vulnerability in Europe highlights the emergence of a new social issue arising from the transition from the European social model founded on mid-century compromise to a new, largely unknown one which has to deal with the increasing insecurity and uncertainty created by the current transition. The book is divided into three sections. Part I presents the main theoretical concepts and the analytical tools that have been adopted by the authors. Part II describes the different dimensions of social vulnerability that have come under scrutiny. The major themes determining the structure of the material (Chapters Three to Seven) are the following: problems with reconciling work and care, housing conditions, difficulties in labor market entry, higher rates of temporary or low-paid jobs, loss of capacity to take care of oneself, and the weakening of family and social ties. Lastly, Part III provides a general interpretation of the different dimensions that have previously been addressed within a single analysis.

The point of departure is firmly established by the editor in the introduction: social vulnerability is a product of the decline of the male breadwinner model of economic and social organization which has characterized twentieth century systems of welfare capitalism. Its distinctive feature is weak or instable integration in the main mechanisms of social integration and economic redistribution: the labor market, kinship and informal social networks which can be activated in order to solve problems or compensate for them, and lastly the welfare systems. The authors demonstrate how the problem of social vulnerability has emerged as a new social issue

due to a change not just in the risk profiles but also in the nature of the risks themselves. Far from being rare events, these risks have become widespread, almost unavoidable experiences (such as the invalidity associated with old age, particularly for the oldest cohort) which jeopardize people's capacity for self-determination and their planning skills. According to Costanzo Ranci, social vulnerability "is characterized not only by a resources deficit, but also by an exposure to social disorganization which reaches such a critical level as to put the stability of everyday life in danger" (p. 18).

The analysis is carried out at a macro-regional level, recognizing local disparities in the functioning of the three main vectors of social integration identified in the study. As shown by the multidimensional analysis, the spread of social vulnerability does not reproduce the standard taxonomy of welfare regimes in Western Europe, based on three or four models. The existence of the Mediterranean model is questioned by the presence of striking differences within individual countries. For example, in Southern Europe, some macro-regions—notably North-West and Central-East Italy—are closer to Central Europe than to other Southern areas. It is also true that only in the countries included in this model—Spain, Greece and Portugal, as well as Italy—are the rates of social vulnerability over 40 percent. Interestingly, these same countries have some of the lowest levels of female participation in the labor market in Europe. As the authors themselves emphasize, "our data show that the transition from the classic male breadwinner family model to new dual-income based family models has significantly increased the protection of the population against the new social risks, while the persistence of the traditional male breadwinner model generated greater exposure to social vulnerability... In contrast, social vulnerability is greater in families where a work/childcare balance is not achieved and a gendered division persists between domestic work and employment in the labour market" (pp. 271–272).

This book is detailed and clear, encouraging the reader to reflect on the issue. Equally, the wealth of sociological literature offers a potent resource for contributing to the debate. However, the concept of social

vulnerability remains a slippery concept. What appears to remain unresolved in the volume is the relationship between social vulnerability and poverty in the strictest sense of the word. In some parts of the book, social vulnerability is presented as a new way of conceptualizing poverty, including, besides low incomes, other aspects such as housing conditions, employment, the management of care for children and dependent persons, models of family organization and the difficulties arising in the transition through different phases of life. In this case, the definition of social vulnerability seems to coincide with that of multidimensional poverty. In other parts of the book, social vulnerability seems to refer to the subtle difference between the poor and those living just above the standard poverty line, a population group that is not poor, but economically and socially fragile. Elsewhere, the difference between poverty and social vulnerability seems to lie mainly in the duration of the period of economic hardship, in the distinction between "persistent poor" and "vulnerable people," where poverty is an occasional episode in the life course due to the emergence of new risks which are not sufficiently protected by welfare systems according to the male breadwinner model.

These conceptual difficulties occasionally emerge in this volume, and the exclusive focus on social vulnerability prevents a clear understanding of the specific nature of the experience of economic and social deprivation. On the one hand, there is a need for social indicators which go beyond economic deprivation in order to grasp not only poverty but also social vulnerability while, on the other hand, extending the scope of areas and items too far runs the risk of losing sight of "social vulnerability" itself. What we really need to know is where there are unacceptable differences in economic insecurity and social support, rather than expanding the concept to include all people who live in a condition of existential uncertainty.

Latinos in Dixie: Class and Assimilation in Richmond, Virginia, by **Debra J. Schlee** and **H.B. Cavalcanti**. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010. 220pp. \$25.95 paper. ISBN: 9781438428802.

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The recent growth of the Latino population in the South is adding a layer of complexity to a region historically characterized by a black/white color line. Richmond, Virginia, a midsize southern city with no history of Latino settlement prior to 1970, has experienced a 156 percent increase in the Latino population between 1990 and 2000 (U.S. Census). In *Latinos in Dixie*, Debra J. Schlee and H.B. Cavalcanti use Richmond as a case study to examine patterns of Latino socioeconomic incorporation in the South. Using the theoretical concept of segmented assimilation, originating from the work of Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, the authors question which of the three paths outlined by the theory applies to Richmond's Latinos: adoption of "the values of the dominant white middle class;" a trajectory of downward mobility into Richmond's urban underclass; or a route of selective acculturation "whereby the immigrant community can preserve its culture and values of origin while becoming economically integrated into the U.S. system" (p. 18). The authors examine a number of indicators of incorporation, including language, the prevalence of "ethnic customs," ethnic identification, religiosity, family dynamics and political and civic participation. Schlee and Cavalcanti conducted ethnographic research among community organizations but the bulk of their data is derived from a cross-sectional survey of over 300 Latinos, 174 of whom were obtained through a probability sample of 1,100 residents with Latino surnames. The remaining respondents were referred through churches, Latino businesses and snowball sampling.

The first three chapters paint an in-depth portrait of Richmond's Latinos. The prevailing stereotype in Dixie is that Latinos are overwhelmingly poor and low-wage workers; however, Schlee and Cavalcanti's

analysis of U.S. Census data reveals that Richmond's Latinos have significantly higher levels of education and household income and are more likely to be employed in high-status occupations than U.S. Latinos in general. Their sample reflects these trends, as 40 percent hold a college degree or higher (compared to 13 percent of Latinos and 31 percent of whites nationally) and a third of their respondents make over \$75,000 a year. Despite these markers of affluence, the authors argue that Richmond's Latinos are bifurcated along class lines, as 56 percent of their sample are employed in white-collar occupations while just under half labor in working-class jobs. Professional Latinos comprised the first wave of migrants to the city, whereas low-income workers are the most recent arrivals.

Richmond's Latinos are also diverse in national origin. One-quarter of their sample is Mexican, 20 percent are Puerto Rican, 10 percent are Cuban and the remaining respondents are from South and Central American countries. Nearly 70 percent are immigrants, 20 percent are second generation (the children of immigrants) and 10 percent are third generation (the grandchildren of immigrants). Regardless of class status, national origin or generation, the majority of Latinos migrate to Richmond for economic opportunities. Only one-third of their sample arrive from traditional immigrant gateway regions, 20 percent migrate directly from their country of origin and the remaining half journey from other non-traditional areas in the South, Midwest and Northeast. Finally, only 4 percent of Schlee and Cavalcanti's respondents live or work in black neighborhoods and few report close social ties to African Americans.

Schlee and Cavalcanti's main argument is that class status (measured through income in one chapter and occupation in another) determines which pathway of assimilation Richmond's Latinos follow. For example, Latinos with higher incomes are more likely to speak English, consume English language media, associate primarily with whites, and are less likely to cook ethnic foods; thus, Latinos with higher incomes have "greater familiarity with the dominant culture" (p. 65). These patterns hold when Schlee and Cavalcanti examine differences between those

employed in white collar and working-class occupations leading the authors to conclude that some affluent Latinos follow a linear pathway of assimilation into the white middle class. But not all professional Latinos incorporate directly into the white middle class—some follow a pathway of selective acculturation. Half of their white-collar respondents ethnically identify as Hispanic and some actively leverage their ethnic background, which involves speaking Spanish and cultivating Latino social networks and clients through Latino business associations, as a strategy to achieve occupational mobility, demonstrating that “Richmond’s Latinos can achieve upward mobility without sacrificing cultural ties and values” (p. 115). Do these phenomena portend selective acculturation or are Richmond’s Latinos constructing a minority culture of mobility?

Kathryn Neckerman, Prudence Carter, Jennifer Lee and others argue that there is an additional pathway of assimilation into the middle class not accounted for by segmented assimilation theory, where upwardly mobile immigrants retain an ethnic identification and incorporate into a distinct minority middle-class community, rather than the white middle class. Selective acculturation is beneficial when immigrants and their children are in the early stages of incorporation and remain in low-income ethnic communities, as demonstrated by Min Zhou and Carl Bankston in their classic study of Vietnamese youth (*Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States*, 1999), but the minority culture of mobility becomes pronounced as upwardly mobile Latinos leave ethnic communities, navigate white business milieus and establish ethnic professional associations. Schlee and Cavalcanti’s book lacks a nuanced analysis of the specific indicators, such as national-origin, generation, length of time in the United States, or class background (growing up in low-income or in middle-class households), that are correlated with who is likely to follow these two different routes into the middle class.

Finally, the authors find that Richmond’s elite Latinos do not possess a sense of linked-fate with working-class coethnics. Social class is what unites Latinos, not ethnicity, which means that the civic and political

agendas of the affluent do not concentrate on promoting the mobility of their working class counterparts. So what pathway of assimilation do Richmond’s working class Latinos follow? The authors find that the working class is less socially and economically incorporated, but they only link the three pathways delineated by segmented assimilation theory to this segment by emphasizing, notably, that there is little evidence of downward assimilation into a minority underclass culture, although some migrated to Richmond from urban areas specifically to escape this outcome for their children.

