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Robert Brenneman

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REVIEWS

Sexual Politics in Modern Iran, by **Janet Afary.** Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 423 pp. $32.99 paper. ISBN: 9780521727082.

JOHN FORAN
University of California, Santa Barbara
foran@soc.ucsb.edu

Virtually every academic in the United States, not to mention the reading public, knows too little about Iran (the fact that this is even truer for Iraq explains part of the reasons for that catastrophe). And I would recommend this book to every academic in the United States, especially in the social sciences and humanities. As someone who has undertaken a 500-year history of social change in Iran, who sees social movements through the prism of race, class, and gender, it was eye-opening to encounter so much that I did not know about the country.

"Sexual politics" refers in this book to at least three things: (1) the struggle for women's equality with men, (2) the struggle for gay and lesbian rights, and (3) the relationship of gender to social movements, cultural freedoms, and, in the case of Iran, revolutions. Janet Afary's accomplishment is to document painstakingly the complexity of sexual politics across 200 years of Iranian history, and to present us with a new take on its surprising, and mixed, record.

The author ultimately makes the case that sexual politics is intimately (as it were) connected to politics tout court. She goes far beyond the existing literature (some of it very good indeed) on "gender and Iran," which has focused till now predominantly on women and almost exclusively on heterosexual matters. As befits a superb historian of Iran—her first book was a history of the 1905–11 Constitutional Revolution—she digs deeply and creatively into the archives for primary materials of all kinds and combs an extensive secondary literature in several languages. As an accomplished theorist who has coauthored with Kevin Anderson a wonderful book, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism*, she forges a highly original theoretical and conceptual interpretation of this material at the same time, on a scaffolding that includes Foucault's "ethics of love;" James Scott's "hidden transcripts"; psychoanalytic insights from Freud, Fromm, and Marcuse; and a command of both Western and Third World feminist theory from Simone de Beauvoir to Chandra Mohanty, Deniz Kandiyoti to Minoo Moallem.

The book is further graced with 80 valuable illustrations, including seventeenth-century paintings showing homoerotic scenes, nineteenth-century black-and-white photos and sketches from the shah's harem and other sites, political cartoons from the Constitutional Revolution of 1905 through the turmoil of the 2000s, images from women's magazines of the last 40 years, political posters and photographs of women's participation in the Iranian Revolution and after, and portraits of many of the key players on all sides of sexual politics in Iran.

The 16-page introduction, which presents the issues and previews the main characteristics of the last two centuries, is alone worth the price of the book. Although the book's title tells us that it is a study of sexual politics in *modern* Iran, we are treated in Part One to 100 pages of deep background on "Premodern Practices," which sensibly provide a baseline for the developments of the past century. These pages focus on nineteenth-century patterns, meanings, and practices around marriage (including love and divorce), sexuality, law, religion, and resistance in its many guises.

A turning point occurs during the authoritarian modernizing reign of Reza Shah, who seized power in a 1921 coup abetted by the British, had himself crowned king in 1925, and thereby started the Pahlavi dynasty. This would consist of himself until 1941, and his son, Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (known to us simply as "the Shah") who would be deposed and see the monarchy itself abolished in the course of the 1978–89 revolution. In these chapters, Afary continues to cover all the topics above, and begins to document the changes in gender relations and social and cultural norms as Iran moved

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toward a "Westernized modernity" under the Pahlavis. She links key political events to debates among many sectors of Iranian society over sexual politics, and shows how the latter affected the origins and outcomes of such crucial turning points in Iran's history as the 1905-11 Constitutional Revolution, the C.I.A.-backed coup against the progressive Mussadiq government in 1953, and the rise of the diverse coalition that brought down the Shah in 1979.

This is done in an engaging and sophisticated manner, and explores a multitude of puzzles and counterintuitions about Iran, in the process refuting much of what passes for "common sense" about the country in the West. The blood-stained practices and political-cultural contradictions of the Islamic Republic in power for the last 30 years (which have continued in the summer of 2009, just after the book was published) take up the last third of the book under the rubric "forging an Islamic modernity and beyond." It is impossible to do justice to the subtlety and dense detail of the analysis here. All I can say is that this is a book you must read.

It is easy to predict that like her previous work, this, too will be an award-winning book, only this time, I suspect, sociologists, as well as historians and feminist scholars, will take note. I would urge all U.S. academics to read it, and hope that open-minded policymakers in Washington (there are a few) do so as well. We owe a debt to Iran, among other countries, that requires far more knowledge than we currently possess, to repay.

Immigration and National Identity: North African Political Movements in Colonial and Postcolonial France, by **Rabah Aissaoui.** New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 307pp. $92.60 cloth. ISBN: 9781845118358.

JOHN W. P. VEUGELERS
University of Toronto
jack.veugelers@utoronto.ca

Accounts that attribute the sources of modern nationalism to Western Europe have been challenged, if not eclipsed, by others that highlight the equal importance of the Western Hemisphere. Creoles—people apparently of European descent but born in colonies overseas—occupied a liminal social category associated with raised aspirations, blocked opportunities and status insecurities. Products of the system of power that tied the periphery to the European metropole, creoles in turn helped to define and lead the movements of national independence in the Americas during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A chief merit of *Immigration and National Identity* is to apply (implicitly) the idea of liminality to the twentieth century. In documenting the growth of Algerian nationalism among immigrant workers and students in France, this study suggests that after the First World War, the disheartening and radicalizing experience of colonial liminality moved down the social scale and across the sea, to the metropole. The emigrant experience left a deep mark on the discourse, organization, and action of North Africans who opposed racism, sought social equality, and promoted the independence of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria.

Rabah Aissaoui's book is divided into three sections that proceed chronologically. The first examines in detail the development of a nationalist discourse by the Messalist movement (the *Etoile nord-africaine* and the *Parti du peuple algérien)* among migrant workers in France during the interwar years. The second section examines briefly Algerian nationalism under the German Occupation and the Vichy Regime before dwelling on the sometimes tense relations among nationalist groups during the Algerian war of national liberation (1954-62). The final section emphasizes the historical continuities on both sides of the Mediterranean in the social construction of identity since independence in 1962. In Algeria, the official definition of national identity has continued to marginalize and alienate the sizeable Berber population because it celebrates a mythologized Arab culture. In France, movements for the rights of immigrant workers and students—and more recently of French citizens of North African descent—have embraced an antiracist rhetoric found already in the Messalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s.

Demonstrating continuity in the nationalist politics of Algerians is the chief purpose of the author, who deplores the tendency to

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treat as new the problem of integrating the people of North African descent who live in France today. According to the argument advanced here, the roots of antiracism, minority political mobilization and riots in the public housing that rings French cities can be traced back to the interwar years at least. History teaches that earlier generations of Algerians also experienced and challenged racism, debated the question of their identity and organized for political change. To make his case, the author draws on archival evidence that spans the period from 1927 to 1976, using French police reports as well as newspapers and other publications from North African movements as the chief sources. Although sources in Arabic seem only to have been used if available in French translation, the documentation is rich and appropriate to its subject.

In places, this study seems confused about the scope of its claims. Often these pertain to the unequal treatment and the political mobilization of people from the Maghreb, yet Moroccans and Tunisians receive much less attention than those who really provide the book's main subject: Algerians. Also, not only migrant workers and visiting students gained a new understanding of racism once they left North Africa. Service in the French army was an embittering experience for large contingents of colonial soldiers during both world wars. Apart from the treatment they received while enlisted, as veterans after the war they discovered their sacrifices for France still did not make them count as equal citizens. The language in which this book is written is serviceable and the documentation is thorough. The chapter conclusions and the concluding chapter are long on summary, but frustratingly short on historical, sociological, or theoretical implications.

The main thesis—that Algerian nationalism received a decisive impetus from the encounter with racism in the metropole—is convincingly argued. Interestingly, this book shows that relations between the left and anticolonialism were contingent. During the 1930s, for example, the French Communist Party changed from a wary ally of North African nationalists into an opponent of those who would break up the French empire. This study also makes clear the universalism of French republican conceptions of human rights provided a foundation for those who sought to challenge French colonial domination. Although the author does not mention social movement theory, this work provides another reminder that identity politics served as a basis for social mobilization long before the 1960s.

Educating the Gendered Citizen: Sociological Engagements with National and Global Agendas, by **Madeleine Arnot.** New York: Routledge, 2009. 260pp. $45.95 paper. ISBN: 9780415408066.

Cynthia Miller-Idriss
New York University
Cm1@nyu.edu

In this collection of previously published essays, Madeleine Arnot assembles a body of work that attends to a key gap in the literature on citizenship and schooling, focusing on gender and the education of the gendered citizen. Overall, Arnot succeeds in thoughtfully bringing together somewhat disparate literatures on gender equality, feminism, citizenship education, and democratic schooling.

The book's organization into four key and logical sections helps it avoid the lack of coherence that can plague collections of papers originally written for separate purposes. In Part I, the first and second (with Jo-Anne Dillabough) chapters of the book trace the relationship between feminist theory and democratic schooling, before Arnot turns in Part II (Chapter Three with Helena Araújo, Kiki Deliyanni, Gabrielle Ivinson, and Amparo Tomé and Chapter Four with Araújo, Deliyanni, and Ivinson), to a report on the findings of recent empirical research on how student teachers throughout Europe understand citizenship. Although it would have been helpful to know more about the empirical project's full methodology, these sections overall do a nice job of introducing many of the key debates and issues around gender, citizenship, and education.

Chapter Five, with Patrick Brindle, follows the gendering of the citizenship textbook and other curricular materials from

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1940-66, examining three approaches to how women were represented as citizens: exclusionary texts, inclusionary texts, and critical engagement.

The strongest part of the book is Chapter Six, which tackles two periods (the 1970s–90s and the 1990s-2000) in an analysis of the relationship between gender, race, and social inequality in pedagogy. Substantively, Arnot offers a discussion of two key issues that are central to any discussion of citizenship, gender, and education but which are sorely lacking in the rest of the book. First, in a welcome shift from the rest of the book's primary focus on girls and women, Arnot looks at the "boy turn" (p. 145) in research and pedagogy, referring to the flurry of research in the past decade or two on male underachievement and the subsequent shift toward "boy-friendly pedagogic approaches" in the United Kingdom (p. 147). She notes that such approaches "remasculinise schooling," although it would have been useful to hear more about what she thinks the implications of such a remasculinization might be. In the same chapter, Arnot then relates recent work on gender and education with work on antiracist and multicultural curriculum. She notes, for example, the failure of educators to best determine how to address gender issues within both minority and majority cultures (p. 154).

In Chapter Seven (with Harriet Marshall), Arnot reviews more recent policies and reforms in English and Welsh citizenship education, arguing that the English/Welsh citizenship curriculum pays inadequate attention to gender relations and gender equality, before turning to global citizenship pedagogies as "an important new vehicle for promoting gender equality" (p. 180). In the final two chapters, Arnot turns to issues which emerge in education for individualized and global citizens.

Overall the volume is an important and useful contribution to the literature on citizenship and education. It could have benefited from a stronger discussion of boys throughout—aside from the discussion in Chapter Six, there are very few references to the education of boys (with brief exceptions, in relation to gendered and sexualized violence on page 186, or issues related to classroom dominance on pp. 209–10). There is good reason behind the focus on girls and women, of course. But if part of Arnot's aim is to advocate for education which can enable students to challenge hierarchies and power relations that are associated with women's oppression (p. 229), then such a discussion, I would argue, needs to attend more systematically to the education of boys as well. Arnot comes closest to this in her concluding chapter, where she discusses how global citizenship education could "encourage young people to consider the various ways of being men in the public, community and private domains, to acknowledge the diversity, complexity and hierarchies of masculinity. . ." and their connection to power and violence (p. 241), but this focus on masculinities and power is not very well integrated in the remainder of the book.

Religion is also oddly absent from the volume, even in the brief discussion of minority youth and citizenship in Chapter Six. As traditional European cultures and communities face the increasing incorporation of immigrants from non-Western places (especially Muslim societies), scholars like Arnot could make a real contribution by helping bring together Islamic feminist scholarship with Western feminist scholarship. Where are the points of agreement and disagreement? How do these issues relate to schooling and citizenship education? Although there is a bit of discussion about the role of Christianity in influencing views of gender and citizenship (for teachers in training), there is almost no attention to Islam, or of gender relations within Islam.

In sum, the book shines a much-needed, engaging, and well-written scholarly light on the topic of gender, citizenship, and education. The fact that the focus is primarily on gendered citizenship, education as it relates to Christian, European and Western girls and women, however, leads me to hope that Arnot follows up with a second collection.

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Backlash 9/11: Middle Eastern and Muslim Americans Respond, by **Anny Bakalian** and **Mehdi Bozorgmehr.** Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009. 348pp. $21.95 paper. ISBN: 9780520257351.

KRISTINE J. AJROUCH
Eastern Michigan University
kajrouch@emich.edu

September 11, 2001, and its aftermath represent a critical defining historical moment for Americans. Though eight years have passed since the horrific event, the memory remains vivid and painful. Its legacy bore vast macro-level initiatives including the War on Terror, the emergence of Homeland Security, and the Patriot Act, as well as micro changes such as heightened security at airports, altering the lives of Americans in profound ways. Americans of Middle Eastern descent are uniquely affected: Anny Bakalian and Mehdi Bozorgmehr suggest they incur a double consciousness in that as Americans they mourn the horror, death, and destruction brought by this terrible event, yet because of their ethnic membership come under scrutiny as affiliated with those who carried out this heinous act. Although, negative opinions about Middle Eastern Americans are not new, after 9/11 damaging encounters now occur in a more sweeping and patterned manner. Middle Eastern Americans are asked increasingly to explain their political, religious, and personal beliefs, altering their daily lives in multiple ways.

Backlash 9/11 sets out to analyze how community-based organizations (CBOs) serving Muslims, Middle Eastern Americans, and South Asian Americans mobilized to address the fallout from 9/11. To accomplish this, the authors interview leaders within these organizations, connecting the literatures of social movements with studies of immigration and ethnic/racial studies. There emerge two key elements of this analysis that merit attention. First, the authors seek to establish a conceptualization of the term ''backlash'' and, second, address the politics that surround the identity labels of Middle Eastern and Muslim.

The term ''backlash'' is carefully deliberated to include social and political dimensions: the authors consider not only the micro-level reactions of individuals, but also that of macro-level institutions such as the government. Backlash results from some political or ideological crisis, which then leads to mobilization, and ultimately integration within society on both political and civic dimensions. The authors delineate three different types of backlash: scapegoating, hate crimes/bias incidents, and state/government policies. They also consider how larger sociohistorical contexts shape the process of backlash leading to mobilization and integration. Ultimately, the book demonstrates that CBO mobilization led to increased integration of Middle Eastern and Muslim Americans.

The analysis also calls attention to defining the population against which backlash occurred, and in so doing addresses identity politics. Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian are terms the authors use to describe the targeted population. The category of Middle Eastern and Muslim are highly difficult to identify in national data bases. They are not recognized as a population statistical category and hence are invisible on many counts. But Bakalian and Bozorgmehr do not leave the reader to assume to whom these terms refer. Instead they draw from numerous sources of data to present statistical information, and simultaneously address the complexity and historical development of these identity labels. The distinctions they highlight are quite useful and informative. Middle Eastern is presented as an ethnic, as opposed to pan-ethnic affiliation. In discussing this identity label, the authors argue that individuals from the Middle East may identify themselves in multiple ways such as nationality, ethnicity, or ethno-religious labels. As a result, solidarity through this affinity has historically been difficult to achieve. A thought-provoking analysis of Arab American identity is also offered. Subsumed within the Middle Eastern category, the authors chronicle the rise of this term, the political underpinnings, and the claims that it designates a nonwhite status. In the end, the authors find a benefit to the backlash, which includes forming a previously nonexistent base for solidarity and identity, while simultaneously legitimizing and increasing the visibility of the group to the American public.

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Methodologically, this book takes a unique approach by interviewing community leaders. Yet I found the lack of detail regarding the analysis problematic. In particular, more information about the persons interviewed would have given the narratives more power. For instance, how did they come to be a community leader? Were they all men? What were the 50 organizations, and which ones emerged as most able to address the backlash? Did it matter whether they were national or local organizations? Finally, was the theoretical framework advanced in the book a result of the analysis (i.e., grounded theory), or did the authors go into the study with this framework and seek to illustrate it via the narratives? In sum, more detail as to how the analysis was carried out, as well as background information about the leaders and organizations, would have strengthened the final product.

Despite the lack of methodological detail, *Backlash 9/11* provides an outstanding account of CBO's response to that fateful September day in 2001. The attention to sociohistorical context is especially noteworthy, providing an important backdrop for understanding individual, government, and CBO reactions when a national security threat, perpetrated by members of a cultural minority, happens. Finally, the careful attention to conceptualizing backlash, as well as the detailed analysis of identity politics within this targeted group, provides an invaluable contribution to the sociological understanding of immigration and race/ethnicity. This book is a welcome contribution to the study of Middle Eastern and Muslim Americans, and to social movements and race/ethnicity.

Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands, by **Katherine Benton-Cohen.** Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. 367pp. $29.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780674032774.

HAREL SHAPIRA
Columbia University
hs2068@columbia.edu

There is much to be gained by reading Katherine Benton-Cohen's book. *Borderline Americans* contributes to a number of historiographies: the United States/Mexico border, race relations, as well as class and labor conflict. Indeed, one of the book's many strengths is the sophisticated manner in which it integrates these histories, not as distinct moments but connected parts of an overall transformation in the meanings of "Mexican" and "American". Its rich evidence, while historical, is timely. The methodological approach itself has analytic import. By examining these histories within micro contexts, skillfully bringing the reader down to Cochise County in the Southern Arizona borderlands, Benton-Cohen shows how macro categories such as race and nation achieve meaning in local communities.

Concentrating on the middle of the nineteenth century to the New Deal era, Benton-Cohen explores why some "borderline Americans"—a term she uses to refer to resident noncitizens with a "tenuous claim on whiteness"—became "white Americans," while others did not. Why, she asks, did Eastern and Southern Europeans, one group of "borderline Americans" become white, while Mexicans did not? *Borderline Americans* can be read as another chapter in America's history of racial formation, as told by Noel Ignatiev in *How the Irish Became White*. What we are presented with here is an effort to explain how the Mexicans became brown.

Benton-Cohen's contribution is to show that the conflict between "Mexicans" and "Americans," which today seems to be timeless and inevitable, was a contingent outcome, motivated in large part by the penetration of industrial capitalism into southern Arizona. This conflict has a curious history containing moments of cooperation and not conflict. Unlike the dominant

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narratives which examine the social construction of race, Benton-Cohen takes us to the local level and focuses attention not on state actors (although she does not overlook them) but on corporate managers. She helps us to understand that capitalism did not eliminate racial difference, rather it constituted it. The labor process does not suspend difference but rather articulates it. Class conflict is racial conflict, and racial conflict is class conflict.

The chapters outline the historical transformation of a once undefined line between ''Mexican'' and ''white American'' into a sharp border. The first four chapters of the book offer the most compelling reads, providing engaging portraits of four different communities in Cochise County. In the first two chapters, Benton-Cohen takes us to Tres Alamos and Tombstone, and exposes us to places where relations between Mexicans and white Americans were characterized, for the most part, by harmony, equal legal protection, and sense of membership in the same community. In Tres Alamos and Tombstone, Mexicans and whites inhabited a ''shared world'' characterized by a ''hybrid borderlands culture of the 1880's, when Mexican-Anglo intermarriages and business partnerships still flourished.'' Benton-Cohen argues that race, at least the racial antagonism between Mexicans and whites, was not a central organizing feature of these communities. In this ''shared world,'' it was not Mexicans who were the ''others'', but a range of groups such as Apaches, Chinese immigrants, and Cowboys—each ''other'' representing a common enemy for the Mexicans and white Americans. She attributes the prevailing ''ecumenical'' view of whiteness in these two communities to their agricultural-based economies and the fact that most of the Mexicans residing there were members of the landholding elite.

In contrast, the mining town of Bisbee and its suburb, Warren, the subjects of the next two chapters, tell a different story. In these communities, race was more palatable, as a dual-wage system saw Mexicans receiving lower pay, and residential segregation restricted the cosmopolitan interactions which characterized Tres Alamos and Tombstone. As with the previous two communities, Benton-Cohen claims that the status of race in these towns is a consequence of economic and class conditions. Unlike Tres Alamos and Tombstone, Bisbee was dominated by a mining economy and laboring population. This case is picked up in the remainder of the book, where Benton-Cohen explores how the divide between ''Mexicans'' and ''whites,'' indeed the presence of a racial discourse, is connected to the penetration of industrialized capitalism.

As the mining boom took hold, corporations redeveloped the geographic and social ecology of Cochise County. Bisbee expanded and race entered into once unknown places such as Tres Alamos and Tombstone. Along with these corporations, homesteaders from other parts of America moved in, and brought with them understandings of racial difference that were foreign to Cochise County. The ''white labor movement'' as she names it, gained a strong influence over Arizona politics, and elected officials who saw Mexicans as racial ''others.'' Over time, the four communities began to resemble each other, as an Anglo/Hispanic color line became a prominent feature of them all.

Borderline Americans paints a picture of mining companies coming into Cochise County and creating the conditions for racial conflict by paying lower wages to Mexicans. In yet another curious part of the history of racial unfolding, it is precisely because managers instituted a dual-wage system, and paid Mexican and ''foreign'' workers less than their ''white'' counterparts, that conditions emerged around which white workers expressed their grievances. In the dual-labor system, Mexican workers were more profitable for employees, and white workers began to see these ''others'' as a threat. But there is a critical gap in this account, as it appears that these corporate managers took already existing differences and mobilized and enforced them. From this perspective we have no clear sense of how Benton-Cohen's ''borderline Americans'' came to be ''borderline Americans'' in the first place—they are presented as having always been in this precarious position, and we are left wondering how and why they got to be this way.

These questions relate to a larger problem in the book, namely, what Benton-Cohen

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understands as racial division and racial conflict. In the communities of Tres Alamos and Tombstone, where she paints a preracial and preindustrial back-in-the-day, Benton-Cohen suggests that Mexicans were white Americans, from their own perspective and that of others. The evidence for this is empirically and conceptually tenuous.

For the most part, Benton-Cohen seems to subscribe to a liberal conception of race, in which she equates racial equality with inclusion, but inclusion into what? We read of equal coverage in local newspapers, Mexican schoolchildren winning prizes at local schools, and racial diversity at various social functions, as evidence of racial equality before the penetration of the mining companies. But this appears to undercut the story she tells later, where racial conflict did not express itself in terms of who attended parties, but who was given work.

While Benton-Cohen intends to clarify which "Borderline Americans" became white and which did not, her book does not fully provide a convincing answer. We are left with a sense that all Mexicans were denied the white status. And again, we are not sure what this might mean. Is it exclusion from social events or economic institutions? Although she says that today the line between Mexican and white American is fully entrenched, we can find multiple instances of what she takes as evidence of nonexistence of racial division: intermarriage, business partnerships, even common enemies (think of the number of Mexicans enlisted in the U.S. armed forces). But it would be naïve to think that this shows the racial division between Mexicans and white Americans does not exist.

Borderline Americans is an important book, written at an important time. Whether the term "postracial" can claim any purchase or not, it is increasingly clear that those who debate its merits restrictively focus only on the history of the relationship between whites and blacks, ignoring another American racial conflict, that between Anglos and Hispanics. Among its many other merits, Benton-Cohen's book allows us to better think about the dynamics of America's "other" racial conflict.

Partnering for Organizational Performance: Collaboration and Culture in the Global Workplace, edited by **Elizabeth K. Briody** and **Robert T. Trotter II.** Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008. 251pp. $34.95 paper. ISBN: 9780742560147.

CHARLES HECKSCHER
Rutgers University
cch@heckscher.us

This book has high ambitions in dealing with an extremely challenging subject; it doesn't fulfill them all, but nevertheless has much to contribute to both scholars and practitioners in wide range of topics, from the presenting topic of organizational alliances and partnerships to broader issues of culture, collaboration, and system development.

The topic of organization partnerships is difficult enough to grasp; the editors make it more so by insisting, correctly in my view, that a focus on the vexed domain of *culture* is essential to the issue. They then seek to create a theoretical framework capable of uniting cultural analyses of a broad array of stories of particular partnerships including universities, businesses, hospitals, government agencies, and other bodies. The authors of these primarily descriptive chapters are a mix of academics (professors and graduate students) and practitioners (consultants and internal ethnographers within companies). They attempt to use elements of the common framework in order to create a consistent set of perspectives that are then brought together in a final chapter.

The two opening chapters are highly promising and important. The first argues for the significance of a cultural focus and the value of metaphors for capturing cultural configurations, and it lays out a useful generic model of partnership dynamics, structures, and outcomes. The second, authored by the two editors and Gülcin H. Sengir, is an often brilliant analysis of collaborative research laboratories established by General Motors in the late 1990s. The authors bring systematically to bear a set of varied research techniques to illuminate different aspects of the collaboration: stages in the partnership life cycle, the creation of trusting relations, role dynamics, structure,

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conflict—culminating in an elegant model built around cultural elements of reciprocity and their dynamics. The most illuminating piece is a persuasive use of network analysis to demonstrate the differences among partnership stages, and especially a fascinating demonstration of a complex ''fan'' or ''boat propeller'' structure in mature systems—featuring strong semi-independent joint projects around a linking core. They further use network methods to explore the role of key players in the various stages of partnership evolution. The only problem is that the chapter is too short for its content: the methodology is briefly sketched, and a wealth of further qualitative and quantitative data are only touched on.

The remaining chapters are less powerful from an academic point of view, though often useful to practitioners and interesting in their particulars. They generally use some aspects of the model and framework laid out at the start: for instance, they each begin with some sort of metaphor which is supposed to capture the cultural issues involved. But these metaphors seemed labored and uninformative rather than adding insight. One likens an effort to hire local consultants for clients in varied cultures to an electrical transformer, because energy flows through in two directions; another portrays a set of first responder agencies as birds in a tree because they share an ''ecological niche''; another uses Uranium-236 as a metaphor because ''the partnership and the element share the characteristics of fragility and instability'' (p. 160). Such metaphors are easy illustrations of simple concepts rather than, as the authors hope, powerful tools to grasp complex phenomena. Then each chapter tells a story, which will be of varying interest to readers concerned with different substantive areas. Finally, they usually suggest some lessons, which turn out to be unfortunately vague and commonsensical, such as ''Provide a basis for dialog communications, and understanding'' (*sic*) (p. 117) or ''A good vision fosters strategic alignment'' (p. 140). These chapters suffer from a lack of independent perspective: for the most part, they do not use formal research tools to bring a measure of objectivity, nor do they generally bring in the voices of the participants or customers of the partnerships as a check on the perceptions of the actors telling the stories.

In the final chapter, the editors, with Tracy L. Meerwarth, try to wrap these varied experiences into a coherent set of lessons, but by now they seem to have abandoned their effort at systematic academic analysis and fall into the same level of common sense as the chapter authors. The ''lessons learned'' are of the order ''Partnerships need entrepreneurial energy and charisma to furnish the partnership vision, to spearhead the initiative, and to help manage problems'' (p. 201)—and so on. This chapter may be helpful to practitioners but is of less use to academic analysis.

Attempts to bridge theory and practice, and to get diverse authors to work within a common conceptual framework, are highly laudable but rarely successful, and this book does not overcome the obstacles. But on their own terms, parts of the book succeed—sometimes brilliantly—in illuminating the academic understanding of the culture of partnership, on one side, and the practical issues faced by those in the trenches, on the other.

Rural Retirement Migration, by **David L. Brown** and **Nina Glasgow.** Berlin, Germany: Springer Science and Business Media, 2008. 220pp. $119.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781402068942.

Norah Keating
University of Alberta
norah.keating@ualberta.ca

Rural Retirement Migration brings together findings from the Cornell retirement migration project which included a two-wave panel survey on in-migrants, county-level census analyses, and in-depth case studies of four rural retirement communities. The book reflects the academic interests of its main authors. Nina Glasgow brings expertise in lifecourse and transitions of older rural residents and how conditions of rural communities affect their lives. David Brown focuses on spatial inequality and the process through which areas become destinations for older in-migrants.

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The book represents a turning point in publications on rural aging. It is conceptually and methodologically sophisticated, thorough in its examination of the demographic and social issues of retirement migration, and entirely unapologetic about its focus on rural places. The authors argue convincingly that retirement migration is an important topic given that rural areas are aging more rapidly than urban areas and that migration at retirement warrants attention because it is a different phenomenon than later-life moves that are prompted by losses such as change in health status or widowhood.

The conceptual framework is a clear organizing feature of the book. The framework is ecological, positioned at the interfaces among community structure, changes in community contexts and the social relationships that create communities. Its main premise is that to understand migration of recent retirees, one must focus on the ''fit'' between migrants and their receiving communities. The authors assume diversity in patterns and life experiences of current cohorts in their retirement choices and experiences and in the communities in which they settle. The seven chapters of the book reflect the social-relationships/demographic expertise of the authors. Integration is done throughout, but especially in the two concluding chapters in which they reflect on the interrelationships among contexts and processes.

Strong demographic chapters provide the macro context for the book. A review of the history of migration into and out of retirement settlements, and across periods of economic change, provides historic background and sets the stage for analyses of recent trends. Rural retirement destinations (RRDs) are defined (as nonmetropolitan counties with 15 percent or higher population growth of people over age 60 due to net in-migration). Detailed analyses are provided of migration patterns and the movement of communities in and out of RRD status. The authors raise the provocative question about whether RRD communities benefit from attracting older persons. They point to correlations among retirement in-migration, positive population growth and above average rates of economic development though they are not able to determine causal relationships.

Understanding social integration is a goal of the micro analyses of social relationships. A concern about the potential for social isolation among these late-life migrants underlies chapters in which connections to others are explored. Yet their findings show that this concern largely is unwarranted. Most experience high levels of inclusion in their new communities with good informal ties and levels of involvement in formal organizations equal to those of longtime residents. These findings perhaps are not surprising given the high levels of resources of migrants. Compared to other older adults, they are relatively young, highly educated and have a spouse. RRDs are chosen by migrants based on attractive features including amenities, prior social ties to family and friends, and familiarity with the community as a former vacation destination.

Some of the most positive contributions in the book come from the authors' insights based on their analyses of changes over time in RRDs, and of the multiple standpoints about advantages and disadvantages, assets, and liabilities of retirement migration. Attention to questions of time remind us that RRDs are formed and evolve over decades and that the real impact occurs years later when significant proportions of in-movers are aging in place. Looking beyond the current cohort of in-migrants also allowed the authors to note that most residents of RRDs have migrated there at some point during their lives.

Who benefits from retirement migration? Perspective makes a difference in answering this question. The authors found that communities benefit from voluntary contributions of older in-migrants. Yet these very skills may result in reduced need for paid workers, who may leave to find work. Longer-settled persons may be disadvantaged by rising housing and other service costs resulting from an influx of relatively affluent newcomers. The authors see a need for communities to foster increased equity among in-movers and long-term residents.

Shortcomings in the book are few. At times the authors are overly cautious about interpretation of their findings. They could have pursued more fully the question of

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whether recruitment of retirees is a good idea for communities or whether retirement migration is a causal factor to higher community well-being. The chapter on how communities become and remain retirement destinations would have benefitted from some case examples to enliven the complex analyses. In the final chapter they might have placed their work in the context of international rural migration discussed in the introduction. Finally, a well-written book must be personally engaging. Last week I had friends for dinner in my retirement community in British Columbia. As the event imploded over the merits of another golf course versus the preservation of native grassland, I thought of the finding from the book that "amenities" are highly subjective. Subjective indeed.

Race, Place, and Environmental Justice After Hurricane Katrina: Struggles to Reclaim, Rebuild, and Revitalize New Orleans and the Gulf Coast, edited by **Robert D. Bullard** and **Beverly Wright.** Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009. 290pp. $32.00 paper. ISBN: 9780813344249.

KEVIN FOX GOTHAM
Tulane University
Kgotham@tulane.edu

More than four years after Hurricane Katrina, it is possible to gain some perspective on the causes and consequences of the tragedy, to assess the measures that have been taken to rebuild the Gulf Coast, and to weigh the changes these measures have created in the capacity of governments to manage and respond to disasters and other threats. Robert D. Bullard and Beverly Wright have assembled 12 chapters that cover topics such as law and place, transportation policy, environmental health threats and disparities, housing reconstruction, economic development, and planning in the recovery of post-Katrina New Orleans. The book adopts an environmental justice and health-equity framework to examine the government response to Hurricane Katrina, which asks how and why class and racial inequalities have constrained the recovery and rebuilding effort. The chapters bring new considerations to understanding and explaining why some populations and communities suffer more than others before and after a major disaster strikes. Anyone wishing to stay abreast of trends and perspectives on the Hurricane Katrina disaster and the rebuilding process will appreciate this book.

