

BOOK REVIEWS

FAITH IN THE HALLS OF POWER: HOW EVANGELICALS JOINED THE AMERICAN ELITE. By D. Michael Lindsay. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. 352 pp. \$24.95 cloth.

The emergence of evangelicals as a force in American politics in the last quarter of the 20th century is sometimes viewed with a mix of surprise and suspicion. The shorthand explanation for their rise generally goes something like this: evangelicals had been politically active, but checked out of politics after the *Scopes* trial in 1925. Only in the 1970s, after evangelicals' values had been under steady assault for some years—as evidenced by efforts to ratify the ERA, Supreme Court decisions in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) and *Engel v. Vitale* (1962), the 1969 Stonewall riots, and the rise of the counter culture—did evangelicals reengage the political system in an effort to assert the status of their way of life.

With a keen analytical eye, Lindsay explores this emergence of evangelicals as powerful agents in the spheres of politics, academe, culture, and business. His work is based on a series of in-depth interviews with evangelical elites, including former U.S. presidents, cabinet secretaries, White House staffers, CEOs, high-profile pastors, seminary presidents, academics, journalists, entertainers, and entertainment executives. As others have noted, conservative elites are generally suspicious of academics and reticent to grant interviews. The access Lindsay gained to the top echelon of evangelical elites, then, is absolutely stunning. The intellectual payoff is impressive as well.

Taking the long view of the above narrative, Lindsay argues that even while evangelicals withdrew from politics in the wake of the *Scopes* trial, evangelicalism is imbued with the imperative to spread the Gospel. This rendered withdrawal only temporary. To be sure, the more insular fundamentalist strain of evangelicalism remains, but the outwardly directed posture of evangelicalism has become dominant. Ultimately, religious values drew evangelicals back into mainstream society. More than that, these values became the impetus for the creation of formal and informal networks that allowed evangelicals to reach the highest echelons of power in politics, culture, business, and academia, and provided them with a platform from which evangelicals could spread the Gospel.

The essential element of Lindsay's analysis, then, is rooted in an understanding of evangelical values. Not only do such values provide individuals with a moral compass—a sense of how things ought to be across all aspects of life—they also contain within them the obligation to realize those values in action and to transform society. Networks provide the vehicle through which that process takes place. In gov-

ernment, for example, we know (and Lindsay finds) that political leaders draw on evangelicalism to varying degrees in their rhetoric, the articulation of policy, and in staff appointments. The implication is that religious faith—evangelicalism, more specifically—may be a source of political difference. It can create a cleavage around which politicians, parties, and presidents organize themselves and square off. Yet Lindsay argues that evangelical in-government networks build social relationships that transcend partisanship and lubricate the political process. These networks provide a “shared sense of identity” and “convene” powerful individuals in a way that facilitates working relationships that might otherwise be impossible.

Evangelical efforts to secure human rights legislation provide an excellent example of this. We traditionally associate evangelical activism with issues of abortion and gay marriage, but Lindsay points out that in the 1990s, evangelicals started to articulate a religious vision for foreign policy, particularly as it relates to human rights, human trafficking, foreign aid, and religious freedom. Evangelicals worked very closely with President Clinton to secure passage of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998. Evangelicals may not have been able to find common ground with the Clinton Administration on issues of international family planning, but as Ted Haggard, former president of the National Association of Evangelicals, told Lindsay: “We are concerned about the state of believers in communist China, [and] the Clinton White House was very receptive to those types of things” (p. 44). For his part, President Clinton appointed many evangelicals to important international posts. Evangelicals also reached outside their movement to work with other religious traditions on human trafficking legislation.

While evangelical social networks have served as a unifying force, Lindsay also points to some interesting tensions within the evangelical community. For example, he points to a disjunction between what he calls “cosmopolitan” and “populist” evangelicals. These two groups are stratified on the basis of socioeconomic status while they share a strong faith commitment. The former group is more engaged with aspects of secular society, while the latter dominates the evangelical “subculture.” Some evangelicals are completely comfortable engaging the secular world and forming unusual alliances in support of evangelical goals, while others object to that. Even though the growth in the evangelical “infrastructure” has developed in no small part because of populist appeals, Lindsay indicates that cosmopolitan evangelicals seem a bit embarrassed by their populist fellow travelers and sometimes see them as getting in the way of putting evangelicalism into the mainstream.

In the business community, there is some disagreement about personal wealth. Some evangelical elites view wealth as a gift from God that is to be enjoyed, and they feel comfortable, therefore, owning multiple houses and luxury cars. Others feel religiously obliged to adopt a more ascetic lifestyle.

Lindsay mentions one executive in particular who drives a Saturn, and another who views high levels of executive compensation as “morally wrong” (p. 168).

In the entertainment industry, evangelicals have built a robust and profitable “subculture” geared toward producing safe, family-friendly programming. Yet some within the evangelical community view this kind of product as “cheesy” and object to the fetishistic focus on safety. Moreover, they argue that this kind of entertainment is ghettoized and fails to bring evangelical values to the masses. The growth of the entertainment subculture also distracts movement leaders. For example, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* producer Howard Kazanjian prefers to work with film students at a Los Angeles Christian college rather than mentoring University of Southern California film students. As Lindsay notes, many of Kazanjian’s evangelical peers view this as a “waste of talent” (p. 124).

The role of women among the evangelical elite is also ambiguous. Participation in vital social networks is often by invitation only, as is leadership in congregations and parachurch organizations. In a faith tradition characterized strongly by patriarchy, this creates roadblocks for women. Lindsay suggests that this situation may change as the cosmopolitan element of evangelicalism grows.