Overall, Schlee and Cavalcanti make a significant scholarly contribution to studies of immigrant incorporation by demonstrating the class variation within the Latino population, thereby helping to challenge the idea that Latinos are a monolithic ethnic group overwhelmingly headed for downward mobility. Moreover, they confirm that today’s new immigrants need not become white to assimilate into the middle class. As Latinos continue to remake the South, their detailed and well-written analysis of Latinos in Richmond lays a critical foundation for the further investigation of the distinct incorporation trajectories of Latinos in Dixie.

Transitions from School to Work: Globalization, Individualization, and Patterns of Diversity, edited by **Ingrid Schoon** and **Rainer K. Silbereisen**. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 388pp. \$98.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780521490689.

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In recent decades, the category of life course studies has been transformed from a small, rather self-contained operation into a remarkable and influential social science enterprise. In its current form, it involves a broad network of interacting scholars from dozens of countries. This includes demographers, social psychologists, and the occasional economist formulating complex multi-level, dynamic models of human behavior. Researchers make use of painstakingly detailed datasets including

multi-decade and intergenerational panels studies, complex registry data, as well as large-scale censuses. Research includes explicit programs of data collection that span historical time and target societies in transition to understand the unfolding of human lives and human experience in the context of social change. The end result is a remarkably rich and detailed body of research that does much to showcase the specific and variable manifestations of Mill's classic dictum of the importance of studying lives in historical times. Against this backdrop, Ingrid Schoon and Rainer Silbereisen's *Transitions from School to Work: Globalization, Individualization, and Patterns of Diversity* exemplifies the best of life course research.

In general, the book focuses on a specific segment of the life span and highlights the national and institutional contexts that shape variation in the ways, for both individuals and populations, that people transition from school to work. And an impressive set of papers leave no stone unturned in the effort to illuminate the myriad aspects of this pivotal life stage. With 16 chapters organized into five sections, the book provides a conceptual overview (Schoon and Silbereisen) and theoretical prescription (Michael Shanahan and Kyle Longest), a set of chapters on the changing economic context of adolescence and young adulthood and its implications for movement into work (Mary Corcoran and Jordan Matsudaira, Rebekka Christopoulou and Paul Ryan, Melinda Mills and Hans-Peter Blossfeld), an interesting, albeit somewhat disjointed, set of chapters on individual decision-making (Andreas Walther, Gill Jones, Christian Ebner and Jutta Allmendinger, Marlis Buchmann and Irene Kriesi), a set of papers that explicitly map heterogeneity and diversity in the institutional involvements and investments in early adulthood (Schoon, Andy Ross and Peter Martin, Jessica Garrett and Jacquelynne Eccles, Barbara Schneider), and finally a set of chapters on policies and interventions (Katariina Salmela-Aro, Karina Weichold, Manuela du Bois-Reymond, Lynn Karoly). It is absolutely fair to say that anyone who reads this book will come away with a deep understanding the broad questions and issues characterizing the transition to adulthood in the contemporary world. Indeed, it really is a must-read

for anyone involved in such work or planning on being involved in such work.

This said, it might be time for a more synthetic and integrative approach. In particular, the remarkable scope of the papers would seem to lend themselves towards some thoughtful work on what was good, what was not so good, what can meaningfully contribute to enhanced theoretical understanding, and the delineation of the most fruitful empirical avenues to foster such theory. Here, five chapters stuck out. First, the chapter by Schoon and Silbereisen maps out the nuanced aspects of the contemporary transition to adulthood and situates it within the multi-level, dynamic, and differentiated societies of the early twenty-first century. While they may err on being overly inclusive and less discriminating of ideas and perspectives that appear profound but ultimately have feet of clay, their outline of the terrain is enormously valuable. Second, Shanahan and Longest's short chapter makes an extremely compelling case for the parameters of "useful theory" and provides, by provocative example, a poignant critique of "grand narratives" that are currently making the rounds. (Shanahan and Longest could have been broader in their critique so that we could add "individualization," "de-standardization," and "de-institutionalization" to the scrap pile.) Their call for a move to the middle range is exactly what is needed to capture the heterogeneity of transitions to adulthood and to provide a foundation for engaged empirical assessment. Third, Mills and Blossfeld marshal multi-nation data from the GLOBALIFE project to flesh out a succinct but powerful theoretical framework that integrated globalization, nation-level institutional filters, and population trends in occupational and familial life in early adulthood. In a book that is over 380 pages long, this is one chapter where I would have liked to see more empirical detail to really get a sense of what is going on in the various countries. The evidence that they present is tantalizing. Fourth, Schoon, Ross, and Martin's combination of sequence and latent class analysis of roles and role configurations in two British birth cohorts did a lot to showcase the structural context of the transition to adulthood. Moreover, the chapter highlighted methods that operationalize the multi-dimensional,

dynamic character of the transition to adulthood that is a much better index of lives as they are actually lived and experienced in the contemporary, globalizing world. Such approaches are uniquely valuable and fundamentally interesting. Finally, Karoly's analysis of the fundamental features of supply-side and demand-side characteristics of the new global capitalist economy provided sharp insight into the broad social and economic context that will frame the transition from school to work for the next fifty years. Recognition of such macro-level and extra-national trends that will ultimately provide a jagged terrain of opportunities and constraints is fundamental to understanding the present and future of not just the transition from school to work but of the transition to adulthood and the heterogeneous and multifaceted structure of the life course in the coming decades.

Highlighting these four pieces by no means indicates that the others did not make important contributions. They most certainly did. But the combination of scope, scale and diversity of contemporary life course scholarship has the potential to make life course scholarship a veritable Tower of Babel. It may be time to think about core principles, fundamental methods, and replicable and contextually valid findings that can synthesize, organize and guide life course scholarship in the coming decades. This book provides a great foundation for thinking about such things.

Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance: The Power of Story, by **Eric Selbin**. New York, NY: Zed Books, 2010. 257pp. \$29.95 paper. ISBN: 9781848130173.

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In 1988 Charles Tilly, commenting on a paper of mine, complained that cultural explanations were too arbitrary. Why were there four frames, or three policy styles, or two worldviews, and so on? One researcher might find two, another four, and an especially particular type might see twenty. I should have replied that other variables

shared the same problem, starting as they all do as some kind of interpretation of the world, so that even his famous two-by-two tables were not necessarily more "realistic" than cultural typologies. And yet today, when I read work heavily influenced by postmodernism or cultural studies, I cannot help feeling some sympathy for Tilly's frustration. Perhaps it is only because I am getting close to the curmudgeonly age he was in 1988.

Political scientist Eric Selbin perceives four main stories about revolutions. One is the "civilizing and democratizing" story, a Whiggish paean to moderation, reform, and progress that begins in ancient Athens and jumps to England in 1688, America in 1776, France in 1789 (but not the later years of the revolution), and Central Europe in 1989. It is a liberal story that emphasizes human rights against arbitrary interference by states, but also the founding of new regimes. The "social revolution" story follows Theda Skocpol's trail from France to Russia to China and then to Cuba, with suspicious sideways glances at Vietnam, Algeria, Nicaragua, and Iran. This tale, favored by scholars as much as the first one is by political elites, portrays revolution as fast, fundamental changes in economic, political, and cultural arrangements. The "freedom and liberation" story shares many elements of the democratizing story, except as seen from below: especially Spartacus, Haiti, and the wars of national liberation from foreign domination. Part of the Mexican Revolution appears here (the 1917 Constitution) along with—ironically—the recent Zapatistas. Finally, "lost and forgotten" rebellions and revolutions vaguely offer a story about popular remembering in the face of elite efforts to suppress it, and the sullen patience of long-term resistance.

Like many social scientists who have discovered narratives, Selbin sees them everywhere, doing everything. He insists that they are the "key" to explaining revolutions: that they bind people together, they motivate individuals, they move people through a revolutionary action and are an inherent part of social processes, they give people hope for change, and are "a seamless web that we pull apart at our risk" (p. 185). Only once does he suggest, more modestly, that they are just "another tool of the trade" to help

us understand social life. In fact, narratives and stories are one kind of carrier of meaning alongside many others, from frames and ideologies to collective identities, visual images such as caricatures or logos, facts and figures, songs and slogans, jokes and gossip, names and dates, language and physical objects, grievances and moral indignation, schemas and character types, a variety of emotions, and much more that make up culture.

Selbin usefully insists that revolutionaries and their opponents have strategic purposes in creating and telling stories. From this rhetorical perspective, we should see individuals and organizations directing the revolutionary stories to specific audiences, in the hope of particular effects on action, belief, and feeling. In this book we do not see this active cultural work. Selbin does not tell us who crafted the stories, through what media, who reads or hears them, or what anyone makes of any of them. In the style of cultural studies, the stories—as constructed by Selbin—float in a cultural realm of their own, disconnected from players and arenas.

At the other extreme, Selbin does not analyze how meaning operates within the stories. The book's details concern what happened in the revolutions, although he does not tell us quite enough about any of them for this to be a useful undergraduate text. But he does not tell us much about the inner workings of the stories either. We do not learn about the construction of heroes, villains, or victims, nor about the emotions people have when hearing the stories. We do not know when the stories are modified, for what purposes, when they are deployed, or how written and oral stories differ. Each seems to be favored by a different segment of society, but even this is not clear.

Because everything is narrative, Selbin does not tell us how stories differ from other bits of culture. He poetically tells us that not all meanings are conveyed in words: "the expression on someone's face, a look in their eyes, even small gestures with one's head or hands or a shift in posture; a tone or tenor in a person's voice, a swell or catch . . ." (p. 76). Such hints are not always part of storytelling; even when they are, they are in the telling not in the story itself—a distinction Selbin overlooks.

Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance feels like a cozy visit to someone else's collection of 3-by-5 cards containing their favorite quotes about revolution. These are marvelous, combining many that are familiar and many that were delightfully new. But in the end, the rationale for having four stories of revolution, rather than two or twenty, is that your typology resonates with readers, helping them to think about your subject differently. Perhaps other readers will have that kind of ah-ha moment of enlightenment when they read this book.

They Used To Call Us Witches: Chilean Exiles, Culture, and Feminism, by **Julie Shayne**. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009. 283pp. \$34.95 paper. ISBN: 9780739118504.

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They Used To Call Us Witches is an inspiring and accessible account of the role of Chilean women exiles in organizing opposition to the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet from Vancouver, British Columbia. Julie Shayne analyzes the role of women in the solidarity movement in the 1970s and 1980s and then looks at their involvement in the subsequent feminist movement of the 1990s. The main argument of the book is that gender, culture and emotions play an important role in social movements. Using a gendered lens, Shayne illustrates the ways in which emotions and culture played an instrumental role in keeping women active in the solidarity movement for decades. The book makes some notable contributions to the study of social movements. First, it examines a sorely neglected and under-theorized subject: exile movements. Second, it counters the overemphasis of structure in the social movement literature by focusing on emotions and culture.

In the book, Shayne describes the varied histories through which women became active in the solidarity movement. Some women had already been politicized in Chile and fought for socialism, others had not been political in Chile, but became highly politicized over the course of the solidarity

movement. However, one common thread was that exile led them to experience intense emotion, "sorrow, anger, guilt and despair" (p. xxiii), which then served as a catalyst to action. Women exiles felt they were in a liminal state and longed to feel rooted. This sense of liminality led the movement to have a significant focus on culture. As Shayne points out, cultural expression has long been central to left politics in Latin America. For example, many activists were significantly influenced by *el movimiento Nueva Canción* (the New Song movement) which was deeply political. In Vancouver, Shayne argues, several of the most important ways the solidarity movement grew and was sustained was through cultural events. While the movement certainly utilized political and economic strategies and tactics, for Shayne, it was the cultural and emotional side that kept women interested, involved, and invigorated. Peñas (events with music, typical Chilean food, and political speeches), a housing co-operative, and the musical group *Cormorán*, all played an important role in creating a sense of community in Vancouver and across Canada. Creating a space where women could raise their children in the Chilean manner, provide support to each other and fellow activists working against Pinochet in Chile, and provide services for newly exiled Chileans is what ultimately kept women in the movement.

Shayne beautifully illustrates how activism in one sphere, can lead to further consciousness raising and activism in other spheres. As time went on, and as women realized that they were going to be in permanent exile (physically or emotionally), they became engaged and active around other issues in Vancouver. Many women became involved in feminist politics. The culmination of these activities led to the formation of a cooperative magazine called *Aquelarre*. The goal of the magazine was to reach a broad audience on many different feminist or women centered issues. Years after the end of the dictatorship, the magazine had a worldwide readership.

The book's principal strength is that it explores an exile movement from a gendered lens. The book also has a number of limitations. First, in focusing on emotions and culture, Shayne underplays the importance of structure and the already formed political

consciousness of nearly all of the activists in the solidarity movement. Many scholars in the social movement's literature are moving in the direction of trying to better understand how structure, resources, emotions, and culture all play important and varied roles in social movements. Shayne could have tried to capture a fuller picture of all of these variables in the solidarity movement. Second, while she is careful not to make the argument that women are more emotional and interested in culture than men, she inadvertently and dangerously ventures into this territory. This is especially true in the conclusion, where she speculates on what the focus of men in the movement might have been, without having ever interviewed a man. Finally, Shayne's writing style is clear and accessible, but I found it difficult to move through Chapter Two, which is entirely devoted to the testimonies of women in the movement. In addition to this chapter, Shayne also has an appendix with more testimonies. While I understand that giving voice to women is significant, many of these stories and histories would have been better served by being woven into the text.

Overall, *They Used to Call Us Witches* tells a deeply compelling story in an accessible way. It also gives us excellent insight into the ways that emotions and culture can impact strategy and continuity in activism. Anyone interested in social movements, women's activism, and Latin America will surely enjoy the book.

Those Who Work, Those Who Don't: Poverty, Morality, and Family in Rural America, by **Jennifer Sherman**. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. 240pp. \$19.95 paper. ISBN: 9780816659050.

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How do low-income or poor families differ in adapting their identities and roles in response to dramatic, externally imposed economic change? This is the core question Jennifer Sherman addresses. She takes the reader to "Golden Valley," a pseudonym for an isolated timber-dependent community in

northern California, to disentangle strands of poverty, morality and family as they affect family adaptation to change. The timber industry has moved elsewhere. Traditional male jobs as loggers or sawmill workers are largely gone. Long-standing expectations about work, family and roles for men and women clash with the new economic reality. Sherman describes how some draw on strong attachment to place and beliefs about family to weave new understandings of acceptable family roles. She also describes the experiences of families that fail to do so. The role of morality in peoples' lives and how it shapes their response to change frames the study. Sherman writes, "Their lives entail a series of contradictions, which their cultural, moral, and gender discourses help them to navigate in ways that allow them to feel integrated and consistent with their pasts" (p. 3). The complexity of the ways in which people call upon and prioritize different aspects of their moral identities to shape their lives is nicely summarized in the introduction and forms the core message of the book.

Sherman's study is based on in-depth interviews with fifty-five men and women and ethnographic work she conducted in Golden Valley over the course of the year she lived, talked with residents and volunteered in the community. This methodology, described in the introduction, provides a rich source of information that Sherman skillfully uses to bring to life the conceptual ideas that frame the study.

Golden Valley is introduced in Chapter One through Sherman's use of her own experiences in the community, and through the voices of long-time residents. Eloquent statements from respondents about why they chose to stay when the town was plunged into economic despair close the chapter. Throughout the book, Sherman artfully details the day-to-day existence of those living in Golden Valley. This is juxtaposed with narrative of the beautiful natural setting, ruggedness, and potential for self-sufficiency that are core to residents' attachment to the place.

Chapters Two through Four provide the detail and interpretations of the various adaptations families used to survive. Factors examined include the effects of past and current poverty, work and alternative economic

strategies (Chapter Two); traditional family life and safety (Chapter Three); and the men's changing roles in some families, but not others (Chapter Four). As described in these chapters, women often become the sole breadwinners. Men find themselves with little to occupy their time. Some men adapt and take on what had been considered women's roles in the family creating new identities of what it means to be a good father and husband. Others retreat to the woods, some to help support their families through traditional activities like hunting and fishing, while others take part in illegal activities and substance use. When both partners adapt their identities about family and work, they tend to "succeed," even though they remain low income. In other families, one adult adapts and the other does not. This leads to family conflict, tension and sometimes physical or emotional abuse, again with continued low income. In families where both partners retain traditional attitudes, role conflict is reduced, but in the absence of men's jobs, the family's economic situation becomes dire. Sherman's use of quotations and descriptions of the families, and her interpretations, explain different adaptations these families make to respond to change.

The final chapter returns to the themes in the introduction and effectively links ideas of morality and the meanings of work and family roles with the detailed analysis and interpretations of the experiences of families in Golden Valley. This chapter closes with policy recommendations. The book is nicely written. The organization of the book is clear and every chapter is strong.

Three minor concerns do arise. First, the assertion of a relatively flat class structure in Golden Valley could have received more attention. This is inconsistent with descriptions of other natural resource dependent communities. Sherman's focus is on low-income families, but her argument rests on differences in values, morality and the ability to adapt to change as the core of what distinguishes the success of these families. The description of Golden Valley suggests some stratification exists, so success in adapting to change may also be influenced by how the perceptions of others in the community affect opportunities for low-income families.

Sherman can appropriately infer the findings from Golden Valley to other communities dependent on natural resource extraction or that have experienced rapid economic decline. It is less clear whether the experiences in Golden Valley would extend to other rural communities in the United States. This is a point for discussion and additional research. A distraction in the book is the attempt to link morality and views about family and tradition with voting behavior. This is raised in the introduction and then reappears in the concluding chapter, but is not linked to the interviews and analysis in the book. These minor concerns do not offset the contributions that Sherman makes in this book.

Those Who Work, Those Who Don't would be excellent for use in upper-level undergraduate and graduate classes and is accessible to lay readers. It is especially appropriate for those interested in the interface of rapid economic change and family adaptation, with a special emphasis on remaking masculinity with the loss of the traditional breadwinner role. The emphasis on attachment to place and tradition, morality and preference for a particular lifestyle also provides insight into why people choose to stay in economically stressed areas.

Clandestine Crossings: Migrants and Coyotes on the Texas-Mexico Border, by **David Spener**. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 298pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780801475894.

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Incredibly, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, there is apartheid in South Texas, part of the richest and most powerful country in the world, the United States. *Clandestine Crossings* has a clear and significant thesis and methodology (ethnography), and the quality of David Spener's research and sources makes it a very important textbook for students of social sciences interested in social movements, labor, anthropology, geography, political science, and sociology. One of the most significant achievements

of the book is that it depicts the tragedy of migrant workers and the way they are treated when caught illegally. As Russell Guerrero mentioned, "in the often heated debate over immigration and undocumented workers in the United States, one voice has been noticeably missing—the voice of the migrants themselves" (www.trinity.edu). The worth of the project depicted in the book is that it implies years of field experience, where sometimes ignored ethnography as a risky technique for collecting data, is emphasized. The terminology used in the book helps to clarify the common confusion existing around the topic.