Several of the chapters are particularly strong and bring fresh insights toward understanding the connections between race, place, and vulnerability. Lisa Bates and Rebekah Green's examination of the Road Home program finds that the program's reliance on pre-Katrina property assessment values to provide housing recovery dollars to flooded homeowners has reinforced racial segregation and inequality. Because their homes were appraised at lower values than the homes of affluent white homeowners, low-income and African American homeowners have received less money to rebuild their homes and neighborhoods. In the chapter on disaster transportation policy, Bullard, Glenn Johnson, and Angel Torres note that reliance on private automobiles as the primary means of evacuation has race and class consequences. In the absence of public transportation the urban poor, elderly, and sick will be left behind when a disaster strikes. Chapters by John Logan and by Bullard and Wright analyze the conflicts and inequities surrounding elite and government efforts to triage neighborhoods and direct resources to those areas where residents could afford to return. Not surprisingly, the pace of neighborhood repopulation has been slowest in those areas that lack resources, including housing and insurance resources, transportation, and employment. These chapters remind us that race, class, and environmental vulnerability interlock and operate as mutually reinforcing systems of social inequality and social injustice.

Overall, Bullard and Wright provide us with an unprecedented and distinctive account of the racial disparities in disaster response, recovery, and rebuilding that contains a wealth of insight. Their afterword suggests that government agencies, public-private networks, and institutions shape risk exposure and the extent and intensity of disaster vulnerability. The notion of "levee redlining," draws attention to the race and class determinants of flood protection.

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Historically, real estate practices have allowed affluent whites to live on higher ground. Yet, as Bullard and Wright point out, even when whites live in low-lying areas they get special privileges for being white. The flooded Lakeview neighborhood, for example, received more than five feet of increased levee protection after Katrina, compared to low-lying black neighborhoods that received little to no increase in flood protection. Thus, despite decades of fair housing and other antidiscrimination status, race continues to be a major indicator of unequal flood protection.

Not all the chapters are coherent and engage the major themes of race, environmental justice, and health equity. Several of the chapters are dated, having been written one or two years after the storm, while the entire volume presents the state of recovery three years after the storm. Thus, this volume, like all edited volumes on the Katrina disaster, gives us signs of recovery for a short and delimited period. In addition, none of the chapters engage the empirical and theoretical contributions of other Katrina books that have been released in recent years. The result is an edited volume that brings a fresh and unique perspective on Katrina but does not cross-reference other books and perspectives on disasters generally and Katrina specifically.

Despite these minor limitations, the book provides insight into the impact of Katrina in bringing to the forefront the basic organizational, political, and economic processes and inequalities that characterize U.S. society. Thankfully, Bullard and Wright have organized a superb edited volume that offers us a perceptive analysis of the post-Katrina rebuilding process that will be a must-read for disaster researchers and others interested in understanding the struggles to revitalize New Orleans and the Gulf Coast.

Marxism, Cultural Studies and Sport, edited by **Ben Carrington** and **Ian McDonald.** New York: Routledge, 2009. 250pp. $49.95 paper. ISBN: 9780415375412.

DAVID KAREN
Bryn Mawr College
dkaren@ias.edu

Including editors Ben Carrington and Ian McDonald, the *eleven* authors in this collection form an impressive team of sociologists, anthropologists, and media, race, and sports scholars. As tempting as it might be to elaborate the position that each author plays on the field or pitch, I will simply note that, compared to most anthologies, this collection offers a degree of unity and coherence that is rarely found. Overall, the editors' lofty goals for the volume—to raise the level of theoretical debate within sports studies and to focus the theoretical ''weaponry'' of Marxism and Cultural Studies on the field of sport—have been realized.

In a comprehensive introduction to the anthology, Carrington and McDonald provide an excellent overview of the key themes of the volume as well as a chapter-by-chapter map of how each contributor realizes some aspect of the book's aims. Concretely, the editors hope that readers will come away from the book with a better sense of how Marxism illuminates studies of sport, a clearer understanding of the relationship between Marxism and Cultural Studies and of whether and how the latter has transcended the former; and, finally, a greater appreciation of where praxis fits in, that is, the links between theoretical studies of sport and the politics of its (and the larger society's) transformation. Collectively, the authors participate in a running dialogue with theorists ranging from Antonio Gramsci, Theodor Adorno, and C. L. R. James to Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, and Pierre Bourdieu (an incomplete list, by far!). The desire by all of the contributors to fashion a theory that is comprehensive on the political economy and cultural fronts *and* focused on transformation, is palpable.

A foreword by Harry Cleaver elegantly integrates reflections on his own sports participation history with thoughtful foreshadowing of many of the concepts that are introduced later in the book. His discussion

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of how Marxist political economy has tried to come to terms with cultural production and consumption and their effects is lucid and concise. The core of the book is divided into four parts: I. Marxism, Cultural Studies and sport: the key debates; II. Political economy, commodification, and sport; III. The sporting poetics of race, class, and gender; and IV. Key concepts, critical theorists. A well-written afterword by Michael Bérubé offers insight into what he calls "high-definition sports capitalism"—a rich label for a concept that packs together the various contradictions that flow from specific cultural and economic forces.

As one who is very sympathetic to the theoretical perspectives used in this book, I came away reinforced in my belief that good Marxist and good Cultural Studies approaches are very good sociology. Again and again, I found authors using their theoretical viewpoints to pose key questions and proffer insightful analyses. Let me give a few examples to show the sociological thrust of these articles. Anouk Bélanger's analysis of the urban sport spectacle asks how its development disrupts or reinforces other aspects of urban development. Garry Whannel, who insists that theory and empirical work and cultural and economic analysis go hand in hand, demonstrates, using a series of enlightening empirical examples concerning media, sport, and culture, that cultural themes and economic motives go hand in hand in particular contexts. Rob Beamish's discussion of Coubertin's Olympic dreams in the context of nationalism, bureaucratization, and commercialism is an excellent example of how nonsport developments affect the field (and fields) of sport.

Readers who are interested in the theoretical promise of the book will not be disappointed. Many of the authors explicitly link their analyses to their theoretical progenitors and I came away enriched by the various discussions of, among others, Gramsci, Jameson, and Foucault. Revealing my own bias, I was particularly pleased to see many of the authors issue reminders that class relations and class struggle must be central to any critical (Marxist) analysis.

As critical theorists of various stripes, most of the authors in this collection focus *both* on the ways that sport articulates with other aspects of the cultural hegemony imposed by the capitalist world economy *and* on sports' liberatory potential. Even as they decry the highly regimented and Taylorized training of high-performance athletes, many of the authors point to the uniqueness of sport as a possible source of unalienated, fulfilling human activity. At a broader level, many of the contributors see sport as having transformative potential, either because it puts into contact actors who, together, can launch a formidable social movement or because its model of pure human activity is so compelling. From this reviewer's perspective, I wish these points had been less programmatic and more a part of specific empirical examinations of sport-in-the-world. Instead of *imploring* social movements to step up to the plate (pun intended), it would have been more useful for sociologists if the contributors had explored the conditions under which the movements emerge, how they develop, and what effects they produce. Nevertheless, this collection makes important contributions toward illuminating its three foci: Marxism, Cultural Studies, and Sport.

Blockading the Border and Human Rights: The El Paso Operation that Remade Immigration Enforcement, by **Timothy J. Dunn.** Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009. 297pp. $50.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780292719019.

Sara Schatz
Ohio State University
sschatz@osu.edu

Blockading the Border and Human Rights tells the history of how human rights advocates were successfully able to contain many civil rights violations committed by the U.S. Border Patrol agents within the city of El Paso in the mid-1990s only to find them later displaced onto rural communities along the U.S.-Mexican border in the late 1990s-2000 period. For decades, the Border Patrol's (BP) strategy had been to patrol within a 25-mile search area of the U.S.-Mexican border with a random stop and search policy. In practice, people of Hispanic appearance, especially in lower-income neighborhoods in El Paso, were stopped,

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questioned, detained, frisked and/or arrested, with some agents engaging in physical and/or verbal abuse of suspects. The bureaucratic power of the BP was largely unchallenged in El Paso—direct citizen complaints were rare due to fear, resignation, and/or internalized feelings of embarrassment, and humiliation by the victims. When abuse claims were submitted to the BP for review, they were generally denied to exist by agency officials and the local press.

Chapter Two recounts the story of how all this changed in one lower-middle-income high school campus—Bowie High School—located 50 yards from the Rio Grande, which served as a key Border Patrol funneling area for chasing down illegal immigrants due to deliberately unrepaired holes in its fence. Until 1993, BP agents ran down suspected illegal immigrants in Bowie's school halls, on the roof of the field house, in the dressing room while kids were changing clothes, and roughed up suspects in and around the high-school with impunity. A "tipping point" was reached when a blind student, Bowie high-school teachers, counselors, a football coach, and a new principal complained publicly of physical and verbal abuse by the BP. This opposition eventually led a local nongovernmental organization—the Border Rights Coalition—to win a federal lawsuit against the BP on the grounds that it violated the Fourth and Fifth Amendments rights (unreasonable searches, rights to equal protection) of Mexican American citizens. This led to legal constraints on the agency until 1999 with the creation of a Border Patrol Local Accountability Commission.

Ironically, as Timothy Dunn points out in Chapter Three, the Bowie lawsuit precipitated the unleashing of "Operation Blockade" which was the unexpected posting of 400 BP agents in September 1993 along the El Paso banks of the Rio Grande by a new BP leadership attempting to reassert the agency's bureaucratic power and authority in the wake of the lawsuit. Initially very popular with local residents, Operation Blockade effectively halted illegal border crossings into El Paso and was immediately credited by the local public as alleviating the petty crime they associated with illegal migrants. Operation Blockade also moved BP agents out of El Paso neighborhoods, brought a significant reduction in the ethnic profiling of local Hispanics, and even became a model policy for other border states. Yet, Operation Blockade also shifted undocumented border crossings out into harsh, rural desert crossing areas causing "social triage" whereby the most vulnerable population (undocumented migrants) came to bear the brunt of new human rights violations. These included a 44 percent rise in environmental-exposure migrant deaths (4,600 recorded deaths by 2007) due to dehydration and river drowning. Chapter Four documents civil society resistance to the BP's subsequent attempt to extend this harsh anti-immigration policy through the construction of a 1.3-mile long, solid border wall west of El Paso. Catholic Church authority figures, local social activists and the Mexican government forced the agency to downgrade from a solid wall to a mesh/chain-link fence.

In Chapters Five and Six, Dunn documents the vicissitudes of Border Patrol human rights violations in El Paso (1960s–99) and then compares them with rights abuses in rural, poor communities (1995–2002) outside of the city after the implementation of Operation Blockade. Whereas the overall human rights situation did not return to the pre-Bowie lawsuit era, the 1999 lapsing of federal court oversight of the agency and the spatial relocation of illegal migrant crossings after Operation Blockade led to forcible entry of rural homes without permission or warrants, selective targeting of immigrant social services, and the reassertion of aggressive and harassing questioning, verbal abuse, mild physical abuse of rural suspects by the BP and local police doing immigration enforcement. This, in turn, was responded to by the nonprofit Border Network for Human Rights' annual documentation of rights abuses and training of rural community leaders in human rights protection, which led to some increased BP accountability. The book's epilogue details events since 2005 along the El Paso border which include the significant growth in the number of BP agents in El Paso, the privatization of border enforcement through surveillance and new fence/wall construction,

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and the 2006 deployment of National Guard troops to aid the agency.

Dunn's study is important because it shows how gaps in the application of the rule of law to the poor further undermine its effectiveness. The author shows the vital importance of civil society actors in using law to minimize human rights violations, reduce social triage by bureaucratic agents and improve agency accountability to the public. Yet, he also points out some unintended policy consequences that occur when legal protections are not extended, and/or not applied universally, to citizens and noncitizens alike. Short of a policy of extensive aid and investment transfers from the United States and Canada to Mexico along the lines of the European Union model, as advocated by the author, violations of human rights are likely to continue along the U.S.-Mexican border.

New Geographies of Race and Racism, edited by **Claire Dwyer** and **Caroline Bressey.** Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008. 311pp. $124.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754670858.

RUSSELL KING
University of Sussex
R.King@sussex.ac.uk

Anyone who has attended the packed annual conference of the Royal Geographical Society and Institute of British Geographers in recent years will be aware of the increasing number of sessions and papers that have to do with race, ethnicity and migration. Such sessions are inevitably well-attended, especially by doctoral students and younger scholars. These are obvious signs of a vitality of interest in these themes by geographers, who have made some major empirical and theoretical contributions to these increasingly topical debates. Such, at least, is the case in Britain.

This book is a product of this newly established tradition, arising from two sessions at the 2005 RGS/IBG conference. What the title does not make clear—and probably it should—is that this edited collection focuses on understanding geographies of race and racism within the specific context of Britain and Ireland. The editors justify the narrow geographic focus in terms of achieving greater coherence of analysis. Still, this remains a very *British* book (only two of the 21 chapters are on Ireland), and makes few comparative references elsewhere, such as other European settings or North America.

It is undoubtedly the case that British (and a few Irish) geographers have made significant contributions to advancing conceptual debates on race, racism, ethnicity, multiculturalism, whiteness, etc. over the past several years. With their special feeling for the historical contextuality and specificity of space and place, as well as their talent for sensible and rational generalization across different socio-spatial contexts, geographers are uniquely well placed to make these contributions, even if they have arrived a little late at the debating chamber.

As the editors of this book argue, geographers have moved on from their earlier studies of immigrant and ethnic segregation (although echoes of this genre of research remain in two of the chapters). What we have in this book are (beyond the introductory and concluding chapters) 19 contributions divided into three parts. Part One is historical: four chapters on ''Whiteness and the West'' (Alastair Bonnet), race and racism in British history (Caroline Bressey), European migrant workers in postwar Britain (Linda McDowell), and a photo-essay by Ingrid Pollard on her family's arrival from Guyana to Britain in the 1950s. Taken together, these set a backcloth for an historical understanding of race and racism in Britain, both across (black/white) and within (whiteness) the ''color divide.''

Part Two (nine chapters), explores the contested dimensions of identity politics, specifically how ideas about race are framed in and through different national policies of immigration, nation-building, and multiculturalism. Various constituent parts of ''these islands'' are recognized, with individual chapters on Scotland, Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic, England and Wales, the Northern Pennine towns, and the East End of London. This, again, is a useful clutch of chapters, although the varying approaches

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sometimes jar: a series of mostly descriptive chapters based on critical analysis of debates and settings is broken by a barrage of statistical tables and models in the chapter by Michael Poulsen and Ron Johnston on the ''new geography'' of ethnic segregation in England and Wales. This chapter contains important findings but stylistically seems out of place in this book.

Part Three has six chapters on ''everyday'' geographies of race and space. Based on ethnographic case studies, this is (for me) the most interesting section of the book, even if some of the topics are (inevitably) highly specific, localized, and even fleeting. Here, then, the reader is taken to an Asian gay nightclub in Birmingham (Camila Bassi), where he/she witnesses an interpretation of a young Asian guy trying to chat up a white girl in a crowded pub in suburban London (Jason Lim), Dan Swanton introduces the reader to debates on multiculturalism and raced space in Keighley (North Yorkshire), we listen to some remarkable conversations on race and ''political correctness'' by schoolchildren in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Anoop Nayak), we go to the celebrated multicultural city of Leicester with John Clayton and find out it isn't so multicultural after all, and finally we visit Burnley's Millennium Arboretum as a ''cosmopolitan vision of landscape, ecology and culture,'' looking in on Lilly's living room, bedecked with Asian memorabilia, along the way (Dirya Tolia-Kelly).

The final word in the book is left to Peter Jackson, whose 1987 book *Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography* started the shift away from geographers' preoccupation with ethnic segregation and set out on the path towards a re-ontologizing of race that *New Geographies of Race and Racism* helps to achieve. But Jackson is also critical of some of the pieces in the book, arguing that too much can be made of the casual intercultural encounter, which is no substitute for ethnographic depth. Like many edited collections, the chapters in this book sometimes offer parallel narratives to studies already published by authors in their own books and journal papers; and the price tag will limit the book's purchase to only well-endowed libraries.

Identity in Question, edited by **Anthony Elliott** and **Paul du Gay.** Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd, 2009. 220pp. $42.95 paper. ISBN: 9781412922432.

JUDITH A. HOWARD
University of Washington
jhoward@u.washington.edu

Identity in Question is a coedited collection derived from a conference held in 2005. The volume is intended to analyze recent changes in the notion of identity. The first segment situates identity in a broad set of debates about postmodernity; the second emphasizes ideologies of individualism; the third considers contributions of psychoanalysis. Coeditors Anthony Elliott and Paul du Gay observe that mapping the trajectories and political consequences of identity transformations in a globalized world is not only an academic question, but also a public and political concern. There are moments of brilliance in this collection, but also moments of incomprehensibility. A key criterion for any volume based on a conference is the degree to which the editors have encouraged a collective conversation across the chapters. Although the section on postmodern culture is remarkably well-integrated, the second section is less so, and the third is not at all. There is virtually no conversation across the three sections. Some of the individual chapters are equally unmoored. Drucilla Cornell offers an exceedingly thoughtful analysis of the possibility of paradise through a critique of Toni Morrison's novel of the same title, but it is not clear why this chapter belongs in this volume. There is also the question of currency. The conference was held in 2005; some of the chapters have been previously published (in 1996 and 2000). Given the speed of changes in communication technologies, the book may have been out of date in some respects by the time it was physically published.

The majority of the contributors, among the most highly regarded scholars of identity in the West, are located at European institutions. European social psychologists have generated approaches to identity that often are more rooted in the astonishingly mobile contemporary world. Their critiques

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of North American sociology are incisive and ring true. While many North American sociologists are unaware of social psychology as a vital strand within the discipline, in Europe this is not the case. Almost all of the chapters, for example, emphasize the workings of power in the formation and shifts of identities; at the same time, there is a shallow examination of new technologies. What is the potential of the new communication technologies to undo the workings of entrenched power?

Zygmunt Bauman beautifully frames the core challenge: postmodernity has changed the character of the "problem of identity" such that it is now a problem with which people must struggle daily. ". . . the quandary tormenting men and women at the turn of the century is not so much how to obtain the identities of their choice, but *which* identity to chose and how to keep alert . . . so that *another* choice can be made in case the previously chosen identity is withdrawn from the market . . ." (p. 7). Bauman proposes that identification is always incomplete, and in contrast to some who see globalization as extinguishing the search for identity, he maintains that "identification wars" are a natural companion of globalization.

Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim stress the anomie that can result from the challenges of the incomplete and continual nature of identification; they illustrate this anomie with an analysis of contemporary marriage. I don't think this would come as a surprise to family and marriage scholars, but it is an apt institution with which to illustrate the point. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim also offer a compelling example of the relationship between identification and globalization, citing a phrase from Hans Magnus Enzensberger: "the average exoticism of everyday life" (p. 27). Ultimately, however, their speculation that individualization and integration are mutually exclusive is unsatisfying.

Their analysis of the discipline of sociology, on the other hand, is incisive and persuasive. They see "conventional" sociology as dismissive of an individualistic perspective on society. Their critique is certainly true of U.S. sociology; the number of social psychology graduate training programs has been shrinking steadily over the past two decades (despite the robustness of the ASA's Social Psychology Section). Among those who do count themselves as social psychologists, a strain of research that rests on modeling and virtual actors has become influential. In this subgroup of sociologists who focus on individuals, the individual is often virtual, not real.

Elliott and Charles Lemert's chapter is a tour of the many analyses and critiques of pathological narcissism, from Christopher Lasch to Arlie Hochschild. Their summary of Beck's institutional individualization elaborates effectively on Beck's own chapter. Elliott and Lemert also offer an excellent comparative analysis of the historical contexts that have led to different conceptions of individualization.

Angela McRobbie's chapter on what she (and others) label "post-feminism" among young women is a terrific essay, but again it is not clear how it relates to the rest of the volume. McRobbie makes the point that young women's place in the global economy as consumers of global culture is critical, because processes of gender re-stabilization and unraveling of feminist achievements are most evident in the commercial domain. More could be done with the critical concept of "choice," but her overall argument is compelling. This chapter could profit from thinking more explicitly about feminist generations (see, for example, Jennifer Pierce's edited collection, *Feminist Waves, Feminist Generations*, 2007). McRobbie's discussion of the de-regulated workplace, like the concluding section of Elliott and Lemert's chapter, will need updating, given recent economic crises. The volume would benefit from a coda in which the authors discuss whether and how the recent crisis changes their analyses. Such a coda would be possible through precisely the media technologies that are so much the focus of this volume.

Elliott's psychoanalytic analysis of primary repression after Kristeva and Laplanche will be virtually inaccessible to anyone who is not already well versed in psychoanalytic theory. Jeffrey Prager's chapter on melancholic identities stands out from the others in this section in that the connection between individual/psychic and societal is made explicit. Again, however, the chapter is not

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clearly connected to the rest of the volume. Jessica Evans offers a fascinating application of the notion of cathected identities to a real world social action, the Paulsgrove protests against pedophiles. I wish she had expanded considerably on her articulate conclusion, which does begin to relate this chapter to the rest of the volume.

This volume has much to offer, but it could have been so much more. The careful reader will find specific chapters that are gems, but also considerable unevenness. A comprehensive conclusion could have made a tremendous difference. Still, there is no denying the power of the underlying point: although the concept and working of identities have shifted tremendously over the past century, identity searches and processes continue, albeit without the hope of completion.

How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism, by **Tina Fetner.** Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008. 156pp. $22.50 paper. ISBN: 9780816649181.

Amin Ghaziani
Princeton University
ghaziani@princeton.edu

The title says it all: *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism*. In this book, Tina Fetner identifies seven mechanisms through which a countermovement (the religious right) affects social movement organizing (of lesbians and gay men). Conventional accounts emphasize the ways in which opposing movements can reverse movement gains. But this obscures their "oppositional, yet symbiotic" (p. xxii) relationship, given that such pairs can block *and* benefit one another's choices and actions.

The heart of the book explicates mechanisms that will be largely familiar to students of social movements: "framing political claims, mobilizing opposing movement resources, promoting change in opposing movement organizations, heightening emotions of lesbian and gay movement activists, diverting the agendas of activists, and shifting the political venues in which policy decisions are made, blocking their progress, and drawing public attention to the lesbian and gay movement" (p. 122). To develop these, Fetner relies heavily on previously published monographs (which form "the basis for much of the history presented here," p. xvii) and 128 archival documents. She also uses an unspecified number of news accounts, activist memoirs, organizational histories, and seven purposively sampled interviews with gay activists (a number that is strangely small and entirely exclusive of the religious right).

Fetner spans the social context out of which each movement emerged (Chapter One), the effects of the right on gay activists' rhetorical strategies (Chapter Two), organizational development (Chapter Three), involvement in party politics (Chapter Four), the power of one movement to affect the issues on which another will work (Chapter Five), "culture wars" over symbols and public opinion (Chapter Six), and summary theoretical statements (Chapter Seven). She argues that the religious right caused "shifts in language [from 'we' to 'us versus them'], tone [from educational to angry], and frames [from justice/inequality to threatened minority] used by lesbian and gay activists when making their claims" (pp. 27, 30). She shows how gay organizations changed from being small, local, and often grassroots in structure to "larger, professional, and bureaucratic" (p. 49) as a result of federal neglect of AIDS and pressures from the opposing movement. We see how "the religious right's rise to power within the GOP pushed explicitly anti-gay stances firmly into Republican Party politics," while "it was not at all clear that the Democratic Party was interested in countering those positions with pro-gay stances" (p. 76). She chronicles the right's use of ballot initiatives to repeal or block pro-gay legislations and introduce new anti-gay measures at the local and state levels. This forced gay activists to reshuffle their priorities and perhaps table issues on which they would rather have worked. And finally, Fetner argues that "the lesbian and gay movement's efforts to educate and persuade the public to accept homosexuality were successful, while the religious right's anti-gay messages were not" (p. 116).

A common puzzle cuts across the book's seven chapters: the religious right "dwarfs

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the resources, access, and constituent base of the lesbian and gay movement'' (p. 120). We would therefore expect the right—considerably greater in size, strength, and political power—to dominate and defeat the lesbian and gay movement. One of the strongest parts of this book is its explanation for why this did not happen. Fetner argues that the religious right ''increased the political discourse around homosexuality as well as the political salience of lesbian and gay rights.'' Thus, ironically, the right ''amplified the voice and promoted the growth of the lesbian and gay movement'' (p. 82).

Undergraduates will like this book. Fetner narrates an organized and succinct story that can be used in courses on social movements, sexualities, and religion. Scholars, however, may be troubled by a several aspects of the study. Fetner fumbles through the nature of the relationship between these two movements. She alternates between analytic frameworks of causality and symbiosis, yet treats both unsatisfactorily. It is unconvincing to argue that the ''anti-gay movement causes shift in rhetoric'' (p. 28) *only* around issues of antidiscrimination if the sample size for the other two categories (of police abuse and media representation) is 17 and 12, respectively. Left unaddressed are issues of statistical power (perhaps the other categories do not change because their numbers are too small) and significance (we are not told if her quantitative findings are significant and at what level). Fetner also has not ensured interrater reliability, which is imperative to determine if her results are replicable or particular to the way she coded her data. The reader will sometimes equally question if the relationship between these movements is ''dynamic'' and ''interactive'' (p. 121) in light of puzzling assertions such as ''little of their [the right's] activism in the first half of the 1980s directly targeted lesbian and gay issues'' (p. 61); and ''there was little real communication between the opposing movements during these ballot initiative campaigns [in the 1990s]. For the most part, each side talked past the other, using a different body of evidence and appealing to voters on a different set of issues'' (p. 98), among others.

These, along with additional concerns (e.g., is the culture war manifest or mythical? do Fetner's mechanisms push beyond preexisting frameworks or merely aggregate what we already know?), may create pause in the book's reception. *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism* contains limitations that are difficult to ignore, although scholars may also leverage them to stimulate debates with one another and their students about the nature of opposing movements.

Across Generations: Immigrant Families in America, edited by **Nancy Foner.** New York: New York University Press, 2009. 235pp. $22.00 paper. ISBN: 9780814727713.

MARGARITA A. MOONEY
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
margarita7@unc.edu

Nancy Foner's new edited volume, *Across Generations: Immigrant Families in America*, brings together many of the most accomplished immigration scholars to analyze intergenerational relations. Unlike many other noteworthy studies of immigrant generations, the chapters of this book do not come from a single data collection effort. Rather, the ethnic groups, methods, and topics are extremely varied. Another strength of this volume lies in the fact that each of the authors is an expert in the ethnic group they write about, including Chinese (Min Zhou), Filipino (Yen Le Espiritu), West Indians (Mary C. Waters and Jennifer E. Sykes), Bangladeshi (Nazli Kibria), Sierra Leonean (JoAnn D'Alisera), Dominicans (Greta Gilbertson), Mexican (Joanna Dreby), and Guatemalan and Salvadoran (Cecilia Menjívar and Leisy Abrego). Each author does an excellent job of summarizing their most important points in chapters that are generally shorter than 30 pages, making the book an entertaining read.

Altogether, this volume helps answer two important questions regarding immigration and ethnicity: How are family relations maintained given the constraints of current U.S. immigration policy that makes it difficult for some immigrant families to live together? How do immigrant families living together in the United States handle cultural differences across generations? In answering

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these questions, all the contributors to this volume are careful not to conflate household and family. As indicated in the book's title, immigrant families nearly always extend beyond the household to combine multiple generations who may live in different countries or even embody different cultural values while living in the same country. As many chapters point out, (such as those by Gilbertson and by Menjivar and Abrego), immigrant families often incorporate three generations, with adults over 60 playing an important, but often understudied, role in caring for their grandchildren and even providing financial transfers to their adult children. Great geographical distances do not erase all immigrant families' emotional and financial ties, but they do put a strain on those relationships.

Greta Gilbertson's chapter on caregiving across multiple generations of Dominicans highlights a demographic group often overlooked in studies of immigration, those over age 60, who are a growing proportion of new immigrants to the United States. Gilbertson's chapter breaks the stereotype of older persons as being solely recipients of help from their children. Although the Dominican elders in the family Gilbertson has been studying for many years do indeed need some support and care from their children, they also provide important resources to their adult children, such as child care and some financial transfers.

Another commonality across several chapters is that we gain an appreciation for the enormous amount of emotional labor in immigrant families, something that is hard to capture without ethnography and in-depth interviewing. The chapter by Yen Le Espiritu makes emotions the lens through which to examine other aspects of immigrant adaptation, including understanding money. The emotional angst immigrant families often suffer due to unexpectedly long separations comes across most clearly in Celia Menjívar and Leisy Abrego's chapter and in Joanna Dreby's chapter. We read heart-wrenching stories of children left behind accusing their parents of abandoning them, especially if they do not send a lot of remittances, and the parents wondering in retrospect if they made the right decision to migrate.

The chapter by Min Zhou combines interviews with survey data to show that, even if interviews indicate high levels of conflict between second-generation immigrant children and their parents, this conflict is not always bad for the children's mobility. For the Chinese, the strong ethnic community often provides the second generation with sufficient opportunities to interact with other Chinese ethnics, not just their own parents, which then reinforce their drive to succeed. The chapters by JoAnn D'Alisera and Nazli Kibria look at small and understudied immigrant groups in the United States, Sierra Leone, and Bangladesh, respectively. In the case of Sierra Leonean immigrants, D'Alisera shows how immigrants must confront the negative images of their homeland that serve as the dominant frame in their host society. Not only members of the host society, but often their own children, have stereotypes of Africa being a continent subsumed by darkness, disease, and conflict. In the Sierra Leonean ethnic community, events such as naming ceremonies, baptisms, and graduations become crucial to give the second generation some positive images of their parents' homeland. Kibria further points out struggles parents have in getting children to adopt their cultural and moral frames. Bangladeshi parents express frustration that their children often do not understand the meaning of marrying into a ''good family,'' which not only refers to income or social standing but also to the moral conduct of members of that family.

Mary Waters and Jennifer Sykes touch another important public policy topic: parenting styles, including the use of corporal punishment. Surprisingly, they do not find that the use of corporal punishment differs by class among West Indians. They expect child-rearing practices to change in the United States, but further research will be needed to see if this actually occurs, and if the change occurs more quickly in certain social classes.

Perhaps the one weakness of this volume is that despite some interview quotes from men, their voices do not come across as clearly as women's voices. In a volume written entirely by female scholars, is it a coincidence to see an emphasis on emotions and gender roles? Like all good books, this one

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raises as many questions as it answers. Regarding the male role in immigrant families, I was left wondering: Are the father's financial contributions taken for granted by their children because they are men, whereas they value their mother's transnational financial contributions more? Do grandfathers have different expectations or needs from their immigrant children relative to grandmothers? Future research should follow this book's lead and expand the scope to include more questions about the role of men in transnational immigrant families.

Observing Bioethics, by **Renée C. Fox** and **Judith P. Swazey.** New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. 388pp. $45.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780195365559.

Jill A. Fisher
Vanderbilt University
jill.fisher@vanderbilt.edu

Renée Fox and Judith Swazey's most recent book traces the origins and development of the field of bioethics, including their participation in it over the past 40 years. According to the authors, the aims of *Observing Bioethics* are to describe the "intellectual, professional, and organizational development" of bioethics and to situate the field within its larger social and cultural context (p. 12). The resulting book is one part historical and sociological analysis and the other part retrospective. Because they themselves were participants in the development of the field, the authors made the decision to include in the book their own experiences as part of the bioethics community. While this at times only serves to add stories about bioethics celebrations and conferences at which one or both were attendees, it also includes an analysis of the role of the social sciences in bioethics by recounting their own (especially Fox's) interactions with pioneers in the field.

The book is divided into four parts that can be roughly characterized as examining (1) the history of the field of bioethics in the United States, (2) the social and cultural reasons for the field's intellectual tradition, (3) the diffusion of U.S. bioethics around the world, and (4) the current tensions within bioethics as a result of conservative-liberal (red state-blue state) culture wars. The chapters in Part I cover diverse topics ranging from the origin stories that insiders tell about the emergence of bioethics to the media coverage of bioethical issues such as Dolly the cloned sheep, to the numerous events in the field celebrating the anniversaries of organizations and/or milestones. While the topics in this section are interesting, the analysis is oftentimes quite thin. For instance, the authors trace the commonalities that the early pioneers in bioethics shared, such as the role of religion and social activism, which provides interesting tidbits about those scholars who were influential in crafting the agenda of the field. Unfortunately, however, the authors do not discuss the extent to which these commonalities within the emerging field of bioethics were distinct from broader trends in academia at that time. Moreover, they make few claims about how these commonalities actually influenced the direction of the field.

Part II, especially Chapter Six, of the book takes on a more analytic tone. The authors flag it as the "sociological core of the book, because it is here that we deal extensively with what we identify as the problems of thinking socially and culturally in American bioethics that existed since its inception" (p. 13). In other words, the authors take on why bioethics as a field can be so staggeringly bereft of social and cultural insights. They argue that one of the main reasons for this deficit is that the field has focused primarily on the individual and on individual rights as a result of its historical collocation with the civil rights movement as well as many scholars' mission to combat the paternalism that so seriously defined medical practice during the first 20 years of the field. In addition, the authors argue that bioethics has placed value on universal claims about morality and has eschewed particularistic claims, which are perceived as leading dangerously to relativism. This framework allows one to see why the social sciences might be threatening to the core values of bioethics. Moreover, the authors show that many bioethicists, especially those trained in philosophy, set up false dichotomies between "descriptive" and "normative" ethics. Not only are social scientists seen as

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merely providing the field with descriptions of current practices in medicine, but these contributions are perceived as having less value to the field than those of philosophy. As the authors indicate, ''This is a dichotomous distinction that tends to carry with it the implication that normative thought is not only more important than 'mere' description but also intellectually and morally superior to it, and that there is a danger that too much immersion in existing reality may insidiously lead to accepting uncritically 'what is' as justified or unalterable'' (p. 178). Ironically, in spite of its comparison with the social sciences, the authors point out that bioethics as a field has on the whole been rather inattentive to the broad ethical issues embedded in the injustices of the U.S. health care system (pp.185–88).