It is not particularly surprising, as Lindsay argues, that there are divisions among evangelicals. It is a multid denominational, multifaceted movement. Moreover, all sizeable social movements face these kinds of internal contradictions. If anything, internal tensions may be less problematic for evangelicals, given the importance of individualism in this community. Developing a personal relationship with Jesus is a matter of individual stewardship, and there are a variety of acceptable means to do that. Evangelical orthodoxy therefore has a certain amount of elasticity, giving it an ability to accommodate internal disagreement on some of the issues discussed above.

In the end, Lindsay notes that while evangelicals have entered into the “halls of power,” they are not truly dominant. They are a minority among the “Establishment”; they confront inertia in trying to bring secular institutions in line with evangelical values; and in the context of government, the presence of networks that bring people together is not sufficient to bring about policy success. And yet, in a pluralist democracy, evangelicals have established themselves as vital participants in societal discourse, and they compete for dominance in the public square alongside an array of rivals and colleagues.

In the beginning of this book, Lindsay notes that in conducting his interviews, he adopted the “critical empathy” approach, meaning that he tried to convey accurately the unvarnished perspectives of his subjects. Taking us beyond his focus on the growth of evangelical networks, this approach offers fascinating insights into this community, a community that

is sometimes treated glibly by academics, journalists, pundits, and the like. Lindsay paints a complex picture of sincere believers trying to better the world. Moreover, Lindsay appreciates the inherent multidimensionality of religion. His work attends to parts of religion that are creedal and institutional, as well as social.

Faith in the Halls of Power is a well-written, thoroughly researched, nuanced, and elegant account of the rise of evangelicals. It is an important volume that merits the attention of academics and nonacademics alike.

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RELIGIOUS INTERESTS IN COMMUNITY CONFLICT: BEYOND THE CULTURE WARS. Edited by Paul A. Djupe and Laura R. Olson. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007. xi + 341 pp. \$34.95 paper.

The religion and politics literature has focused almost entirely on the national government, which is why Djupe and Olson chose to analyze this dynamic at the local level. Three questions drive the analysis in each chapter. In confronting public problems, Djupe and Olson ask: What motivates religious groups, to what extent do they cooperate, and how effective are they? This volume goes “beyond the culture wars” by showing that interdenominational conflicts give way to cooperative relations when different religious interests pursue social justice goals.

Ten substantive chapters are organized according to four themes. The first theme on “moral concerns” includes three chapters. James Penning and Andrew Storteboom analyze community conflict in western Michigan over a proposed Indian casino. David Damore, Ted Jelen, and Michael Bowers focus on the gay marriage debate in Nevada. And Paul Djupe, Jacob Neiheisel, and Anand Edward Sokhey discuss the clergy and gay rights in Columbus, Ohio. Two chapters address their second theme of social justice. Sue Crawford sees religious groups collaborating in efforts to improve health care in South Omaha, while Laura Olson discusses homelessness in Racine, Wisconsin.

The theme “religion in the public square” is manifested in two chapters. James Guth, Lyman Kellstedt, Joshua Copeland, and Christine Rowland combine forces to analyze the battle over whether to celebrate the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday in Greenville, South Carolina. Another conflict over a Main Street Plaza, which fractured the Mormon and non-Mormon communities in Salt Lake City, is the subject of analysis by J. Quin Monson and Kara Norman. The fourth theme of race relations has two chapters. Anand Edward Sokhey returns to explain how religious groups helped heal Cincinnati after

racial unrest in 2001, and Franklyn Niles applauds the clergy opposition to the Ku Klux Klan in north-west Arkansas.

The final chapter by Djupe and Olson does not summarize the key findings so much as apply the key findings to theory-building. They begin by characterizing the main theoretical pillars of the religion and politics literature: pluralist assumptions and psychological, cultural, social-psychological, social movement, and contextual approaches. In order to generalize from a limited number of case studies, the editors sought internal validity by imposing pedagogical criteria on all the contributors (e.g., that each chapter focus on a conflict that embraces all the varied community actors). To secure external validity, they include high-profile (gay marriage and race riots) and low-profile (health care) controversies as well as those driven by morality politics and also social justice concerns. Oddly, there are no case studies of abortion, which has been the highest profile and longest-lasting moral conflict in contemporary America.

With respect to why religious interests became involved, Djupe and Olson took note of "the diversity of motivations tied to the location of the conflict" (p. 269), meaning that religious interests were mobilized if they were located near the epicenter of the community conflict. But the conventional wisdom was not confirmed that evangelical Protestants would be expected to become mobilized on culture war issues whereas mainline Protestants would be more concerned about social justice. On coalition-building, the presumption of little cooperation among religious interests is pretty much confirmed by the case studies. The "most dramatic" example of ecumenical cooperation was helping the homeless in Racine (a social justice concern), but I observed that the editors cited no moral conflict (gay marriage or race relations) that elicited cooperation. Surely, James Davison Hunter's reasoning would apply to the organizational priorities of different faith traditions (even if the culture wars thesis does not apply to mass opinion). Overall, one gets the impression that religious interests were not uniformly an activist component of the pluralist system in these communities.

The back-cover endorsement by Professor Kenneth D. Wald says that this volume "is exciting both for what it does and for the subsequent work it will stimulate." Yes, *Religious Interests in Community Conflict* is a pioneering study that charts a new course for religion and politics research. It is path-breaking because, as the editors observe, the "unequivocal claim resulting from this volume is the necessity of including the community in analyses of religion and politics in consequential ways" (p. 278).