The book is divided into six parts where the author analyzes what he calls the apartheid in South Texas by examining terms such as domination, resistance and migration. Spener takes the reader though a journey on time analyzing the politics towards migration, the role of the coyote as a cultural practice on the border and how these factors are related to concepts such as trust, distrust and power. Spener has spent more than eight years doing field work on both sides of the border, talking to and documenting the lives of people who take incredible risks to come into the United States, as well as those who enable them to make the journey. He explains, in a clearly written, well-organized fashion, a vivid argument for understanding the role of the paid guides known as coyotes, with an in-depth description and analysis of the experiences of the expelled working-class Mexican migrants who enter the United States surreptitiously, due to the neoliberal economic policies applied for years in Mexico.

The author interviews many migrants, coyotes and Border Patrol agents, immigration lawyers, and politicians, explaining in detail how evasion from intensified U.S. border enforcement by immigration officers takes place. He exposes some myths related to undocumented policies in the neighboring country which, by the way, have nothing to do with crime but rather with a form of resistance of this particular Mexican working class, and that correspond to an apartheid system right in the face of the "modern" twenty-first century. One of the culprits of this tragedy is precisely the Mexican government, that for decades has been unable to

provide enough employment for the population. Other culprits must be found in the media and can be attributed also to the lack of interest of politicians in the United States to develop legal mechanisms to attract this labor force. In many Mexican towns almost every able-bodied male crosses the border, either by a dangerous hike across the desert or in the trunk of a car: they take the risks to support themselves and their families. And because crossing the border has become so difficult and costly, instead of staying for several months, many migrants remain for several years, becoming a permanent undocumented population in the United States. Spener gives a voice to the migrants who have no opportunity to speak for themselves: they remain silent, Spener once said in an interview, because they have no connections to people with influence and power. The language barrier and their lack of legal status make them vulnerable.

The author has written many articles and publications concerning this matter for two decades. Even though there are many specialists studying this phenomenon, not all of them use a multidisciplinary tying together of history, sociology and ethnography. If the phenomenon of migration in the largest border area in the world has to be understood comprehensively, readers should approach the unique and significant research shown by Spener's keen sociological skills.

This book is a magnificent contribution to the understanding of surreptitious migrant border crossings at the southwestern border, and as has been said before, it should be required reading for legislators in Washington as well as in Mexico, analyzing the rich and interesting data he provides. Hopefully, the reading of the book will serve one day to banish those old quarrels and sayings depicting Mexico as "poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States"!

The Sense of Dissonance: Accounts of Worth in Economic Life, by **David Stark** with **Daniel Beunza**, **Monique Girard**, and **János Lukács**. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. 245pp. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780691132808.

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The Sense of Dissonance seeks to understand the organizational forms and practices that support innovation. Drawing on a broad range of theory and a trio of ethnographies, the book develops three core concepts to build its argument. The first is search. Whereas most organizational analyses understand search in terms of finding solutions to well-defined problems, David Stark et al. contend that innovation entails search into the unknown. It involves a world in which both ends and means are ambiguous and in which "you don't know what you are looking for until you find it" (p. 1). Second is the notion of worth. While less clearly spelled out, the basic idea is that there are competing, incommensurable spheres of valuation (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). Not all preferences can be arrayed nor options evaluated in terms of a single metric like cost. Different spheres of evaluation thus come into conflict as actors try to reach agreement about "what counts" and what courses of action to pursue. This is the source of creative dissonance. Innovation is likely to occur "when there is principled disagreement about what counts," while entrepreneurship is "the ability to keep multiple evaluative principles in play and to exploit the resulting friction of their interplay" (pp. 5 and 15). Finally, there is heterarchy, the organizational form that facilitates innovation. Heterarchies are characterized by cross-cutting network ties and responsibilities, lateral rather than hierarchical accountability, and competing evaluative principles. It both produces creative dissonance (by allocating search processes to all levels of the organization, thereby bringing competing evaluative principles into play) and facilitates discovery of ends-in-view (by providing the deliberative organizational mechanism whereby provisional agreements can be reached).

As befitting its theme, the book's strongest contribution arises from its facility for drawing on diverse traditions to challenge accepted wisdom. Whereas conventional accounts have long treated organizations as mechanisms that stabilize actions and outcomes through the use of rules and standard operating procedures, Stark et al. emphasize that organizations must embrace specific types of uncertainty in order to innovate and learn. Like the pragmatist tradition from which it draws, the book emphasizes that knowledge is not simply waiting to be found in the environment but must be actively (re)constructed through deliberation and experimentation. The notion of competing spheres of worth, while not analytically precise, provides a thought-provoking starting point for inquiry into this process. Similarly, the book's take on networks—the idea that entrepreneurial innovation involves occupying network spaces where competing evaluative principles come into play—provides a promising alternative to approaches that emphasize network disjunctures as sources of knowledge. The emphasis here is not on the strategic transmission of pre-existing knowledge but rather on the recombination of disparate categories and information.

Despite its many strengths, the book also encounters important difficulties. One is the question of how material constraints limit the possibilities of heterarchy. Like much of the pragmatist literature, the authors express fervent optimism that heterarchy is a generalizable organizational form for the twenty-first century. Yet in two of the three sites that they study, creative dissonance is remarkably short-lived. Both the partnership within a socialist factory that is the focus of Chapter Two and the new media start-up examined in Chapter Three are disbanded within five years of founding. In both cases, organizational death comes only after the failure of attempts to introduce more bureaucratic forms in response to market pressures. There are sometimes, it seems, marked tensions between capitalist market logic and distributed cognition. The point is not simply that the market constrains what counts; it also constrains who gets to define what counts. While multiple evaluative principles may remain in play, over time specific

actors—those who have property rights in the enterprise—gain authority to determine which ones count. As a participant in the socialist factory puts it, "What was ambiguous is now clear-cut. It's obvious. We're the losers" (p. 80). The new media workers—who "always knew that they did not 'own' the company, but in some palpable sense . . . felt it was theirs" (p. 144)—may experience similar sentiments when their company first attempts to introduce more hierarchical forms prior to an IPO, then is sold off to a larger enterprise that goes bankrupt. In both cases, the participants' belief that they were accountable to their peers rather than to hierarchy was, if not illusory, at least short-lived.

A second issue concerns the origin of the principles that underlie the efficacy of heterarchy. The authors are careful to note that deliberative decision-making relies on "principled" disagreement among actors in order to work effectively. Participants must debate and pursue solutions in good faith, without engaging in opportunism or the politics of subterfuge. But the book provides little sense of where such principles come from or how they can be instilled in actors, especially in an economic context involving conflicting incentives and potential disagreements over the division of spoils. It is at this point that a thorough consideration of the larger institutional nexus would be helpful. The book argues strongly that reflexive cognition is an outcome of situational factors rather than institutional givens. Yet as the authors seem to recognize, there are strong reasons to believe that the principles underlying good faith deliberation are typically anchored in institutions rather than simply an outcome of situational constraints. Insofar as this is the case, the understanding of effective deliberative mechanisms requires an analysis of the institutional conditions that foster or undermine those structures. The authors take a few steps in this direction, but a more thorough consideration of the interplay between institutions, situations, and principles is needed.

A final issue is the relative lack of variation among the cases. All of the sites studied are small to medium-sized (between 15 and 160 employees) and involve relatively little physical asset specificity. Even more important,

heterarchy and competing value spheres are everywhere in these ethnographies—even in the securities trading firm that was intended to serve as a hierarchical foil to the other two cases. There are two points to be made here. First is the standard comparative point: If the argument is that heterarchies manifest processes and outcomes that bureaucratic organizations do not, it would be helpful to have a dissonant case to illustrate and develop these differences. This is not a fatal problem, since there are many studies of decision-making in comparable but highly bureaucratic contexts. Moreover, the ethnographies provide a great deal of fascinating “thick description” that is well-suited to the book’s theory-building endeavor. The second concern is simply that the relatively small size of the organizations under study make it more likely that an observer will see lateral communications, conflicting spheres of evaluation, and distributed cognition. At a sufficiently micro level of observation, even highly bureaucratized organizations are likely to manifest at least some of these characteristics. The question is how heterarchical processes are formally incorporated into larger bureaucratic structures and whether such incorporation alters their functioning.

The Sense of Dissonance is an engaging and important book that generates a wealth of ideas and insights. Anybody interested in economic sociology, organizations, or innovation will want to read it, for the arguments it presents will be at the forefront of these areas for years to come.

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Terrorism and Torture: An Interdisciplinary Perspective, edited by **Werner G.K. Stritzke, Stephan Lewandowsky, David Denemark, Joseph Clare, and Frank Morgan**. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 352pp. \$99.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780521898195.

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This interdisciplinary collection examines torture and terrorism—and links between them. The editors pulled together scholars “from a diverse range of disciplines” (including psychology, peace and conflict studies, political science, law, and criminology/criminal justice) “to examine the complex factors contributing to terrorist acts and state-sponsored torture” (p. xiii). Due to space constraints, this review focuses on essays of greatest interest to sociologists.

Alex Bellamy (Peace and Conflict Studies) draws on philosophical literature to address the moral equivalency of terrorism and state-sponsored torture. Both violate the precept that non-combatants should be shielded from harm due to war—and certainly should not be deliberately targeted. Both terrorism and torture violate widely accepted standards inscribed in human rights treaties and conventions. Moreover, they “feed off one another . . . [to create] a normative environment that is less hostile to the commission of both torture and terrorism” (p. 38). Ben Saul (International and Global Law) also addresses the equivalency of terrorism and torture, but he does so with an emphasis on the legal implications. Both terrorists and torturers claim they are protecting “human rights against serious oppression” (p. 58). They make these parallel claims to justify for themselves (and only themselves) the right and the duty to rely on exceptional means.