In the remainder of the book, Fox and Swazey look beyond the United States as a way of understanding the influence of American bioethics and its limitations. They convincingly illustrate the extent to which bioethics has been exported to countries around the world through American bioethicists' active participation in international organizations, consulting, and grant funding opportunities. Nonetheless, through the case studies of France and Pakistan, the authors suggest that different cultural values, especially those that privilege ''social solidarity'' or community over individualism, lead to normative views about morality and ethics that are different from the American perspective. While Chapter Eleven returns to the United States as its focus, its placement after the analysis of international bioethics helps to show the uniquely American politics of the ''culture wars'' infecting the field of bioethics. Pitting ''liberal'' versus ''conservative'' bioethicists, the culture wars work to politicize differences that may distract attention away from more productive conversations in the field.

While this is a book of considerable interest for those working in the subfield of the sociology of (or in) bioethics, it may be too specialized for many medical sociologists. Specifically, many chapters read like an insider's account, and it often seems that the reader is expected to know the field already in order to understand why the details they provide are important, rather than the authors providing a narrative that illustrates the significance of their data. Fortunately, the book is written in a modular way that allows the chapters to stand well on their own for readers to select the topics that most interest them.

A Mother's Work: How Feminism, the Market, and Policy Shape Family Life, by **Neil Gilbert.** New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008. 228pp. $26.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780300119671.

BARBARA J. RISMAN
University of Illinois, Chicago
brisman@uic.edu

In the world according to Neil Gilbert, ''gender feminists'' are as powerful cultural actors as capitalists, and together feminism and economic market ideology have hoodwinked less highly educated women into thinking working for pay while their children are small is a good idea. This has decreased their own life satisfaction, the quality of family life, and their children's optimal development. Gilbert proposes that governments offer *really* family-friendly social policies that encourage women (although he's willing to use gender neutral language as long as we are clear that mostly this is for mothers) to balance work and family sequentially, withdrawing from the labor market for five years per child. He admits that this would only be possible for women whose paid work doesn't need extensive higher education, and would eliminate career possibilities such as ''mathematicians, media personalities, physicists, doctors, fashion models, athletes, politicians or multinational CEOs (pp. 201–202).'' Gilbert categorizes women into four types based upon their fertility levels and presumes that only women with low fertility really want, or should want, continuous employment.

His argument is not that we should go back to a traditional family system where all women live entirely domestic lives provided for by patriarchal husbands. He argues for pluralism. Elite women who seek fulfilling careers and have a shot at high-powered positions should be free to outsource their children's care in pursuit of

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occupational success. He argues that those of us knowledge creators who love our autonomous, well-paid, interesting work have created a cultural context that pressures all women to follow our lead, into a ''male model'' of continuous labor force participation. Without the cultural blinders we feminists (with the help of capitalists) have constructed, other women would choose to work before and after they had young children, and not during. Those women would then provide the best kind of childcare, and their family lives would be enriched.

It's hard to know where to begin to point out logical and empirical contradictions here.

First, Gilbert argues that most women, even the poor, do not *really* need to work for pay, but only do so because Americans have come to see luxuries (like TVs and washing machines) as necessities. This entire monograph depends on accepting the notion that many women have the choice to remain home with their kids but do not believe this because capitalists have convinced us we need so many material comforts and have devalued care work, while feminists concurrently have deceived women into thinking paid work is fulfilling. Neither of these presumptions is accurate.

First, poor women have always done economic labor in addition to raising their children. Farm women didn't spend their time enriching their children's cognitive development; they planted gardens, canned produce, and made clothes. Someone watched the baby, but it was probably an older sibling or grandparent. This belief that women are biologically wired to want to mother as a primary occupation is a modern social construction. Gilbert ignores the feminist argument that women need to work for pay because all adults need to be able to support themselves, and if they cannot, they are at a disadvantage in their relationships. Many mothers do not have a man they can count on to support them forever, and noncontinuous labor force participation disadvantages earnings accumulation, for poorer women as well as educated ones.

Which gets us to the misrepresentation, perhaps misunderstanding, of feminism. In my eyes, feminism involves a moral critique of traditional hegemonic masculinity, by challenging men to take responsibility for their share of reproductive labor and emotion work. But that said, Professor Gilbert thinks less of men than any feminist I know. He is sure that they will never step up to the plate to be equal partners in household labor or childrearing. On top of that, he nearly ignores the reality that many children are born to single mothers and that the divorce rate, while stable, is so high that no woman can assuredly allow her financial future to be dependent on the man to whom she is currently married. The alternative social policies in his conclusion have women choosing to remain home in a world that includes universal health care, half of their husbands' income, pension, investments, and social security after divorce, and preference points on public tests for their ''home care'' service (à la veterans service). He does not seriously tangle with the problem of the earnings differential of husbands who are continuously employed while their wives stay home, after divorce.

The problem identified by Gilbert exists. There is a conflict between work and caretaking. The conflict exists because the industrial era workplace was designed with the presumption that workers had wives or did not need them. Poor women always suffered under this scheme. Now that middle class wives and mothers are also in the labor force, the conflict is apparent even to management and politicians. There are two alternative possibilities: (1) we can change the way the economic sector operates and assume that all workers have responsibilities to care for other people, and concurrently accelerate converging gender expectations or (2) we can accept the current structure of the workplace and the male privilege that allows fathers to ignore their responsibility for caretaking, and create social policy to encourage women to go home when they have small children. But, of course, that is only an option for women whose families do not need a second income, and who are not interested in higher education, economic self-sufficiency and/or occupational success. I challenge the author's analytic scheme whereby women are defined by their fertility, with the educated (usually low fertility) elite careerists versus the others

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who really do not mind economic dependence and do not value continuous participation in the economic world beyond the home.

Neil Gilbert offers one way to end the work/family conflict that we all agree exists. But it is a way that preserves male privilege in the labor force and male dominance at home. Any social policy that rests on the presumption that marriage is a good career choice for women in the twenty-first century, even a temporary one, is antifeminist, whether the author knows it or not. Let us hope the author's policy suggestions fall on deaf ears, because such policies would work against equality for all women, from the elite, married, and educated to poor single mothers, and everyone between.

Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race, by **Laura E. Gomez.** New York: New York University Press, 2007. 243pp. $41.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780814731741.

ROBERTO G. GONZALES
University of Washington
rggonzal@u.washington.edu

Much of the contemporary discussion of Mexicans in the United States centers on their role as undocumented and legal immigrants, and whether they, like Italians, for example, will be absorbed into the fabric of American society over time and achieve levels of upward mobility or whether they are destined to be a socially and economically disenfranchised group. While some scholars speculate that because of lower levels of education, unauthorized status, and sheer numbers they may experience delays in achieving social and economic mobility, others argue that Mexican Americans have already experienced many generations of exclusion. Undoubtedly, migration is a key feature of Mexican communities in the United States today. However, a longer view of history suggests a different narrative of how Mexicans fit into the social and racial order of this country. Laura E. Gomez's book offers an interesting and important contribution to this discussion.

Manifest Destinies revisits the history of New Mexico between 1846 and 1910, and traces the origins of Mexican Americans as a racial group in the United States. Gomez engages three distinct disciplines: history, sociology, and law. Methodologically, much of the book draws from primary historical documents or secondary studies of archival materials. Her analytic approach, however, employs sociological concepts and understandings of race, racial ideology, and politics to tell the broader empirical narrative. She focuses on how the law, legal institutions, and legal actors conspired to construct Mexican as a race.

Gomez argues that the conquest and subsequent U.S. control over New Mexico territory reshaped race relations between whites, Mexicans, Indians, and African Americans, and constituted Mexican Americans as a distinct racial group. With clarity, Gomez explores the central paradox of Mexican American racial status and the ways in which legal and social constructions shaped the ambivalent position and meaning of Mexican American identity. On one hand, Mexicans—through law and colonial rule—were legally designated as white. On the other hand, their social position was that of nonwhite, racially inferior, mongrel people, relegated to second-class status at best. Gomez contends that these contradictory legal and social definitions aided in the construction of a racial hierarchy, and entrenched white supremacy in the United States.

Ultimately, Gomez argues, the construction of Mexican Americans as a racial group proved central to larger processes of restructuring the American social and racial order during a key historical period following the Mexican War. Gomez makes an important observation that the emphasis on white and black relations during this period has obscured the significant role played by the doctrine of Manifest Destiny and the colonization of northern Mexico in the racial subordination of nonwhite Americans. At the core of this point is the idea that Manifest Destiny was not, according to Gomez, a neutral political belief. To the contrary, it was a powerful ideology that bestowed upon whites a sense of entitlement to the land and racial superiority over its people.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this book, and where it makes its most important

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contribution, is in its multidisciplinary approach to the understanding of the complex ways in which Mexican identity has been legally and socially constructed, to be sure, an issue that scholars have struggled with over the last several decades. The legal-historical case study of post-Mexican war New Mexico provides key insight into the manner in which these seemingly contradictory processes worked in tandem to ensure not only the place of Mexican Americans in the racial order but also to solidify the position of whites at the top of that order. This monograph, however, is much more than an historical treatise of the annexation of New Mexico. The sociological lens Gomez employs provides students of race and ethnicity an analytically developed story about the confluence of legal, political, and social processes that has important implications for today's discussions of contemporary Mexican communities.

While this book is admirable for its methodology and analysis, it could benefit from parallel explorations of other postcolonial regions during this time. How, for example, did these same legal and social processes play out in Texas and California? Or perhaps even more interesting, in Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and Colorado? The benefit of comparative analyses here would be in demonstrating, perhaps, a range of relationships between Mexicans and Native Americans and between colonial aggressors and victims.

That said, Gomez's book provides an important contribution to studies concerning race, the color line, and assimilation. As such, it is a timely contribution to our current debates about Mexican identity and social standing, as it allows us to take a look back so that we can better understand the road ahead.

Small Towns and Big Business: Challenging Wal-Mart Superstores, by **Stephen Halebsky.** Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009. 235pp. $80.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780739122402.

RHONDA F. LEVINE
Colgate University
rlevine@colgate.edu

Small Towns and Big Business: Challenging Wal-Mart Superstores is not just another book on Wal-Mart that details how the corporate giant destroys local businesses and provides low-waged jobs while being staunchly antiunion. Stephen Halebsky does indeed provide an historical overview of the rise of Wal-Mart and superstores in general and the local impact in terms of jobs, small businesses, and the built environment; but the real contribution of his book is its analysis of the successes and failures of local social movements to achieve their goals when up against powerful, large-scale corporations. Through a comparative historical method that utilizes both fieldwork and archival data sources, Halebsky examines six cases of local social movements that had different outcomes to their attempts to stop the siting of a Wal-Mart in their communities. Halebsky's goal is, through systematic research, to develop a model of what determines successful local social movements and what role the local state (local government) can play in the process.

The six small cities (Gig Harbor, Washington; Petosky, Michigan; West Bend, Wisconsin; Ottawa, Ohio; Ashland, Wisconsin; Eureka, California) all share certain similarities and differences that make them ideal cases to highlight salient factors that lead to successful local social movements in opposition to corporate capital. All six cities had populations less than 30,000, all but one were located in rural areas, and each case is representative of disputes involving small-towns against big companies. Moreover, each case involved a ''controversy'' of the siting of a Wal-Mart in which an organization, whether new or already in existence, took a stand against the opening of the store, at least 50 people attended a meeting that discussed the store, and at least 200 people signed a petition opposing the store. None of the cases included significant

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involvement of college students, enabling Halebsky to focus on residents and local merchants who have long-term interests in the respective communities. There were differences in the cases, most notably the outcome of the movement to stop Wal-Mart from locating in the community. Gig Harbor and Eureka succeeded in preventing Wal-Mart from being built, West Bend and Ottawa partially succeeded in that Wal-Mart was eventually built but not on the site it had originally preferred, and Petosky and Ashland failed to prevent Wal-Mart from building in its preferred place. Halebsky notes also different factors that may have influenced the different outcomes, such as in some cases the store disrupted residential neighborhoods and in other cases it economically threatened the well-being of local merchants and downtowns, and the cases did vary in terms of class demographics.

Halebsky provides a cursory overview of the local movement in each case to conclude that of some 19 explanatory variables, five key were essential to prevail over Wal-Mart. The key variables included that the movement showed there was widespread opposition, framed the issue of Wal-Mart broadly, gained media backing, did not generate a counter-social movement, and benefited from mistakes made by Wal-Mart. While other variables played a role, such as the position of the growth machine, Halebsky argues that these variables were the ones that mattered most for a movement's succeess.

In some ways, Halebsky's findings are not that surprising. The more support a movement gets, especially with no real opposition, the more likely it will succeed. Because Halebsky compares and contrasts six different cases, the reader only gets a brief overview of the movement in each case. What is lacking is a feel for the politics of the conflict, not to mention the actors involved. The importance of class, for example, seems to be underplayed.

Nevertheless, although *Small Towns and Big Business* may lack in specifics, Halebsky does attempt to extract from the six cases a general model of conditions that can make success possible for local movements to win against corporate giants like Wal-Mart. To be specific, Halebsky argues that there are four conditions that can neutralize the advantage of corporate size and power in the wake of local opposition. These conditions also bring into play local government structures. In a nutshell, Halebsky argues that the first role of local government should be to provide what he calls a regulatory checkpoint, meaning that certain corporate actions need to be sanctioned by local government. This entails publicizing the intended corporate action and engaging in public debate where decisions are made locally and local decision makers are made accountable to the public. Halebsky argues that this role of local government provides a political opportunity structure in which local social movements can successfully contest corporate action that is deemed detrimental to the community.

Small Towns and Big Business: Challenging Wal-Mart Superstores is readable and accessible to undergraduates. Halebsky does a fine job in situating his cases within the larger literature, presents his methodology in a teachable fashion, and provides theoretical and practical implications that are certain to spark lively classroom discussions on the nature of power and democracy. With so much emphasis on globalization and the importance of local sustainability on college campuses, undergraduates will no doubt find this book both engaging and relevant.

Making Digital Cultures: Access, Interactivity, and Authenticity, by **Martin Hand.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. 186pp. $99.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754648406.

Paul-Brian McInerney
University of Illinois, Chicago
pbm@uic.edu

From desktop computers to mobile devices, digital technologies have become commonplace in advanced capitalist cultures. Yet, much of life remains analog. Despite the growing number and availability of e-books, most of us still read printed pages. Certain forces push toward digitizing cultural objects, facing resistance from analog forms and their attendant institutional arrangements. In his book, *Making Digital Cultures*,

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Martin Hand explores the tension between these forces, especially as they play out in three critical arenas: access, interactivity, and authenticity.

The book is a great starting point for sociologists interested in digital technologies. The first three chapters provide a broad, though highly technical, overview of the literature on digital technologies, crossing several disciplines and tracing theoretical ideas back to their philosophical roots. While comprehensive, Hand relies too heavily on quotes from theoreticians, some passages reading like strings of quotations from the dominant thinkers in the field. However, this is a small quibble given the expanse of material Hand covers, organizes, and renders meaningful.

Three concepts—access, interactivity, and authenticity—provide a framework for Hand's empirical analyses as well as for the book. The author provides a chapter on each, illustrated with empirical studies in a library, business organization, and archive respectively.

The author's study of access goes beyond research and rhetoric on the digital divide, demonstrating how ''access'' to information changes as libraries adopt digital information technologies, like the Internet. Libraries are traditionally state-sponsored spaces of access to information. Since they play a role in active citizenship, states have an interest in providing Internet access to their citizens through libraries. However, state-sanctioned Internet use is at odds with what users are actually doing, sitting in chairs at their local libraries: while the state wants the Internet for publicly useful tasks, like searching for jobs, users often go online to chat or e-mail friends. This leaves librarians in the awkward position of mediating between the demands of the state, which provides funding, and the users, who provide reasons to fund libraries. What results is the redefinition of ''access'' as access to communication tools, as well as to information.

Hand goes inside a financial services organization which is developing a Web site to market and sell its services, to understand the changing meaning of interactivity. The chapter follows Hand into the organization to attend meetings in which actors from different departments debate the disintermediation of their services, that is, how the firm should interact more directly with consumers. The firm eventually fails to deliver its services online, due to debates over the boundaries between analog and digital. Hand explains this failure as the inability of the firm to reconcile the analog (hybrid digitalization: online forms combined with a signature on a piece of paper) with forces pressing for the digital (pure digitalization: an online form with some type of e-signature). The strength of his analysis is where Hand explains how the standpoints of different departments come to bear during the debate over the website. Yet, more can be made of Hand's findings, especially in light of institutional factors regarding e-commerce at the time. Many firms contemporary with the one Hand studied struggled with interactivity and online presence. The author largely neglects the institutional factors contributing to the firm's failure. As a result of ongoing institutional changes banks, commercial firms, and even government agencies now accept online signatures as legitimate. Hand's analysis does not connect internal machinations within the firm to large-scale institutional changes over new forms of interactivity with consumers.

Finally, the author examines the relationship between archives and authenticity, while delving into the problem of collective memory in the digital era. Digital cultural objects, like Web sites, online documents, photographs, and video, have proliferated rapidly in recent years. This presents archivists with important problems related to the authenticity of the object: What counts as history? What is worth storing in the archive? How do we know the digital object is what it purports to be? How do archivists store and preserve the massive number of objects available? On what media? How can the archive maintain the context of digital objects? Hand presents data from interviews with archivists as they grapple with essential problems of digital ontology in their work. The archivists do not have answers to these questions, as again actors attempt to reconcile the fluidity of digital objects with institutions set up to handle the persistance of analog objects. Relying on these data, the chapter remains more

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polemical than explanatory. However, by engaging with his data, Hand provides the necessary theoretical equipment for thinking about the authenticity of digital objects.

Making Digital Cultures is about cultural change and obduracy. Hand outlines many problems associated with the uneasy relationship between extant analog objects and their nascent digital counterparts. Many of these problems stem from people relying on "analog" institutions to make sense of digital objects. As developments in intellectual property law demonstrate, eventually institutions will change. But institutional change happens slowly and results from people resolving the problems Hand identifies and explains. In the meantime, this book provides a framework for understanding cultural shifts—as people make sense of digital objects in an otherwise analog world.

Swimming Against the Tide: African American Girls and Science Education, by **Sandra L. Hanson.** Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009. 213pp. $64.50 cloth. ISBN: 9781592136216.

DEBORAH BELLE
Boston University
debbelle@bu.edu

Women are increasingly essential to the science and engineering workforce of the United States, as are members of historically underrepresented minority groups. Native-born U.S. white men now earn a smaller absolute number of science and engineering doctorates annually than they did a generation ago. Half of all undergraduates studying science and engineering in the United States today are women, as are over a third of those who receive science and engineering doctorates. Yet the stereotypic scientist or engineer today is still a white male. Many who do not match this stereotype find a "chilly climate" when they attempt to study or to work in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) fields. Female students have higher attrition rates from STEM majors than their male counterparts, and more women than men are lost from STEM fields at every educational and career transition. Such losses are costly, both to the vigor of our STEM workforce, and to the individuals whose ambitions are not achieved.

A considerable body of research has explored the factors that lead girls and women to leave science. Yet little attention has been paid to ethnic subgroups of women, whose experiences may well differ from those of women in the white majority. In *Swimming Against the Tide: African American Girls and Science Education*, Sandra Hanson points out that African Americans have historically viewed strength, employment, and heading families as fitting for women. In the black community, therefore, femininity may well be more compatible with science careers than it is in the majority white culture. To understand the experiences of African American girls and women in science one cannot simply add together insights from research conducted with white women and that conducted with African American men or presume that African American girls experience a "double jeopardy" based on their gender and race.

Hanson explores the actual experiences of African American girls and young women in science by drawing on two very different data bases and combining quantitative and qualitative analyses. Much of her quantitative data comes from the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) of American youth, a nationally representative study begun in the late 1980s. Students were followed from age 13 through the high school, college, and postcollege years. To be included in Hanson's study sample (581 young African American women and a comparison sample of 3,365 young white women) the young women had to have remained in high school through the twelfth grade. Hanson also conducted a Web survey in 2003 of 13- to 30-year-old African American girls and women ($N=281$) and a comparison group of similarly aged white women ($N=781$) in which she elicited open-ended responses to vignettes about young people in science as well as more standard questionnaire responses. Through both of these studies Hanson examines the science aspirations and achievements of young people, as well as the ways in which teachers, peers, parents, and others are experienced as influencing such aspirations and achievements.

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The picture which emerges is a complicated one, suggesting that young African American girls and women often are drawn to study science and to pursue science careers, sometimes more strongly than white girls and women, yet frequently experience skepticism of their work in science. Yet Hanson finds that in some ways being black and female is less discouraging to scientific pursuits than being either white and female, or black and male.

Hanson's focus on African American girls and young women in science is needed and welcome, and her use of qualitative methods is valuable. Her work raises many questions for future research to address. The broad agerange Hanson has studied, from 13 to 30, encompasses very different stages of life, and it will be important in future research to examine the particular experiences of girls and women separately. The NELS longitudinal study was begun in the late 1980s. Are the experiences of contemporary eighth graders different from those eighth graders of a generation ago? Hanson only examined the responses of NELS participants who remained in high school through the twelfth grade. What might we learn by examining the views of respondents who dropped out of school earlier? Did they report different patterns of attraction to and discouragement from science study?

The taste of qualitative analysis Hanson provides whets the appetite for richer and more fully developed material. The Web survey format does not allow for follow-up questions that could provide important clarification, and I sometimes wondered how respondents understood key phrases. What does a ''science occupation'' mean to respondents of different ages, genders, ethnicities, and social class backgrounds? Could differences in the interpretation of such key phrases account for some of the results Hanson presents? We certainly need insight into the science experiences of girls and women from specific ethnic groups. Hanson helps us to understand one important group of potential scientists as they ''swim against the tide.''

Race and Police Brutality: Roots of an Urban Dilemma, by **Malcolm D. Holmes** and **Brad W. Smith.** Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008. 186pp. $21.95 paper. ISBN: 9780791476208.

CARLA SHEDD
Columbia University
cs2613@columbia.edu

In the quest to understand the racial dynamics of police brutality, we are well overdue for a new visual beyond Rodney King getting flogged. Malcom Holmes and Brad Smith present a new vision for understanding the conflict between racial minorities and police officers. This work seeks to explain the social and psychological dynamics of police brutality and community relations by relying on a rich synthesis of widely divergent albeit complementary theoretical perspectives. After dispensing with traditional approaches of explaining police brutality via sociological, psychological, and organizational factors and then discounting the use of conflict theory/minority threat hypotheses to explain adequately the use of excessive police force, the authors present an alternative theory that analyzes the properties of intergroup conflict within a multilevel social-psychological model. Their new model integrates three factors that bolster group memberships and create intergroup tensions: social identity, stereotypes, and emotions. These components, outlined separately in Chapters Three through Five, are well presented and would be most useful to individuals generally interested in the social-psychological dynamics of aggression.

The social identity model underlies the behaviors toward ingroup and outgroup members which they dichotomize into racial/ethnic identity and police occupational identity (noting that the latter trumps the former if one is an officer of color). A particular strength of the work is their overview of recent social-psychological research on the second component of the model, stereotypes—the automatic ''cognitive shortcuts that streamline information processing,'' with an emphasis on the pervasive nature of racial and ethnic stereotypes in our society (p. 59). Finally, the delicate interplay

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between one's allegiance to an ingroup and negative schemata about an outgroup engenders an emotional response (e.g., fear and anger) to perceived outgroup threats, which they argue "are to some degree informed by cultural and social environments" (pp. 81–82). This final component of the theory explains the powerful impact of emotions on interactions between police and citizens.

However, after elegantly integrating the social, emotional and cognitive in-group/out-group dynamics of excessive force into a viable model, they state that it is futile to combat police brutality because "the social circumstances that shape the emotional responses characteristic of police-minority interactions seem to make certain adverse outcomes inescapable, given the structure of inequality in America" (p. 89). If "police brutality seems inevitable in America's current social milieu," we must first examine the stratified social world portrayed in this work (p. 151). I would challenge their adherence to a static tripartite color hierarchy as depicted in the attitudes and experiences of three groups: the black and brown, who are always poor and live in disadvantaged neighborhoods (except for the cursory mention of the existence of an African American and Mexican American middle class on p. 74); the white, who are cast as the "affluent citizens in comfortable neighborhoods" who are "usually polite"; and the blue, the police of all races who serve as the literal and figurative intermediary. The strict stratification is problematic since the "Blue" are comprised of members of all races who deal with many complicated ingroup dynamics (see Bolton and Feagin 2004). Also, even though the authors present a rigorous discussion of underlying processes of stereotype formation and activation, they still make generalizations about the characteristics/traits of those who live in "comfortable" neighborhoods versus "impoverished" minority neighborhoods, basing the majority of their suppositions about the latter on one ethnography—*Code of the Street* (Anderson 1999).

The authors certainly fulfill their aim to outline a theoretical model that can be used beyond police brutality. It should be applied to understanding the more ubiquitous forms of police misconduct against citizens (e.g., verbal insults) that impact people across and within the color, class, and neighborhood lines. The July 16, 2009, arrest of Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr. is particularly instructive. The *conflict* that led to Gates's arrest was the interactive effect of Sergeant Crowley's assumptions about Gates and vice versa. Gates's social class and the likelihood of him being more sensitized to differential treatment because of his race/class status as well as his extensive research on the "black experience" likely influenced his defiance. The authors' argument that emotions supersede cognition is supported by Crowley's decision to arrest Gates for disorderly conduct on rather flimsy grounds (the case was later dismissed). Further, the fact that Crowley has taught cultural sensitivity classes to his fellow officers also bolsters the authors' assertion that what is taught in the police academy goes out the window when an officer has to make decisions in the field to shoot or not shoot, or in this case, to arrest or not arrest. Holmes and Smith have given us theories to draw upon, now it is incumbent upon sociologists to begin to do research on the more commonplace conflicts between police and *all* citizens and work toward viable solutions.

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Contexts of Social Capital: Social Networks in Markets, Communities, and Families, edited by **Ray-May Hsung, Nan Lin**, and **Ronald L. Breiger.** New York: Routledge, 2008. 357pp. $120.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780415411172.

MARIO L. SMALL
University of Chicago
mariosmall@uchicago.edu

Social capital research is at a crossroad. A runaway success, the concept has reached most subfields in sociology, crossed over to

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political science and economics, and inspired envy, complaint, and begrudging admiration. It has matured theoretically and methodologically. The question is whether the field has reached a creative plateau, destined to continue building incrementally on the core ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, Nan Lin, and others; or whether it can generate substantially new questions inspired by but not beholden to those of the past. In *Contexts of Social Capital*, Ray-May Hsung, Nan Lin, and Ronald Breiger hope to point the way to the more promising road.

The book's stated objective is to uncover context, ''how social capital interacts with social institutions'' (p. xxi). It is part of a new wave of research on social capital that, dissatisfied with both macro analyses limited to societal patterns and micro analyses limited to actors' conditions, seeks to understand the operation of networks at the *meso*-level: how institutions and organizations structure the transfer of resources across networks. It purports to make both theoretical and methodological contributions, the first by developing the concept of ''institutional logics,'' the latter by ''cast[ing] diverse contextual settings as 'generators' of social relations'' (p. xxii), and studying these contexts from multiple methodological perspectives. The book sets high expectations—for all its strengths, the book does not quite meet them. While the papers are diverse with respect to data source and questions, they are also disparate in orientation and uneven in quality. Though most of them reflect care and competence, too few of them exhibit the freshness or theoretical originality that the editors led us to expect. And the concept of ''institutional logics'' hardly makes an appearance beyond some early chapters. Nevertheless, the strongest papers in the volume are quite promising.

Among them is Ray-May Hsung and Ronald Breiger's contribution. Affiliation networks—which are generated by asking people to list the organizations to which they belong—have long been analyzed as two-mode networks. (The two modes are actors and organizations.) Hsung and Breiger argue that this duality can also characterize *position*-generated networks—which are generated by asking people whether they know others in particular occupations or positions. In these networks, ''the two modes are the positions and the types of social ties used to access those positions'' (p. 4). For example, I can know a lawyer (position—one mode) because I met her through my neighbor or because I met her through my boss (means of access—second mode). Using data from four firms in Taiwan, the authors find that having access to the position of an owner (a traditional measure of strong access to social capital) tends to be associated with having a boss, client, or old colleague—rather than, say, a neighbor or a teacher—who knows an owner. Presumably, then, how I access a position can be important to how useful it is as a source of social capital. The resulting conception of social capital, which incorporates both kinds of dualities, represents a richer understanding of the advantages of network position.

The chapter by Beate Volker, Henk Flap, and Gerald Mollenhorts probably comes closest to accomplishing what many readers will expect from the volume's title. They specifically examine how the context in which actors meet others affects the probability that the tie is a friendship. Using data from the Netherlands, they find, for example, that ''if one meets during education, in a voluntary organization, via friends, or at church, the odds that the relationship will become a friendship are the highest'' (p. 35). Unfortunately, the notion of ''context'' is construed rather broadly. Some of the contexts are formal *organizations* (''church''); others are *situations* (''with friends,'' ''with family''); others are subjectively defined *geographic spaces* (''neighborhood''); still others are difficult-to-catalogue circumstances (''vacation''). As such, the authors miss an opportunity to theorize clearly the idea of context. Still, the potential of this line of work comes across to the reader.

Also notable are three chapters—by Bonnie Erickson, by Robert Tardos, and by Jeanne Hurlbert, John Beggs, and Vaerie Haines—that adopt an explicitly comparative perspective, though in radically different ways. Comparing one set of actors in different contexts, one set of network resources in different villages, or one set of network measures in different social classes,

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the papers make clear that the analytical leverage of comparative designs has been underused in social capital research.

Social capital researchers should add this book to their libraries. Although the volume collectively falls short of the high expectations that it sets, the promise of this kind of work—one that takes context much more seriously—is made clear, and in several cases compellingly. There is certainly a new road to be taken.

Why We Disagree About Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction, and Opportunity, by **Mike Hulme.** New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 392pp. $28.99 paper. ISBN: 9780521727327.

Charles Perrow
Yale University
Charles.perrow@yale.edu

This book will appeal to sociologists, and be very useful for those who would like an overview of the political and cultural issues concerning global warming. Written by a climate scientist trained in geography (and history!) who founded and ran for several years the Tyndall Center for Climate Change Research in England, it draws heavily upon the social sciences and history. The thesis is that science cannot save us; our cultural values are so diverse and our political institutions so inappropriately constructed that it is these issues we must address, rather than counting on more scientific research and innovation. He explores the limits of science well, the economic theories concerning mitigation and adaptation extremely well, looks at conflicting values and belief systems, applies the Douglas-Wildavsky theory of the culture of risk effectively to climate change, examines risk communication in the media with some very entertaining examples of the confusion there, and has a stimulating, if depressing, chapter upon "the way we govern."

Given the magnitude of the threat of continued global warming, which could be our last catastrophe, and the careful, quite often trenchant examinations of why we have failed to deal with it, his final chapter constitutes whistling in the dark. In it he says we need bottom-up mobilization and solutions by communities and groups and nongovernmental organizations, rather than top-down, bureaucratic, nation-state brokered ineffective treaties. His animus toward the latter is justified; despite conferences, pledges and several treaties, accumulations of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide have been increasing rather than declining. He does a good job at explaining why the current top-down, bureaucratic, nation-state-based efforts have failed, but the signs of effective bottom-up awareness and resolve are faint indeed. Instead of concrete proposals for decentralized action we are left with calls for trust and accountability, for using climate change as an "imaginative resource" for "rethinking and renegotiating our wider social goal about how and why we live on this planet." Terms such as "transcendent mystery," "wisdom and humility" dominate the last chapter.

But the book is much more than the last chapter. His real contribution is to explore the dilemmas, for example, the "social discount rate," or how much our own generation should sacrifice in order to benefit our future generations. This is a major dispute, with prominent economists such as William Nordhaus saying that our world growth rate is so strong that our children will be twice as rich as us and thus there will be time to reduce emissions and make the necessary adaptations. (Apparently the impact of global warming will not disrupt historical economic growth rates!) The economists that produced the Stern Report however say that the threat is much greater and we must reduce our standard of living right away and invest the savings in heroic mitigation efforts. It is a lucid section.

Another major issue well explored is whether the threat of catastrophic climate change trumps the imperative to reduce poverty in the world; should we not eliminate much of human suffering first and then attend to global warming? Hulme's advocacy of a bottom-up approach and his transcendentalist last chapter would seem to suggest the latter, but he does not take a stand on the issue. Hulme explores many other important issues such as the relation of science and politics, scientific objectivity and advocacy, the religious bases of public

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attitudes, and briefly but usefully outlines the history of scientific evidence and understanding of the issue.