Case studies are invaluable research tools for theory-building, but subsequent research on religion and community conflict might well be structured differently. The variety of cases and the variance in community sizes yielded some very tentative conclusions in the final chapter. My own preference would be to

include only two issues, a high-profile moral issue and a low-profile issue of social justice. Devote five chapters to each and identify case studies that represent the U.S. geographically and that are stratified by population size. The classic work on community conflict (by sociologist James Coleman) focused on towns and small cities because the psychological dynamics that polarize relatively small communities do not have similar effects in large urban areas. So consider including for each issue case studies from two rural locales, two small towns, and perhaps one large city. By this strategy, future researchers can control for the all-important community size variable and build upon the insights from this analysis. That is my only caveat to what will prove to be a significant contribution to the religion and politics literature.

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THE FIRST YEAR OUT: UNDERSTANDING AMERICAN TEENS AFTER HIGH SCHOOL. By Tim Clydesdale. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. 239 pp. \$50.00 cloth, \$20.00 paper.

FORBIDDEN FRUIT: SEX AND RELIGION IN THE LIVES OF AMERICAN TEENAGERS. By Mark Regnerus. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. 304 pp. \$25.00, cloth.

The word "teenager" is a relatively recent addition to the English lexicon. The *Oxford English Dictionary* claims that the first use of the term appeared in 1941, when a columnist of the magazine *Popular Science Monthly* remarked, "I never knew teen-agers could be so serious." Historian Steven Mintz has pointed out that later that year, *Life* magazine popularized the term and its associated stereotype when a photo essay's accompanying narrative commented that teenagers "live in a jolly world of gangs, games, movies, and music" and that "they adore chocolate milkshakes."

Such frivolity suggests a time of life, and indeed an entire time period, that we think of as more innocent than today. But the teenager's first appearance also coincided with two more serious and distinct developments in U.S. culture. First, due to the Depression and its lessened demands for labor, growing support for child labor laws finally removed young people from the workforce so that half of all teenagers were enrolled in high school by 1936, as compared with just one-fifth a decade earlier. The second development, related to the growth of the high school, was the recognition on the part of the emergent retail industry that this new collection of young people served as a commercially viable demographic for the marketplace of commercial goods. The term "teenager," then, has both a cultural and an economic valence, and the tensions between these

two definitions of young people continue to animate the way we think of young people today.

Since the 1940s, a raft of sociological research has contributed to our understandings of the American teenager. But the two books reviewed here each make unique contributions by exploring the moral culture that young people today inhabit and express through the choices they make in relation to two major life-course events that have long been significant in the lives of teens: the transition from high school to the next phase of young adult life, and the initiation into more intimate sexual relationships (of course, as both of these books suggest, these two events usually occur in the reverse order).

Tim Clydesdale's book, *The First Year Out: Understanding American Teens After High School*, provides an insightful look at how most young people experience their last year in high school and first year of college. Analyzing 125 in-depth interviews with 75 different teenagers, notes from a year of field research at a public high school in New Jersey, and additional data from 36 college teen volunteers, Clydesdale refutes the long-held assumption that the first year out of high school is a time of self-reflection and identity-formation. This grappling with self-identity in the first year out was the experience for most of us who went on to become professors, deans, campus ministers, and other members of what Clydesdale refers to as the intelligentsia, or those who make the choices about what the first year of college should look like. Yet for most young people, the first year out is a period of learning daily life management skills. Chief among these concerns is the need to manage personal relationships and gratifications such as alcohol and sex in light of the demands of the workforce and the college classroom. Clydesdale uses the metaphor of the "identity lock box" to describe the way in which young people put their religion and other aspects of their identity away during this time of nonreflection.

The engine of consumption first put in place with the 1940s teenager now is a source of major stress and time pressure, Clydesdale argues, as young people scramble to locate and work in low-wage jobs during college. Yet that work largely does not contribute to young peoples' work ethics or their professional experiences, he finds, but rather becomes an obstacle to other goals such as volunteering and building social networks. Moreover, work does not translate into financial acumen, as the students who saved and were most frugal were those who worked the least.

They may dislike their work and stress, but contrary to the image of the "generation gap" that took hold in the 1960s, Clydesdale found that most teens described their personal relationships with their parents warmly. He concluded that popular American moral culture conveys the idea that happiness comes from two places: in personally fulfilling relationships, and in individual consumption. He also surmised that parents, educators, and clergy have,

in his words, "underestimated what adolescents can learn and overestimated what they can meaningfully integrate on their own," suggesting that adults might reflect upon and change their own consumptive lifestyles in an effort to reorient the priorities of the young people in their lives.

Clydesdale's book offers a challenge to those who seek to design meaningful courses for young people in their first year out. He notes that students would prefer to have courses that are challenging but that deliver information they can use in their everyday lives: how to manage their own money and relationships, for instance—topics that would seem to be well suited to the sociology curriculum.

Interestingly, Clydesdale argues that the teens that seemed most interested in examining the contents of the identity lock box in their first year out were those who attended conservative religious colleges. This is likely to be a surprise for those who think of evangelical colleges as narrow and anti-intellectual. Yet it may be that these colleges provide a certain comfort level and homogeneity that then enables young people to be more aware of the finer points of difference, and they may then find themselves forced to grapple with differences they did not expect. A future work by Clydesdale that explores when other young people encounter similar periods of self-reflection is currently under way.