Psychologists offer insights into motivations and perceptions. Fathali Moghaddam (Psychology) describes a “staircase to terrorism” wherein individuals move from forming an identity with an affinity for terrorist organizations to subsequent steps that increasingly restrict social networks, information sources and behaviors. Once,

“individuals are recruited and become members of terrorist networks, there is very little possibility of them exiting” (p. 109). In complementary fashion, Winnifred Louis (Psychology) documents that relatively few terrorists display mental health disturbances. Instead, terrorism is “a functional choice”: political organizations adopt terrorist tactics to achieve political ends, individuals choose among political parties and social movements—including those relying on terrorism. Although their arguments build from different starting points, both Moghaddam and Louis converge on the importance of addressing grievances and political identity formation. Once political parties and movements adopt terrorism as a preferred tactic and have established effective recruitment networks, preventing terrorist attacks becomes extraordinarily difficult.

Carmen Lewandowsky (Psychology) and several collaborators focus on the media and misinformation. Laboratory research shows that “people are readily susceptible to the creation of false memories when information is repeatedly hinted at but never actually confirmed” (p. 196). Once implanted, false memories can be difficult to dislodge. Consider the persistence of the belief that Saddam Hussein’s regime possessed stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) long after credible evidence contradicted this belief. Lewandowsky et al. explain why the persistence of this mistaken belief was significantly higher in the United States than other Western democracies. Prominent officials in the Bush Administration continued to highlight purported evidence of WMD’s even after this assertion had been discredited. Virtually no news organization challenged these implausible assertions prior to the invasion of Iraq, and some news organizations (with Fox being notable in this regard) continued to hint that WMDs existed or would soon be found.

John Tulloch (Social Science and Law), contributed the most intriguing essay. On July 7, 2005, Mohammed Siddique Khan blew himself up in a London subway (killing 52 and injuring hundreds). Tulloch was not only on the train, he was sitting opposite Khan on the subway. Although he survived, his recovery was slow and challenging: Tulloch

prepared himself “psychologically each morning for the succession of lady helpers who lifted my legs into the bath and bathed me because I couldn’t bend to wash my lower body; then, the huge effort standing washing my own hair without getting water in my ears; or remembering to light the gas after I’d turned it on—and sometimes forgetting; crossing the road with awful vertigo and vomiting and deafness” (p. 205). Tulloch wrote his essay as a victim and as an academic with expertise in media imagery and narrative. As a victim, he examines parallels to those hurt and killed in other terrorist attacks; focusing on Abu Ghraib, he also explains that he has much in common with victims of torture. He goes on to present a Foucauldian analysis of media representations, highlighting representations that reinforce and disrupt disciplinary power and biopower related to the war on terror.

The strength of individual essays notwithstanding, the overall volume is not well-integrated. There is no overarching theoretical framework, no specific policy recommendation. Instead, contributors examined facets of terrorism and torture according to individual and disciplinary interest. The closing chapter (Joseph Clare and Frank Morgan) presents an overarching framework based on risk-based criminal justice. But, this chapter does not engage the themes and analyses in the previous chapters. Instead of pulling the volume together, this closing chapter is still another stand-alone essay. It is, of course, often the case that edited volumes are uneven and dif-fused. In this volume, these tendencies are magnified. This is not to criticize the quality of individual essays, but the different essays do not play off one another to create synergies. Those seeking an integrated overview and introduction to these topics will likely be frustrated by this collection. For scholars who study torture and terror, valuable insights can be gleaned from individual essays.

Bodies in Crisis: Culture, Violence, and Women's Resistance in Neoliberal Argentina, by **Barbara Sutton**. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010. 256pp. \$25.95 paper. ISBN: 9780813547404.

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The history of contemporary feminism the world over has been characterized by practical struggles and political debate which bring *women's bodies* into focus. At the theoretical level, this has included the critique of a disembodied, universal Enlightenment notion of the human being ("man"), portrayed as fully human insofar as "he" is revealed to be a subject of reason and fully in control over the "messier side" of existence (body, emotions, etc.) and perpetuating a dichotomy in which women are ultimately defined as Other: body, emotion and the danger of all that threatens to escape disciplinary control. This of course represented a contradictory cultural legacy, one in which women were (are) exhorted or expected to "be [just] the body" . . . yet certainly not a body of their [our] own; rather, a body to be constantly shaped and redefined according to the vicissitudes of the patriarchal imaginary, according to openly or surreptitiously imposed codes and languages of "what a woman is"—whether domestic servant, wife (and mother), piece of property, Playboy bunny, prostitute or "human dictaphone," as Gayle Rubin ironically commented in her pioneering text (1975). It also enables us to understand why a political-discursive focus on re-thinking and re-claiming our bodies became such an important focus of late twentieth century feminism.

Argentine-born and raised, sociologist Barbara Sutton provides a unique account of the social and political conjuncture in her country at the beginning of the twenty-first century that is both a brilliant attempt to theorize women's lives and struggles by bringing the body clearly "back" into the picture, and a rendering of a concrete story of oppression and resistance in which women come to life as embodied (*and* rational/reflective *and* emotional) subjects of history. Through an

intricate web of theory, history and ethnography/participant observation into which women's stories and voices are woven and linked to a particular political and social scenario, Sutton's book is not only inspiring but also a wonderful methodological tool that should (and most certainly will) provide a model for similar pieces of research in different parts of the world. Her work is methodologically exemplary, and empirically necessary: through narratives of women, culture and resistance in a contemporary Latin American context, Sutton brings our attention to frequently ignored or overlooked, embodied and gendered dimensions of social change in one corner of the "Global South."

For those unfamiliar with twentieth century Argentine history, from earlier phases of "nation-building" through the fall of the military dictatorship and the implantation and crisis of the neo-liberal regime toward the century's end, the author's introduction is both concise and penetrating. Subsequent chapters look at different facets of women's lives during this latter period, always attentive to the connections between embodied subjectivities, embodied politics, and embodied forms of resistance. Thus, she discusses how women of different classes were affected by the economic crisis of the early 2000s (obliged to work and struggle harder than ever to get by, often to support families whether with a partner, on their own and/or within extended families and communities), how dominant modes of feminine embodiments were put into place historically and how women were led to contest them, how issues of reproductive rights and abortion took on ever-greater importance within the crisis context and how deep-rooted processes of gender violence were manifested and exacerbated by economic crisis and the legacy of state terror.

Two dominant forms of constructing women's bodies are critically discussed: "women as maternal bodies," and as "narrowly-defined (hetero) sexually appealing, visibly pleasing female bodies" (p. 181). Although Argentina and other Latin American countries are certainly not unique in this regard, it may be worth considering, as Sutton does, how particular cultures (Argentina, in this case, and with some parallel processes

that have made themselves heavily felt in Brazil, as well; cf. Goldenberg) have particularly strong historical legacies of this type, having considerable success in hegemonizing such notions of “what a woman is.” In turn, these inherently constraining constructions offer ample opportunity for policing women’s behavior and social participation in different walks of life, touching all women in one way or another yet, at the same time, heavily inflected by questions of class and race/ethnicity, age and sexual orientation.

Working with interviews and focus groups as specific methodological tools, Sutton’s intense experience in the field included a universe of socially-diverse women, as well as an ample number of political activists similarly varying in background and arenas of political struggle. Thus, she is able to provide dense descriptions of the experiences of *piquetistas*—working-class women who became engaged in street-based resistance (building and defending road blockades) to economic injustice, adopting attitudes that contrasted not only with elite discourse on womanhood¹ but which could also take their male partners, friends or family members by surprise. And there are testimonies of many others—middle-class women recounting their abortion experiences and reflecting on the cruelty of societal denial of women’s right to choose, young working class lesbians, an indigenous activist and a middle class black professional in a country that has made great historical efforts to claim its whiteness, all acutely aware of how they belong to a culture that marks them as bodily or sexually deviant. Their stories are shot through with experiences of violence, but also with large doses of courage and hope.

Sutton’s well-written text brings her informants’ stories richly to life. She shows

us how the metaphor “*poner el cuerpo*” (literally, putting [in]one’s body)—a phrase so often used by the women she interviewed and spoke to—takes on particular meanings in specific contexts. In Argentina, women famously put their bodies on the front line during resistance to the military dictatorship, as so eloquently demonstrated by the famous Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, women who used a traditional hegemonic signifier of womanhood—maternity, the maternal role and body—for contesting a brutal political regime. She also evokes many other instances in which women engaged with their social world—through organizing, protest and daily life—in ways that were more overtly disruptive of gender codes and (hetero) sexual/body norms. Thus, she shows us that although there are many different situations in which the expression *poner el cuerpo* might be used, what is most important is what it always connotes: the fullest sense of physical and spiritual presence, giving one’s all, taking risks, putting one’s mind and body to the task—as so many women of the Global South do today, facing the challenge of building a better world, at whatever the scale.

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Birthing a Mother: The Surrogate Body and the Pregnant Self, by **Elly Teman**. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010. 361pp. \$21.95 paper. ISBN: 9780520259645.

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Birthing a Mother is a beautifully and carefully written ethnographic analysis of the intimate emotional experiences of women who

¹ Sutton has convincingly evoked that elite nation building efforts that attempted to discipline working-class women by discursive constructions of their “proper place”: “feminine virtuosity, sacrifice, altruism, dignified work and filial and fraternal love . . . [to contrast both] the deviant working-class femininity embodied by the figure of the prostitute and the elegantly and highly superior feminine embodiment of upper-class women” (p. 65).

elect to provide the gift of maternity to those who are unable to bear a child. The informants who share their experiences are Israeli women who have decided to undertake a surrogate pregnancy, and their first-hand accounts of how they anticipated, managed, confronted, and rebuffed the inevitably complicated medical and legal dynamics of their experience make up the focus of this book. In order to control for the variable impact that culture, institutional, and social difference can bring to the surrogacy process, the author, a medical anthropologist, elected for several reasons to focus on the particular experiences of Israeli women. First, surrogacy is legal in Israel and surrogacy contracts are legal in its courts. Unlike arrangements in the leading surrogacy centers of California—which extol technology over nature and minimize state intervention in private reproductive lives, and the United Kingdom, where state regulations deter surrogacy from becoming a commercial venture and where surrogacy contracts are not enforceable—Israeli law actively permits compensated surrogacy but also tightly regulates every aspect of the process. Second, both the Jewish religion and Israeli national discourse amplify and clarify the very concepts being negotiated in surrogacy arrangements—maternity, kin relations, and bodies and boundaries, both personal and national. As a case study, Israel also introduces religion into the mix, further complicating how cultures employ beliefs about nature to maintain the social order associated with gender and race and to manage the relationship of technology to nature. Third, the relatively small size of Israel provided easy access to both parties of the dyad, the surrogate and the intended mother, and it also offered ready access to women who, unlike those in other locations, are allowed by national law to overtly pursue surrogacy strictly for financial gain. Thus, informants' commonly stated motivations for surrogacy such as love of pregnancy, empathy for childless couples, and the desire to make a unique contribution were combined with rational economic goals of paying off loans, providing for their own children's basic needs, and saving for the future.