Nevertheless, there is, I feel, some hype in the book that is disturbing. The importance of disagreements within science seems exaggerated. Except for a tiny minority of skeptics and deniers, some of whom receive respectable references in the book, the overwhelming proportion of climate scientists agree on the basic findings and dangers; the disagreements about the technical details of the Greenland ice melt or the stability of the West Antarctica ice shelf are minor in comparison. Of course, there are great uncertainties about such things as tipping points. But the style of the book—controversies—seems to tempt him to exaggerate scientific disagreements. More important, in all the many areas he explores he finds the sources of disagreements to lie in culture and values; the role of interests is not interrogated. For example, there is no discussion of the very successful effort mounted by the big polluting industries of the United States—coal, oil, and automobiles—starting in the early 1990s to promote uncertainty and denial about the dangers of mounting greenhouse gases. To give just one example, the 4 percent difference between Democrats and Republicans in their concern about anthropogenic sources of warming had increase from 4 percent in 1997 to 34 percent by 2008; Republican concern steadily declined in response to the millions spent by the polluters to obfuscate the issue. This has little to do with culture and everything to do with the propaganda of big economic interests. It seems there is little room for power and interests in his postmodern reading of social science.

Nevertheless, I highly recommend this book not only as a primer on climate change, but, for its incisive exploration of some dense areas such as economic analysis, cultural clashes, and counterproductive and elitist political structures.

Deconstructing Sexuality in the Middle East: Challenges and Discourses, edited by **Pinar Ilkkaracan.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. 218pp. $99.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754672357.

Frances S. Hasso
Oberlin College
fhasso@oberlin.edu

The authors of this collection of essays include clinicians in psychology and psychotherapy, activists involved in women's organizations, and researchers from places such as Lebanon, Turkey, the Israeli-occupied West Bank/East Jerusalem, and Pakistan (which is not in the "Middle East"), as well as the United States and Western Europe. The collection includes four essays that have been published elsewhere and one that is partly adapted from another publication. It is difficult to ascertain prominent themes across the essays. The authors rely on different evidence, analyzing interviews, individual case studies, print media, state policies and laws, Islamist accounts, activist campaigns, poetry and war songs, and didactic material. Class differences are generally unaddressed, and the impact of international political factors are not critically examined in a number of essays where such a discussion would have been useful. Given the extent to which many gender and sexuality "nongovernmental organization" activists are involved with United Nations, European Union, and other apparatuses of national or international governance, it is probably to be expected that relevant essays do not analyze the usually far-from-benign funding priorities of these entities. The essays are unfortunately uneven in their empirical and analytical contributions, although many are valuable in addressing issues that have not elicited significant scholarly attention.

In the only essay with a significant focus on homosexualities, Pinar Ilkkaracan uses a number of examples to provide a skillful overview of how recent campaigns to improve gender and sexual rights by feminists and other "modernizers" in the region continue to be caught up in historical and contemporary conflicts between Western colonialism and imperialism, the varying gender and sexuality agendas of powerful

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states (including the Vatican), the signifying projects of Eastern fundamentalisms, and the shifting priorities of postcolonial states. Sherifa Zuhur surveys criminal law in a number of countries and its relationships to tribal customs, European codes, and Islamic religious norms on issues of adultery, ''honor'' crime, rape, incest, sexual harassment, homosexuality, transsexuality, and abortion, among many other issues. Ilkkaracan analyzes debates in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century between feminists, Islamist activists, and Turkish state apparatuses over the Turkish feminists' campaign to improve some of the more egregious aspects of the Turkish Penal Code, so that it respects women's bodily integrity, ends the criminalization of consensual premarital sexual relations, and discontinues the criminalization of adultery. In her essay, Stefanie Eileen Nanes examines the 1999 emergence of a campaign to eliminate the leniency of Jordanian criminal law toward ''honor'' criminals and argues that it indicates an emerging civil society. In one of the most empirically and analytically rich essays in the collection, Azzah Baydoun addresses how public debates and polemics intersected with sectarian politics in mid- and late 1990s Lebanon to assure the failure of a proposed national sex education curriculum for middle school students developed with UN assistance and designed to prevent the transmission of AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. Hammed Shahidian provides a compelling comparison of sexual and marital self-help and other advice discourse offered by Islamist ''sex experts,'' other authors informed by scientific discourse, and feminist therapists increasingly willing to openly address women's bodily desires in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Achim Rohde analyzes Ba'athist print media to demonstrate shifts in sexual, gender, and love mores in Iraq from the late-1960s to the 1990s, which he argues have been responsive to and can be explained by the larger agenda of the regime in different historical moments. Rubina Saigol examines the gender and sexual idioms of Pakistani nationalist and militarist thought, especially as captured in poetry and war songs. Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian compellingly uses 22 case studies to examine contemporary attitudes toward rape and loss of virginity among Palestinians in the West Bank based on her clinical work with Palestinian girls and women who were raped, finding that the dominant cultural orientation blames the victim. The final chapter, by Leyla Gulcur and Ilkkaracan, focuses on Eastern European and Russian women entrepreneurs who regularly come to Turkey to purchase goods that can fit into a ''suitcase'' so they can sell them in their country of origin; they supplement this income generation with sex work in Turkey.

The collection provides a useful sense of contemporary policy and legal terrains, debates, and anxieties in the region in relation to different issues with respect to sex, sexuality, and women's and girls' status. Various articles would be useful in undergraduate courses on the sociology of gender and sexuality.

The Next Frontier: National Development, Political Change, and the Death Penalty in Asia, by **David T. Johnson** and **Franklin E. Zimring.** New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. 522pp. $35.00 paper. ISBN: 9780195382457.

JOHN K. COCHRAN
University of South Florida
cochran@cas.usf.edu

Capital punishment is in a death spiral. It has largely been abolished throughout the Americas and Western Europe. It is still alive in Eastern Europe, Africa, the Muslim world, and throughout Asia. The next step in this death spiral, according to David Johnson and Franklin Zimring, will take place in East Asia. It is within the nations of East Asia that the majority of the unfinished business in the abolitionist movement is currently found, for East Asia is the reigning capital of capital punishment. The countries comprising East Asia account for 60 percent of the world's population but 90 percent of the world's executions. Yet, there is tremendous variation in both the prevalence and frequency of executions across East Asia. First, executions are rare throughout most of the retentionist countries in East Asia, a status referred to as ''inertial retention,'' the

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political condition of most of the retentionist East Asian countries in which there is seldom need for the death penalty, but also little incentive to abolish it. Second, among the practicing states, the trend is toward a decreasing frequency of executions, especially in South Korea and Taiwan. Only China, Singapore, Vietnam, and North Korea execute with any regularity, being authoritarian regimes for which capital punishment is used to suppress political opposition.

Considering the abolitionist nation-states, many inertial retentionist nation-states, and a declining frequency of execution in practicing nation-states, Johnson and Zimring argue that the question is not whether East Asia will abolish capital punishment, but when. Inertial retention will be overcome, and with further political and economic development the pace of abolition will quicken, as the authors show us in this extraordinary and well-written book.

The book is divided into three sections. The first lays the foundation for their study and describes their case-study methodology; the second part is a series of five exceptionally well-researched case studies (''national profiles''), supplemented in the appendix by six additional national profiles; the third and final section of the book summarizes the lessons learned from these case studies and provides prospects for the pace of abolition in East Asia. This project took over 500 pages and 1000 cited references to produce, and the product was well worth the effort.

Part One is comprised of two chapters. Chapter One lays the foundation for Johnson and Zimring's argument that East Asia is the most likely focal point for a drive to achieve comprehensive abolition of the death penalty. In doing so they raise and address three important questions: (1) How far and how fast will the international campaign go to abolish the death penalty worldwide? (2) How distinctive was the European abolitionist movement and must abolitionist attempts in East Asia follow a similar model? (3) What special incentives and resources will be needed to achieve abolition in nation-states such as China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Singapore, authoritarian regimes that place great practical importance on executions for crime control and punishment? The authors also take care to remind us of two mistakes to avoid when engaging in such a regional focus: the myth of Asian unity—there is not one East Asia; instead, East Asia is defined by its wide diversity; second, the myth of Asian separation—the world is small, and East Asian countries are not immune from international influences.

In Chapter Two, Johnson and Zimring defend their decision to employ a case study approach. They begin by first reminding us that Asia is composed of 23 countries with a variety of policy approaches toward capital punishment. In fact, variation in the prevalence and frequency of executions in East Asia led the authors to develop a death penalty typology composed of five types: (1) *operational* death penalty states, such as China and Singapore, in which executions are a ''recurrent and important part of the criminal justice system'' (p. 22) as evidenced by the high annual rate of executions (more than 1 execution per 1 million population); (2) *exceptional* death penalty states, such as Taiwan and Vietnam, in which ''execution is not a standard punishment . . . but is reserved for exceptional cases'' (p. 22) and thus, the annual rate of execution is more than 1 per 10 million population; (3) *nominal* death penalty states, such as Malaysia and Pakistan, defined by an annual rate of execution of more than 1 execution per 25 million population; and (4) *symbolic* death penalty states, for which there are two subtypes: (a) those with annual execution rates of less than 1 execution per 25 million population, such as Thailand, Japan, and the Philippines, and (b) those with no executions—India, South Korea, Indonesia, and Bangladesh. From this typology, Johnson and Zimring describe their case-study approach, in which one or more nation-states from each of the five types is selected for an in-depth overview of the history, culture, economic, and political developments, and other features that have shaped death penalty policy and practice. The results of these analyses are detailed in the five chapters that comprise Part Two (profiling Japan, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, and China); the six less extensive national profiles of North Korea, Hong Kong and Macao, Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, and India are placed in the appendices.

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Part Three summarizes the ''lessons'' learned from this case study approach and concludes with ''prospects'' for the abolition of the death penalty in this region. Chapter Eight provides the reader with nine consistencies observed across the case studies, as well as several key variations and distinctions. Finally, Chapter Nine offers a cautious assessment regarding the prognosis for abolition in this region noting the important role of both regional and external influences.

In summation, this is a well-crafted work. It makes a compelling argument for why East Asia is the next frontier in the worldwide abolitionist movement. It is an outstanding example of the value of a case-study approach; it is an extraordinary piece of comparative social science; it teaches us much about East Asia; and, for students of the death penalty, it reminds us of how provincial our approach to the study of this sociopolitical issue has often been.

Backstage at the Revolution: How the Royal Paris Opera Survived the End of the Old Regime, by **Victoria Johnson.** Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 281pp. $45.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780226401959.

MARCO SANTORO
University of Bologna
marco.santoro@unibo.it

How did the Paris Opera, considered by its contemporaries to be the most superfluously luxurious of French cultural institutions, survive the early Revolution's effort to destroy despotism and inequality in all their forms? Opera was not the only privileged institution to survive the Revolution, but it also was among those whose privileged status was less delegitimated. It was also more promptly and successfully defended, notwithstanding great transformations in the name of the free market and egalitarianism triggered by early revolutionaries inside the same theatrical field in which the opera world worked. In this well-conceived, elegantly written book drawn from her PhD thesis, Victoria Johnson (coeditor of an earlier volume on opera's social and cultural history: Johnson, Fulcher, and Ertman, 2007) tries to solve this puzzle with the tools of organizational theory, supplemented by selected pieces of cultural sociology (especially Bourdieu), plus recent work in historical sociology on paths and trajectories. Johnson studies opera as an organization, as an administrative structure and working machine. Instead of looking at the onstage opera performances, she chooses to explore the backstage, usefully complementing musicological works on opera's performances and repertories. The result is a fascinating account of an important piece of French cultural history, with potential implications for research in the fields of musical institutions, cultural organizations, and maybe of organizations *tout court*. This is not the first time opera has been studied in organizational terms (e.g., Rosanne Martorella's (1982) pioneering studies in the sociology of opera, as well as Paul DiMaggio's (1992) brief but insightful excursion in this artistic genre, and Paul Atkinson's (2006) or Claudio Benzecry's (2006) recent ethnographies respectively of the Welsh Opera and Buenos Aires' Colon Theatre), but this is to my knowledge the most developed attempt to dissect and theorize opera as an organizational structure set within an historical context.

It is Art Stinchcombe's well-known *organizational imprinting hypothesis* that sets the stage for the book's argument: the founding modalities of the Paris Opera had a huge impact on its organizational form or identity, which made it a unique cultural institution in the French prerevolutionary landscape, and determined its conditions of reproduction and partial transformation. To explain the survival of French Opera, Johnson argues, we need to look at the origins of the organization. Its funding in 1669 was thanks to the initiative and entrepreneurship of Pierre Perrin, a poet and songwriter whose reputation has been superseded by that of his successor as the director of Opera, the celebrated composer (of Italian origins) Jean-Baptiste Lully. What Perrin proposed to Louis XIV was an academy devoted to opera on the model of Italian music and painting academies. Its aims would have been to debate issues about opera composition and writing (including the use of the French language), with a relative neglect of opera performance. But the king was a lover

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of music and dance, especially in his youth, and wanted something more entertaining, spectacular and politically instrumental: negotiation between the two produced an original organizational form, a hybrid one, half academy (i.e., intellectual forum) half theater (a place for performances and spectacles), which distinguished the Opera from the theatrical world, contributing to its survival against the revolutionary assault on privilege and royal heritage, and therefore to its reproduction even after the end of the Old Regime.

Writing a comprehensive history of the Paris Opera was explicitly not the author's intention. Instead, the book offers something close to this, especially if one is interested in the formal organizational and institutional features of this important cultural institution. The six chapters which follow the trajectory of the Paris Opera from its inception to the advent of Napoleon cover more than a century of French (i.e., Parisian) culture and social life, selectively reconstructed in these pages and arranged according to their interrelations with the social life of the privileged and peculiar institutional organization, the royal institution par excellence. Directors, kings, ministers, composers, singers, musicians, and people from various classes and status groups (mainly in the upper part of the social structure) used to meet to produce and/or consume opera, and more deeply, to organize and perform a relevant part of French civic and political life. What this book's organizational focus captures—in line with early institutional thought since de Tocqueville—is the continuity and persistence of institutions in the face of changes in repertoires and musical styles.

The organizational focus of this book on opera life also contributes to that once influential production-of-culture approach first launched in the 1970s regarding the sociology of culture in the United States. This is a sophisticated organizational and institutional analysis of a culture production organization embedded in a field of social and political relations that are also subtly analyzed. Even if the author—who uses organizational theory rather than the sociology of culture as her guiding light—is curiously silent on the latter legacy, the book is best located within that arc of work between Cynthia and Harrison White's book on French Impressionism (1965) and Richard Peterson's study of country music (1997), passing through well-known works by W. W. Powell (on books), Gaye Tuchman (on news and novels) and Diana Crane (1978, 1989; 2000 on arts and fashion) among others. What this legacy would have suggested is a less taken-for-granted assumption that opera is the epitome of high culture—an assumption which informs almost all of the sociology of opera (and culture in general) from the United States. But does this assumption hold for Europe too? It surely does not hold for Italy, where opera has long been public culture. What about France? How has the potential "mass" or "public" dimension of opera as culture impinged on the revolutionary policies vis-à-vis the Paris Opera? A more developed discussion of the political functions of opera as a form of public art cutting across social divisions would have strengthened the book's argument.

However, Johnson's work also contributes to organizational theory by adding a strong historical slant, thanks to her strategic use of recent concepts developed in historical sociology as path, event, sequence and turning points (which would comprise the essence of what William Sewell has called an "eventful sociology"). The effect of this coupling is a persuasive longitudinal case study which unites the strength of the most recent historical sociology with the organization theory of cultural institutions set forth by old and new institutionalists—sensitive to the cultural and discursive dimensions of organizational life, which remain crucial when studying cultural institutions.

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Culture, Social Movements, and Protest, edited by **Hank Johnston.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009. 317pp. $99.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754674467.

Barry Ruback
Penn State University
bruback@psu.edu

Social movements refer to groupings of people who share common goals regarding social issues. Within sociology, they have been studied primarily by focusing on questions of ideologies, networks, tactics, and resources. The dominant tradition in this approach has been "frame analysis," which, following Goffman and Snow, refers to cognitions about how issues should be perceived, interpreted, and considered, and about how people can be mobilized. In this book, Hank Johnston and the authors he has assembled argue for a broader consideration of how social movements should be studied, including bringing in other disciplinary perspectives.

In an introduction and ten chapters, the authors discuss ideas from anthropology, developmental psychology, social psychology, grammar analysis, and drama. At the theoretical level, John Krinsky and Colin Barker's application of Cultural-Historical Activity theory (which is based on Leontiev's notions that individual actions may sometimes be understood only by knowing group goals) is especially intriguing.

As might be expected, the authors do not refer to "culture" in exactly the same way. In his introduction, Johnston suggests that culture consists of ideations, artifacts, and performances. Although he concludes that performances (encounters between social actors) are the most fundamental for understanding culture, ideations (norms, values, beliefs, traditions) are obviously also vital. In part, the relative importance may depend on whether one considers narratives as performances or ideations. Regardless, Johnston and most of the authors argue that people make sense of the world by telling stories that have characters and actions that convey understanding about both self-identity and group identity.

There are three chapters in the book that are particularly good (Gary Alan Fine, Gabriel Ignatow, and Darcy Leach and Sebastian Haunss), because they have cohesive literature reviews and an excellent application of theoretical ideas to specific case studies. Fine uses a case-study examination of the America First Committee (AFC), the leading organizational advocate of isolationism during the years 1940–41, in order to understand how movements deal with the problem of members whose reputations tarnish that of the overall movement, resulting in attacks on the moral stature of members which often substitute for attacks on policy. In the case of the AFC, members, the most famous of whom was Charles Lindbergh, were accused of having Nazi sympathies. Fine suggests that such attacks are useful because uncovering some disreputables means that there are probably others like them in the organization, that their beliefs reflect the true goals of the organization, and that, through guilt by association, the organization actually has the same goals as the disreputable organization.

Using cognitive linguistics, Ignatow analyzes detailed transcripts of union meetings and several press conferences in connection with an attempt in 1971 by the British government to close shipyards in Scotland. Ignatow argues that an analysis of the figurative language of social movements can be used to understand whether the culture of a social movement is bounded or fragmented and whether movement participants accept or question interpretive frames.

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Leach and Haunss use the idea of ''scenes,'' both figuratively as places where frames and oppositional frames are fought over in the construction of collective identities and literally as physical spaces where members congregate, in their analysis of the contemporary German Autonomous Movement in Berlin and Hamburg. Whereas the radical leftists in Berlin make themselves known by posters and graffiti, by movement newspapers, by a Web site, and by a visible area generally concentrated in four districts, the radical leftists in Hamburg are fewer in number and are active almost exclusively in the neighborhoods where they live. In a nicely written discussion of these two scenes, the authors present ten hypotheses about how scenes mobilize, develop, and sustain social movements.

The word ''culture'' in the title of the book is a little misleading, as it implies that broad cross-national questions are likely to be addressed. In fact, almost all of the chapters describe studies of social movements in the United States or Western Europe, and even the exceptions, Sveta Klimova's study of protest discourse by three Russian movements and Johnston's study of the grammar of Chechen nationalists, are broadly within the Western cultural tradition. A similar book using comparable interdisciplinary techniques to look at social movements in other parts of the world ought to be on someone's agenda.

As with many edited books, the collection is somewhat uneven and a little disjointed. The book could have been more unified if there had been a better introduction, more connections between chapters (in the entire volume I found only one reference to another chapter in the book), and a better index. In particular, an author index would permit easier comparisons across chapters, particularly in terms of how the various authors used work by Goffman, Snow, and Levi-Strauss. A few of the chapters are updates or summaries of prior published work, raising questions about the need to purchase the book.

Finally, I include a note to the publisher, and perhaps the authors, about proofreading. Across the book, there are numerous typos, grammatical errors, and a persistent omission of needed words. However, because there are some chapters that have no errors, I suspect that authors were responsible for the final proofreading. The worst offender is Johnston, whose two chapters contain more than three dozen errors.

The University Against Itself: The NYU Strike and the Future of the Academic Workplace, edited by **Monika Krause, Mary Nolan, Michael Palm,** and **Andrew Ross.** Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008. 272pp. $25.95 paper. ISBN: 9781592137411.

Leslie A. Bunnage
Seton Hall University
leslie.bunnage@shu.edu

Using the 2005 NYU Graduate Student Organizing Committee (GSOC) strike as its launch pad, the authors of the essays in this volume cover considerable and fraught territory. The work offers a short history of labor organizing on U.S. campuses in several regions, examines the structural organization of contemporary higher education, analyzes the status and circumstances of the current academic labor movement, and considers prospects for changing university workplaces in the future.

The analyses presented in this book prompt larger consideration of the structural and spatial organization of universities, and some musing about its manifest and latent functions. The chapters included within Part I ''Corporate University?'' inspired this discussion about higher education most directly. In contemplating the interventions present in the text, I note three primary components of higher education: first, the university is an institution that employs people and runs itself, so the university is a business with an internal labor structure. This component is a focus of the book.

The second role of universities is to ''educate,'' and students with enough privilege are trained to ''acquire'' this as a commodity. Adam Green's article, ''The High Cost of Learning,'' elucidates the dynamics behind tuition hikes. As he notes, stronger and more complicated barriers exist currently for students without significant privilege who are attempting to attain

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a higher education, especially at ''prestigious'' universities.

Education is also part of a socialization process geared toward preparing students to function within capitalism, and to become minimally compliant wage-earners throughout their lives. This process is more inclined to socialize them to be conforming participants, rather than transgressive socially conscious citizens. Evidence of this process in higher education is most evident in the chapters of Part II on the ''GSOC strike,'' in which the ''goals'' of both undergraduates' classroom experience and the strike are considered together (see especially Matthew Osypowski's article ''Village Hospitality,'' for an interesting examination of the collusion of student/community/and academic political movement).

Lastly, the university is an institution of research and knowledge production. The tensions that exist between the faculty engaging in ''knowledge production'' and those who ''transmit'' this knowledge is captured in Micki McGee's article, ''Blue Team, Gray Team.'' McGee astutely touches on the gendered division of this labor, with knowledge creation relegated as ''masculine,'' while its transmission is considered ''feminine.''

Although most of the text is not explicitly geared in this direction, its elements raise provocative issues about the long-term and even unintentional consequences of disrupting university institutions. For instance, if the corporatization of universities is understood as inextricable from larger economic structures, it bears considering how economic restructuring in higher education may ripple into broader economic disruption. This is not to suggest that labor organizing on campuses or elsewhere is inherently transformative; the utility of the text lies in its ability to conceive of the economic location of higher education in terms which invite contemplation of the strategic potentials of academic labor organizing.

Some authors consider how university-based labor organizing is resonant with and also distinct from other contexts. They contemplate questions of structure and space (whether explicitly termed as such, or not), and consider the interstices and components of the university relative to one another, and/or to broader or localized communities. Ellen Schrecker, for instance, examines the erosion of academic community and corresponding diminished academic freedom that plagues U.S. higher education. She also includes a consideration of the growing reliance on contingent faculty with attention to the role this plays in fracturing the community. Several of the articles focus on NYU in particular in order to explicate these conditions. For example, like Schrecker, Mary Nolan considers the way in which changes in the structure of NYU specifically have damaged faculty governance, rights, and community.

In their focus on the GSOC strike in Part II, the authors address a wonderfully comprehensive set of topics relevant to academic labor organizing including media strategy (Steve Fletcher), relations between graduate students and full-time faculty (Jeff Goodwin), the participation of undergraduates (Andrew Cornell), and union busting attempts by the administration (Susan Valentine). Although Valentine's article did reveal important dynamics with campus administration, it is marred by the lack of any comparative analyses. Some of her conclusions and commentary, for instance, don't recognize that these relations are found nationwide.

Throughout the book, authors vacillate between extremes, presenting NYU as either exceptional or representative of all of higher education. In the introduction, for instance, the editors assert that NYU is the first university to engage in union busting (this is patently false). Perhaps more attention to other campuses and their campaigns would have prevented misleading or inaccurate analyses, and strengthen the potentials of this volume. For example, the large University of California campaign was never mentioned, despite the fact that they won union recognition and also work with the UAW.

In the article ''If Not Now, When? The GSOC Strike, 2005-2006,'' five strikers (Maibi Chatterji, Maggie Clinton, Natasha Lightfoot, Sherene Seikaly, and Naomi Schiller) confront the problems of conceiving of the challenge to structural power in terms that are inadequately intersectional. For example, Chatterji asserts that when people raised

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concerns about the vulnerabilities of less privileged members on strike, GSOC provided little institutional support to address them. Admittedly, this is difficult to actualize, since the templates for workers rights activism are hardly rife with examples of alliance-based, intersectional organizing. The dialogue constructed by this roundtable of strikers provoked me to recognize that developing intersecting labor activism requires (a) comprehending a complex, multivalent system of subordination, (b) constructing a strategic plan which doesn't simply comprehend that whole system, but also engages all of its mechanisms synchronously and effectively, and (c) redefining "workers rights" in terms which interrogate the narrow presumptions that remain hegemonic.

This contentious discussion raises salient issues for both activists and scholars. In some cases, when organizations make compromises at the expense of intersectional advances, they win bread-and-butter concessions and have more concrete victories. It is true that by ignoring the sacrifice of segments of the affected populations, it may be possible to bargain for specific concessions. However, the authors suggest that it is not a foregone conclusion that intersectional movement-building has to be at the expense of tangible gains. The benefits, for instance, of creating a more committed base, and a more insistent platform for broad rights, may be powerful over time. The text does not explore these questions through empirical research and comparison, but the critiques provide important future areas of inquiry.

Part III focuses on strategic and anticipatory analysis. Each of the articles attempts to frame and delineate "Lessons for the Future." Although these are not the first labor or social movement examinations to generate predictive analyses, existing literatures remain relatively sparse, and therefore, these pieces constitute a welcome addition to a growing body of work, particularly in terms of expanding research in the areas of movement repertoire and tactical innovation. In sum, I highly recommend this thoughtfully organized and well-written volume for the relevant conversations it includes as well as the ones it will inspire for people interested in the labor movement and/or higher education.

The Health of Populations: General Theories and Particular Realities, by **Stephen J. Kunitz.** Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007. 286pp. $55.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780195308075.

NICKY HART
University of California, Los Angeles
nhart@soc.ucla.edu

This compact text is a rich assemblage of knowledge and ideas at the intersection of epidemiology and the sociology of health. With considerable skill and profound understanding of his subject, Stephen Kunitz reviews a large body of ideas and evidence on health, medicine, and social relations. Four principal headings organize this review: (1) industrialization and the standard of living debate, (2) health inequality, (3) decline of community and (4) challenge of globalization. Anything that does not quite fit is neatly consigned to a series of short appendices, which also function as a store for the technical matters, which might otherwise hamper the fluency of the text.

An air of skepticism pervades this book. The principal finding is that virtually all associations between social variables and mortality risk are contingent on historical, geographical, political, and cultural factors. Hence, no grand single-stranded conclusions can be drawn even on such fundamental questions as the causes of the health revolution that accompanied the emergence and spread of industrial civilization, or the universality of health inequality past and present. To prove his case, the author is adept at recovering and retrieving contrary sources of evidence to highlight the shaky foundations which underlie much of the wisdom dispensed by leading social epidemiologists. By this means, he reveals the pragmatic role of ideology in theoretical speculation and professional practice. All theory—popular, professorial, professional, and political—is a social construction embodying interests and beliefs about which the author is scarcely cognizant. Part I of the book takes up this theme in an exploration following Nisbet of how the industrial and

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the French revolutions reshaped not only material life but also our ideas about it. Humoral holism was displaced by the doctrine of specific etiology not because this could explain why disease afflicted one person and not another, but rather because it gelled with the scientific optimism of the dawning machine age and offered a means of transforming medicine into a truly profitable technical business. As far as his own prejudices are concerned, we are told early on that Kunitz is both an egalitarian and a believer in virtues of free trade. He also recognizes the necessity for governments to exercise the upper hand over market forces in both economic policy and the provision of universal health care. His skeptical and pragmatic approach to the interpretation of evidence undoubtedly flows from the disposition to manage a vision of the good society based on the uneasy cohabitation of social democracy and global capitalism.

The text is compact yet packed with valuable empirical sources (some more substantial than others). His epidemiological knowledge is informed by the North American experience: pellagra and hookworm get as much if not more space than tuberculosis and provide material for an argument that the medical input to the health revolution was not as slight as McKeown famously claimed in his paradigm busting book—*The Modern Rise of Population* (1976). Kunitz's dislike of McKeown goes beyond an academic challenge to the thesis that improved living standards, and specifically nutrition, underlie the origins of the epidemiological transition; McKeown is even charged with laying the foundation of the argument that access to decent health care need not be a policy priority given that other factors were more important in the improved vitality of the English population before 1900. This is an unbalanced and unjust assessment of McKeown's contribution to debates at the intersection of economic history, epidemiology and the sociology of health and one of the few instances which mars the text for this reviewer.

Further harsh words are reserved for the claim that *social capital* of a Putnamesque variety is a fundamental determinant of population health status. This idea first pushed by Wilkinson in *Unhealthy Societies* (1996) and subsequently embraced enthusiastically by prominent social epidemiologists in the United States, makes the claim that the diminished life expectancy in Mississippi and Alabama is best understood as the product of diminished social capital—specifically not trusting one's neighbors. That this proposition could establish itself as a credible contemporary theory of population health is a remarkable demonstration of what the lavish use of research dollars can achieve in the academic construction of scientific knowledge. Kunitz has been one of the most trenchant critics of the claims that have come out of this vigorous and well-funded research effort. Here, he brings together and develops his opposition to these dubious arguments, which alone makes this book essential reading for students coming to grips with debates in the sociology of health. But there are many other good reasons for reading this book, even if ultimately you cannot agree with all the interpretations, judgments and views that the author expresses.

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Global Neighborhoods: Jewish Quarters in Paris, London, and Berlin, by **Michel S. Laguerre.** Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008. 276pp. $80.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780791475515.

Paula E. Hyman
Yale University
Paula.hyman@yale.edu

Michel Laguerre has expanded his work on globalization by exploring Jewish neighborhoods in three European Jewish cities, Paris, London, and Berlin. Based on personal observation, interviews with neighborhood residents, as well as his extensive work in globalization theory, his comparative study demonstrates that ethnic urban enclaves have become a significant part of global

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urbanism and cannot be ignored. He suggests, quite persuasively, that globalism provides a more useful tool to understand the development of these enclaves than an exclusive emphasis on assimilation; that insight is of importance for historians of various ethnic and religious groups as well as for urban sociologists.

Laguerre succeeds in explaining the various mechanisms of globalism, ranging from international business networks, ethnic tourism, and transnational familial ties to the connections of local communal ethnic political and religious institutions with their counterparts abroad, and how they function in the Jewish communities he has studied. He demonstrates in cases of apparent local political decisions how a complex network of resident and nonresident Jews from other countries can be mobilized to advance particular political positions with local governmental actors. He is especially good at displaying the impact of the Internet as well as other aspects of contemporary technology in furthering global connections. He is careful to show that the global and the local are interconnected, and that local conditions can predominate in determining the shape of an ethnic enclave. When viewed through the lens of globalism, the ethnic neighborhood becomes a far more complex and dynamic entity than is usually envisioned.

This book would have been strengthened had Laguerre chosen his neighborhoods more carefully. As they stand now, they are virtually incomparable. He informs us, specifically in the last chapter before the conclusion, that the vast majority of the Jews of Berlin, Paris, and London live outside the neighborhoods he has selected to study. The contemporary neighborhood of Scheunenvietel in Berlin has virtually no Jewish residents but houses many Jewish institutions. It *was* a living Jewish community from the mid-nineteenth century until the Holocaust but is now essentially a site of memory and tourism. Paris's Le Marais has a long history as a Jewish quarter and has many Jewish restaurants and ethnic businesses, some Jewish institutions as well as a small Jewish residential population, but it functions largely as a place of memory and tourism like the Lower East Side in New York City. It is now best known as the center of gay life in Paris. The two Jewish neighborhoods he selected in London, the middle-class Golders Green and Stamford Hills, are dominated by Hasidic newcomers, and unlike the others, are living Jewish communities.

Stamford Hills attracts Laguerre because it aggressively displays qualities that he considers essential to a Jewish quarter: a different calendar from the majority population, a different pattern of dietary choices, and other religious/cultural performances. Yet most Jews in European cities retain a hybrid Jewish identity without the markers of separation that Laguerre has identified. For the vast majority of western European Jews, the Jewish calendar is salient in their lives only spasmodically. Observant Jews make up a small proportion of the declining European Jewish population. Yet European Jews identify as Jews, are acutely aware of local antisemitic incidents, are concerned with the fate of Jews internationally, and follow more or less closely what is happening in Israel.

More importantly, Laguerre is not sure how to define Jewish diasporic communities. Jews have lived in diaspora for more than 2500 years, but their perception of the meaning of diaspora has changed dramatically in the modern period. Traditionally Jews saw their dispersion as exile, but few European (or American) Jews perceive themselves as in exile. Immigrant Jewish communities in different countries have come, often within two generations, to define themselves culturally, as well as legally, as British or French. (Germany is a more complicated case because of the effectiveness of the Holocaust. Most Jews now living Germany are newcomers from the former Soviet Union).

Finally, Laguerre is ambiguous in his use of "homeland." He seems to be referring most of the time to Israel, which most Jews in diasporic communities see in a metaphoric or historic sense (the land of Israel, not the State of Israel) as their homeland. Sometimes he seems to be alluding to their place of origin, if they are recent immigrants. For the many European Jews whose ancestors arrived in England or France generations ago, the term "hostland" which Laguerre

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uses does not define their relation to either England or France.