Whereas Clydesdale's book provides insights for professors and secondarily for parents and others concerned with young people, Mark Regnerus's book, *Forbidden Fruit: Sex & Religion in the Lives of American Teenagers*, speaks more directly to the perennial parental concerns of sexual initiation of younger teenagers. Reviewing telephone survey and in-depth interview data from the National Survey of Youth and Religion and from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, Regnerus explores how young people learn about sexual activity from their parents, schools, peers, and other sources. The book examines how adolescents make decisions about engaging in sexual activity, what sexual experiences they profess to have had, and how they make sense of these experiences in light of their own identities as religious, moral, and/or responsible persons. Especially interesting is the emergence of what the author terms a middle-class sexual norm of "everything but intercourse," which has taken hold not because of a desire for "technical virginity," but to avoid risks associated with pregnancy and STDs that can negatively affect one's life outcomes. But there are other gems here, as well, such as the evidence that suggests that evangelical young people are not less active sexually than their nonevangelical counterparts; they just tend to feel guiltier about it. Evangelical young people also tend to have more "unsafe" sex (without birth control) because they do not want to appear as if they "planned" to have sex. The continued existence of the double standard regarding heterosexual sex is much in evidence in

this book's findings, with stories of girls who regret and boys who, in general, do not. The findings regarding the disenchanting sexual attitudes and practices in African-American communities are especially poignant. Adolescent sex in African-American communities, Regnerus concludes, cannot be understood apart from the larger context of a culture in which black men already feel disempowered and black women, in committing to them, feel somewhat resigned to a passive role in the sexual relationship—at least when they are teens.

Healthy sex, according to this book, is something that teens do not do until they are married, which happens presumably in their young adult years. Yet this book shies away from critiquing the assumption, presumably made on the part of most of those surveyed, that sex is an act, and specifically one of heterosexual coitus. Viewing sexuality as an aspect of identity that is shaped, performed, and experienced in relationships might have raised different questions, specifically with regard to issues of gender, power, and control in relationships, whether heterosexual or not. An analysis stemming from this critique might consider whether young people discuss guilt in relation to religion as proxy for other, harder-to-express concerns: guilt about allowing oneself to feel disempowered and vulnerable in a sexual relationship, perhaps; regrets about possibly disempowering someone else; or unexpressed concerns about how sexual relationships take the form of an exchange that echoes the consumptive environment in which they are so deeply enmeshed, and that empties such relationships of deeper meaning and consequence.

Also left unexplored are both the relatively few young people who articulate only minor regrets about prior sexual encounters, and the parents who seem less nervous about the sexual relationships in which their young people have participated. One such interesting case was the evangelical young woman who not only described herself as religious and participated in two evangelical organizations, but also described a previous sexual relationship in terms of pleasure rather than guilt and noted that her mother had been aware of the relationship. Future research might seek to explore such anomalies to tease out how some young people draw upon alternative narratives or combine narratives of religion and culture in surprising ways. This could be disquieting, but could also provide points of departure for those who wish to deepen discussions beyond "no sex before marriage"—discussions Regnerus rightly advocates given the discrepancy between stated views and actual practices.

Of course, there are many reasons to harbor concerns about some forms of teen sexuality, and this text indeed covers issues of sexual abuse, STDs, AIDS, pornography, and exploitation, as well as casual sex. For this reason, it is an eye-opening read for those who share concerns about adolescent health and well-being.

Both of these books draw upon extensive interviews with young people, which provide an admirable level of depth and thought to their analyses. It is curious, however, that whereas each book acknowledges multiple interviewees in its early pages, the works are each presented in a single, authoritative voice. It may be that this is the preferred style among publishers who press for such coherent narratives, but as sociologists increasingly follow anthropologists into the realm of large-scale interview-based projects, it would be wise to consider that field's greater attention to interviewer-interviewee interactions and the role of these interactions in relation to the knowledge constructed for consumption in book form. We may need new models for writing up such projects in the future.

The high school and one's peers remain important in young peoples' decision-making processes. Both of these books suggest that it is within the context of these and other close relationships that identification with religion seems to emerge as an indirect rather than direct influence on decisions and, perhaps, on the narratives through which young people make sense of those decisions. Teenagers, it seems, do indeed confront serious choices beyond chocolate or vanilla milkshakes, and these two important books help readers to make sense of the myriad reasons why they make the choices that they do.

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AMERICAN CATHOLICS TODAY: NEW REALITIES OF THEIR FAITH AND THEIR CHURCH. By William D'Antonio, James Davidson, Dean Hoge, and Mary Gautier. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. x + 204 pp. \$65.00 cloth; \$24.95 paper.

American Catholics Today is an important book, both for the number of findings about U.S. Catholics from preceding studies, which it confirms, and for the new findings, which it reveals for the first time. The authors have summarized their 1987, 1993, 1997, and 2003 national studies of American Catholics—plus numerous other studies of Catholic subpopulations—and add the findings of a new survey in 2005, resulting in a compilation of trends in Catholic beliefs and practices over almost two decades.

Overall, the authors find that identification as Catholic, commitment to the church, participation in the sacraments, and willingness to accept church authority vary greatly by generation. These differences are key, and will assume an even greater importance in the near future. The impending death of the oldest, pre-Vatican II, generation implies the loss of the most committed and active generation of American Catholics unless subsequent generations experience

some sort of intensification of their faith, which they so far show no signs of doing. The authors find a striking decline in both identification and commitment as Catholic among the Vatican II and post-Vatican II generations, and an even further decline among the younger “Millennial” generation born after 1980. The authors admit that their sample of this latest generation is small, and that the opinions of young Catholics may be as yet unfixed. But their findings replicate those of other studies (e.g., Smith and Denton 2005), which found that Millennial Catholics are less attached to their faith than Protestants the same age. If this laxity is not turned around, the American Catholic Church is in serious trouble.