The analysis of these women's experience is organized into four parts: "Dividing" focuses

on the ways in which surrogates demarcate the parts of their bodies they wish to retain for themselves throughout the process and those they wish to distance from and/or share with the intended mother. These demarcations form a "body map" that serves as a template for the emotion work associated with nurturing the fetus and relating to the intended couple, and as self-constructed guidelines body maps establish symbolic boundaries that translate into actions the surrogates rely upon throughout the pregnancy to preserve integrity of self. Often, mapping entailed bright lines that could shift, sometimes in contradictory ways, but it afforded these women control over their on-loan bodies and thus transcendence over the pregnancy.

"Connecting" addresses the activities of intended mothers as they moved away from their prior inability to be a mother and embarked on initially tentative steps in the process of preparing themselves for motherhood. These steps included naturalizing the embryos, actively seeking out knowledge about pregnancy and fetal development, and participating in prenatal care. These abstract claiming practices by intended mothers generated a privileged knowledge of the fetus that often encroached upon and complicated the contracted work of the surrogates. Inevitably, though, the pregnant body and the pregnancy itself became conjoined between surrogate and intended mothers through physical, psychological, and cultural activities and practices that redefined the pregnancy-by-proxy as one that embodied for the intended mother a gestational environment that replaced the surrogate.

"Separating" addresses the post-birth period—the strictly prescribed Israeli state-directed intervention that seals off the surrogate from the intended mother's new maternity and process of parental claiming. These rational, institutional practices that are designed to assure severance of all ties between the surrogate and the fetus and the intended mother stand in stark contrast to the preceding physical and emotional intertwining between the women, and are examined through the contrasting lenses of the intended's viewpoint of contractual exchange and the surrogate's of gifting. Here, for the first time, the intended mother now defines the terms of the relationship, a shift in power

and control that can leave the surrogate feeling like a commodity and her contribution to Israeli nation-state building marginalized.

"Redefining" describes how despite the ultimately alienating and disempowering experience of the final stage of surrogacy, it is transformed into one characterized by surrogates as the most meaningful experience of their lives. This takes place through the surrogate's portrayal of herself as a courageous heroine who through sheer physical strength and emotional fortitude is able to successfully challenge doctors' authoritative medical knowledge and endure extreme discomfort from the preparation for and undertaking of embryo transfers. This prowess is characterized, the author argues, in masculinized terms of mastery of the body over medical technology that are consistent with Israeli national culture.

This thoughtfully researched book sheds richly detailed substantive light upon and understanding of the social and emotional experience of the technical and technological aspects of surrogacy within a unique cultural context primarily from the vantage point of the surrogate and secondarily from that of the intended mother. But as a particular case study this book goes well beyond descriptive focus to clarify the profound impact that national cultures, legal structures, and religious ideologies can have upon the surrogate experience, especially when women explicitly enter into symbolic relations with the state through their roles as wives and mothers. The research offered here raises provocative questions about the extent to which reproductive technologies are postmodern challenges of modernist notions of the nuclear family and motherhood, the presumption that medical technologies are moving us closer to the end of the body, that new technologies usurp nature as we know it and lead to a type of postmodern procreation, and whether state control of reproduction upends women's and children's interests. At the core of this research is a deep human emotion in an unexpected place: the surrogates' greater sense of loss over dissolution of companionship with the intended mother than that from relinquishing the child she carried.

Working in the Shadows: A Year of Doing the Jobs [Most] Americans Won't Do, by **Gabriel Thompson**. New York, NY: Nation Books, 2010. 298pp. \$24.95 cloth. ISBN: 9781568584089.

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Sociologists are not the only ones who have used participant observation to study work and the labor process. Journalists have also long traded their reporter's notebooks for hard hats, aprons and rubber gloves to join the American workforce. Some of their sojourns have made for interesting reading, and sociologists have often used their accounts to introduce issues in the sociology of work and to jump-start discussion. Some of these journalists—such as Barbara Garson in her *All the Livelong Day* and more recently Barbara Ehrenreich in her *Nickel and Dimed*—have also made important contributions to sociological literature. Gabriel Thompson in his *Working in the Shadows: A Year of Doing the Jobs [Most] Americans Won't Do*, is the latest in this tradition of journalists doing important sociological work.

With unbridled enthusiasm, Thompson goes to work picking lettuce, processing chicken and delivering food—work typically done by immigrant workers. He is clear about his intentions. He is not pretending to be an immigrant worker, nor is he trying to replicate Ehrenreich's attempt to live on the wages he makes. He goes to work to experience first-hand the work of immigrant workers and to share with us what this work entails.

He begins in Yuma, Arizona where 90 percent of the iceberg lettuce for the U.S. and Canadian market is grown and picked during the winter months. He takes a job cutting lettuce with the global giant Dole, joining a crew of 18 immigrant workers, most of whom are guest workers from Mexico. In an effort to change the discourse on immigrant reform, the United Farm Workers have begun a campaign inviting white Americans to come join them working in the fields, if they think that immigrants are taking their jobs away. Thompson chronicles why they have not had many takers. In the

process—without the help of Braverman, Burroway or other labor process theorists—he delivers unquestionably the most detailed and nuanced description of the labor process of farm labor in the literature to date. He documents the back-breaking nature of the work as workers cut, trim and bag six heads of lettuce each minute over long days and a long season and he provides a detailed description of the complex set of skills necessary to do this work at the pace demanded by the grower. Immigrant workers patiently show him how to hold his knife and the lettuce, how to not stand up after each head but to stay in a stooped position, and how to make adjustments so that he can more easily dispense plastic bags from around his waist. An older farm worker who he visits over one weekend tells him that it takes three to four seasons to learn to cut lettuce.

In both his fieldwork and his writing Thompson gets the tone exactly right. I will be assigning this chapter of this book in my class on fieldwork as an example of how to do participant observation in a way that is both engaged and honest. This is not a self-indulgent focus on his own experience in the fields—although Thompson doesn't shy away from telling us about the continuing assault on his body and spirit. It is also not a chronicle of the depravity of farm workers or farm work dripping with liberal guilt. No one is struck by a boss or cheated out of wages in the fields where Thompson works, although there is plenty of documentation that it is common elsewhere. The horror he documents here instead is the blinding pace of work, even if it is done legally, as he and his 17 coworkers cut, trim, bag and box 43,222 heads of lettuce in the course of a day. Thompson reminds us that it is not only in the shadows at the margins of the economy that the exploitation of immigrants happens, but right in the blinding sunlight of a major employer operating within the frame of law.

Thompson then travels to Russellville, Alabama to cut chickens at Pilgrim's Pride, where they process 250,000 chickens each day. Unlike cutting lettuce, there is plenty of drama in the sprawling plant swimming in chicken parts. Yet despite the guts and gore, he finds the work incredibly boring and

unskilled compared to farm work—an important finding in itself. This does not mean that it is not physically taxing. For example, he spends several weeks doing nothing but picking up and dumping 70–80 tubs of children breast—nothing subtle here, just brute force. While the work he describes is incredibly segmented and Taylorized, Thompson is shocked at how disorganized the plant is, as he goes from back-breaking work one day to standing around and waiting for work the next, or waiting for machines to be fixed—collateral damage of processing a quarter million chickens per day. This is what work is like on the low road.

Thompson finishes his year of manual labor by returning to his home in New York, where he finds work in flowers and later delivering food for restaurants. His work is solid here, but maybe because he is not seeing this work with the same kind of "new eyes" he was forced to use in Yuma and Russellville, this chapter seemed less compelling. The brief conclusion feels skimpy, but we must remember that this book was not intended as a sociological treatise but a journalist's account of the work that immigrants do. Thompson's book succeeds as a beautifully written volume that both unpacks and honors the work of immigrants. And along the way he also does some important sociology and makes a major contribution to our understanding of the labor process.

The Age of Anxiety: A History of America's Turbulent Affair with Tranquilizers, by **Andrea Tone**. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2009. 298pp. \$26.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780465086580.

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In most histories of psychiatry, 1955 is a critical year because of the introduction of Thorazine (chlorpromazine) to treat mental patients, which was a key factor in allowing for the deinstitutionalization of mental hospitals, a process that followed for the next twenty-five years. But there was another event that same year that is much less well

known and until now, much less researched: the introduction of the first so-called minor tranquilizer, Miltown (meprobamate). Taken together, these two occurrences mark the beginnings of biological psychiatry, widespread promotion of psychotropic medications by a growing pharmaceutical industry, and the origin of what we now often dub as "lifestyle drugs."