My comments reflect the concerns of a historian and are not meant to detract from Laguerre's sociological observations. Modern Jewish communities have been gobal for at least the past 200 years. Although Laguerre provides a great deal of interesting information and analysis about the contemporary Jewish scene, more consideration of the transformation of these Jewish communities would have been stimulating.

Sex As Crime? edited by **Gayle Letherby, Kate Williams, Philip Birch**, and **Maureen Cain.** Devon, UK: Willan Publishing, 2008. 389pp. $44.95 paper. ISBN: 9781843922674.

Barbara G. Brents
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
barb.brents@unlv.edu

As sex and sexuality become more visible in public life, a bewildering array of government policies has emerged to address so-called sexual crimes. The collection of readings in *Sex As Crime?* sheds a critical lens on these policies. Only recently have studies of politics and culture begun to bring in sex, leaving to sexuality or gender studies the task of making theoretical sense of the growing visibility of sex in contemporary society. *Sex As Crime?* (re)introduces sexuality to studies of crime policy and criminology, drawing heavily from feminist gender studies as well as from perspectives highlighting the social construction of sexuality and the social construction of crime and deviance.

Sex As Crime? critically reviews the dominant policy approaches that criminalize certain aspects of sexual relations—prostitution, sex trafficking, rape, pedophilia, and sexual violence. Taken together, these essays challenge a growing trend toward using crime policy to control individual sexual behavior, a trend, the authors argue, that leads away from addressing social causes, or minimizing the harms of violence, abuse, disease, or coercion. The chapters take on media simplifications of sex crimes, mainstream criminology that ignores gender, as well as feminist approaches that oversimplify patriarchy.

Most of the 18 chapters were originally presented at a one-day conference on Sex and Crime sponsored jointly by the British Society of Criminology and the British Sociological Association Conference in 2006. A spike in U.K. government attention to sex work, domestic violence, rape and sexual assault inspired the collection. As such many (but not all) essays directly address these specific policies in the United Kingdom and similar policies in Australia, New Zealand, India, and the United States, contextualizing them, analyzing the discourse surrounding them, and/or providing empirical evidence on the alleged crimes that spur them. The book is divided equally into two sections, Sex for Sale and Sex as Violence.

The section on Sex for Sale includes essays that examine policy trends and policy impacts on both male and female sex workers. The policy review chapter by Jo Phoenix argues that British policy has shifted away from managing visibility, an approach that at least encouraged sexual health, harm reduction and support where it was needed. The current trend toward abolishing prostitution pushes women away from social supports by criminalizing men and compelling women into treatment.

A more empirical chapter by Sarah Earle and Keith Sharp analyzes why men say they seek prostitutes. They studied 255 client reviews of indoor sex workers on the British Web site www.punternet.com. They found that men seek commercial sex for many of the same reasons men seek noncommercial sex—intimacy, emotional connections, and the rituals of courtship as well as "a good hard shag." These accounts echo many researchers, including Teela Sanders in *Paying for Pleasure* (2008) and Elizabeth Bernstein in *Temporarily Yours* (2007), who talk about men seeking authentic, albeit temporary intimate connections that belie easy categorization as sexual exploitation of women by men.

These and other chapters problematize simple explanations of the market for sex on which much policy is based. They add to a host of academic voices arguing that the diverse experiences of men and women, sex workers and clients demand complex

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policy approaches that go beyond criminalizing individuals.

The section on Sex as Violence covers a wide range of issues that have been sensationalized in the media, including child prostitution, war and sex crime, rape, sexual offenders, pedophiles, and sexual content online. Amanda Matravers interviewed 22 women convicted of sex offences in the United Kingdom. Her fascinating chapter shatters notions that female sexual offenders are necessarily victims of patriarchy, and argues for understanding intersecting social and psychoanalytic lines of causality. Liz Kelly reviews confusing data on reporting, prosecution, and conviction in rape cases across Europe to show how rape law reform has had unintended consequences. She argues that cultural attitudes toward consent as well as understandings of both sexual victimization and sexual autonomy must change.

These and other chapters in this section move away from essentializing gender and patriarchy in understanding sexual violence and move toward looking at the multiple and intersecting constructions of power.

This book is an important example of public sociology. The beauty of this book is that its writers include academics and practitioners from a variety of fields who have experience with applied research, advocacy and government policy making. They bring vital theoretically informed work to bear on specific policies and problems. The major criticism of this book is that the quality of the chapters is uneven. While bringing needed attention to failures of policy, a few chapters failed to counter empirically popular claims in their critiques of policy discourses. Nonetheless, *Sex As Crime?* is an significant collection. Taken as a whole it sheds light on aspects of policies that are quite frequently sensationalized and haphazardly treated. Its broad range, its policy focus, and its grounding in social science are crucial to studies of sex and crime. It will hopefully pave the way for more work in this area.

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The Unemployed People's Movement: Leftists, Liberals, and Labor in Georgia, 1929-1941, by **James J. Lorence.** Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009. 307pp. $44.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780820330457.

Rory McVeigh
University of Notre Dame
rmcveigh@nd.edu

Social movement scholars grapple with problems related to selection on the dependent variable. In our attempts to better understand how movements emerge and gain strength, we are typically drawn to social movements that have successfully mobilized. It is difficult to study collective action when little action has occurred. The price we pay for this is an incomplete, and perhaps impaired, understanding of social movement activism. Much can be learned about social movement processes by closely examining failed mobilization attempts, and even closely examining inaction in the face of extreme inequality and suffering. One remedy for this problem is to turn to historians for rich, detailed studies such as James Lorence's *The Unemployed People's Movement*. Lorence's work describes how, in a hostile environment, workers and the unemployed in the state of Georgia collectively rose, at least for a time, to challenge capitalist exploitation and governmental authority during the Great Depression.

One of Lorence's central aims is to dispel the notion that southern workers and the unemployed passively accepted their fate out of fear of repression and retaliation or due to cultural values linked to religion and race that interfered with class consciousness. When confronted with opportunity, and faced with severe hardship, many Georgians did in fact bravely challenge the power structure, even reaching across a deep racial chasm while doing so. Clearly the severe destitution brought on by the economic crisis, in a state where even before the crisis most families struggled for survival on a daily basis, made people desperate for assistance. For some, desperation led them

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to seek out an effective organizational vehicle to help them secure government relief funds and bring about deeper changes in the social order. Especially in rural settings, poverty ravaged the population and property owners continued to resist vigorously any attempt to provide relief that would interfere with their capacity to exploit cheap labor. Yet these settings also provided the most formidable barriers to collective action; as a result most organizational work on behalf of the unemployed and destitute took place in the Atlanta area.

While an unemployed people's movement did, in fact, emerge in Georgia during the 1930s, much of this book describes the varied forces that inhibited the growth of the movement and prevented a more successful outcome. Repression from above, and internal competition and division from below are central to the story. Interestingly, the Communist Party emerged as the leading force in the movement, as Party leaders seemed to be in the strongest position to respond to the unusual circumstances. The magnitude of the economic collapse made it easier for individuals to find common interest in spite of other differences. The times also called for radical action rather than patient appeals for modest reform. The Depression disproportionately harmed African Americans, as job-seeking white Georgians increasingly filled positions that had previously been held by blacks. Local government agents, too, were not color-blind when it came to the provision of relief funds or government employment through the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Communist leaders were highly motivated to mobilize African Americans through organizations such as the Worker's Alliance. Many blacks, faced with oppression based on both race and class, were not inclined to view Communist organizers as dangerous threats to American democracy and were more interested in whether the organizers could help them to improve their circumstances.

Yet while some interracial alliances were formed, race continued to inhibit mobilization. The prospect of Communists organizing blacks was especially threatening to the southern elite and provided them with incentive, justification, and a method (red-baiting) for resisting the unemployed people's movement. And, just when it appeared that the various groups on the left were learning how to cooperate, economic recovery broke the movement's momentum. As many of the unemployed were drawn back into the labor force, a powerful and cohesive alliance of the political left failed to materialize, and for many, suffering resulting from race and class oppression would continue. Lorence emphasizes, however, that this was an important historical moment, as Georgians became aware of the potential power of collective action and came to look toward Washington, D.C., for solutions to their problems.

The Unemployed People's Movement should be of particular interest to southern labor historians, but its appeal may be limited among sociologists. Although it is a welcome reminder of the complexity of social processes that is often glossed over in our theoretical models and quantitative analyses, the work does not engage social theory or the vast literature on social movement mobilization that has emerged in social science disciplines. Through engagement with that literature, the author's deep knowledge of this historical case could have been used to reveal important general insights into social movement processes. The benefits of an interdisciplinary approach run both ways.

Ernest Gellner and Contemporary Social Thought, edited by **Siniša Malešević** and **Mark Haugaard.** Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 274pp. $32.99 paper. ISBN: 9780521709415.

Ian Jarvie
York University
jarvie@yorku.ca

This volume interprets and criticizes the social thought of the late Ernest Gellner. It is written for comparative and historical sociologists who operate at the highest levels of generality. Abstractions such as modernity, industrialization, development, nationalism, Islam are the coin of its arguments. The editors offer 10 chapters and an introduction that "go beyond the image of

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Gellner as a theorist of nationalism or a witty essayist'' (p. 7). Hence, various counterexamples and incoherences are detected in his writings on nationalism, modernity, and Islam. Sometimes, as with Nicos Mouzelis's chapter ''Nationalism: Restructuring Gellner's Theory,'' the author claims to be modifying in order to save. Other times, as in Kevin Ryan's chapter ''Truth, Reason and the Spectre of Contingency,'' the author acts as defense counsel for postmodernism, which Gellner repudiated and mocked.

Gellner's two greatest intellectual heroes were Bertrand Russell and Karl Popper, both of whom contributed to social theory, both of whom were passionate in their defense of liberty and critique of totalitarianism. Gellner shared their values, and to some extent their premises, but he wanted to correct them with a more realistic sociology. His principal dissents were two: liberty was not the only measure of progress; and ideas had little or no autonomous role in social change with the sole exception of science and its applications. Hence, he argued that nationalism could contribute to progress and was not simply to be dismissed as error, or dark force. As a young academic he caused a scandal by suggesting that a full critique of a philosophical school needed a sociological perspective on its roots and its reception. Reciprocally, when he did fieldwork on Berber society (for which he gained a PhD in social anthropology), he also worked out its magico-religious ideas. In midcareer he published a best-seller that treated the psycho-analytic movement no differently: an ideology and a social formation. At a time when the decline of religion and the growth of secularism was widely held to be a modern trend, Gellner suggested Islam was a counterexample and in certain forms and places was suitable to economic growth and social modernization.

Contributors to this volume argue that the relentless spread of industrialization has taken place under various kinds of regimes, some sorely lacking in liberty and democracy, or even in overall affluence, but nowhere under Islam. They find Gellner's suggestion of an elective affinity between nationalism and industrialization falls to counterexamples of each without the other. Alan Macfarlane (Chapter One) holds that Japan offers an example of a society that seems to combine *Gesellschaft* with *Gemeinschaft*, community with liberty, modernity without disenchantment. Michael Mann (Chapter Two) deplores Gellner's inattention to the role of empire in the emergence of modern states and nationalism, thus eliding the sanguinary underlay of today's liberal societies. Nicos Mouzelis (Chapter Five) offers Greek nationalism as a damaging case study of nationalism fuelling the struggle against Ottoman rule and then being used by the emerging independent state to bind the periphery to the center. Siniša Malešević (Chapter Six) argues that both coercion and nationalism flourish even after modernization, contradicting any idea that they were temporary functional imperatives. Mark Haugaard (Chapter Three) endorses this view, treating the dark side of liberal regimes as functionally necessary and arguing that power is not reducible to coercion. Peter Skalnik (Chapter Four) discusses Gellner's ambivalent relation to Marxism and his fascination with intellectual life under actually existing socialism.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen (Chapter Seven) shows how nationalism is taking on complex forms among minorities, immigrants, temporary sojourners, and astronauts. States have difficulty with such diversity. Michael Lessnoff reviews the relations between Islam, science and modernity (Chapter Eight), challenging Gellner's thesis that puritanical and scripturalist forms of Islam provide an alternate means of entry into modernity; rather, it was the woollier and more folkish forms of Islam that nurtured science—but only for a while. John A. Hall (Chapter Ten), ''Gellner's metaphysic'', considers his view that cognitive growth makes possible wider affluence and less justification for restrictions on liberty. ''Gellner's views about both nationalism and industry are open to serious negative critique'' . . . '' The world polity . . . presents a more varied picture than that allowed in Gellner's work. There are cases which support him, and cases which distinctly go against him'' (pp. 267–68). The same phenomena that Gellner views optimistically can also be viewed pessimistically.

Ryan's Chapter Nine stands a little to one side of the others. It is by an avowed

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Foucauldian postmodernist who argues that this approach gets at the deep presuppositions underlying Gellner's problem-solving rationalism. He instances eugenics where a simple falsification of its empirical claims did not expose to critique "how a strategic alliance was formed between techniques such as scientific intelligence testing and the administrative imperatives of eugenic practices, an apparatus which successfully established its claims to truth" (p. 239).

The editors write: "what remains of Gellner's thought after these various critiques?" (p. 26). Answer: the pertinence of his questions. It seems to me that Gellner deserves better: it is important that critics not take him to task for problems he did not address (immigration, empire, nationalism in all its many variants), and not try to apply his thought into situations where the problematic has changed. Geopolitical development has taken some surprising turns since his death in 1995. Gellner's thought emerged in dialogue with his contemporaries and ancestors. He fused sociology and philosophy for a creative vision of the human condition. I agree with the editors that the questions he raised and the answers he offered are still fruitful, still highly relevant to our changing world.

Transformations of La Familia on the U.S.-Mexico Border, edited by **Raquel R. Marquez** and **Harriett D. Romo.** Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008. 321pp. $28.00 paper. ISBN: 9780268035099.

Isabel Martinez
Columbia University
im2025@columbia.edu

Most writing about the U.S.-Mexico border concerning transnationalism have focused on acts occurring at the macro level, in which the U. S. and Mexican governments, and/or multinational institutions, such as corporations, have engaged issues of trade or crime, or at the micro level, with individual border crossing. Media have highlighted transnational criminal activity, for which a military response by both countries is necessary. Daily reports of deadly interactions between drug traffickers, immigrants, the United States Border Patrol and both nations' military forces shape current ideas about the border.

In *Transformations of La Familia on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, Raquel Marquez and Harriet Romo provide an excellent volume in which female scholars native to the border region are convened to restore attention to the social institution least discussed but most impacted by neoliberal economic and law enforcement policies: the family. By focusing on the family, the authors show how macro and the micro institutions and forces converging on the border interact with families and individuals. The authors in this volume contribute to the expanding corpus of writings on transnational theory and activities by providing readers with a primer on different types of cross-border activities. These are actors to which the categories "transnational," "transborder," and "binational" may mean little, but whose everyday decisions, processes and practices, varied by proximity to the actual U.S.-Mexican border, as well as generation of settlement and intensity, will here advance understandings of transnationalism.

In Chapters One and Two, Yolanda Padilla, Ana Argilagos and Catalina Palmer establish the premise upon which the following chapters lie: border families face a unique and inordinate set of challenges. In both chapters, the authors provide socioeconomic profiles of border residents, with Padilla and Argilagos profiling border residents residing north of the border, and Palmer profiling border residents residing South of the border. Providing separate discussions of these two groups enables readers to place them within their own separate measures of poverty and inequality, and to understand the disproportionate impact of their nations' own unilateral and bilateral policies.

In Chapters Three and Four, the authors contend that cities and counties beyond the immediate border region may also foster transnational practices. In Chapter Three, Romo demonstrates how families residing in San Antonio engage in a broad range of transnational activities, including home ownership in two nation-states by first generation immigrants and Spanish language

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recovery among third, generation Mexican Americans. Belinda Reyes and Amanda Bailey explore four southern California counties with varying proximities to the U.S.-Mexico border to mark changes in immigrant destinations, as well as immigrant family's labor market and economic opportunities. Reyes and Bailey argue that while as a whole, Southern California has experienced major growth and development, immigrant families residing in Southern California face different labor market and economic outcomes as a result of border proximity. While the economies in counties further from the border have grown and provided modest gains for the foreign-born, border economies are stagnant, effectively limiting the life-chance opportunities for its residents, both immigrant and native.

The next section of the volume continues to integrate the macro and the micro by focusing on border household responses to late twentieth-century global transformations. In Chapter Five, Marie-Laure Coubes examines household labor participation in five border cities and finds that while female participation in the border labor market has increased, border labor queues follow a gender and generational hierarchy. Male heads of households are disproportionately employed in the most desirable employment [per earnings, benefits and number of hours], while women and sons/daughters in the household are employed in less desirable employment. In Chapter Six, Marquez examines how female Laredo residents employ transnational strategies to manage their households. These transnational strategies sustain family relations, lower household and health costs, and affirm their cultural identities.

Chapters Seven and Eight broaden perceptions of transnational participation by focusing on children of immigrants, or the 1.5 or second generation. Patricia Sanchez demonstrates how Mexican-origin college-age second-generation women from northern California experience gendered transnational lives across borders. Having family connections on both sides of the border is central to the transition to adulthood, and gender role negotiations. In Chapter Eight, Mary Petron examines the transnational lives of female, Mexican-origin primary school English teachers in rural Nuevo Leon, Mexico. Petron shows that these young women, born, formally educated and raised on both sides of the border, are transmitting borderland epistemologies and bicultural capital to Mexican youth to ensure economic and cultural proficiencies on both sides and across the border.

The following two chapters, although highly insightful, seem inappropriately ordered. In Chapter Nine, Amelia Malagamba-Ansotegui examines visual border art as a contested, constantly negotiated cultural space, both real and imagined. Critical of the politicization of this space, the artists show how the identities of border crossers are irrevocably transformed and will continue to transform as a result of their movement across nation-states. Chapter Ten returns to gendered border employment and discusses Latina entrepreneurship and the role of borderland knowledges and practices in small female-owned border businesses. Female border owners attribute their success to the activation of transnational cultural and social capital and additional family resources. Barbara Robles suggests that financial, political, and other community institutions should support border women in these financial endeavors.

Chapter Eleven ends the volume by outlining economic and social border policies that have impacted the daily lives of border inhabitants and immigrants. While most border policies are unilateral, Irasema Coronado recommends the creation of more bilateral policies to improve border family access to social services, including decent housing, and educational and health services. This much-needed volume's strength is the editors' and authors' commitment to the family and its analysis from the third space. Providing multiple considerations of transnational border life, this volume is invaluable to policymakers and educators constructing social policies and practices to improve the lives of border families.

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Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History, by **Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L. Pierce,** and **Barbara Laslett.** Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008. 186pp. $19.95 paper. ISBN: 9780801473920.

NANCY T. AMMERMAN
Boston University
nta@bu.edu

Three experienced and reflective users of narrative analysis have provided the rest of us a valuable guide for thinking about what narratives are and how we as gatherers and interpreters of stories might think about the work we do. They point to recent uses of personal stories to undermine various hegemonic versions of history and to the way life stories allow a more holistic version of the person as social agent. But this is not just an argument for the value of narrative evidence. Rather, it provides a methodological and theoretical guide for those who do narrative analysis and those who read the results.

The view throughout is constructivist, recognizing the degree to which every telling of a life story is a socially contingent event, an active effort at self-construction in dialog with the immediate and imagined audience. And throughout the book, the authors practice what they advise. The make their case by introducing a number of historical and social science works (including their own) that have been based on narrative evidence. They tell us enough about those stories that they become familiar as we go along. And in so doing, they trip ever so slightly over one of the dangers they warn about, occasionally allowing readers to get lost in the stories and left wondering when we will get to ''the point.'' The challenge, they note, is to tell enough of the story to show its own inherent logic and fullness, while still maintaining the analyst's interpretive discipline over it. The object, they argue in their last chapter, is never to ''let the story speak for itself.'' The interpreter is always—as in any other kind of social analysis—sorting and framing the results.

The book begins with an interesting and helpful discussion of the very notion that we have personal stories to tell, noting how very differently other times and places have framed the story of a life. Here they begin to unfold the ways in which life stories challenge notions about self-interested rationality as the prime mover in individual action. The more holistic picture desired by narrative analysts includes motive, emotion, values, and bodies, as well as collective memories woven into one's own. The second chapter, in fact, moves more deeply into this intersection of person and social location. The stories we hear often contain the narrator's own observations about where she is located in history, but she is also seeking to construct history, sometimes adopting or arguing against other stories that might be told about her. Here, the authors provide examples of how some analysts allude to their narrators' institutional locations, but without enough specificity. Good narrative analysis shows the specific points at which individual and social intersect, showing how a story unfolds within the constraints created by a lifetime of personal and historical relationships.

It is not just institutions that constrain how stories unfold; it is also the very genre in which the telling occurs. The most common storytelling context for social scientists is the interview, but letters and diaries have figured in our work, as well. Each form has a presumed audience, a logic for selecting events, and particular assumptions about the span of time involved. Some genres, like ''coming out'' stories (or born-again testimonies) are culturally shaped into recognizable patterns. Letters and diaries may have very specific audiences that must be taken into account. The authors suggest, for instance that the Znanieckis might have had a different view of Polish peasant life in America if they had asked more critical questions about who could and couldn't write letters home and about the conflicts and interests just below the surface in the letters they did have.

In the final two chapters, the authors turn from the gathering of stories to analysis and presentation of ''evidence.'' Analyzing narratives involves the production of situated knowledge; nothing can change that. What the analyst can do is to be transparent about the conditions within which that knowledge was produced. Who was

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selected and why? Did we already have a theory about human social action that our cases were selected to illustrate? What sorts of questions and conversation, cultural differences or shared experience, precipitated these stories? When we are strangers, cultural and status differences affect how people talk with us, and the conventions for such border crossings (both in the telling and in the hearing) must be examined and made clear. What do we know about the subjective motivations and historical positioning of the persons and their stories? Some analysts take their write-ups back to the subject to work out together how to tell the story, paying attention to what was originally left unsaid or needs to be translated. Finally, there is the messy question of whether and how the stories are "true." Given recent scandals surrounding the creation of fictitious memoirs, the challenge is to be clear when and where we are reaching beyond the story as told, responsibly acknowledging the degree to which we are participants in the production of the knowledge we present.

What can we learn from life stories, then, and how do we make a case that will be persuasive to readers? The authors remind us that readers have their own narrative expectations that make some stories more believable than others. The sort of evidence we gain through narrative is not based on probability, but on the power of the narrative, a power that depends in large measure on our ability to show both the uniqueness of each life and the way that life tells a larger story. Sometimes that happens because we are able to work from multiple stories and/or from persons who are "representative" of a social type. We are able to show how a particular culture shapes a life or the way historical sequences shaped life possibilities. We can describe categories of plots or patterned habits of storytelling communities. It is possible, in other words, to move from life stories toward the sorts of generalization that social scientists often seek. Narratives belong in the methodological tool kits of historians and social scientists.

This book is an excellent introduction to the issues raised by the increasing use of narrative data in the social sciences and a well-argued exploration of why and how those narratives are important. Any student or researcher seeking to understand narrative evidence or practice the story-gatherer's craft will find it useful.

I have but one serious complaint, and that is with the publisher and not the authors. This book has been made very slim, not by the weight of its contribution, but by the thinness of its pages. The paper used is so thin as to be nearly as transparent as the authors want our analyses to be. This book deserved better.

Controlling Crime, Controlling Society: Thinking About Crime in Europe and America, by **Dario Melossi.** Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2008. 310pp. $24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780745634296.

Mathieu Deflem
University of South Carolina
deflem@sc.edu

Dario Melossi has done criminology the biggest service imaginable in writing this fine book, for this work presents an amazing and, as far as I can tell, unique inquiry into the history and systematics of criminology. Aided by his own intellectual journey from Italy to the United States and back (Melossi was born and raised in Italy, and received his PhD in the United States where he also taught until his return to Italy), Melossi is ideally placed to analyze the development of criminology in Europe and the United States, and to reveal the important cultural, political, and intellectual differences and interconnections between the two continents.

Melossi analyzes the development of criminological thinking from the Classical and the Positivist traditions toward the development of competing criminological theories in the consensus, labeling, and critical traditions and the present-day obsession with mass incarceration. What is most striking is how authentically sociological Melossi narrates these developments. Criminological theories are not merely explained as systems of ideas but are also placed in their broader societal contexts. As a conceptual guide, Melossi relies on

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the twin notions of the state and social control, which he sees as critical in the development of criminological thought in Europe and the United States, respectively.

Briefly reviewing the chapters, Melossi relates the thought of the Classical School to ideas on social contract, introducing Thomas Hobbes and Jeremy Bentham to unveil the ideas of Cesare Beccaria. The positivist ideas of the Belgian Adolphe Quetelet and the Italians Cesare Lombroso and Enrico Ferri are discussed against the backdrop of urbanization and the advance of the sciences. The latter movement also enabled the work of Emile Durkheim, whose perspective of crime is here dutifully treated within the background of his broad *oeuvre* on integration, democracy, and law.

Coming to America, a shift takes place towards the Protestant traditions of the new republic and its progressive turn towards social control by the end of the nineteenth century. From then on, we can witness the well-known development of the criminological schools of thought which today are seen primarily as competing theories. The Chicago School is approached from the viewpoint of its geography as well as in connection with pragmatist notions of democracy. This perspective also enabled the development of Edwin Sutherland's differential-association theory and in contrast, the structural approaches of Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton. Again in opposition, we have the emergence of the labeling approach and its extension to a critically informed criminology, first on the basis of Marx, then Michel Foucault, and subsequently marching on in a hybrid of directions, including feminism. The critical traditions are arguably also best suited to dissect the most recent shifts in criminology, with a host of neoclassical theories competing for domination in an era of hypercontrol.

Dario Melossi's book is truly an exhilarating piece of work. It shows that it is not only possible but also becoming for sociology at large to revisit the foundations and contours of the specialty area focused on the study of crime, deviance, and control. Even should this intellectual pursuit not stop the balkanization of sociology, it cannot be denied rationally that there is a criminological tradition in which thinking about criminological thinking is as real as the continued praxis of empirical criminological studies that are subservient to the needs of a criminal justice system rather than reflecting thereupon. I am hopeful that this splendid book will be widely read. The writing is profound yet accessible, its reading hindered somewhat by an excessive use of quotation marks (to denote the *so-called* status of criminals, others, and so on). Yet, I also worry that this book will be read more by criminologists than by sociologists and more so in Europe than in America. Given the level of undergraduate instruction in the United States, this book may be reserved as a teaching tool in graduate seminars. Be that as it may, Melossi has shown that a self-reflective criminology is possible. That fact alone should give pause to those sociologists who too hastily lament the state of criminology without knowledge of the relevant facts.

It's All for the Kids: Gender, Families, and Youth Sports, by **Michael A. Messner.** Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009. 260pp. $21.95 paper. ISBN: 9780520257108.

Kyle C. Longest
Furman University
kyle.longest@furman.edu

In what could be viewed as a sequel to Michael Messner's earlier work *Taking the Field*, which focused on gender inequalities for athletic participants, his most recent work, *It's All for the Kids*, focuses on gender inequalities among the parents involved in youth sports. Specifically, he examines coaches in South Pasadena's Little League Baseball/Softball and American Youth Soccer Organization. Using a combination of ethnographic observation and interviews, Messner seeks to illustrate how the world of youth sports both reflects larger patterns of gender inequity and simultaneously may be a contributing factor to the continued reification of traditional gender roles.

He begins this development by taking an in-depth look at how everyday interactions sustain gender differences within youth sports. For example, teams still use the

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term ''Team Mom'' as the title for the parent who supports the coach by organizing all of the necessary off-the-field activities (e.g., running the concession stand during games, creating contact lists, etc.). Although any parent, male or female, could fill this role the continued terminology of ''Mom'' prevents the adults from even being able to conceive of a male taking on these duties. And designating this support duty as a female role inherently leads to the perception that on-field coaching duties should be filled by males.

The females that are able to overcome what Messner terms this ''sex category sorting process'' also encounter a ''gender sorting process'' when they try to become involved in coaching youth teams. In this secondary process, female coaches must balance an expected level of ''kids knowledge,'' which Messner defines as the affective, emotional handling of youth participants, while simultaneously facing the burden of proving their ''sports knowledge'' (i.e., their ability to help participants learn advanced sports skills and strategies). This balance becomes even more difficult to manage as children age and sports become more competitive. Messner finds that this increased intensity pushes female coaches, especially of boys' teams, to either drop out of coaching all together or coach younger teams as their own children grow older.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the book is Messner's connection of these micro-processes to a new ideology that many of these parents hold, which he terms ''soft essentialism.'' Messner explains that increased participation of females in youth sports has broken down the vast majority of parents' traditional contention of the natural superiority of males. Many youth coaches still assert ''natural'' differences between males and females, but rather than using these perceived differences to argue against female participation, coaches and parents now assert that it is best for males and females to have separate leagues. But within these separate leagues, Messner finds that most coaches encourage females to experience a mix of female and male coaches, the latter thought to help females learn ''masculine'' characteristics that will assist them later in the professional labor market. Paradoxically, these same coaches do not support males having mixed gendered coaches, primarily due to persistent fears of the feminization of boys stemming from a lack of tough discipline that only male coaches can instill. Messner argues that the historical connection of females to biology and males to the ''world'' has therefore been flipped, with males now being narrowly defined by their biological predispositions and females being able to choose among different emotive and career paths.

Overall, the book is an excellent example of mixing academic sociology in a public format. The writing is amazingly accessible, lending itself to broad audiences ranging from parents to youth sports administrators to undergraduate students. Its utility for the latter may be the book's greatest strength. It would serve as a perfect resource for a range of undergraduate courses, including the obvious gender classes and any introduction course and social psychology or stratification courses as well.

This strength, however, may produce the book's most glaring shortcoming. Most notably, academic sociologists may struggle to accept the validity of many of the findings due to the lack of rigorous analytic methods. At times it is difficult to discern how many of the findings came from stringent ethnographic methods and how many stemmed from Messner's casual observations during his own children's athletic events. This detriment is most apparent in Messner's late attempt to make a significant theoretical leap in connecting his findings from the youth sports coaching world to broad patterns of inequality in career and volunteering time binds across genders. Although these connections are interesting, the scope of the conclusions is not adequately supported by the evidence presented. These difficulties are encountered by perhaps all pieces of public sociology, of which this book is a shining example. These concerns notwithstanding, this book is an excellent addition to the gender, youth, and family literature. It is an absolute must read and resource for youth sports' leagues coaches and sociology instructors alike.

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One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict, by **Benny Morris.** New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009. 240pp. $26.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780300122817.

DANIEL BRESLAU
Virginia Tech
dbreslau@vt.edu

When it is difficult for a party to a conflict to acknowledge its own role in the conflict's origin and perpetuation, it will portray the other side as impervious to good will. The other side's hostility is elemental, fixed, and unprovoked. One would expect an historian of the Israel-Palestine conflict to understand this style of thought as an historical product, emanating from the conflict itself. But in *One State, Two States*, Benny Morris thoroughly inhabits this perspective; it informs his interpretation of the conflict from its beginnings to its present discouraging state.

Morris begins by warning readers of a resurgence of "one-state" solutions to the conflict. In his view, one-state proposals are cover for the hidden agenda of replacing Israel with a Muslim-Arab state in which Jews are at best a second-class minority. He contends that the resurgence of one-state proposals has been precipitated by Palestinian actions—Arafat's rejection of the Clinton/Barak proposals in late 2000, and the rise of the Islamist Hamas movement—and its advocacy by "a coterie of non-Arab Western intellectuals" (p. 6).

The bulk of the book consists of a long chapter on "The History of One-State and Two-State Solutions." Beginning with the Zionist movement, Morris chronicles the ideological and political disputes among its factions, concerning the desired political relationship to the Palestinians and its territorial configuration. He shows how a range of one-state alternatives were weeded out. On the right, the revisionist Zionists, followers of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, who militated for a maximalist Jewish state were ultimately frustrated by geopolitical realities. The opposite wing of Zionism, composed of a diverse set of intellectuals and leftist organizations advocating coexistence in a binational state, failed to find significant partners on the Palestinian side who would tolerate even shared sovereignty. Morris sees the failure of the binational project as caused by, and evidence for, Palestinian intransigence. He minimizes what Jabotinsky was acutely aware of: that the Palestinian reaction was driven by anxiety over the prospect of their own displacement—physical, cultural, and political—an anxiety that would prove to be justified. The Zionist center, embodied by the Labor Party-led Alignment that ruled Israel for nearly 30 years, was more pragmatic than either of the one-state factions, and accepted the 1947 UN partition plan. But it is not quite right to credit this group with early acceptance of a two-state solution, as Morris does, since most of Israel's leadership rejected Palestinian statehood at least until the 1990s.

While Morris is attentive to the diversity of perspectives within the Zionist movement and Israel, there is no parallel treatment of the Palestinian national movement. His polemic tolerates no substantive distinctions between Palestinian factions. For Morris, the Palestinian National Movement, as a whole, has rejected Israel's existence, rejected even the presence in Palestine of the Jews (and their descendents) who had immigrated under Zionist auspices, and has had no other goal than Palestinian-Arab-Muslim sovereignty over the entire homeland. Any utterance or strategic position consistent with these objectives Morris labels as a genuine statement of Palestinian intentions. Any deviations he treats as "tactical" or "superficial" dissimulation, "a spin invented for gullible Westerners" (p. 168).