The authors cite numerous examples: Millennial Catholics in the United States are more likely to say they could be happy in another religion (p. 32), and that one could be a good Catholic without attending Mass or after having an abortion. *No* Millennial Catholics scored high on the authors’ commitment scale, in contrast to 44 percent of the oldest generational cohort, 20 percent of the Vatican II Catholics, and 17 percent of the post-Vatican II Catholics (p. 39). Women—traditionally more observant and more orthodox than men—have experienced a more rapid decline on many measures, and Millennial women actually approach the opinions and practice of Millennial men (pp. 98, 99).

The authors’ explanation for these changes is grounded in the literature on the development of self-concept and identity. Their review of this literature and the way they link it to generational influences is an excellent contribution both to the theory and to present research. All too often, older generations assume that younger ones think and feel the same way about key institutions or events. This is simply not true. The way young Catholics view Catholicism, and what their identity as Catholic means—or does not mean—to them, is profoundly different from the views and opinions of their elders. To Millennials, who cannot remember the pre-Vatican II Church, nuns wearing habits do not represent spiritual superiority, but rather belonging to something larger than oneself. The rosary is a civil disobedience device—think protests outside abortion clinics. Eucharistic Adoration is a time to be still. *None of these mean the same to Millennial Catholics as they did to older generations.* At the same time, however, the majority of young Catholics have a much more tenuous relationship with the church than their elders do. Fewer than half say that the church is an important part of their lives or that the teaching authority of the Vatican is important. Most disagree, not only with the church’s teachings on sexuality, but also with its social teachings. And few, if any, feel they understand their faith well enough to explain it to their children. Nor do many of them even care to bother.

In summary, therefore, I believe that the authors have done the church an invaluable service by writing this book. There are a few things, however, that I would liked to have seen. The minor quibbles first.

Either in a footnote or an appendix, it would have been nice to highlight significance levels for the tables. This could have been as simple as an initial footnote stating that significant differences were going to be italicized throughout the book. In the same manner, it would have been nice to see alphas for both the scales. As it stands, the alpha for the identity scale was given; the alpha for the commitment scale was not.

Similarly, the authors draw a few conclusions from their data that I am not sure are entirely warranted. On page 32, for example, I wondered how and why the leap was made from answers to survey items such as “I can’t imagine myself being anything but Catholic” and “I could be just as happy in some other church” to postulating a personal comfort zone for Anglicanism and Lutheranism, but not Buddhism, Islam, or Mormonism. It seems possible that the respondents who answered “yes” to these two questions could have been talking about switching farther away from Catholicism than just “one faith over.”

Most importantly, however, it would have been nice to investigate whether the Millennial difference the authors describe is a cohort or an age difference. Have the Millennials’ experiences growing up made their opinions essentially different from those of their elders (in which case they are likely to persist), or did *all* generations of Catholics display a similar detachment from their faith when they were young and return later once they had matured? The book missed an opportunity to shed light on this important question on pp. 100–101: it could have compared the opinions of today’s Millennial Catholics with the opinions of post-Vatican II Catholics back in 1987 when they were the same ages as the Millennials are now (or even, if the data were available elsewhere, with those of Vatican II Catholics in 1967). This could give us some idea of how “fixed” the current attenuated identity and practice of Millennial Catholics is likely to be. I would urge the authors to investigate this in a future work.

Depending on whether Millennial Catholics’ attachment to Catholicism is fixed or fluid, different remedies may have to be applied. The “Remedies” section of Chapter 9 could have included more varied examples of the practices that currently show promise in attracting post-Vatican II and Millennial Catholics. It would be important to include alternatives from *both* ends of the spectrum—Marian groups, pilgrimages, Taize services, and Eucharistic Adoration, in addition to the Small Christian Communities and study groups featured in the book (p. 151). Otherwise, it will be too easy for readers—especially in the clergy and hierarchy—to dismiss this book as “merely sociology” or, worse, as having an ideological axe to grind. Giving examples of a wide variety of practices that work to increase Millennial Catholics’ attachment to Catholicism—not just the “liberal” ones—and supporting these examples and recommendations with citations of other

research, would make this book's vitally important message harder to ignore. It could also lead to a fruitful topic for future research: which practices attract which kinds of young Catholics.

Despite these quibbles, I think the findings of *American Catholics Today* are absolutely vital for all Catholics—laity, clergy, and hierarchy—to know. I hope many Catholics—and their leaders—read this book and take its findings seriously.

REFERENCE

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SPOILS OF THE KINGDOM: CLERGY MISCONDUCT AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY. By Anson Shupe. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007. 148 pp. \$38.00, cloth.

SEXUAL ABUSE AND THE CULTURE OF CATHOLICISM: HOW PRIESTS AND NUNS BECOME PERPETRATORS. By Myra Hidalgo. New York: Haworth Press, Inc., 2007. 136 pp. \$14.95, paper.

And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged around his neck, and he were cast into the sea. (Mark 9:42)

Again I saw all the oppressions that are practiced under the sun. And behold the tears of the oppressed, and they had no one to comfort them. On the side of the oppressors there was power, and there was no one to comfort them. (Ecclesiastes 4:1)

These are strong words—taken directly from the pages of the Christian scriptures. I remembered having quoted these verses many years ago as a preamble to a piece I was preparing on sexual violence and the Roman Catholic clergy in the Canadian province of Newfoundland. They seem as appropriate now as they did then.