Andrea Tone, a cultural historian, narrates the fascinating history of psychoactive drugs for "nervous disorders" and everyday life problems. Using a range of primary sources, she contextualizes the growth of these drugs in the 1950s "age of anxiety" characterized by the threat of the nuclear bomb, the conformity of men in grey flannel suits, and a culture of the lonely crowd. Miltown became the first blockbuster psychiatric drug: by 1956, one in twenty Americans had tried it and by 1957 Americans had filled 36 million prescriptions for Miltown. While Tone suggests this medicalization of anxiety was largely patient driven, she also presents evidence about how the drug was promoted by the pharmaceutical industry (including reaching consumers by planting favorable stories about the drug in popular magazines and newspapers), and widely prescribed by physicians beyond psychiatry. Tone shows how the front line of everyday mental health practice shifted from psychiatrists to family doctors who could reach many more patients. By 1960 three quarters of all doctors in the United States had prescribed meprobamate. Miltown became a fashionable pill, especially among celebrities in Hollywood, creating a veritable cultural buzz about the drug. The parallel patterns for subsequent blockbusters like Valium and Prozac seem evident.

Drugs like Miltown, and later Valium and Librium, engendered a kind of pharmaceutical optimism in American culture. Miltown's success "forged a new patient-doctor relationship . . . [in] regard to mental health—first anxiety, then depression, attention deficit disorder, bipolar disorder, and so on—as grounds for routine medical consultation and pharmacological intervention" (p. 91). This drug pioneered the model for drug companies, doctors and consumers, and engendered the tremendous expansion of psychoactivity manifest in the past half century.

But Miltown had its day, and was followed in the 1960s and 1970s by the even more popular benzodiazepines Librium and Valium. Librium proved to be a more potent and versatile drug (prescribed for acute agitation, delirium tremens, phobias, mild depression, menstrual discomforts, along with anxiety), with fewer apparent side effects, and quickly became the best selling tranquilizer. It was soon joined by the even more popular Valium and these drugs dominated the market through the 1970s. They were more frequently prescribed to women for a range of complaints, and were deridingly called "mother's little helper." At their peak, nearly 15 percent of the population used them during a year. But new reports of side effects and especially dependency and addiction led to a severe reduction of prescriptions by the 1980s. Then along came Prozac and its fellow SSRI anti-depressants, but that is another story.

Tone does an excellent job of unearthing and analyzing this previously under-researched history of pharmaceuticals and mental health. Interestingly, David Herzberg, also an historian, has recently published a parallel cultural history of minor tranquilizers, *Happy Pills: From Miltown to Prozac* (2009). Tone astutely examines the process of the drugs' discovery and their introduction as therapeutic and cultural objects for an anxious culture, while Herzberg emphasizes gender and class differences and the promotion of the pharmaceutical industry. Together these books provide us with new and deeper understandings of this important chapter in the medicalization of the ills of everyday life.

Dividing the Domestic: Men, Women, and Household Work in Cross-National Perspective, edited by **Judith Treas** and **Sonja Drobníč**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. 261pp. \$50.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780804763578.

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For over 30 years, who does what in the heterosexual, married household has been a serious topic of sociological study. Such

study has been dogged by both practical and ideological limitations, including those bearing on the difficulties of construct definition and measurement, as well as the comparison of disparate data sets. Those limitations often mask such problems as the misspecification of multivariate models of household work where variables are reciprocally related or highly correlated (e.g., levels of household work and attitudes). Theoretical limitations include the frequent embrace of a so-called rational decision making model for the household. The presumption of neat and clean, gender neutral, symmetric relationships between market and household labors as household members together respond to both the demand for their labors and limiting time constraints to maximize household utility makes for some pretty unnerving disconnects between theory and reality. But such assumptions also enable the now familiar search for glimmers of gender reciprocity in a work site that has been shown to be shot through with gender inequality. One study after another is reduced to a pursuit of the conditions under which husbands' labor can be concluded to be more than fixed, low, and unresponsive to the forces—both endogenous and exogenous—that affect the household labors of women. The result has been the research equivalent of an infinite do-loop of observations about the continued “double days” of women, and expressions of perplexity at the apparent intransigence of the men with whom women partner. Predictably, this volume does not reveal the dawn of a new day for husbands and wives, since there is no reason it should: like household work, its division is gendered in both its process and its outcome, and there are reasons why that is one of the field's most enduring empirical findings.

Thankfully, at its strongest points, the volume leaves a preoccupation with this question, and moves to others. Not the least of the limitations burdening this research domain is a nearly exclusive focus on U.S. households. In this volume, co-editors Judith Treas and Sonja Drobnič at least free us from that shortcoming through a collection of chapters that focus on non-U.S. (primarily Western) cultures. The result is a very productive extension of the large U.S. literature

and most importantly, perhaps a way to a broadened view of the problem.

Compared to earlier efforts limited only to American households, the sociological sensibilities underlying a comparative perspective extend not only the reach of the analyses, but also elevate their quality. The volume's editors have chosen contributions for their explicit attention to the wider social context in which household decisions are made. After all, the paid and unpaid labors of couples always operate in a shifting context not only of household and workplace exigencies, but also of the particular characteristics of the cultures of nation-states, and the sociopolitical impact of family-related policies. Multiple chapters within the volume present cross-national comparisons based on a typology to classify different welfare regimes and the impact of their policies for women and their families. Other contributions examine institutional level policies, and in particular link those policies theoretically to cultural attitudes that go on to affect individuals and reciprocally reinforce future policy. As with all attempts to model multi-layered social dynamics, it is difficult to imagine any clear causal path, but the discussions are provocative nonetheless. As co-editor Judith Treas puts it in her introduction, “Studies of household work have only begun to grapple with a host of structural factors that suppress options or make conscious decision making largely irrelevant” (p. 7).

A few chapters direct attention to class and class-related extra-household phenomena which may cast some influence over household members' division of labor, with some suggesting that those better off can enjoy the luxury of greater equity at home. The strongest of these is by Sanjiv Gupta, et al., “Economic Inequality and Housework” for their new models incorporating women's earnings into a comparison among women of time spent on household labor. It is here where a real connection between large-scale workings of societies and the everyday labors of women is most clear. This is an exceptionally fruitful area for future cross-national comparison.

This volume is a good beginning for the graduate student or researcher who wishes to go beyond the confines of U.S.-based

analyses. Because of the sheer scope of this volume, however, and the secondary data sets employed, the reader would surely have benefited from some discussion by the co-editors about the epistemological and methodological issues raised by the practices of this research. If these new lines of research represent a productive future, then we need greater sophistication in our understanding of the data that serve as its foundation.

Social Networks and Health: Models, Methods, and Applications, by **Thomas W. Valente**. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010. \$49.95 cloth. 277pp. ISBN: 9780195301014.

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The appropriateness of using social network analysis to learn about human health behaviors and outcomes is a no-brainer. Issues related to health promotion, contagion, disease diffusion, and general well-being are classic epidemiological concerns that are constrained by social network structures. However, the application of social network analysis may not be straightforward. Enter Thomas Valente's latest volume, *Social Networks and Health: Models, Methods, and Applications*. Valente provides a gentle introduction to social network analysis with examples drawn from the areas of health research and epidemiology.

The book covers the basics of social network analysis, starting with an introduction chapter that orients the reader towards the requisite theoretical perspective and then concisely reviews the history of the field as it relates to health topics. The chapters that follow detail aspects of conducting health research using methods of social network analysis, including how to approach basic concepts such as centrality and transitivity to more complicated methods such as exponential random graph and agent based simulation models. Somewhat surprisingly, absent is a discussion of a few common formal network properties (i.e., walk, path, cycle). The models and methods discussed in this book are easy to digest, which is the result of the

fact that the application examples are concisely summarized in a way that is salient to health researchers. Readers will also appreciate the various software examples, sample scripts, and research vignettes included throughout the chapters.

One of the key contributions of this book is that it serves as an *ad hoc* consolidation of the ways in which public health researchers have used, and could use, social network analysis. Valente characterizes the public health and medical applications into five areas: social support on health outcomes, family planning and sexual behavior, community health and information diffusion, inter-organizational collaboration, and health care provider performance (p. 36). Many of the examples and research suggestions are drawn from studies of human actor networks (both ego-centric and network-centric). Less attention is given to networks where organizations are the nodes (the fourth area in his list), discussion of which is limited to two paragraphs at the end of the second chapter. This is a bit surprising given the recent surge in public health research on inter-organizational collaborative networks (e.g., hospital resource sharing). This is only one of the two omissions that are relevant for public health network: readers will have to find application examples elsewhere. The other omission is a discussion of how space can constrain networks and influence health behavior and risks. These two omissions aside, readers will find more than enough network research examples from the other four areas.

Valente is up-front about the major limitation of his book: it is written for people with average quantitative knowledge and skills. Those who are mathematically inclined will find the book lacking important details about measures and methods while the mathematically allergic will be repelled by the equations. It is a difficult task to regress the math inherently involved in social network analysis to the average reader's ability. However, Valente pulls it off with plainly worded explanations of mathematical and statistical concepts and procedures, and by keeping his focus on real world examples from health applications. If readers require more depth, they can reference one of the dozen or so texts cited in the introduction chapter.

There are now several dozen textbooks and references for social network analysis, including a handful of discipline specific volumes. Indeed, there have been at least five other network methods books reviewed in the past ten years in *Contemporary Sociology*. Of course, the pinnacle of social networks analysis was codified in Wasserman and Faust's (1994) famous book, with a follow-up by Carrington et al. in 2005. Valente's contribution stands out, however, as an exceptionally accessible introduction oriented towards students of public health and will certainly become a classic resource for advanced undergraduate courses and graduate seminars in this field. He points out that the long-held emphasis on attributional theories of behavior in social science has limited widespread adoption of social network research methods; with any luck, his book will help to advance knowledge on the interdependence between social structure and behavior *vis-à-vis* network analysis.