The period beginning in the 1970s, when the strategic position of the Palestinian political center showed signs of moderation, leads Morris into some surprising contortions. For instance, he brings up the case of Palestinian moderates who were assassinated in the late 1970s. He describes those assassinated as "dissidents" who "struck out on their own," seeking an opening for discussing coexistence with Israel, only to be fatally disciplined by their "colleagues" (p. 123). In fact, all the figures mentioned by Morris were at the center of Palestinian national politics. They did not strike out on their own, but were undertaking diplomatic efforts fully authorized by the PLO. Their assassins

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were members of the Abu Nidal organization, a rejectionist fringe. Morris has the story backward: it was the representatives of the political majority who sought conciliation, while dissidents killed in the name of rejectionism. The entire strategic shift toward coexistence with Israel, beginning in the 1970s and becoming PLO policy in the late 1980s, he regards as a carefully constructed sham. When dealing with more recent history, Morris indulges in a pastime pioneered by ''pro-Israel'' Web sites that mine the media for quotes that seem to contradict Palestinian public support for a two-state solution.

Morris's insistence on forcing Palestinian history into this framework of intransigence and duplicity is surprising, since he knows very well that the Zionist movement can be, and often is, given the same treatment. The argument that the Zionists always had their eye on the whole of Palestine, and any deviation was a ruse in order to enlist international support is equal to Morris's account in plausibility and inadequacy.

Near the end of the book, Morris's outlook is taken to its logical conclusion. Citing incompatible values, he dismisses the possibility of Jewish and Arab coexistence in a binational state. ''The value placed on human life and the rule of (secular) law is completely different—as exhibited, in Israel itself, in the vast hiatus between Jewish and Arab perpetration of crimes and lethal road traffic violations'' (p. 187). So determined is Morris to avoid consciousness of Israel's role in the economic, social, and political marginalization of its Palestinian Arab minority, that he converts the symptoms of marginalization into essential cultural deficiencies.

The Making of Pro-life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works, by **Ziad W. Munson.** Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 233pp. $22.50 paper. ISBN: 9780226551203.

Benita Roth
Binghamton University
broth@binghamton.edu

The Making of Pro-life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works, by Ziad W. Munson, is an important book that should change the way we think about the pro-life movement and about mobilization in movements. Munson explores how pro-life activists became activists in four metropolitan areas: Oklahoma City, Minneapolis/St. Paul, Charleston, and Boston. He conducted 150 interviews with pro-life leaders, activists, and pro-life ''non-activists,'' leading to his counterintuitive finding that pre-existing anti-abortion beliefs were not the spur to individuals' activism, but developed through activism itself. What made pro-life sympathizers into activists was their contact with the movement at a significant turning point in their lives, when changes in living circumstances made them cognitively available to new ideas. A significant portion of the pro-life activists Munson interviewed initially held nominally pro-choice beliefs. Munson argues that a new model of social movement mobilization is needed that drops assumptions about preexisting grievances (then coupled to resources, opportunities, and the like) driving individuals into movement activism.

Munson argues that the pro-life movement itself is composed of ''streams,'' which he defines as ''collections of organizations and activists that share an understanding of the best means to achieve the goal of ending abortion'' (pp. 98–99). Members of the different pro-life streams of politics, direct action, individual outreach (crisis pregnancy counseling), and public outreach are actively critical of the strategies and tactics of those in other streams, and do not cross over. Munson found that pro-life activists in different streams shared little ideologically besides a belief in fetal personhood. Some saw abortion as a social ill in itself while others saw it as an effect of wider social decadence. Still others regarded abortion as a conspiracy that exploited women by letting men off the hook for familial responsibilities. The variety of kinds of moral reasoning by pro-life activists leads Munson to conclude that although evangelical Protestant and Catholic religious beliefs played a role in cementing activists' views, the pro-life movement should not be seen as an arm of the religious right. Munson further argues that the movement affected religious *practice* in religious institutions as much as religious *institutions* affected it.

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Although he is concerned with countering existing social movement theory, Munson's research affirms one constant finding: the centrality of personal networks for movement recruitment. His model of mobilization as dependent on activists' having turning points of cognitive availability emphasizes equally the fact that networks draw them toward pro-life organizing. This leads to one basic question about mobilization prompted by the research: at what point do there need to be *some* people with pro-life beliefs who act on those beliefs? The theoretical implication of Munson's findings is that movement mobilizations are discontinuous and qualitatively different processes at different times in movements' trajectories, and so questions remain about the impact of small committed groups on movements' recruitment trajectories.

I was convinced by Munson's central premise that ideology is constructed in activism. But I also have criticisms of the book that are specific to the case presented. First, Munson claims that the pro-life movement has affected religious practice in institutions as much as religious institutions have influenced it. But he researched pro-life organizations and conducted interviews with pro-life activists: to make claims about changing religious practices, it would have helped to talk with key informants in religious institutions. Second, Munson charts the variety of views that pro-life activists hold against abortion, but he doesn't systematically link these views to the existing streams in the movement. Perhaps there is no systemic relationship between the two, but one is left to wonder. Third, Munson avoids discussion of the role of violence and the role of gender in the pro-life movement. These lacunae seem to me to result from his admirable fidelity to his respondents' own words. But they remain holes. On the question of violence, while Munson uses the number of violent events as part of his criteria for assessing the level of pro-life mobilization in a location, there is no discussion of the link between violent protest and militant protest. Violent anti-abortion protest may be atypical, but pro-life militancy that bordered on violence prompted federal laws to prevent key forms of pro-life protest, like blockading clinics. Regarding gender, one cannot merely assume it is washed out of the equation because nearly half (43 percent) of the activists that Munson interviewed were male. Munson avoids analysis of gender politics in the various streams of the pro-life movement, perhaps in reaction to earlier work on the abortion question in politics that emphasized gender. But his research shows that activists exhibited a variety of stances about patriarchy, family and gender roles. What accounts for the variety? One need not posit that the abortion issue is ''really about'' gender in order to examine its gender politics.

The criticisms enumerated above do not change my overall assessment of Munson's work. I strongly recommend *The Making of Pro-life Activists* as essential reading for those who care about social movements, the abortion debate, American political culture, and religion.

Legal Accents, Legal Borrowing: The International Problem-Solving Court Movement, by **James L. Nolan, Jr.** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. 264pp. $35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780691129525.

ELIZABETH E. MARTINEZ
University of Notre Dame
lizmartinez@nd.edu

At the intersection of globalization and culture, scholars are investigating the diffusion of law across national borders in several different camps. For his part, William Twining is developing a meta-theory of transnational legal diffusion. His general model takes into account the many, disparate social science and justice literatures on the global diffusion of law. In another area, scholars are working out the key sociolegal themes about international legal cultures, in wide-ranging edited volumes, such as Larry Cata Backer's recent work on the global harmonization of law. In still a third camp, other sociolegal researchers are pursuing vital case studies: for example, Sally Engle Merry examines global and local linkages of law, in her work on the diffusion human rights consciousness and on the cultural translation of legal perspectives into the local context. Addressing neither

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meta-theories nor macro-micro links, James L. Nolan, Jr. is also looking at legal diffusion with a cross-national perspective, but his recent work is more empirical than theoretical. In his new book, Nolan offers us a systematic analysis of the diffusion of a single legal idea across six countries, the United States, England, Canada, Australia, Scotland, and Ireland. His study is not of any shared theoretical interest, as it turns out, because it is so tightly bound to its data. If the reader is not specifically interested in the legal idea he traces, this tour is not worth joining.

In *Legal Accents, Legal Borrowing*, Nolan traces the adoption of an American innovation in community justice known as the ''problem solving court.'' These are community-based courts that go beyond adjudication of particular disputes, and attempt to resolve specific, public-order concerns, such as drug use, domestic violence, and mental health problems. While the other English-speaking countries that followed the U.S. lead in establishing problem-solving courts openly acknowledged their debt to the U.S. justice system, their adoptions were neither wholesale nor complete. Each country modified, or struggled with, the new systems as this legal innovation was integrated into existing court procedures and local, judicial cultures. For example, the English courts have a structural system of judges and magistrates, each with their own domain of jurisdiction. Moreover, the English follow an ingrained policy of legislative deference. Both of these national differences prevented the direct transfusion of key aspects of the problem-solving approach from the United States, including the use of short sentences as an intermediate sanction and the use of personal judicial monitoring of defendants by the same judge over time. Further, the English courts were loath to adopt the therapeutic devices that are used in U.S. drug courts, such as hugging between judge and defendant, and courtroom applause, which are common in the United States, following the successful completion of rehabilitation, for example. At the same time, English court officials continue to look to the American example as cultural modifications continue.

Nolan's book covers all the bases within his study design. Indeed, the details are more than enough to make his central points about national cultural and structural distinctions inhibiting the diffusion of problem-solving courts. The result of this study is a comprehensive catalog of the diffusion and alterations of problem-solving courts in the selected countries. It is a comfortable read, full of vignettes and elaborated examples.

Yet, the book falls short of its mission. Nolan is clear from the start that he did not set out to evaluate the usefulness of the courts themselves, but rather to look at when and how this type of justice is transferred across national boundaries. That said, Nolan nevertheless might have addressed not only the peculiarities of existing legal structures and general cultural differences, but also the global culture issues that are latent throughout such a study. *Legal Accents* would be attractive to a broader audience, outside of the particular, problem-solving court movement, if Nolan had examined more closely what it means to built a hybrid legal system, part American and part homegrown, in the vein of Twinning and Merry's theoretical advances on global diffusions of law.

Nolan does discuss the contradiction between the national adoptions of an American court design, together with public statements of anti-American sentiment by the adopting officials. He devotes a good deal of real estate in the book to summarizing the ambivalence expressed in official statements surrounding the adoptions. Of greater import, however, is the *hybridity of justice* that results. If these national court systems are both adopting and rejecting the problem-solving courts as a cultural innovation, what is the outcome? Even if Nolan was not in pursuit of a critical criminological account of the worth of these courts, he failed to show what the partial adoptions lead to sans evaluation. The reader is left wondering what happens when drug offenders do not get the personal commitment of a single judge, or the hugging and applause that U.S. offenders get at the end of their cases. What is the cultural hybrid that results from the partial adoption of the U.S. procedures in a non-U.S. problem-solving court? This was the

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underlying, and unanswered, question of the study. In his defense, it could simply be that Nolan's project was undertaken too soon to investigate what happens after these ambivalent adoptions. The hybrid, and perhaps ill-designed, justice systems may not be fully formed because the U.S. innovation is only about a decade old. Legal changes are often slow to develop and cultural lags even slower to unfold.

The Racial Middle: Latinos and Asian Americans Living Beyond the Racial Divide, by **Eileen O'Brien.** New York: New York University Press, 2008. 243pp. $22.00 paper. ISBN: 9780814762158.

Silvia Pedraza
University of Michigan
spedraza@umich.edu

America is no longer a nation that can be described in black and white, as sociology used to do. With the proportion of Latinos and Asians increasing, scholars debate the outcome of those changes in the country's racial/ethnic composition. In *The Racial Middle: Latinos and Asians Living Beyond the Racial Divide,* Eileen O'Brien, working with students at the University of Richmond, interviewed 50 Latinos and Asians to study the experiences of those who are neither black nor white but who must negotiate ''the racial middle.''

O'Brien's work exhibits both strengths and weaknesses. The sample size is small: only 50 Latinos and Asians, 25 of each. Such a sample size, is too small to permit many of O'Brien's generalizations, nor does it allow some of her interesting comparisons among various nationality/ethnic groups of Latinos and of Asians.

A major strength of the book is the high-quality interviews. O'Brien and her students examined how those in their sample identified with the pan-ethnic labels (Latinos, Hispanics, Asians) in comparison to other forms of identification (e.g., generations or religion). They studied patterns of dating and intermarriage with other Latinos and Asians, and with blacks and whites. They asked about experiences of discrimination in employment and of social exclusion that, while real, respondents minimized, stressing their continued belief in access to the American Dream. And they also sounded out the different attitudes and expectations held by Latinos and Asians who were progressive (the minority) versus those who were conservative (the majority).

Theoretically, a major strength of her work lies in connecting the theses that originate from the work of Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Joe Feagin, George Yancey, Edward Murguia and Tyrone Foreman, who have discussed the future of race in America, with predictions regarding how Latinos and Asians will be situated. From their work, O'Brien isolates the ''whitening thesis'' and the ''browning thesis,'' as well as a three-way racial dynamic.

The whitening thesis expects a black/non-black dichotomy to emerge due to the growth of the Latin and Asian American populations (George Yancey). While blacks will continue to experience social alienation and powerlessness, Latinos and Asians increasingly will join the white mainstream, their identities as Latinos and Asians declining—much like previous immigrants who became ''white'' as the result of both cultural and structural assimilation. This is what Herbert Gans and Mary Waters called ''symbolic ethnicity''—an optional ethnicity that can be applied depending on the social context and occasional need for meaning or community. The whitening thesis espouses a color-blind racism.

The browning thesis argues that whites cannot maintain dominance in the face of the growth of the racial middle—for better (Joe Feagin) or for worse (Samuel Huntington). The positive version of this thesis expects cross-racial coalitions to develop among blacks, Latinos, and Asians. Thus, the browning thesis predicts a more egalitarian and democratic society. The negative version of this thesis expresses a nativism which has always accompanied the growth of immigrant populations.

Challenging both the whitening and the browning theses are those scholars (Ed Murguia and Tyrone Foreman) who foresee a three-way racial dynamic, focusing on the tremendous diversity in the Latino and Asian communities in the United States in color, socioeconomic standing, and histories

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of incorporation. Particularly salient here is Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's prediction that while part of the Latino and Asian population may "become white," others will become "honorary white" (such as Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Asian Indians, and lighter-skinned Latinos), while still others will become "collective black" (Cambodians, Hmong, Laotians, and darker-skinned Latinos, along with American blacks).

One of the most interesting findings is the profound generational divide in these attitudes between the first immigrant generation and their children. For as one might expect, O'Brien finds that Latin American and Asian immigrants brought their prejudice against blacks with them, and were reinforced by the American context. But their children grew up in a post-Civil Rights movement America, and are far more inclusive than their parents. And now that intermarriage rates are triple what they were 50 years ago, O'Brien finds that intermarriage with whites is accepted, while blacks continue to be seen as undesirable. She does not address what the meaning of intermarriage within the larger ethnic group (e.g., Japanese with Koreans, Cubans with Puerto Ricans) means to them.

A major weakness of her work lies is the limited number of theoreticians whose work she covers: she fails to take into account the work of Mia Tuan, who studied various groups of Asians in California (all third generation and above, the descendants of nineteenth-century Asian migrations), with respect to whether they were to be *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites? The Asian Ethnic Experience Today* (Rutgers University Press, 1998). Tuan also addressed many of the same issues: residential segregation, patterns of intermarriage, and the like, with a large sample. Mia Tuan's work, in turn, was guided by Mary C. Water's *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (University of California Press, 1990). Waters first established the way in which identity formation took place for the descendants of European immigrants who had become successful and lived in suburbs. Tuan explored the process of identity formation for third or higher generation Asians. Her analysis of the descendants of the old Asian immigrants in California, for example, leads to a thesis that O'Brien could have explored: while Asians have succeeded in American society—evidenced by their levels of education and income, termed "the model minority"—they have not gained social acceptance. Tuan posits that intermarriage within the larger ethnic group has a different meaning than intermarriage with whites, as the intent is to form a bulwark against the loss of their Asian or Latin cultures, customs, and languages.

Rather than the whitening and the browning theses, which are too stark, O'Brien proposes "a color-nuanced understanding" that pays attention to the unique hybrid space of the racial middle. Ultimately they have the potential to create a powerful antiracist force.

Lastly, O'Brien also fails to note that the white population is quite diverse. There was a time when white supremacist attitudes were dominant, but now those movements have become fringe groups, as plenty of attitudinal research shows. These days, rather than the hegemony of the white, Anglo-Saxon culture of the past, many white, middle-class Americans can be found eating *sushi* and *chilaquiles,* doing *Tai-Chi* and yoga, and playing soccer, while considering the teachings of the Buddha alongside those of Jesus and Moses.

Despite its shortcomings, O'Brien's book has opened a useful path of study regarding the racial middle. Hopefully, others will widen that path.

The History of Media and Communication Research: Contested Memories, edited by **David W. Park** and **Jefferson Pooley.** New York: Peter Lang, 2008. 390pp. $34.95 paper. ISBN: 9780820488295.

SARAH E. IGO
Vanderbilt University
sarah.igo@vanderbilt.edu

In *The History of Media and Communication Research*, David W. Park and Jefferson Pooley have accomplished that rare feat: an edited collection that adds up to far more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, they have brought a good deal of coherence to what even scholars and practitioners will admit

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is a dizzyingly incoherent field, equal parts sociology, social psychology, political science, journalism, rhetoric, and cultural studies. The goal of the volume is to give communication and media studies a history—or rather, to give it a rigorous, honest one rather than a Whiggish past that mainly serves disciplinary and professional needs in the present. Lamenting the existing history of communication research as ''anemic and notably unreflective'' (p. 1), the editors are out to chart (and guide) an emerging subfield.

What is striking about this effort is that there are few agreed-upon strands of communications history apart from canonical, if contested, lists of ''founders'' (Kurt Lewin, Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld, Carl Hovland, and the like) or key studies (the Payne Fund studies of moviegoing, wartime morale, and propaganda work, and above all, Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz's *Personal Influence* and its finding of ''limited effects''). Equally striking is the immaturity of the field at large. The editors' call for basic archival work, for attention to political-economic context and institutions, and for awareness of the parallel historiography of the other social sciences indicates that the history of communication studies is at its rudimentary stage of development indeed.

The collection is divided into three parts: the state of the historiography, institutional histories, and ''people and places in the history of the field.'' Essays range from accounts of the establishment of media studies in different national settings (newspaper science in Germany and cultural studies in Britain, for example), to quantitative analyses of the topics tackled by media researchers in the past, to histories of key organizations such as the International Association for Media and Communication Research, to intellectual biographies of figures in the field both well known (Lazarsfeld) and forgotten (William McPhee, Paul Cressey).

There is an inevitable unevenness to the contributions. The one piece to deal directly with gender, for instance, offers undigested questionnaire responses about female scholars' experiences rather than a bold vision of how feminist communication studies might unsettle the field. This is more than made up for, however, by rich essays like David Park's, which restores the classic *Personal Influence* (1955) to its proper intellectual milieu, enabling us to see it as a work that departed fundamentally from most contemporary social scientists' deep concerns about conformity. The legacy for communication studies, he suggests, was an idealized model of the public sphere based on face-to-face interaction. In the same vein, William J. Buxton's discussion of the competing strands of communications research within the Chicago School of Sociology brings nuance to a falsely homogenized tradition. He locates a path not taken in early media studies (only to be rediscovered decades later), an approach that attributed as much power and meaning-making to audiences—here, moviegoing East Harlem juveniles—as to the medium.

Many essays are of the debunking variety. Sue Curry Jansen effectively shows how Walter Lippmann has been misread by communications scholars eager to codify a behaviorist, mechanical scholarly tradition as a foil to a more democratic Deweyite one. Similarly, Deborah Lubken traces the career of the ''hypodermic needle'' theory of all-powerful media influence, supposedly overthrown by the discovery of ''limited effects''; she doubts whether anyone ever believed in the former theory, seeing it instead as a useful weapon in disciplinary battles and in drawing a firm line between experts on the media and mere laypeople. And Jefferson Pooley elegantly summarizes the ''new'' and darker history of communications that has taken root since the mid-1990s, which links the field less to progressive scientific achievements (not to mention ''limited effects'') than to propaganda and psychological warfare initiatives sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, the CIA, and the State Department.

As with all such volumes, it is impossible to summarize the contents. But several themes emerge strongly: the late-blooming historiography of the field related to its mid-century birth, the need for institutional as well as externalist histories to challenge well-worn origin myths driven by charismatic individuals and studies, and the peculiar disciplinary shape of ''media and communication studies,'' which arguably has been far more

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successful institutionally than it has been intellectually.

Nearly all of the essays address this last theme, either implicitly or explicitly. Several grapple with the trajectory of communications research as it moved from a concept to a field to a discipline, to borrow the schema laid out by J. Michael Sproule. Veikko Pietila fruitfully explores the ''social'' (organized and institutional) versus ''cognitive'' (intellectual) consolidation of a discipline like media studies. In the process, he exposes the problematically dualistic nature of communications as a field, its roots not simply in ''science'' but in the need to provide journalists with professional training. A wonderful essay by John Durham Peters reconsiders the intellectual lineage of media studies. Noting the mismatch between the wide-ranging *subject* of communications and the oddly narrow ambit of the professional *discipline*—''a stunning variety of twentieth-century intellectuals had tackled communication as one of the great problems of the age, almost all of them in happy ignorance of the academic field that claimed special expertise about that problem'' (p. 143)—he urges scholars to engage with the history of social psychology but also cybernetics, psychiatry, and cultural studies.

Intriguingly, Park and Pooley's volume arrives at a moment when sociologists of science have thoroughly scrutinized the process of discipline-formation as politically and ideologically loaded. One of the tantalizing questions this important volume provokes but does not quite tackle is how scholars ought best launch a new subdiscipline like the history of communications research in a postmodern era when that very project is suspect. The highly self-conscious essays assembled here, dedicated to crafting a ''warts and all'' historiography against the self-serving history of the past, is an excellent start.

The Problem of Order in the Global Age: Systems and Mechanisms, by **Andreas Pickel.** New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. 218pp. $74.95 cloth. ISBN: 9781403972446.

THOMAS BURR
Illinois State University
tburr@ilstu.edu

This is a difficult yet worthwhile book. The author's style is dense and abstract—some might say a fitting style for political theory—and the reading is slow going, but it has its virtues and is worth tackling. Andreas Pickel examines the problem of political order. His stated purpose is ''to contribute conceptualizations, analytical tools, and perspectives that may be of use in the many different situations in which the problem of order is salient'' (pp. 1–2). The book does exactly this, relying on empirical research throughout; yet empirical evidence is secondary here—wrestling with and refining conceptualization is the prime object. And while Pickel is obviously a political scientist, he takes an explicitly interdisciplinary approach to the subject, cites a number of sociologists throughout, and ultimately makes a contribution to understanding politics through social psychology.

Since order is a perennial problem, it has been treated as a perennial problem—that is, as a general problem that should be analyzed by theory. Yet as Pickel points out, such political problems always appear in particular settings under particular circumstances. He argues for analyzing sociopolitical order with a system approach, explicitly arguing against methodological individualism, and posing three types of systems: material, semiotic, and conceptual. Systems operate through mechanisms, or processes that have effects. He gives examples of mechanisms in social systems drawn from sociology (social boundaries, the Protestant Ethic, and postcommunist transformation). Unfortunately, despite the fact that ''order'' is the central concept in the book, he never defines it at length, only quickly as stability or ''a viable framework of political power, that is, a political order'' (p. 54), or contrasts it with chaos, violence, and anarchy (pp. 56, 68). This is barely sufficient; had he

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expanded on "order" itself, he could have usefully linked it to how systems work.

His second chapter takes apart Karl Popper's analysis of the basic political problem: not the problem of "who should rule?" but once chosen, "who will control the ruler?" Pickel points out that the main early modern theorists of sovereignty, Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke, faced violent sociopolitical disorder, and Locke's solution, built on Bodin's and Hobbes' ideas, had already solved Popper's problem through popular sovereignty. This theory had been embodied in the "modern" state, which has been democratized around the planet through imperialism and decolonization.

But popularizing this theory of sovereignty has had its own effect. In the third chapter, Pickel returns to the idea of mechanisms by suggesting that the modern state, through nationalism, has created—citing Bourdieu—a "national habitus," a particular type of personality structure, a set of habits. Each nation creates its own type of personality and its own habitus; Pickel cites the large and growing literature on business studies which shows cultural differences between societies. He argues that national habitus is not an essentializing category, since such practices are always changing. Although the ground is not new here, his implied suggestion to combine social psychology and comparative-historical analysis at the national level offers a fertile field for research, a topic to which he returns at the end of the book.

In the fourth and perhaps most interesting chapter Pickel analyzes the issue of state-implemented social change by examining the postcommunist transformation of Eastern Europe. He suggests distinguishing between three levels of analysis or three realms: academic, researched-based theory; policy programs (or strategy); and politics (ideology, tactics, or framing). These three levels obviously interact, especially in the case of neoclassical economics, neoliberalism, and "free-market" political parties. Problems result from confusing or conflating these levels; by analytically separating these levels and then examining how they interrelate in concrete situations, the problem of change in sociopolitical order can be better illuminated.

In the following chapter, Pickel argues that policy-driven social change must be seen as "catalytic design," that is, a model that sparks change, given that such change almost always involves unforeseen consequences, almost always has to be modified over time, and may have different results in different sociopolitical contexts. He further illuminates the gap between academic theory and political change by showing how disciplinary boundaries rendered academic advice in the postcommunist transition too partial to be truly effective.

The penultimate chapter is, in effect, a research program awaiting operationalization and data collection on specific cases. Pickel returns to the idea of nationalizing mechanisms (NMs), and offers a reasonably well-developed research program to analyze how they work. Most of the chapter discusses some of the problems with analyzing nationalizing mechanisms, suggesting four levels of analysis: world or large region, state-society, localities, and individuals. He then offers a model of how the various levels interact, how larger systems affect their component subsystems and how subsystems affect the larger ones in which they are embedded. Unfortunately he leaves out the local level from this model—whether they are families, networks, or racial or ethnic groups (or classes, genders, or political organizations and coalitions, though he does not mention these earlier). This flaw could be remedied by a creative researcher who operationalizes even some of the hypotheses in this stimulating chapter. Pickel ends the book by arguing that the nation-state remains "of central significance" in the complex and fractured global order in which we live today.

Pickel's dense, abstract, theoretical style means one should allow plenty of time for reading and assimilation of the main points. Still, his use of Popper's lesser-known ideas is fruitful, if a bit idiosyncratic, and allows him to advance his argument about analyzing order through systemic analysis. Sociologists across a number of subdisciplines—the microfoundations of macrosociology, political sociology (especially nationalism), comparative ethnicity, and politically oriented social psychology—will therefore profit from this book.

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Living in a Material World: Economic Sociology Meets Science and Technology Studies, edited by **Trevor Pinch** and **Richard Swedberg.** Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008. 403pp. $30.00 paper. ISBN: 9780262662079.

Gabriel Abend
New York University
abend@nyu.edu

Along with Madonna, Trevor Pinch and Richard Swedberg maintain that we live in a material world. In the book's introduction they argue that "the idea of materiality may be used as a bridge between STS [science and technology studies] and economic sociology for two-way traffic between these two fields" (pp. 12–13). Materiality is introduced as "the notion that social existence involves not only actors and social relations but also objects" (p. 1). These objects include, for example, "the clothes we wear, the restaurant menus we peruse, and the food we eat" (p. 2). As Swedberg writes in his chapter, "people live in houses, they eat food, they interact with machines, they produce objects, and they use objects" (p. 57).

This all sounds very reasonable. But what exactly follows from it? And what exactly counts as "[taking] materiality seriously" (p. 58), empirically and theoretically? These are difficult questions. Understandably, the editors' introduction isn't the place to address them at any length. I was hoping, then, that the 12 chapters that compose the book would make some substantial progress on these questions. However, there is a great deal of variation as to how the chapters attend to materiality and, indeed, as to the extent to which they attend to materiality at all.

First, despite occasional references to objects, things, and materiality, it is evident that the central theoretical concerns of some of the chapters lie elsewhere. For instance, the theoretical backbone of David Hatherly, David Leung, and Donald MacKenzie's paper is Wittgenstein's (and Barnes's and Bloor's) question of what it is to follow a rule, as applied to accountants' classifications of transactions. The theoretical backbone of Nicholas Rowland and Thomas Gieryn's paper is Michael Polanyi's (and Harry Collins's) concept of tacit knowledge, as applied to the transfer of organizational practices. Daniel Beunza and David Stark's argument is primarily about ecology, space, and place. Philip Mirowski and Edward Nik-Khah's paper both criticizes Michel Callon's ideas and tries to account for them in a sociology-of-ideas or sociology-of-sociology manner. According to them, "Callon's version of 'performativity' . . . turns out to be an overture to a prospective alliance to be struck up with neoclassical economists" (p. 91).

Second, some of the chapters make a related yet different argument: technology and technologies shape (or some other causal verb) economic practices and processes. To be sure, this is an important argument, and these chapters do a good job of providing evidence for it. But this does not amount to a "material turn." Third, it seems that the theoretical novelty and potential of materiality do not lie in the effects of there being objects in the social world (as opposed to people only). Rather, they lie in the effects of these objects' having particular shapes, sizes, weights, colors, odors, textures, causal powers, chemical and physical properties, their being composed of particular elements, and so on, along with the meanings that people attach to these material factors. In this volume these types of factors are seldom in the foreground. Arguably, the exceptions are some parts of Fabian Muniesa's chapter on trading-room telephones, Karin Knorr Cetina and Barbara Grimpe's analysis of financial computer screens, and Alex Preda's history of the stock ticker (where, for instance, the ticker tape's shape and size are causally effective).

Thus, the concept of materiality doesn't give theoretical coherence to the book as a whole. Nevertheless, this is still a strong collection of papers at the intersection of economic sociology and science and technology studies, which suggests many kinds of fruitful interactions between the two fields. The chapters' empirical subject-matters and data sources are as interesting as diverse: from Amazon's review and recommendation systems (Shay David and Pinch) to the Bayh-Dole Act and university patenting (Elizabeth Berman); from disability policies (Callon) to the outsourcing of information technology in the business school of a large midwestern university (Rowland and Gieryn).

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Moreover, the book has theory for all tastes. For example, Callon continues to develop his actor-network theory and the concepts of ''actant'' and ''socio-technical *agencement*,'' drawing on Deleuze and Guattari. Knorr Cetina and Grimpe put Schutz to good use, as do Hatherly et al. with Wittgenstein. Swedberg deftly dissects Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, Aristotle's *Politics* I (but not *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book Five), Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Marx's *Capital*, and Frank Knight's *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit*, and argues that the ancients were much more interested in materiality than the moderns.

In appraising a book on materiality, material considerations might be particularly apposite. Aesthetically, not everyone will appreciate its yellow cover. More importantly, the copyediting leaves much to be desired: there are endnotes that do not match the numerical superscripts in the text, two authors missing from the ''About the Authors'' section, and several cited works missing from the ''References'' sections. Finally, it may be worth noting that many of the papers were presented at the conference ''Economic Sociology and Technology,'' organized by Pinch and Swedberg in 2005. Four of them were previously published elsewhere.

Working Hard, Drinking Hard: On Violence and Survival in Honduras, by **Adrienne Pine.** Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008. 253pp. $19.95 paper. ISBN: 9780520255449.

ROBERT BRENNEMAN
University of Notre Dame
rbrennem@nd.edu

Adrienne Pine has taken an important step toward remedying the paucity of scholarship on Honduras with her book *Working Hard, Drinking Hard: On Violence and Survival in Honduras.* The anthropologist draws on a year's worth of ethnographic fieldwork conducted during separate trips taken from 1997 until 2003. Her book begins with a description of the Honduran national identity as existing almost entirely in the negative. Hondurans, she argues, identify themselves by who they are not—U.S. citizens or Mexicans for example—and by qualities they believe to be lacking in the Honduran citizenry. Rather than building a nationalist project of equality and justice for all, Hondurans carry on a national discourse of self-blame which places the responsibility for everything from violence to alcoholism directly on the supposed ''weak character'' of its people, especially its poor majority. Churches, politicians, and the media promote an ''achievement ideology'' that casts poverty as a failure of individual willpower and promotes economic success as available to anyone willing to work hard and stay sober.

A key strength of the book is its focus on everyday Honduran life rather than on broad and abstract notions of ''globalization'' or ''neoliberalism.'' To be sure, the author sees these two phenomena as central forces shaping (and destroying) the lives of Hondurans; but rather than starting with giant-isms, she examines three aspects of everyday life through which the macro forces of globalization and neoliberal economic policy are *felt* every day. The first of these, violence, is obvious enough to anyone who has recently spent time in this country. Honduras now vies with El Salvador for the highest murder rate in the hemisphere. Some of this violence is carried out by increasingly violent gangs, but a ''strong fist'' crackdown on the gangs brought with it a violent answer from the state in the early 2000s. Rather than condemning a violent state for what she terms ''genocide'' against poor, young Hondurans, Pine was appalled to find that many Hondurans of all classes actually supported the government's ''war on crime,'' at least in its early stages. They preferred justifying state-sponsored violence even if it involved the extrajudicial killing of impoverished youth, because they believed it had made their neighborhoods safer. They preferred, she argues, to blame the victims. Her investigation of drinking behaviors and alcohol-prevention programs leads her to a similar conclusion. She cites an Alcoholics Anonymous executive who explained the problem of alcoholism as owing to ''our Indian character'' which, he insisted, is prone to stubbornness and vice. Many Hondurans even attribute the

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exploitation of the maquiladoras to cultural deficiencies (among Korean owners and Honduran workers), rather than critiquing the economic oppression brought on by political policies that attract maquiladoras and allow them to ignore workers' rights.