Examining the sexual abuse of the vulnerable at the hands of the religious elite should make us all feel uncomfortable. It should compel us to action. Silence can be—and has been—interpreted as complicity. The number of disclosures by victims, spread across time and place, coupled with the widespread evidence of cover-up by denominational officials, provides overwhelming evidence of the pervasiveness of the issue and its systemic nature.

The abuse of clerical power and privilege is not about a few bad apples. This is the claim of Myra

Hidalgo in *Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Catholicism* and of Anson Shupe in *Spoils of the Kingdom: Clergy Misconduct and Religious Community*. It is woven deep into the fabric of religious life. Its impact extends well beyond victims and their families and the congregations where such behavior has occurred.

Sexual violence always implies a power differential between the abused and the abuser. This is compounded in cases involving an adult and a minor—what is commonly labeled child sexual abuse. Betrayal of trust is its central feature. It is calculated. The religious overtones inherent in the exercise of abuse in communities of faith augment the suffering and perpetuate the silence and secrecy.

In cases of child sexual abuse, victims are forced or coerced into compliance with the sexual wishes of the perpetrator sometimes by the manipulative offers of gifts or inducements, but mostly through the victimizer's power of position, which also presses them into secrecy. For some victims, skeletons in the closet seem preferable to the possibility of public or private humiliation as their story is dismissed, or they are accused of lying.

I especially appreciated reading these books one after the other. Anson Shupe, a sociologist who has published widely in the area of clergy malfeasance, uses the lens of social science and criminological theoretical formulations—in particular social exchange theories—to examine clergy misconduct in contexts that include Roman Catholic, Mormon, African-American Protestant, white evangelical Protestant, and residential schools for First Nations children.

Myra Hidalgo employs the twin lens of her own personal survivor story and a professional career as a social worker assisting other victims to situate and explicate the analysis of the data she presents, and the resolution to the crisis of sexual abuse within Catholicism that she advances.

While neither book is dispassionate, *Spoils of the Kingdom* provides social science readers with what we have come to expect from an evidence-based treatment of abuse—theory, data, and interpretation. Like his other books, Shupe's treatment here of clergy misconduct is grounded in the belief that clerical elitism is an integral feature to explain why such errant behavior prevails and is so resistant to change. He chides media reporters for their amnesia related to the long history of abuse within religious organizations and argues, rather, that power, money, and sex have dominated both canon laws and church councils since their inception.

Within the Catholic context, the core social exchange between clerical leaders and followers is this: celibacy from clergy and trust, respect, and allegiance from the flock. "Power, authority and public reputation, balanced by obedience, faith, and trust, are the sociological archetypes of clergy malfeasance. They form the organizational and emotional elements of the opportunity structures provided by religions," writes Shupe (p. 120).

According to Richard Sipe, in his "Introduction" to *Spoils of the Kingdom*: "The ecclesiastical

structure crumbles or at least trembles when external examination or exposure penetrates it . . . Secrecy within the Catholic clerical system is the cornerstone of the social construct of clerical celibacy. Celibacy is the capstone of clerical power. The power structure of the Catholic clerical elite has done all it could to keep the abuse of minors . . . a secret outside the system” (pp. xix, xxi).

Whether Shupe is discussing sexual malfeasance or economic exploitation, it is a “common conceit of some clerics to think that they can merely weather the storm” (p. 51). In his words, the “praxis wherein the defenders of the status quo and outraged challengers meet” is the context of spiritual exchange where defenders have “emotional loyalties, ordinations, titles, and the majesty even of tradition” (p. 52) and the violated have only loyalty and anger. *Spoils of the Kingdom* discusses the iron law of clergy elitism, authenticity, or legitimacy lost, and the delicate “balance of reactance” to the violation of trust within and beyond religious organizations.

Shupe concludes the book by briefly outlining the future study of clergy malfeasance and posits one unexplored area—the possibility of causal relationships among priesthood celibacy, patriarchy, homosexuality, and pedophilia. It is from within this web of interrelationships that Myra Hidalgo’s *Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Catholicism: How Priests and Nuns Become Perpetrators* should be situated.

This is a passionate book about systemic social shame. Bridging the theoretical gap between scholars who study sexual abuse and the therapists who respond to survivors and those who act abusively, Hidalgo offers us glimpses of data, of interpretation, of deep conviction born from personal pain, and practical recommendations for healing the wounds created by a culture of Catholicism that prefers the powerful to the vulnerable.

Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Catholicism is a provocative book in that it provokes the reader to consider fully the intersection of gender, sexuality, power, shame, silence, confrontation, and recovery in ways that may have been overlooked or denied in the past. She challenges us to think of the Catholic Church as an incestuous family system.

Both books welcome the John Jay College study published in 2004 as offering the most detailed statistics on child sexual abuse perpetration within Catholic dioceses and religious communities of men in the United States—they report credible accusations of sexually abusing children and youth during the years from 1950 to 2002 against 4.3 percent of diocesan priests and 2.5 percent of religious order priests. Hidalgo also reports data from Southdown (an in-patient mental health facility in Ontario, Canada) that has treated thousand of religious men and women over several decades (and 113 of the priest offenders from the John Jay study).

Hidalgo argues that “the role of surrogate parent may be the single most common characteristic shared

by Catholic religious offenders of youth” (p. 37). She explains how religious offenders often initiate physical contact through the context of “praying together . . . [that] is eventually paired with sexual arousal, fantasy and gratification” (p. 39). She holds that these offenders “distort their perceived status with God . . . to justify or excuse” (p. 39) their behavior and to share blame with the victim through a twisted notion of the sexual relationship as a mutual endeavor.