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Analysing Practical and Professional Texts: A Naturalistic Approach, by **Rod Watson**. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009. \$99.95 cloth. 142pp. ISBN: 9780754678977.

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It is nowadays a sociological commonplace to assert that the modern world comprises a "textually-mediated" social reality. Arguably, there is no aspect of contemporary life that does not require or involve the use of "texts" of one kind or another, from TV programs to junk mail, emails to social networking messages, banknotes to train tickets, traffic signs to billboards, legal documents to

bank statements (the author provides a longer, though selective, list of examples). Faced with this all-pervasive textuality and plethora of textual phenomena, sociology has responded in its orthodox way by offering a range of theorizations of the nature of texts-in-general and speculative generalizations about their place in our lives.

None of these theoretical responses to the phenomenon of texts and textuality tells us much about the character of texts as practical "objects-in-use." Rod Watson's premise is that any given text is constituted in its use—through the ways we interact with it, thereby shaping our activities towards and by means of it. Taking his inspiration from the ethnomethodological tradition, in particular Harvey Sacks' groundbreaking analysis of the structures of commonsense categorization, Watson eschews generalization and instead examines the "production work" that constitutes a specific text and gives it meaning-in-use.

The book comprises four chapters. The first explains the methodological approach taken by discussing the main elements of an ethnomethodological approach to texts. Watson's main point is that most sociological analyses of texts have treated them as determinant of or determined by social action. In the first kind, the text is conceived as a fixed object whose organization shapes the uses made of it; in the second, emphasis is placed upon "interpretation," giving the impression that the text is open to a potentially infinite range of uses. For Watson, the difference between these approaches and his own is *not* that he seeks a "middle way," a balance of determinations. Rather, his approach instructs us to look again at the "text-reading pair," not in order to assign theoretically informed causal priorities, but to examine what it amounts to here and now with reference to *this* text. The task he sets himself is descriptive rather than explanatory.

In the following three chapters this approach is exemplified through concrete analyses of particular texts or forms of text. In Chapter Two, Watson focuses upon two anthropological texts, Liebow's *Tally's Corner* and Anderson's *A Place on the Corner*. Both are classic ethnographic studies of U.S. black street culture, in which prominence is given to consideration of the phenomenon of

"going for brothers" in black speech. In both studies, the analytic task is to describe this phenomenon in its cultural context, to "make sense" of the speech practices involved by relating them to other features of ghetto life. What this contextualizing account does not tell us, Watson suggests, is how the very "possibility" of the practice, and thus its textual ethnographic depiction, is constituted. In essence, "going for brothers" comprises a re-categorization process in which kinship terms are extended to others who are, from a literal perspective, non-kin. The effect is to create, for any given speaker, a "pseudo-kin" collection of personal intimates. As Watson notes, understanding how this works requires us to examine what Liebow and Anderson take for granted, the category organization of "literal" kinship referents on which the practice is parasitic, in order to comprehend how the practice invokes and modifies such categorical structures.

In Chapter Three, Watson considers another ethnographic text but this time a spoof one, Horace Miner's famous "Body Ritual among the Nacirema." Miner's article purports to present an anthropological analysis of the distinctive health and personal hygiene practices of a tribe. As becomes apparent to the astute reader, the practices Miner describes are none other than the familiar and ordinary ways of our own culture, made to seem "anthropologically strange" through formulations in which anthropological concepts take the place of our everyday descriptions. Watson's concern is once again with the *possibility* of the spoof as a textual accomplishment. What descriptive devices and structures does Miner employ to create his account? He notes that all anthropological accounts trade upon the fact (one which Marvin Harris steadfastly refused to acknowledge) that the cultural phenomena they report are already describable, and described, at a commonsense cultural level. In Miner's case this relationship between (what Schutz calls) "first order" and "second order" descriptions is ironised, thus creating a humorous ethnographic parody.

The final chapter turns to the writings of Erving Goffman. Watson's aims in this chapter are twofold: first, to understand how Goffman's analyses of social action make use of

specific textual devices to render its forms describable and, second, by laying out his textual methods, to rehabilitate Goffman as a systematic, formal thinker. He pays most attention to Goffman's use of the method of "perspective by incongruity." This involves the adoption of a descriptive framework that has the effect of highlighting certain formal properties of social action while relegating its more familiar "content" features to the background. The most famous of these frameworks, of course, was the dramaturgical analogy that Goffman employed in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Once again, Watson's analysis seeks to show how the textual practices involved are constituted; in other words, to view Goffman's methods as organized practices of social action. As with Liebow and Anderson, and with Miner, Watson shows with respect to Goffman's writings how the structures of categorical reference that pervade ordinary language use are fundamental to the descriptive methods of professional social science.

Watson's book is a welcome addition to the still embryonic literature concerned with how texts actually work as social productions. As noted above, there is no shortage of theoretical reflection on the nature and role of texts in contemporary life. Indeed, at least since Ricoeur we have become familiar with the claim that social life is essentially "textual." But despite the broad consensus around these matters, most sociological writing about texts remains metaphoric. Studies that take a rigorously empirical approach and seek to examine closely and in detail how texts actually work *as texts* remain few and far between. Watson's championing of Goffman is fitting, since it was the latter, in his 1982 Presidential Address to the American Sociological Association, who remarked "I've heard it said that we should be glad to trade what we've so far produced for a few really good conceptual distinctions and a cold beer."

Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places, by **Sharon Zukin**. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010. 294pp. \$27.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780195382853.

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Sharon Zukin aims to reveal the socio-spatial, political dynamics of neighborhoods within New York City in recent times. She frames her critique around the concept of authenticity, real places for people who really need them. Her chapters venture into Brooklyn, Harlem, the East Village, the city's Union Square, Red Hook, and East New York. One reads stories about local people and socio-cultural events in which the author's accounts provide an empirical grounding to validate her theoretical claims for the authenticity of place. Zukin's book is more than an update to Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1992). She uses recent theories and adeptly incorporates them into her neighborhood analyses.

Zukin is remorseful about the loss of authentic places within New York City's neighborhoods. The reader can too quickly interpret her concern as nostalgia, such as buying a latte at Starbucks rather than at a local coffee house. But Zukin's claims for authenticity are grounded on theoretical turf. She rightfully argues that low-income New Yorkers need a permanent ground upon which to live, because the poor pay a price for being displaced into other neighborhoods. Local businesses rely on local customers, typically lost in such moves. Just as important, the social networks created in these local places are then dismantled.

The author discusses how community authenticity erodes. The local media locates, recognizes, and promotes stable neighborhoods for their unique shopping, eateries, street life, and desirable living conditions. Then outsiders visit these neighborhoods, increasing their new notoriety. In time, landlords respond to outsider demands for space in these neighborhoods by increasing rents. New businesses, often corporate franchises, and new residents with higher incomes enter the local scene, often forcing smaller shops

and original residents to forfeit their social ground and to move elsewhere. Ironically, artists, galleries, and local eateries may be forced to move due to their role in creating market demand. African-Americans lose their homes and businesses, even to other African-Americans. With the political approval of their development plans, real estate investors introduce new retail and residential projects with higher rents and costs, which lead to further commercial and residential gentrification. New building projects typically replace the old architecture, and the neighborhood loses its original scale, aesthetic appeal, and socio-cultural character.

Zukin also explores how these communities have provided opportunities to create authentic places in spite of gentrification. Renewing the city's local public market tradition, planting urban gardens on city-owned tax delinquent property, and serving indigenous food from immigrant countries (such as pupusas and stuffed corn tortillas from San Salvador) are a few examples. Zukin is into food—and for good reasons. Locally grown produce and using family recipes exude the authenticity she seeks. Likewise, she notes local music spots, local boutiques, and other nearby businesses owned by local shopkeepers that are integral to these neighborhoods and their success. The socio-cultural landscapes she describes are a form of urban vernacular, much what one might expect to see in a Pieter Bruegel sixteenth century painting depicting village life.

Maintaining and achieving authentic neighborhoods are bound by two major forces. On the one hand, these places cannot easily survive the onslaught of violence, crime and drugs. Locals in these neighborhoods do not miss the crime-ridden days they experienced in recent decades. On the other hand, gentrification creates economic forces that force or lure locals to move elsewhere. She discusses how business improvement districts (BIDs) provide funding from business owners to enact controls over the use of public space in order to remove undesirable behavior. Businesses want to maintain an orderly visual appearance of place and a selective civility in order to maximize profits. Between crime and gentrification, neighborhoods must maintain an economic balance in order to achieve authenticity.

To achieve and to maintain local authenticity, she recommends zoning, rent controls, government-backed mortgage guarantees for store owners, special privileges for start-up businesses, and young apprentices that will maintain crafts and trades, street vending, and gardening. These strategies can play a key role in holding back development forces in order to protect these local places. She rightly notes that place is typically valued for its exchange (monetary) value versus its use (social) value. Her support for authenticity to save existing urban villages is admirable but not easily accomplished. Zoning legally controls time, place, and manner issues, but such policies are only as good as what politicians and citizens are continuously willing to accept and to defend. Even then, communities must confront legal challenges from potential developers and investors. Rent control is a form of market socialism that most American communities have rejected or have not been able to maintain successfully. Likewise, local governments

must be willing to sustain financial support for new businesses and apprentices amidst ever-changing political agendas. The authenticity of place must be matched with what can be realistically achieved in urban politics. Zukin's strengths are in her analysis. Although her particular solutions may work locally, these ideas are not always applicable to other cities. A political willingness to invest in such solutions is uneven across this nation.

Zukin provides us with a sound analysis that can be appreciated not only by social scientists and planners, but also by suburbanites and small town residents. The latter two groups often face similar dilemmas in their community's authenticity, although the scale and intensity of development dynamics differ in these settings. With all of these helpful insights, the author should have provided a map for non-New York readers who want to know specifically where these studied neighborhoods exist and continue to change.