A fourth topic gaining considerable attention throughout the book is that of evangelical Christianity, which the author states, promotes "achievement ideology" at every turn. For Pine, evangelical Christianity amounts to a "religious ideology" sustaining bourgeois values of family and economic achievement. That may or may not be the case, but to back up such a sweeping claim, many readers will want more evidence than insights gained from the author's attendance at a mass faith-healing event and the transcript of a televised interview with a mega-church pastor. Other more empirically grounded studies of evangelical religion in Latin America have drawn very different conclusions about the role and impact of evangelical religion in the barrio. Whatever the case, some sociologists will find Pine's approach to making and supporting her claims less than satisfying. Sometimes the author offers little more than an anecdote or an excerpt from a field note to support a weighty claim. For example, the argument that the Honduran government wages "genocide" on the urban poor deserves more evidence than the author can muster. Surely there are better ways to draw attention to the very real injustice and violence tacitly supported by the Honduran state than to place such policies on par with the acts of the Nazis or the Khmer Rouge.

While there it is true that Honduran media and elites as well as the poor tend to blame the victim, at times the strict Bourdieuian-Marxist approach to culture leaves the reader with a bleak perspective on what is in fact a vibrant, diverse society. Still, the author's engaging style and provocative argument make her book a useful addition to an upper-level undergraduate course or a graduate seminar. Since the recent anachronistic coup d'etat has given Honduras a rare moment of international attention, now is a good time to take a more sustained look at the former "banana republic."

Battle Cries: Black Women and Intimate Partner Abuse, by **Hillary Potter.** New York: New York University Press, 2008. 275pp. $23.00 paper. ISBN: 9780814767306.

PATRICIA O'BRIEN
University of Illinois, Chicago
pob@uic.edu

Intimate partner violence affects individuals in all social classes and racial/ethnic groups; no one is protected by virtue of their class or race privilege. We have learned this from media reports (the recent Rihanna Fenty/Chris Brown case, for example), and multiple academic books and articles that have described for more than 30 years the epidemic of domestic abuse. But why then do statistics indicate that black women experience abuse and homicide in their intimate relationships at a higher rate than women in other racial groups? Hillary Potter's book, *Battle Cries,* provides some answers in a deep accounting of how black women manage, survive, and extricate themselves from dangerous and demeaning relationships.

The book is compelling in its call for reinvigorated responses to the documented extent of intimate partner violence in both the black and the larger community. Drawing on intensive interviews with 40 women of different ages, education levels, socioeconomic class statuses, and religions, including four mother-daughter sets, the book builds on the acknowledged work by Beth Richie (1996) to reveal black women's understudied experiences, to explain how racism intersects with sexism and class to define how they are labeled and perceived.

Using a black feminist criminology framework and critical race theory, Potter's analysis builds on other documented efforts to observe resistance among black women and interrogates the stereotype of "the Strong Black Woman." She argues that though this stereotype often enables black women to demonstrate agency and resilience in the face of horrific abuse, it also serves to restrict women from accessing culturally competent services where they exist. Potter goes on to demonstrate that the "one-size-fits-all" crisis services do not consider the context of black women's lives,

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including daily experiences of racism, poverty, the problematic use of the criminal justice system to sanction the abuser, and access to family support in which women are most often embedded when shelters typically require confidentiality of location.

Grounded in the women's powerful narratives, Potter's theory is that they use "dynamic resistance" as an alternative to more fixed notions of either victim or survivor of the abuse. The theory incorporates the link between childhood abuse (experienced by more than half the sample), and an understanding of how intersecting identities shape their circumstances and choices. Incorporating class differences in the theory also helps to explain how and why black women exit from violent relationships, and to some degree how and why they cope when leaving is not yet an option. Although few of the black women in Potter's study were likely to call upon the police to respond to abusive events, they were not passive in their responses. Instead, the women reported using a range of strategies to fight back, including "talking back," physical retaliation, and, in a few cases, threats of fatal force against their partners, characterizing their responses as aggressive and assertive.

Potter discusses other risk factors related to the extent of intimate partner violence among black heterosexual couples, including economic stressors that cause strain within intimate relationships, and to a lesser degree alcohol or drug use. Only six of the women reported themselves as middle class at the time of the interview, though the women as a whole did not believe they were materially dependent on their abusive partners. Other studies have consistently shown a higher rate of intimate partner violence among poorer women, irrespective of race. The higher rate of intimate partner violence victimization among black women is most likely an outcome of the disproportionate number of black people who live in poverty. Although women in the study reported that the abuse tended to be exacerbated by use of alcohol or drug use, there is a puzzling lack of discussion about this aspect of the context for the abuse.

Battle Cries is well written and organized, and anchored by a wealth of relevant literature and research. Potter clearly explains her methods of data collection and analysis. The book contributes a more complete understanding of some of the differences in experiences by well-drawn portraits of black women who are subjected to intimate partner violence. The accessible language and style make it useful and thought-provoking for both those inside academia (in classes on race and gender or domestic violence, for example), and for practitioners who are not immune to racial bias or knowledgeable about issues facing black women.

Despite the stated limitations of this small, cross-sectional study, Potter's work extends what is known about black women's experiences of abuse, their reactions to this abuse, and their interactions with unofficial and official support systems. As she suggests, this inquiry should be expanded by bringing this narrative investigation to other marginalized groups to better illuminate their culturally bound experiences of and responses to intimate partner abuse.

Reference

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Laboring to Learn: Women's Literacy and Poverty in the Post-Welfare Era, by **Lorna Rivera.** Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008. 176pp. $25.00 paper. ISBN: 9780252075551.

Stephani Moller
University of North Carolina, Charlotte
smoller@uncc.edu

The Dudley area of Boston is well known among sociologists for its active and progressive neighborhood initiative. In *Laboring to Learn*, Lorna Rivera illustrates how we can continue to learn from organizations associated with this initiative, most notably Project Hope. Indeed, Rivera documents the importance of Project Hope to the Dudley neighborhood as the sisters of Project Hope have provided health care, shelter, and social services for Dudley residents, and they

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have been intimately involved in the community. Project Hope opened the Adult Learners Program (ALP) in 1990 to help individuals attain their GED on their path to escaping poverty. According to Rivera, this program is notable because it takes the popular education approach to learning, where knowledge is gained from analytic discussion of shared experiences and interests. In addition, it is notable because it formed during a time when the federal and state governments de-emphasized education, in favor of work and self-sufficiency.

Rivera assesses the popular education approach to learning through multiple research methods. She conducted ethnographic research by working with the ALP as a teacher and coordinator. She worked closely with the ALP from 1995 to 2005, and thus, her analysis is based on 10 years of ethnographic research. Rivera also conducted focus groups and interviews with homeless women, ALP teachers, and community organizers. Her research offers a rich, in-depth description of the Adult Learners Program and its impact on homeless and formerly homeless women.

Rivera suggests that the popular education approach to learning is particularly valuable for poor women because they face many challenges: abuse as children and then again as mothers, teenage pregnancy, lack of education, homelessness, frustration, and regret. These obstacles inhibit women from attaining education due to time constraints and self-doubt. Popular education allows class sessions to be guided by the experiences and interests of the class, and not solely by the agenda of the instructor.

Rivera exemplifies this approach by illustrating how students prepared for the GED social studies test by analyzing political cartoons where images of the bald eagle and Uncle Sam reflect our history. The teachers also shared local political cartoons, and allowed students to create their own cartoons. This proved to be a worthwhile endeavor as the women wrote about food stamps, a homeless shelter, and impoverishment. In addition, the women wrote editorials in the class on minimum wages and federal housing subsidies. The ALP, then, not only permitted, but truly encouraged students to deviate from a preestablished curriculum to learn through shared experiences. According to Rivera, these classes instilled self-confidence and enhanced aspirations among students. Thus, this form of learning can help overcome some of the internalized oppression experienced by poor and homeless women by illustrating that individual problems are connected to social problems.

According to Rivera, this form of learning also generates a shared consciousness, a sense of community commitment, and political advocacy. Students in the program became advocates of welfare reform, education, and housing equity, and they became more involved in their children's education. Popular education, as taught through the Adult Learners Program, generated a sense of collective responsibility that is necessary to help overcome inequities in society.

Yet, Rivera also notes that the popular education method and outcomes challenge the status quo. Indeed, over the past decades, welfare reform has valued employment and self-sufficiency over education. She notes that welfare reform has left women "uneducated, underemployed, underpaid, and unable to effectively move themselves and their families forward" (p. 127). She contends that new reforms should focus on adult literacy and postsecondary education, in addition to health care, affordable housing, and the minimum wage. She also argues that popular education should be embraced as it generates self-efficacy, determination, and collective responsibility.

Laboring to Learn is an excellent book for an undergraduate stratification, policy, urban sociology, or education course. It is easy to read, and it is theoretically rigorous, drawing on many fields with a heavy focus on Paolo Freire. Rivera challenges readers to think about the meaning and the process of education, and to think about the unique challenges facing poor mothers. This research also illustrates the richness of insights that are generated from ten years of ethnographic research. With that said, I foresee a challenge with this book, or perhaps a great opportunity to generate classroom discussion. Rivera illustrates how a GED course can be taught in a way that instills confidence, determination, and collective action, but she does not illustrate as convincingly that this teaching

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method generates the "credentials" that are necessary to enhance incomes in a way that alleviates impoverishment and generates self-sufficiency. This should be articulated more fully to buttress the policy implications and to resonate with readers, particularly policymakers.

Poverty and Power: The Problem of Structural Inequality, by **Edward Royce.** Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009. 327pp. $34.95 paper. ISBN: 9780742564442.

JOHN G. DALE
George Mason University
jdale@gmu.edu

"Why should we care that globalization is exacerbating inequality as long as globalization is raising everyone's relative standard of living? I mean, Africa is an exception—it is becoming poorer. And I can appreciate the argument that we need to set some sort of *poverty* baseline below which we should not allow people to fall. But why does *inequality* matter?"

While I was teaching a course in Human Rights and Inequalities, a student momentarily stunned me with this pointed and fundamental question. The student had just returned from a Model United Nations student debate on the Millennium Development Goals to significantly reduce world poverty. I understood that international legal approaches to human rights, like those that dominate human rights discourse in the UN, do not address the overall, unequal structure of power within the international system of states. I also knew that this student was simultaneously taking a macroeconomics course that was steeped in the principles of neoliberalism, and could turn the rest of the class into a discussion of the competing measures and contradictory findings in empirical studies of the relationship between absolute poverty and contemporary globalization, potentially marginalizing immediate discussion on matters of inequality. I quickly realized that I had much more "unpacking" to do than I had anticipated, if I were to address effectively this student's sincere question about the relationship between poverty and inequality.

Poverty and Power argues that the increasingly unequal distribution of power—not poor people's cognitive inferiority, deviant values, bad choices, lack of skills, education or motivation to achieve—is the key to understanding the persistence of poverty in the United States since the 1970s. Only from a structural, not an individualistic, perspective that brings "power, politics, conflict, and inequality into the story" can we understand and address poverty in the United States (p. 17).

Edward Royce wrote this book for undergraduates. Part One presents in three chapters the most accessible, critical treatment of individualistic theories of poverty that I have read. He clearly presents, using engaging examples, the theoretical arguments and empirical claims of biogenetic theory, cultural theory, and human capital theory. He also identifies each theory's underlying assumptions and implications, as well as the significant omissions and conceptual and empirical weaknesses. It is worth the price of the paperback version to have these chapters alone. They will help teachers clear much of the underbrush at the outset of a course on the sociology of inequalities.

The rest of the book, however, unwittingly undermines the principles of social justice on which Royce relies to argue why we should care about the relatively poor and excluded. The particular structural perspective that Royce adopts to explain the marginalization and exclusion of the poor suffers from a methodological nationalism that blinds us to exploitative transnational relationships by which the United States has achieved its wealth, security, and rule of law relative to poorer nation-states. Royce's impoverished methodological nationalism is not a personal trouble, but rather a public issue for the social sciences generally. It reflects an exploitative mode of knowledge production that legitimates global inequalities.

The most serious problems that the American poor experience, Royce contends, are "rooted in the normal operation of our dominant social institutions" (p. 218). Part II devotes separate chapters to economic, political, cultural, and social forces, explaining their effect on the rate and severity of poverty. Here, Royce shifts the focus from individual-level variables to structural

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systems—each consisting of different structures of power that serve as sites of contestation—that are beyond the immediate control of the individual (p. 16). Unequal distribution of economic and political power, unequal allocation of resources and opportunities, and government policy that is unresponsive to the needs of average working Americans generate and perpetuate these problems (p. 218). Corporate interests dominate the political arena, the ''ideology of the right'' dominates public discourse, and a compliant media and ascendant network of conservative think tanks serve as cultural handmaidens to these processes (p. 17). As a result, ''working Americans and the poor have been shunted to the margins. . . . And their voices are largely excluded from the mainstream political debate'' (p. 17).

Part III addresses ten ''cumulative, reinforcing, and causally related'' (p. 268) structural obstacles that challenge efforts to mitigate contemporary poverty in the United States: racial and sex discrimination, residential segregation, a dual housing market, a separate and unequal school system, health and transportation problems, poor quality child care, retirement insecurity and legal deprivation. The book's concluding chapter offers a list of national antipoverty policies and promotes the value of domestically ''organized people power'' and the central importance of the U.S. labor movement (p. 291).

By constraining our field of vision to an exclusively national outlook and domestic issues, we marginalize the poor in other nation-states and blind the relatively privileged to global inequalities and their connection to them. We also marginalize the poor within our nation-state by blinding them to any important sources of transnational solidarity and agency that might address local, national, international, and transnational obstacles generating and perpetuating inequality and poverty—including hegemonic discourses on UN Millennium Development Goals and neoliberal globalization.

Culture and Conflict in the Middle East, by **Philip Carl Salzman.** Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2008. 224pp. $34.98 cloth. ISBN: 9781591025870.

MOHAMMED A. BAMYEH
University of Pittsburgh
mab205@pitt.edu

The past decade has witnessed a great increase in both panoramic and detailed social studies of Middle Eastern societies. Many presses have amplified their Middle Eastern lists in response to the inadequate supply of knowledge and the great demand. The result is an ongoing enrichment of scholarly reference points, even though sociology continues to be underrepresented in the burgeoning field of Middle East studies.

It is in this context that the present volume appears, with an ambitious claim to chart in a clear language the entire cultural structure of conflict in the region. Philip Salzman, who is an anthropologist with field experience among the nomads of Baluchistan, claims that all Middle Eastern cultures are shaped by Bedouin and pastoral—essentially tribal—ethos. These, supposedly, revolve around two main defining elements: ''balanced opposition'' and ''affiliation solidarity.'' ''Balanced opposition'' signifies a social structure whereby groups understand themselves in opposition to other groups of equal size or scope. Larger principles—including constitutionalism or state-centered citizenship, have little room in the self-understanding of such groups. The parallel characteristic, ''affiliation solidarity,'' signifies the structure of likely alliances. Here, the supposed pattern of loyalties is determined by kin closeness, so that near kin are helped against the more distant kin, and more distant kin are helped against an outside world.

According to Salzman, these cultural patterns provide for a good deal of group stability, facilitate mutual aid, egalitarianism and autonomy. But they are also responsible for interminable conflict and the lack of preparedness of Middle Eastern societies for modern forms of government. Having thus explained contemporary Middle Eastern predicaments, the author turns to history to explain Islam itself as an historical manifestation of predatory tribal tendencies, which

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are generated by the defining cultural elements stated above.

This is one of the most flawed books I have read in recent years. Its massive omissions and cavalier approach are especially inexcusable given the excellent quality of much of the recent scholarship in Middle East studies, which the author largely ignores. Indeed, a great many of Salzman's sources date from before the early 1970s, being disproportionally weighed toward anthropological field studies of marginal, isolated communities that could scarcely be cited as credible "models" of the Middle East as a whole. The emphasis on anthropology may be understandable, it being the author's discipline, but it is clearly insufficient for the stated goal of explaining everything about "what is wrong" in the entire Middle East, now and throughout history. Further, even the anthropological selections are extremely selective, confined to demonstrating Salzman's view, with no attempt to consider alternative explanations or theories. For example, there is virtually no engagement with recent critical anthropology, which has done much to sensitize all of us to the requisites of complexity, sense of measure, and composure when we seek to understand other people.

Social and economic histories of the Middle East have shown that central to Middle Eastern cultural, social, and economic life was the role played by a world-connected commercial class, the urban notables, and religious communities, all of which were based substantially in the urban centers of the Middle East. Yet, strangely, none of this scholarly literature seems to have had any impact on the simplistic thesis of Salzman's book, and in any case that literature is hardly ever cited. Absent likewise is any consideration of the civic mores of broad, transtribal networks (commercial, religious, scholarly, etc.) that have shaped Middle Eastern cultures (and these were always both plural and intermingling). Again, this omission is quite puzzling, given that a good deal of literature is available now on such civic cultures, all at odds with the picture provided in this book. Apart from its empirical problems, the book offers little attempt to consider objections to its conceptual guiding principles. For example, that historically a great deal of stress was placed on group autonomy does not mean that each group lived largely for the sake of opposing other groups.

Overall, reading this book was saddening, all the more given that it is written by a well-placed scholar. Yet it teems with old, tired stereotypes, is poorly researched, and lacks engagement with anything that has happened for the last 30 years in Middle East studies, in anthropology itself, and in post-colonial studies. The author appears to be aware that such literature exists, but makes clear that he has no intention of taking it seriously, confining himself to a passing dismissal of a caricatured misstatement of Edward Said's position on culture (pp. 14–15: supposedly, Said maintained that we are all the same and that culture was irrelevant).

The puzzle is why it is still possible to publish such books now. Perhaps the topic is too relevant for many of our contemporary concerns to escape abuse. That is perhaps to be expected with all debates about current themes, but abuse is also a question of scale. And when it is as staggering as one finds here, it helps little to have the publisher state on the jacket that the author is (at least in part) "Sympathetic to Middle Easterners." Strange indeed: I was at a loss to find such "sympathy" anywhere in the book. And at any rate, sympathy, or its lack, is no consolation for poor scholarship.

Nightshift NYC, by **Russell Leigh Sharman** and **Cheryl Harris Sharman.** Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008. 259pp. $24.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780520252714.

David Grazian
University of Pennsylvania
dgrazian@soc.upenn.edu

In *Nightshift NYC* authors Russell Leigh Sharman and Cheryl Harris Sharman introduce their readers to a subterranean world where working-class heroes toil from dusk until dawn in the all-night diners, subway terminals, bodegas, and convenience stores of New York, the city that never sleeps. In the midnight hour, immigrant laborers from all over the world—Bangladesh,

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Egypt, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Pakistan, Yemen, Turkey, the Dominican Republic—flip cheeseburgers in Brooklyn, check passports at JFK International Airport, sweep the concourse of Pennsylvania Station, and guard the apartment dwellers of Upper West Side high-rises. Nurses keep constant vigil over newborn babies sleeping in the neonatal intensive care units of local hospitals. Cabdrivers drive the streets of Manhattan in search of passengers. Outreach volunteers distribute winter coats to the city's vulnerable homeless population.

In a literary style reminiscent of that of the great Chicago chronicler Studs Terkel, *Nightshift NYC* catalogues the personal experiences of these sleep-deprived workers, recording their tales of the city at night. Taken together, these nocturnal slices of life reveal the dark underbelly of the 24/7 postindustrial economy, a world of nighttime service employment in which midtown cleaning crews, late-night food deliverymen, and early morning train operators keep the city's wheels of global commerce chugging along. On Sunday nights at the Hunts Point Market in the South Bronx, fishermen and their vendors lift piles of fluke, porgies, and tuna with metal hooks dripping with blood and ice. Deckhands escort late-evening commuters riding the Staten Island Ferry across the Upper Bay. The touching oral narratives of these hardworking immigrants and other lonely blue-collar characters, many of whom work the nightshift to support relatives still residing in their countries of origin, are accompanied by stunningly reproduced photographs of the urban spaces where nightshift work takes place: container ships, gentlemen's clubs, taco stalls, bakeries, 24-hour delis and Laundromats.

As the authors illustrate, the demands of these nocturnal jobs take a severe emotional and physical toll on their workers. Many live under the same roof with spouses and children they rarely see while awake; others give up personal relationships with family and friends altogether. Nightshift work disturbs the human body's natural circadian rhythms which control everything from blood pressure and respiratory function to urine excretion and hormone secretion. In addition to the obvious stresses of working in isolation while the rest of the city slumbers, nocturnal workers often suffer from severe insomnia during the daytime, which further contributes to their overall sleep deprivation. A lack of sleep leads to workplace fatigue, decreased concentration levels, and short-term memory loss, all of which may account for a variety of otherwise preventable occupational errors and accidents that regularly occur on the nightshift.

At times writing beautifully, Russell Sharman and Cheryl Sharman give their readers a real flavor for the pungent grittiness and numbing tedium of the city's most thankless and demeaning nightshift jobs; however, the maintenance of these atmospherics sometimes prevents the authors from reporting on urban workplaces that lack the requisite grimy residue of proletarian authenticity. For example, the global postindustrial economy employs untold numbers of white-collar workers in New York who endure the same sleepless nights as cabdrivers and janitors: they include call-center operators, legal proofreaders, journalists, Web sites managers, and other IT specialists. Yet these similarly melatonin-deficient workers go ignored by the authors, presumably because an over-caffeinated paralegal squinting over a transcript in an air-conditioned conference room does not provide the same photo-op as an apron-clad waitress in a neon-lit, greasy-spoon diner. Likewise, late-evening shift workers in New York's world-famous entertainment service industry—bartenders, cocktail servers, bouncers, DJs, musicians—remain absent from Sharman and Sharman's ethnographic landscape.

Meanwhile, the authors direct a seemingly limitless excess of moral outrage toward the city's nightlife glamour zones and their affluent patrons. These barhopping consumers are alternatively caricatured in the book as either sexually depraved floozies stumbling through the meatpacking district wearing stiletto heels and little else or as hyperaggressive, drunken thugs who harass food vendors and vomit in public. In bouts of finger-wagging that grow insufferable by the book's final chapters, Sharman and Sharman demonize these nightclubbing thrill-seekers, perhaps as a means of augmenting the sacrifice and humility endured by the blue-collar

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vendors who serve them chicken kebabs and soft pretzels at night's end.

This is a shame, because by reducing these nightlife revelers to little more than stereotypes of ginned-up lounge lizards and bimbos, the authors miss an important opportunity to evaluate seriously the interconnectivity among participants in the city's nocturnal ecology. This is a problem throughout the book: as readers we are introduced to the intimate lives of nurses but not patients, boatmen but not commuters, cabbies but not passengers, short-order cooks but not diners, airport personnel but not international travelers. The book needed more details about exactly *who* (besides besotted party girls and their boorish dates, of course) patronizes late-night eateries and hails taxis at four in the morning, and rides the Staten Island Ferry back from Manhattan at daybreak. Nevertheless, Sharman and Sharman have done an exceptional job profiling the men and women who bravely have traveled from all corners of the globe to work the nightshift in New York City, in search of the American Dream.

Black Beauty: Aesthetics, Stylization, Politics, by **Shirley Anne Tate.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009. 180pp. $99.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754671459.

ADIA HARVEY WINGFIELD
Georgia State University
aharvey@gsu.edu

Shirley Anne Tate's book examines the effort and stylization that go into achieving black beauty, with particular attention to the importance of hair and skin tone. Tate employs ethnographic methods to assess the ways that black women in the United Kingdom, United States, and Caribbean engage in black beauty practices, and explores the relationship between these practices and larger social mechanisms of racism. She seeks to move away from the prevailing framework about black women and beauty—for example, that their beauty practices are easily dichotomized into either self-destructive attempts to ''be white'' or are indicative of a healthy acceptance of blackness. Tate's work provides an interesting read, but like any text, it has several clear strengths and weaknesses which I will detail below.

One key strength is that Tate expands existing discussions of race, gender, and beauty by addressing the ways black beauty practices can be complex. To this point, Tate identifies the concept of ''browning'' among light-skinned and multiracial women in the United Kingdom, and argues that ''browning'' practices of using self-tanner, straightening hair, and avoiding colored contacts cannot be neatly and simply categorized as an internalization of white or black beauty ideals. Tate uses this and other examples to argue that perhaps black women's beauty efforts are multifaceted rather than mostly pathological. This provides an important contribution to much of the literature on race and beauty, which, as Tate points out, is generally locked into an either/or dynamic. Much of the work on black women and hair, for instance, operates from this framework to label their hair practices as *either* anti-racist *or* upholding white gender/racial ideals.

Another strength of Tate's analysis is her focus on black women in the African Diaspora. Tate's discussion of ''browning'' suggests that this practice appears to be prevalent mostly among black women in the United Kingdom. In this same chapter, she situates browning as a concept that originated in Jamaica, and describes the ways in which it is specifically a result of the particular postcolonial cultural and economic landscape of this country. By using a global context, Tate adds to the existing literature in this area, which tends to focus almost exclusively on black American women. This international frame helps to highlight the global mechanisms of race and gender, their implications for beauty practices, and the ways that such practices are differently shaped by national and cultural forces.

These strengths coexist with some weaknesses of the book, perhaps most notably, the lack of a strong methodological grounding. Tate uses interview data and some comments from online forums to substantiate her arguments, but most chapters read as though she selected quotes to enhance the points she wants to make rather than letting

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the data drive her analysis. To varying degrees, this is a problem throughout much of the text, which relies very heavily on theoretical arguments and less so on rich ethnographic data that could perhaps have enhanced her contentions.

The heavy theoretical focus, in particular the emphasis on postmodern theory, also contributes to making the text somewhat difficult to read at times. While Tate engages the work of prominent researchers who address issues of race and beauty, it is somewhat surprising that there is little attention to race or gender theories. In other words, Tate uses much of the book to critique, perhaps rightfully, the idea that black women's beauty practices like hair straightening and weaves are often condemned as acts of self-hatred, while practices more common among white women, like tanning, are considered race-neutral and unproblematic. However, she neglects to utilize in depth the race theories (e.g., color-blind racism, systemic racism) that would explain this apparent double standard as a manifestation of white privilege—specifically, whites' ability to appropriate aspects of black culture while avoiding the sanctions or penalties associated with blackness. Further, there is little reliance on the work of gender scholars who would contextualize beauty practices as behaviors that can work to marginalize women of all races (albeit still within a racial hierarchy). These theories are not a substantial part of her analysis; instead, there is perhaps too much emphasis on Kant, Derrida, and Bhaba.

Overall, this book is useful for race and gender scholars, particularly those who study women of color and issues of hair and/or colorism, as these are the areas where the book makes its most important contributions. However, due to the heavy postmodernist theoretical orientation and the uneven reliance on respondents' voices, the book lacks the readability that would make it appropriate for undergraduate students. It is better suited for graduate students and faculty interested in issues of race, gender, and beauty.

A Taste for Gardening: Classed and Gendered Practices, by **Lisa Taylor.** Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008. 218pp. $99.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754672210.

Mark Bhatti
University of Brighton
M.Bhatti@brighton.ac.uk

Rarely does one get the chance to read an academic book in the garden, especially one about gardening! So this was a real treat, but one that raised many more issues than it could possibly have answered. Even so, an academic book about gardens is most welcome, especially as gardens are a ubiquitous part of social and domestic landscapes in most cultures. Despite the dearth of glossy coffee-table gardening books, how-to-recipes, and many more on garden history and famous gardens, there is very little social science analysis of the part that domestic gardens play in everyday life. Using an ethnographic approach, Lisa Taylor offers us some useful insights drawn from cultural and media studies into the classed and gendered nature of "ordinary" domestic gardens in Britain (specifically northern England). The book is based on Taylor's doctoral dissertations and has nine chapters with several appendices giving detailed information about the research. It is split into two parts after the introduction: Chapters Two through Five establish the theoretical and historical framework for the study; Chapters Six through Nine offer empirical material on 21 gardeners in the north of England to support some of the arguments and points made in the first part. In Part One the debates are examined and reviewed, ranging from class, lifestyle, gender, media, and everyday life; the significance of these discussions on the domestic garden are usefully explained. Taylor's basic questions relate to the classed and gendered nature of domestic gardening in Britain: "*In what ways are gardening practices classed? Do men and women practice different types of gardening?*" And it is the interactions between these two questions that set the momentum of the book. Drawing on the explosion of TV lifestyle programs during the late-1990s in which the garden figured strongly (e.g., *Groundforce, Homefront in the Garden*), Taylor

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explores wider issues such as the changing nature of gender and class in contemporary Britain. She uses a Bourdieuian framework following the work of Beverley Skeggs in *Formations of Class and Gender* (1997). However, Taylor recognizes the limitations of Bourdieu in understanding gender locations in cultural analysis, and brings in Judith Butler's work on performativity to highlight ways in which gender is transgressed in gardening.

There is much to commend this book; a theoretically informed examination of such everyday practices as gardening is most welcome; the use of ethnography gets to the heart of many complexities in the way ordinary people use their leisure time (i.e., they *work* quite hard at it!). Some of the empirical material adds to our understanding of the deeper meanings of how and why people are passionate about their gardens, but a wider range of data could have given the book a more solid grounding. The book would also have benefited from a more subtle integration of theory and research, and perhaps a sharper focus on a fewer number of key issues developed cumulatively, backed up with empirical material throughout. This is highlighted by the unevenness of the book as, some of the interesting debates in Part One did not find space in Part Two. For example, Rita Felski's phenomenology of everyday life is proposed as a useful way of understanding gardening, but we never get enough empirical material about the daily lives of her respondents, and so are unable to understand what role the garden plays in their daily routines. Moreover, some of the most interesting empirical material in Part Two does not find any echoes in Part One. For example, the working-class gardener's concern with "tidy gardens" is an important aspect of both "home" and "nature." However, this is understood superficially in terms of aesthetics, rather than a rich and rewarding way of connecting with the soil through labor, a literal *"mixing with the earth."* This is in contrast to appreciation through visual "design" for middle-class gardeners. Certainly one of the key aspects of gardens and gardening is the way such domestic environments can offer daily interactions with the natural world, albeit classed and gendered; this is rather neglected in the book. A more substantial concluding chapter to draw the arguments together would have given the book a more robust structure.

Finally, there are now question marks over the TV genre that produced such gardening programs on which this book is based. "Lifestyle" has been subject to much critique as the poverty of the concept is highlighted in the context of the global recession. TV has moved on to other concerns, and reality/lifestyle programs are under terminal threat from the Internet. Nevertheless, Taylor offers us some very useful tools to study everyday practices such as gardening, and the book is rich with garden stories. . . . it has even inspired me to start mowing that lawn. . . .

Whitewashed: America's Invisible Middle Eastern Minority, by **John Tehranian.** New York: New York University Press, 2009. 246pp. $35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780814783061.

THERESE SALIBA
Evergreen State College
salibat@evergreen.edu

Middle Easterners in the United States have been whitewashed—that is, categorized as racially "white"—with detrimental consequences to their civil rights. Despite the preponderance of stereotypical media images and discriminatory post-9/11 policies, Middle Easterners are rendered politically and legally invisible, trapped like our nation in a "crisis of whiteness." Such is the thesis of John Tehranian's timely book, *Whitewashed: America's Invisible Middle Eastern Minority*, which examines immigration cases and media representations of Middle Eastern Americans—Iranians, Arabs, Turks, Armenians, and others—who find themselves on the dividing line in our country's racial hierarchy. Tehranian, a legal scholar of mixed Iranian-Armenian-Irish background, argues that Middle Eastern Americans suffer disparate treatment before the law and that a separate "racial" classification is the first step in countering institutionalized racism and offering them collective force.

Tehranian's book provides an engaging blend of personal anecdote, legal history, and academic theory, making often complex

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ideas accessible to a broad audience. He examines the historical construction and power of ''whiteness'' in regulating national belonging, social and economic rights, and offers compelling analysis of court decisions that granted the privileges of citizenship to groups that adequately performed whiteness, even as their racial classifications were hotly debated. Tehranian builds on the scholarship of race theorists, such as Haney Lopez's, *White by Law* and Michael Omi and Howard Winant's *Racial Formations in the United States,* to examine the performative aspects of whiteness before the law, drawing on Judith Butler's theories of gender performance and Ariela Gross's work on race and dramaturgy. He shows how the law with its ''performative criteria'' rewards assimilatory behavior based on values, education, religion, language, class, and enlightenment, in effect ''put[ting] the Anglo-conformity of individuals and ethnic groups on trial'' (p. 47). This has created a catch-22 for Middle Easterners, who are branded as white de jure but treated as nonwhite de facto (p. 77).

The author traces the ''invention of the Middle East'' in the mid-twentieth century as a geopolitical construct tied to oil politics; thus popular images of Middle Easterners shifted from ''friendly foreigner to enemy race'' (p. 64). Drawing cross-cultural comparisons with other Asians and Mexican Americans, Tehranian shows how Middle Easterners used assimilatory strategies to adapt to increasing hostility and discrimination. He further argues for more conscious reflection within Middle Eastern communities about their embrace of whiteness as a necessary step for dismantling the racial hierarchy for all Americans.