In *Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Catholicism* Hidalgo asserts that “the issues of increased prevalence of sexual abuse by priests and nuns, the failure of bishops and congregational leaders to fully face the problem, the frequency of same-sex offenses, the persistence of celibacy requirements for religious ministry, and the resistance to include women and laity in positions of leadership all share the same source: the sexual shame and dysfunction of Catholic leaders since the time of the Church’s formation, which has in turn resulted in a persistent cycle of sexual neglect and incest affecting every level of the Church system” (p. 69).

She argues that male power so dominates Catholicism that it is no small wonder that among priests who are sexual predators their preferred targets are young male victims. She believes that Catholic priests and nuns may be at higher risk of sexually abusing minors than other men and women in similar positions of trust—such as coaches, teachers, or therapists. The cycle of sexual trauma is fed by systemic sexual shame, particularly related to homophobia—which in Hidalgo’s view is the root cause of the sexual abuse crisis in the Catholic Church.

Here she draws both upon the available data, her own victimization as a young Catholic girl by a nun, and her work with clients struggling with adult intimacy issues. She concludes that sexual trauma extends beyond direct sexual abuse and includes experiences in childhood and adolescence of sexual shame and intolerance based on religious beliefs. From her point of view, examples of such trauma include sexual humiliation, homophobia, and other forms of sexual disempowerment. She speculates that nuns and priests have a higher prevalence of childhood sexual trauma, though they may have equal or lower percentages of direct sexual abuse as other populations. “Those priests and nuns who have not integrated their sexual orientations as a part of their personal identities due to sexual shame may be at greater risk for unresolved sexual trauma and, therefore, also at greater risk for sexual offending” (p. 102).

Like Shupe, Hidalgo believes that potential religious offenders disregard any sense of accountability owed to them by their religious followers. This is compounded by the lax and forgiving spirit of religious leaders toward clergy misconduct. The end result: fertile ground for the abuse of power and privilege.

Both books long for greater dialogue among scholars, religionists, and the wider society. Both books believe that accountability has the potential to bring change. Both books call for more research and best practices among leadership when malfeasance is detected.

Who among us could disagree?

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DIVIDED BY A COMMON HERITAGE: THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH AND THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW MILLENNIUM. By Corwin Smidt, Donald Luidens, James Penning, and Roger Nemeth. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006. xiv + 215 pp. \$24.00, paper.

Here is a close comparative study of two denominations many would have a great difficulty distinguishing. Those on the inside have no difficulty at all; they know the doctrinal and practice issues that have kept them apart and probably will continue to do so. One of the great utilities of this book to the study of religion is to show how finely tuned serious religious differences often are, and how they may not be captured by the large-scale social survey instruments often used. While arguably minor to the outsider, they are far from trivial to the insider, all the more so as it is these differences that keep apart two groups that are in so many ways alike.

Only part of the differences can be explained by exposure to the United States or to the secularizing influences of modernity. The differences relate in part to the geographic location of the two, which share a Midwest heartland majority but one is secondarily located in the Eastern states and the other in Canada. But again these “explanations” fail to satisfy the authors and this reader.

The common heritage separating the denominations is that of conservative Calvinism as passed through the Netherlands as opposed to Scotland, France, or Switzerland. This heritage has within it strains toward piety and Puritanism on the one hand and doctrinal orthodoxy on the other. While both denominations provide evidence of each, what divides at the core is a greater leaning toward piety and evangelism on the part of the Reformed Church in America (RCA) and toward doctrinal purity on the part of the Christian Reformed Church (CRC). Pure Calvinist doctrine, of course, makes evangelism problematic as grace is irresistible and election is unconditional. The CRC focus on providing Christian primary and secondary education and insisting that that is the only way to “raise children in the fear and admonition of the Lord” and the RCA openness to Masonic Lodge membership provide practice divisions between the groups that are difficult to overcome.

The doctrinal differences are carefully analyzed using very high-quality survey data from both clergy and members of the two groups. This permits finely detailed examinations of differences and trends. One interesting result was that pastors more recently graduated from seminary were systematically more conservative within the traditions of their denominations than clergy of longer experience. Whether this represents their comparative lack of exposure to the complexities of pastoral life, changes in the types of people presenting for ordination, or an increasing conservatism among those who remain is unclear but worth exploring.

I would have liked to see Stark’s theory of the relation between religious competition and religious vitality explored in this study. Very few denominations compete as vigorously as these two. Members are not residentially segregated from each other or from the larger community. Often, there are substantial congregations of each across the road from each other. They remind me of competition among oil companies—the goods they offer are so similar, the outlets positioned over against each other, and substantial competitive rhetoric against the other enjoined. If Stark is right, it would be a catastrophe for them to merge.

I was raised in the CRC and wish to praise the authors for so sensitively and caringly laying out the history of the groups, the decisions taken at different times that set the courses of the groups on parallel tracks but at a short distance apart. In my childhood and early teens there was an additional practice dimension that divided these two. While I went to the Christian schools, my best friend who lived two houses away was RCA and did not. What was more, members of the CRC were not allowed to go to the movies—movies being a form of worldliness—but the RCA members were and so I had to turn down offers from his family to go. Regularly recurring events like these deeply etch into the psyche the differences between the groups.

As these are not the only very similar but definitely divided religious groups, the results of this study can be instructive for the study of religious difference. As the differences have not resulted in violence, the study is also related to ongoing and recently more attention-getting work on the management of religious diversity. Moreover, it is a good read.

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HARE KRISHNA TRANSFORMED. By E. Burke Rochford. New York: New York University Press, 2007. x + 285 pp. \$68.00 cloth, \$22.00 paper.