In his chapter evocatively titled ''The Last Minstrel Show?'' Tehranian explores the impact of media stereotyping not only on public opinion, but also on police, prosecutors, and legal policy. Drawing primarily from the works of Steven Bender (*Greasers and Gringos*) and Jack Shaheen (*Reel Bad Arabs*), he asserts that the Middle East is ''the final available frontier for blatantly racist'' media portrayals (p. 96). Moreover, he uses cultivation theory to show how media exposure conditions public opinion and makes policies such as removing Middle Easterners from airline flights more acceptable, even when these policies violate civil rights, cause psychological damage to Middle Eastern Americans, and betray our constitutional values.

The War on Terrorism wrought an unprecedented assault on Middle Easterners and their civil rights. Tehranian persuasively debunks the myth of a race-blind society and shows how our nation's pervasive, systemic racism has shifted to discrimination by culture and language, denying equal protection for all. He traces the history of discriminatory government policies against Middle Easterners from the 1970s through post–9/11, and draws historical comparisons to the Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican Americans to show how at times of national crisis, those on the border of whiteness become scapegoats, denied even minimal legal protection. In post-9/11 cases, he documents chilling stories of profiling, detention, abuse, deportation and racial and religious hostility, exposing the irrationality of government policies, such as Special Registration and Extraordinary Rendition, and their brazen violation of constitutional values. Interestingly, Tehranian exposes how discriminatory policies are rationalized by the courts in what he terms the judicial ''narrative of exception,'' a narrative based on ''disingenuous lip-service'' to equal protection (p. 146) and the lack of ''meaningful judicial scrutiny'' (p. 150) of government policy.

Tehranian proposes several significant reforms beyond recognizing Middle Easterners as a separate racial category. These include more representation in law schools and legal scholarship, reforming media images, encouraging more political involvement in Middle Eastern communities, and raising public consciousness about issues facing Middle Eastern communities in the United States.

In his focus on Middle Eastern Americans, Tehranian offers a different, though not altogether new framework from that of Arab and Muslim Americans, which has dominated political discourse and scholarship especially since 9/11. This leads him to overlook some significant scholarship by Arab Americans dealing with questions of racialization and rights and to downplay at times the role of Islamophobia in current

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policies. His work is otherwise well researched and innovatively synthesizes a broad range of sources, drawing astute cross-cultural comparisons about the intersections of law and popular culture in regulating who can be ''full and equal members of the American body politic'' (p. 184). Moreover, his framework is more inclusive of the least visible Middle Easterners in the United States, and may be a more legally effective strategy.

Tehranian's *Whitewashed* is an important and informative examination of legal history, stereotypes, and the implications for the ongoing struggle for civil rights. Tehranian offers an energetic, interdisciplinary look at this history and a well-argued indictment of our legal system, which has played the game of ''race-determination'' and failed to provide equal protection, especially for Middle Easterners.

Passive Revolution: Absorbing The Islamic Challenge to Capitalism, by **Cihan Tuğal.** Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009. 306pp. $24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780804761451.

KAREN BARKEY
Columbia University
Kb7@columbia.edu

Perhaps one of the most interesting and timely issues for sociologists to rethink is that of the relationship between religion and politics. This relation embedded in the secularization thesis and its recent questioning remains at the core of our sociological agenda. Add to this the rising urgency to understand Islam's relationship to secular politics and you have the makings of an interesting project. This book has all of this in its mix, and is set in modern Turkey, which is going through remarkable and rapid transformation along the relation between religion and politics. Moreover, Cihan Tuğal provides an intense theoretical lens and a rich ethnographic analysis of one of Istanbul's most colorful districts.

Passive Revolution is a well-written, carefully organized and presented study of the transformation of one district in Istanbul from an oppositional Islamist politics to a moderate and co-opted Islamic movement absorbed into a neoliberal, capitalist, and state-framed agenda. This transformation is not only—as the author demonstrates skillfully in his last comparative chapter—rather unique, but it is also an important alternative path in Islamic politics.

As a sociologist Tuğal is interested in developing a theory of passive revolution, of the absorption of sustained oppositional mobilization into the dominant political structures. His method is that of the extended case chosen to build theory, rather than dwell on the uniqueness or the representativeness of the case. Tuğal is interested in showing the manner in which Turkish radical Islam which he had experienced in the late 1990s and very early twenty-first century had become so normalized, so absorbed into the fold and become moderate in its assertion of the role of Islam in politics. Even more compromising was the transformation of a strong discourse of social justice into a pro-capitalist, even Weberian work ethic platform, stripping the old defeated radicals from their historical mix of leftist and Islamist antistate arguments. How could this be?

He chooses to demonstrate this change through the deeply layered ethnographic study of Sultanbeyli, an Istanbul district where the politics of religion, ethnicity, class and gender have all played themselves out in the last decades. Yet, he is interested in explaining it through the development of willing consent to the rule of dominant classes. What his temporal comparison shows is that it is precisely those radicals who were defeated in their revolutionary politics who lead the way in the moderate, neoliberal, and secular politics of the state. In their early incarnation, Tuğal shows in the early part of the book, the Islamists were able to link civil society to political society, the social networks of everyday life to the political networks of leadership and authority, without the final revolutionary step of capturing the state. It was then at another time, with the rise of the AKP (Justice and Development Party, currently in power), that this social and political connectivity was used to integrate the pious masses into the secular state, to build hegemony. Part Three shows how the AKP was able to use the linkages already created to integrate those who

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were against the state into the center of it. As his narrative unfolds, we see the skill of the leadership in guiding the change in the direction of democratic, institutionalized civic organizational experience. From the demobilization of the earlier political activism, to the transformation of the discourse of Islamic politics, to the changes toward rule by experts and state technocrats and the consistent charisma and multivocality of the party leader Erdoğan who was able to convince the people that he was both one of them (a man of religion) and a comfortable member of the elite, all these factors helped naturalize secularism, professionalism and capitalism, the essential ingredients of this new hegemony.

There is no doubt that Tuğal succeeds at presenting an important case of hegemony building in the district that he studies. Even though Sultanbeyli is a good case study of building consent, by focusing just on this district, Tuğal tells only part of the story; first, that in many ways, the shift that he discusses is partly natural to Turkey which has instinctively been a center-right country and, second, that a large part of the AKP success was in the incorporation of the large center-right parties to this more religious discourse. The focus on Sultanbeyli restricts a fuller analysis of the larger Turkish phenomenon and its political proclivities.

Yet for me, Tuğal's success also lies in his sensitive analysis of a significant transformation of Islamic politics in Turkey. This work reinforces an increasingly important historical and theoretical interpretation of the role of Islam in politics. That is, variations in the relationship between religion and politics show that there is no single role for Islam in politics and that just as there is no single Islam, there are also within Islamic traditions multiple paths to modernization. Although this is not one of the general conclusions of this book, it is one among the conclusions that should not be forgotten, but rather highlighted.

Contested Histories in Public Space: Memory, Race, and Nation, edited by **Daniel J. Walkowitz** and **Lisa Maya Knauer.** Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 365pp. $24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780822342366.

TIMOTHY KUBAL
California State University, Fresno
tkubal@csufresno.edu

Scholars in the sociology of culture, postcolonial studies, social constructionists, social historians and others have long demonstrated that race and nation are social constructions, built among competing groups; race and nation are "imagined," "invented," or "constructed." Daniel Walkowitz and Lisa Knauer provide an interesting set of global case studies on memory, which illustrate many of the trends within contemporary collective memory scholarship.

The introduction charts the origins of memory debates: the minority rights revolution induced a change in orientation toward history that has impacted not only the discipline of history but also museum studies, sociology, and nearly every other social science discipline. These changes helped produce a more critical reading of history and its production, a view of history that downplayed the role of professionals in retelling the facts of the past, and emphasized instead the ongoing construction of memory by an array of government and, especially, nongovernment groups. As the editors note in the concise introduction, the cases in this edited volume demonstrate the ongoing legacy of citizens successfully rewriting the past, even in the face of competing government claims.

This volume, like the field of collective memory, includes studies that vary according to nearly every imaginable difference: academic discipline, geographic focus, method, level of analysis, theoretical assumptions, and so on. It is appropriately subtitled "memory, race, and nation," and the authors present interesting analyses that profitably exploit many of these differences. Of the 13 chapters, five were previously published in the journal *Radical History Review.* Each chapter presents an empirical analysis of memory within one geographic location: two essays on the

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United States and one essay each on New Zealand, Canada, Australia, Britain, South Africa, Ecuador, Mexico, Nepal, Brazil, Cuba, and France. The editors present a short introduction to each of the four sections: interrelations between indigenous groups and the state, dominant histories within postcolonial United States and Britain, reconstruction of ancient racial histories by modern states, and subaltern challenges to state reconstructions of memory. Still, there were some interesting shared attributes among the 13 essays, such as methodology, level of analysis, and assumptions about the production of memory.

Most essays emphasize the twentieth century, while all essays, with varying success, ground contemporary memorials within a broader historical context. The essays generally ignore discussion of theory. Similarly, the field of collective memory studies tends toward description and analysis, rather than theory building. Methodology, in this volume and in the larger discussion among memory scholars, tends toward the use of secondary sources. Perhaps because of the ease of accessing such sources, and perhaps because of assumptions about ''public'' memory, collective memory scholarship has tended to rely on public, published, written sources. Unpublished primary data are neglected, as are other types of media, such as radio or television. The entries in this volume follow this trend, although a few essays did add some original ethnographic data, such as firsthand descriptions of museums and memorials.

Like the larger literature on collective memory, the studies in this volume consistently examine memory as an interactive process among people in the present; this seems to preclude the analysis of memory across both long periods and diverse social contexts. Only one essay (on post-colonialism in Australia) profitably examines memory processes across long historical periods, and no essays attempt to uncover the cross-cultural interaction that produces collective memory. The book provides a useful compilation of snapshots of memory debates in different geographic contexts, but hides the fact that collective memory is a product of a long historical debate across cultural and geographic boundaries.

Much of the memory literature makes a common assumption about the production of memory; most scholars display an elite bias by emphasizing government actors, professionals, and other institutional elites, while downplaying the role of activists and Nongovernmental Organizations (NGO). Much of this edited volume suffers the same elite bias. However, the best essays are in the section titled ''Under-Stated Stories,'' because these essays show that memory is an ongoing competition among mostly-powerless groups, each seeking to institutionalize partisan, resonant memories. Despite the commonsense assumption that the victors write history, we learn that some of the most powerful memory activists lack traditional economic or political power. For example, various NGO activists competed for the right to write their favored history into a public monument in Nepal. In another essay, we learn that a NGO boom in Brazil produced intense competition over the memory of ''Brazil's September 11th.'' The essay on Afro-cuban religion provides a rich analysis of the folkloric community revival of ancient ethnic performances. In each of these cases, still, there were competing state interests that sought to co-opt the memory of the people. The study of memory provides several interesting avenues for research, and this thoughtful edited volume reflects much of the promise and problems within the larger literature on memory.

After Multiculturalism: The Politics of Race and the Dialectics of Liberty, by **John F. Welsh.** Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008. 211pp. $32.95 paper. ISBN: 9780739118832.

JOSEPH GERTEIS
University of Minnesota
gerte004@umn.edu

After Multiculturalism stakes out a relatively unique place in modern debates over multiculturalism and race, although one that will likely not sit well with most sociologists. John Welsh treats multiculturalism as a ''reactionary tribalism,'' marked by what he sees as the related errors of collectivist, relativist, and statist thinking. As a matter of fact, the main title of the book is somewhat

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misleading; for the most part it avoids discussion of "multiculturalism" as the term is understood in the social sciences.

Instead, for Welsh, multiculturalism is above all about race, and beyond that, Welsh asserts that multiculturalism is in itself a form of racism. In fact, the authors Welsh examines stand equally against racism (which for the most part they locate within the state) and against race itself as a category of identity and construct of ideology. After an orienting essay, the chapters examine various positions within the libertarian movement with respect to the question of race. These are offered as separate essays around a unifying theme, rather than as parts of a cohesive whole. The central subjects for the first set of essays are Ayn Rand, Murray Rothbard, and the modern Libertarian Party. Later chapters examine the thought of American anarchists Benjamin Tucker, Lysander Spooner, and Albert Nock and the German Hegelian Max Stirner. Together, the chapters suggest not only why the libertarian position on race is an interesting intervention into current debates, but also why it is severely limited.

As Welsh notes, libertarian thought offers a direct and sustained attack on racism as well as the idea of race itself, at least understood as a privileged category supported by the state. The figures differ somewhat on even this central point. Ayn Rand, the quirky libertarian icon, rejected the very notion of race (along with all other collective concepts). While many critics of multiculturalism focus on its erosion of tradition and community, Rand argued that any such collective identity was a fetter on individual freedom. Murray Rothbard, a later libertarian-anarchist economist and polemicist, was less bothered by race as a collective concept. Rather, he was bothered by the role of the state, particularly in racial matters. "For Rothbard," Welsh writes, "racism is generated by the state, or becomes patterned behavior in social institutions supported by the state" (p. 76). Racism is thus a form of "internal colonialism" and to throw over the state is to in effect solve the problem of race.

The moral and practical implications of these divides among the authors are largely left unexplored by Welsh, however. The introductory and concluding chapters outline a theoretical framework for making sense of the different claims at the individual, cultural, and structural levels, but this is not applied in the body of the discussion with any consistency. More important is the suppression of the potential internal tensions and contradictions within these positions. Does not Rand's emphasis on individualism and egoism introduce its own form of determinism? On the other side, Rothbard apparently had no problem with the idea of self-organized racial communities, even when these tended toward complete social closure. Whether this kind of collectivism is acceptable if not supported by the state is a question Welsh raises but does not attempt to answer; his own positions and preferences are absent.

Walsh's lack of engagement with the now vast literatures on multiculturalism and race will likely be most galling to sociologists. The book takes as its target the thinnest possible version of multiculturalism, ignoring work from central figures such as Charles Taylor (among others) which is actually consonant with some of the claims of the libertarians, such as rejecting radical forms of relativism. Questions of cultural difference and pluralism are also largely ignored in the book's conflation of multiculturalism with race. Equally difficult is the libertarian tendency to ignore questions of inequality and to assume that the problem of race will disappear if individuals become colorblind individualists (as Rand would have it) or if the state disappeared and all racial matters were left to the market or community (as Rothbard would prefer). As the Libertarian Party position on race has it, we should oppose "both officially imposed prejudice and discrimination as well as governmental or public efforts to ameliorate the consequences of racism exhibited by individuals" (p. 96).

For this reason, the later chapters are likely to be the most engaging for sociological readers. Chapter Six, on the Hegelian Max Stirner, addresses the question of self-determination and alienation, and thereby provides a kind of individualist mirror image of Marxism. Most relevatory, at least to me, was Chapter Five, on the American abolitionists Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker, and the later anarchist Albert Nock. Tucker and

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Spooner in particular built from a labor theory of value to critique not only the state as a racist institution, but also capitalism and the wage labor system for supporting it. Sharing some of the same individualist and antistatist disposition as the libertarians, Tucker and Spooner do not solve the problem of race by assuming that the market and individual choice equate to freedom. "'When a human being is set upon by a [. . .] tyrant of any kind, it is the duty of the bystanders to go to his or her rescue, *by force if need be* . . . nothing will excuse men in the nonperformance of this duty'" (p. 136). It is an idealistic claim but also a profoundly moral one. Sadly, it is left to the reader to note that any such notion of "duty" is exactly what Ayn Rand would have termed unreason.

Corporate Social Responsibility and Urban Development: Lessons from the South, by **Edmundo Werna, Ramin Keivani,** and **David Murphy.** New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 245pp. $85.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780230525320.

Denise Kleinrichert
San Francisco State University
dk@sfsu.edu

The curious question that has dogged researchers, practitioners and government policymakers is, Why has urban blight escaped the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives of business entities intent on exercising their vigor in other ways that demonstrate a corporate citizenship conscience? Edmundo Werna, Ramin Keivani and David Murphy in *Corporate Social Responsibility and Urban Development* have excised this dilemma in an innovative approach to the CSR literature, which has thus far overlooked the particularities of developing urban communities' social needs—health care, education, employment, and culture—as stabilizing criteria for sustainable global business enterprise. This book portends a new genre within the CSR and global urban studies literatures—one that has been sorely overlooked, emphasizing increased social complexity.

The authors have meticulously chronicled the evolution of CSR (Chapter One)—its 5,000-year history, 50-year theoretical development, and the instantiation of its practice to the present day. This chapter reads as not only a brief primer, but a reminder of what CSR should be—rather than what corporate practitioners have attributed as a form of shorthand, feel-good public relations ploy for market splash. The authors present a holistic definition (p. 12) of business entity strategic initiatives in the communities in which these businesses choose to operate. Their argument certainly echoes the true sense of Adam Smith's call to a market system that is *community-based.* The key elements of the authors' progression in this book are Stakeholders (although a discussion of this theoretical model is sorely missing from this chapter), Business-Community Relations (BCR), and Corporate Citizenship (CC). The cogent arguments and references will benefit theorists and practitioners, and more so will clarify the complexity of the meaning and application of CSR opportunities for students of multinational corporations (MNCs), community and sociological development, public policy, and global urban environments.

Chapter Two defines the "urban century" (p. 34) as the growing progression of urban development at the behest of the globalization of product and service development for an internationally based marketplace. The prime factors of poverty are driven by the urbanization of world populations—changes in income, community residence, access to health care, affordable housing and food, and education. These two critical chapters for novices and seasoned academicians alike situate historical and contemporary thoughts on CSR and urban development.

The text discussions in Chapters Three—Six each focus on the particularities and case studies to support the specific developing urban communities' potential for more inclusive efforts at the behest of corporate partnerships with governments, community members, and NGOs in light of the historical evolution of the United Nations initiatives to forestall economic, social, and environmental degradation of developing nation communities. These chapters are well researched in

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terms of historical placement of key infrastructure concerns and the pluralistic argument these authors stimulate—within cities—such as regeneration of physical and building, or "property-led," development (p. 60), construction and housing initiatives (Chapter Four), utilities as a synergistic approach to networks of available electrical or other power, street lighting to abate crime and increase citizen security, and drinkable water (Chapter Five), and social development as a transformational key to unlocking access to education and job training, employability and employment, healthcare for all citizens, and preservation of traditional culture and identity (Chapter Six). These chapters provide critical discussions of the authors' contention of the necessity and urgency for public-private partnered approaches to developing urban markets.

The book's objective is researched with exacting references across disciplines, inclusive of sociology, economics, business and psychology connected to the business-community relations in developing urban locales of the North, South, East, and West. What becomes clear in the authors' exposition of numerous case studies of particular urban communities and corporate initiatives are the benefits and shortcomings of such CSR efforts, showing why and how urban communities in developing nations are increasingly at risk of ignoring social issues of education, health care, and employment under the weight of globalization, without critical intervention by partnerships between governments, NGOs, business leaders, employee community volunteerism, and community actors.

The authors have not presented a doom and gloom narrative, but rather an optimistic view of the potential for a sustainable, socially focused grassroots effort of CSR despite the uncertainty endemic to the explosive growth of many developing urban communities in the global market hemisphere. This project presents cogent arguments regarding the potential benefits and worrisome risks in new-growth urban centers outside of Europe, North America, Japan, Hong Kong, and Australia/New Zealand. Moreover, the authors conclude that the "robust kind of partnership where risks and benefits are shared" (p. 207) in urban developing communities ought to be a prima facie duty of any corporate dimension of CSR as a strategic, business-in-society schema.

Transformative Justice: Critical and Peacemaking Themes Influenced by Richard Quinney, edited by **John F. Wozniak, Michael C. Braswell, Ronald E. Vogel,** and **Kristie R. Blevins.** Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008. 257pp. $70.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780739109328.

JOHN F. GALLIHER
University of Missouri, Columbia
galliherj@missouri.edu

This edited collection contains 13 chapters dealing with every aspect of the long, distinguished and unique career of Richard Quinney. Although this collection of essays is nicely written, a *festschrift* produced for an icon is bound to suffer a bit by comparison. Quinney was always on the move, physically and intellectually. After graduating from the Sociology Department at University of Wisconsin, Madison where he studied with Professor Marshall Clinard, I believe that he initially taught at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. Shortly, he resigned for a tenured professorship at New York University, but he in turn soon resigned that to start a research commune in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Later Brown University provided him an office but no salary or position, and still later he briefly accepted a position at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee as director of its social science research center. Not surprisingly, this administrative position apparently was not a good fit, and he quickly resigned and finally landed for some years at Northern Illinois University. In accepting both of these positions Quinney was attempting to live near his boyhood home in southern Wisconsin. He was more at home at Northern Illinois but ultimately was forced to retire due to cancer and its treatment that for a time destroyed his immune system. He retired to Madison, Wisconsin.

In 1970 Quinney published *The Social Reality of Crime* and wrote: "Crime is a definition of human conduct that is created by

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authorized agents in a politically organized society'' (p. 15). So crime involves power, public policy, and law enforcement. In this and earlier essays, he was on the cusp of a new movement in criminology to look into the origins of written criminal law as opposed to studying only the origins and patterns of criminal behavior. The authors note that in the second half of his career Quinney developed peacemaking criminology and distinguished between positive and negative peace. Criminal punishment always involves negative peace while positive peace involves social justice. From these early days of his career Quinney passionately opposed the racist savagery known as capital punishment, as well as the slow death of solitary confinement. Soon he became a not only committed Marxist reflected in *Critique of Legal Order* (1974) and *Class, State and Crime* (1980), but also became a Christian, publishing in 1980 a book titled *Providence.* Many Marxists who were secular to a fault considered his newfound religiosity deeply troubling, but Quinney did not care about coalitions or headcounts. This edited collection is especially refreshing because Quinney never sought refuge in the opinions of colleagues. Yet through it all Marshall Clinard remained his senior colleague and friend.

With ready self-deprecation he described himself as a ''born against Marxist.'' Quinney always seemed to be an artist and painted with words using broad strokes. To its everlasting discredit, the American Society of Criminology in 1979 published a special issue of *Criminology* with invited essays devoted to a pillorying of Quinney's ideas. The journal would have been much better off if it had solicited a broad range of ideas rather than setting up Quinney for attack. As it was, this issue of the journal set the political and intellectual tone for this professional organization. If he inspired a strong following, he also created fear and loathing. Early in his career Quinney joined with his teacher Marshall Clinard to condemn corporate crime, helped develop feminist criminology and convict criminology, readily explaining the rapid growth in prisons, and prison populations, especially involving women and African American women.

The chapters include ''Richard Quinney's Journey,'' ''Crime and Peace, The Origins and Development of the Concept and Theory of State-Corporate Crime,'' ''On Moral Enterprises, Pragmatism and Feminist Criminology,'' ''Exploring the Paradox of the (Un)reality of Richard Quinney's Criminology,'' ''Why the Prison Industrial Complex Needs Crime,'' ''Toward a Theoretical Model of Peacemaking Criminology,'' ''Peacemaking Criminology: Personal and Social Transformation,'' ''Women's Crime and Mothers in Prison,'' ''Teaching Peacemaking,'' ''Peacemaking and Crime on the Internet,'' and ''The Future of Peacemaking.'' The list of contributors includes Kevin Anderson, Michael Braswell, John Fuller, Wayne Gillespie, Amy Hembree, David Kauzlarich, Ronald Kramer, Joan McDermott, Ray Michalowski, Alan Mobley, Hal Pepinsky, Polly Radosh, Randall Shelden, Chuck Terry, Larry Tift, John Whitehead, and John Wozniak.

One small quibble is that it would have been nice to provide the reader with Richard Quinney's complete list of publications as well as his temporary and permanent appointments. Nonetheless, this book can provide excellent additional readings for classroom instruction as well as being perfect for some researchers' libraries.

Visual Impact: Culture and the Meaning of Images, by **Terence Wright.** Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers, 2008. 193pp. $39.95 paper. ISBN: 9781859734735.

Nandi Dill
New York University
ned230@nyu.edu

Terence Wright's book on the increasing power and persuasiveness of images in contemporary society is a valuable contribution to the study of visual media. In bringing together research from a diversity of disciplines—sociology, anthropology, history and psychology—with analysis of images and their narrative content from stories of humanitarian crises, this work pushes readers to consider the influence sociocultural context has on images' ability to communicate. *Visual Impact* begins by pondering changes in the representational systems

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that give rise to visual imagery. Wright sees the advent of digital and computer-generated images in Western culture as complicating existing theoretical understandings of visual representation and presenting practical challenges to makers of media. He clarifies how information is communicated through pictures by exploring the process of visual perception and the contexts from which systems of representation emerge. Special attention is paid to depictions of refugees in order to examine the extreme, but common narrative forms that people face daily.

To address these issues, Wright organizes the book around three perspectives on visual communication: perception, representation, and narration. He takes up perception in the first two chapters, pondering how images are able to communicate, their historical and philosophical relationship to reality, and the role viewers play in perceiving images. He considers the long-debated relationship between the camera and the eye—suggesting that the achievements and limitations of this debate as well as the cultural contexts that have shaped it are useful in developing a "more exploratory interactive theory of perception" (p. 10). This theory, which builds upon the "ecological" approach to visual perception put forward by psychologist James J. Gibson and his followers, proposes that the perception of images may be more interactive than previously considered. Wright finds in these perspectives the importance of sociocultural context and the system within which images are created and structured.

In Chapter Three, Wright begins to focus on representation. Here he addresses Gibson's "ecological" theory of perception more directly, as well as examines Japanese cinematic practices and the use of light in various representational contexts. He does this to highlight the influence that culture, religion or even politics can play in shaping systems of representation and to elaborate how we acquire information from pictures.

In the next three chapters, Wright moves to an extended discussion of images of humanitarian crises and the representation of refugees. In Chapter Four he considers the well-worn tropes characterizing this genre of images; in Chapter Five he compares the narrative structure of fictional depictions of refugees to "real" or documentary images; and in Chapter Six he uses BBC coverage of the Afghan refugee crisis of 2001 to illustrate the conventions that are standard to news coverage of humanitarian disasters. From this analysis of both still and moving images and their narrative contexts, he draws several conclusions. Firstly he argues that media images of humanitarian events, especially those depicting refugee crises, are shocking and familiar to audiences yet also ineffective at generating a sympathetic response. Many of the striking images he describes—a few of which are included in book—draw liberally from Christian iconography and in their repetition become what Wright calls "visual wallpaper": they have little to no impact on viewers. His analysis also leads him to be critical of the narrative structure of news media stories on refugees in that, unlike fiction films on the same topic, they situate refugees as people without pasts and futures: viewers are ultimately unable to identify with the plight of these foreign "others."

The last two chapters look at the future of visual images with a focus on new media technologies and the practice of communicating via highly interactive platforms. Here is where Wright begins to fulfill the promise made early in the book to provide practical tools for understanding the impact of visual media for both academics and media producers. In discussing his own work on an experimental multimedia project that grapples with many of the issues raised throughout the book, Wright suggests that increased interactivity in documentary works may contribute to the gradual erosion of genre-based boundaries. The project exemplifies a type of encounter with images and narratives that Wright claims is missing from mass media. Overall, the book does a good job of explaining visual communication and the narrative frameworks in which communication occurs. One shortcoming, however, is found in Wright's use of audience response—either monetary or emotional—as a measure of visual impact. Without his own data to support the claim that audiences are "bored" or "saturated" by images of humanitarian disasters, he is left to lean too heavily on other studies or

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draw from anecdotal information. Also, the experiences from his self-described position as a practitioner could have also bolstered his theoretical leanings if more directly engaged in the earlier parts of the book.

Globalizing Care Economies and Migrant Workers: Explorations in Global Care Chains, by **Nicola Yeates.** New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 258pp. $74.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780230005341.

DONNA R. GABACCIA
University of Minnesota
drg@umn.edu

Although *Globalizing Care Economies* is not elegantly written, beautifully produced, or competitively priced, it nevertheless deserves a wide scholarly readership. In it, Nicola Yeates tackles an issue that has attracted increasing attention from social scientists in history, sociology, and anthropology for well over a decade.

Globalizing Care Economies and Migrant Workers offers an extremely useful and broad overview of how theories about the globalization of care and global care chains have developed across disciplines. Using the case study of global nursing care chains that extended into or out of Ireland from the nineteenth century to the present, Yeates's turn toward history proves innovative: she suggests that scholars of the contemporary world should acknowledge and include in their studies the interventions of religious organizations. These have not only organized the migration of large numbers of nursing care givers but have also directly engaged in financing, organizing, and providing nursing care internationally.

As a scholar, Yeates reads widely across disciplinary boundaries. Since I am more of a specialist on the history of international migration than on the globalization of care, I found her two chapters on the globalization of care and on global care chains especially useful and helpful. Yeates successfully links globalization theory to world systems scholars' focus on the semiproletarian household, allowing her to explore the new international division of labor in reproductive as well as productive labor. Her attention to the transnational families of caregivers provides a reminder that separations caused by migration are significant only when women are the migrants. Her discussion of changing care regimes at the national level acknowledges that many scholars trace the globalization of care to a purported crisis in Western welfare states, yet her analysis of the size and importance of religious organizations in organizing and providing care reveals real limits to such arguments. Comparison of global care chains to global commodity chains also allows readers to ponder how labor economists and managerial analyses of transnational business might contribute to feminist discussions of caregivers internationally.

With the scholarly literature largely focused on the lives and migratory trajectories of domestic servants employed in private households, Yeates's attention to nurses in her empirical research pushes the analysis forward. The caregivers she analyzes are professional workers and they are most often employed in large-scale institutions funded and operated by both welfare states and religious groups. In three linked chapters, Yeates focuses on the development of a nursing care chain, with due attention to the importance of recent corporate actors in recruiting and organizing international migrations. Her case study of nursing movements into and out of Ireland allows her to explain the shift from chains that drew Irish women into migration in order to train and work as nurses in the United Kingdom and beyond. It also brings into focus the numerical significance of religious women (nuns working within Catholic sisterhoods and especially the Sisters of Mercy) and missionaries in funding and providing nursing care in Ireland and abroad. Among religious caregivers, Yeates notes a transition from Irish women emigrating elsewhere in order to provide care in the Americas, toward women immigrating from Africa and Asia to Ireland in order to do the same kind of work. This shift is apparent even within the Catholic sisterhoods that now turn to developing countries for their members.

In Yeates's analysis, global nursing care chains may not be new, but their organization and the women involved in migrations to do care work have certainly changed

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dramatically at several key junctures—periods of warfare, colonization and decolonization—in the past two centuries. The balance between married and celibate women working as nurses has changed, as have the origins, destinations, and thus the direction of labor migrations of nursing caregivers.

A final strength of *Globalizing Care Economies and Migrant Workers* is the ease with which Yeates moves among structural analysis, historical research, and attention to the voices and stories of nurses she interviewed during her research. Scholarly analysis of care workers has largely focused on domestic servants working in private households, generating popularized images of exploited mothers struggling against enormous odds to remain connected with the children they leave behind. By contrast, in this account, nurses emerge as directors and savvy negotiators of their own lives. One wishes that more voices and stories documented here had come from the religious workers whose importance Yeates has brought so sharply into focus.

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COMMENT AND REPLY

Dear Editor,
I agree with Randall Collins that *Gomorrah* is not a good sociological work. I was indeed surprised to see it reviewed in *CS*. Saviano is not a sociologist and he graduated from the University of Naples with a degree in philosophy. I also agree with Collins that Saviano's rhetorical style is often irritating and geared to provoke reactions of awe. This said, I find Collins's reading of the book a bit unfair.

Collins focuses on Saviano's failure to reveal anything new about the international organization of the camorra. I thought that the book's intent was to show the implications of the camorra's influence on everyday life and practices. In addition, Saviano suggests that treating the camorra as a crime organization without taking into account its economic role is one of the biggest flaws in the way the Italian government handles the camorra. Second, Saviano gives a revamped interpretation of the Southern question, so acutely raised by Gramsci in the early 1900s, by showing that the Italian North actually owes part of its economic success to the South. Toxic wastes from factories in the North are disposed of in Campania at a fraction of the price, paving the way to Italy's participation in the EU. Third, he makes the point that the camorristi wars are affecting the whole population in the areas where they operate; the camorristi don't just kill each other. Finally, he dramatically indicates the environmental degradation brought on by the camorristi and its effects on people's health. Saviano's analysis of the cultural models circulated by the camorristi adds one more layer to the intractable problem facing Italy and those inhabiting the areas controlled by the camorra. The camorra penetrates deeply into the fabric of everyday life, aided by representations circulated by the culture industry.

Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi
University of California, Santa Barbara

Reply to Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi:
These are good points, worthy of further attention. I would like to emphasize the value of a good study of the Neapolitan camorra for a comparative view of how crime organizations operate. If it is true that the camorra causes a lot of casualties in the surrounding population and not just among themselves—a point that would need to be established by research—that would make the camorra quite different from several other notable crime organizations, especially the U.S. mafias and Russian mafias, and closer to American street gangs. It is not automatically the case that crime organizations inflict a lot of violence on the surrounding population. The most powerful ones generally manage to operate without drawing much attention to themselves. This suggests a severe limit to the power of the camorra.

Randall Collins
University of Pennsylvania

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ERRATUM

Machalek, Richard "Reviews." *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 39(3): 306-307. (Original DOI: 10.1177/0094306110367909y)

In Richard Machalek's review of Myra J. Hird's *The Origins of Sociable Life: Evolution After Science Studies*, on page 307, line 39, the word "sexually" should be "asexually."

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