In *Hare Krishnas in America*, E. Burke Rochford, Jr. (1985) explored the origin and original membership of the International Society for Krishna

Consciousness (ISKCON) and in doing so provided an important model for the study of new religious movements in the United States. Twenty-two years later, *Hare Krishna Transformed* revisits ISKCON and provides an equally important model for the study of the evolution of new religious movements in the United States. Drawing on interviews and quantitative surveys of first- and second-generation ISKCON devotees as well as over 30 years of participant observation, Rochford explores ISKCON's process of "growing up" in the United States, paying particular attention to the effects of ISKCON's failure to develop an internal culture supportive of marriage and family life.

Originating primarily as a movement of single, celibate devotees, ISKCON accepted marriage and children as a reality for some devotees but culturally and ideologically devalued family life on the whole. Increases in the number of marriages and children forced ISKCON's leadership to address the growing significance of internal family life. Its initial response was to develop a system of religious boarding schools for children, separating children from their parents and freeing parents to devote their day-to-day energies to ISKCON-centered activities, such as preaching and selling books. However, economic problems contributed to the closing of most of the boarding schools and the return of children to their parents in the temples. Rochford explains that this was an important turning point in ISKCON's evolution, creating a situation in which ISKCON became increasingly unable to support devotee families. As a result, the majority of families moved out of the temples and began living their daily lives as householders apart from ISKCON.

This inability to provide a supportive environment for families contributed to a growing perception within ISKCON that its leadership was disconnected, weak, and unresponsive to the needs of the community. Rochford explores a series of interrelated factors that further contributed to this perception and led to ISKCON's own transformation. First, revelations of child abuse within ISKCON's boarding school system further shook the already weakened confidence that parents had in ISKCON and its leaders and drove many of the second generation away from the movement. Rochford shows how ISKCON's devaluing of families and children created a cultural and an organizational context outside of parental supervision in which abuse could and did occur. This analysis is one of the book's particularly important contributions as it reveals the relationships between ideology, culture, organization, and behavior.

Second, with the collapse of ISKCON's boarding schools, the second-generation children began attending public schools where they worked to fit in with non-devotee peers, leading to a decline in their identification and involvement with ISKCON. Third, after years of experiencing ISKCON's sexism and inequality, some devotee women began a movement challenging these injustices and striv-

ing for ideological and organizational gender reform within ISKCON. Drawing on social movement analysis, Rochford discusses the problems pro-change devotees faced in reframing the position of women within ISKCON. These attempts did not go unchallenged, and Rochford similarly explores the "traditionalist backlash" and its efforts to discredit women activists and retain its own power within ISKCON. Importantly, Rochford examines how this conflict led to a larger one over the interpretation of Prabhupada's commentaries and teachings on women. In not supporting the traditionalists and in implementing a number of changes related to the place of women, ISKCON's leadership implicitly acknowledged the legitimacy of critical questioning of Prabhupada and lost its own authority to evoke traditionalism, further undermining its own basis of leadership.

Fourth, many of those devotees who left the temples for the outside world ended up leaving ISKCON behind as well. However, as Rochford shows, they still practice Krishna Consciousness and have actively constructed their own viable householder communities with a less oppositional theology or they found a place in other Krishna-based movements. Fifth, in response to these problems, ISKCON has turned to the Indian Hindu immigrant community for support. Rochford argues that as a result ISKCON is becoming an ethnic church, and he examines the ways in which this process has undermined ISKCON's religious movement goals by shifting the emphasis from conversion to ministry, leading to conflicts over the future direction of ISKCON in the United States.

Concluding the book, Rochford argues that as a result of all of these conflicts and changes, ISKCON in the United States has accommodated to the larger society. In other words, ISKCON *the religious movement* has become ISKCON *the religious organization/community*. Its emphasis has shifted from conversion and larger social change to ministry and families, and it has experienced a similar cultural shift from a culture of opposition to a culture of support.

In sum, this is a data-rich, expertly argued, important book for the study of religion and social movements in the United States. I would have liked to see additional data and analysis regarding the ways in which Indian Hindus themselves perceive their participation in ISKCON and ISKCON's role in their lives, but as Rochford's primary focus is on first-generation devotees and their children, this is an understandable omission and does nothing to reduce the importance of his book.

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THE PATH OF THE DEVIL: EARLY MODERN WITCH HUNTS. By Gary Jensen. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2006. iv + 281 pp. \$28.95 paper.

HER HIDDEN CHILDREN: THE RISE OF WICCA AND PAGANISM IN AMERICA. By Chas S. Clifton. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2006. vi + 161 pp. \$19.95 paper.

NEW AGE AND NEOPAGAN RELIGIONS IN AMERICA. By Sarah M. Pike. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. viii + 220 pp. \$26.00 paper.

WITCHCRAFT AND MAGIC: CONTEMPORARY NORTH AMERICA. Edited by Helen A. Berger. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. 207 pp. \$24.95 paper.

VOICES FROM THE PAGAN CENSUS: A NATIONAL SURVEY OF WITCHES AND NEOPAGANS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Helen A. Berger, Evan A. Leach, and Leigh S. Shaffer. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003. viii + 279 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

RESEARCHING PAGANISMS (The Pagan Studies Series). Edited by Jenny Balin, Douglass Ezzy, and Graham Harvey. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2004. ii + 273. \$29.95 paper.

Though neo-Paganism has sometimes been identified as a “churchless religion” consisting of extremely fluid social networks, a number of contemporary scholars have more than risen to the challenge of producing highly rigorous accounts of this phenomenon, using both quantitative and qualitative data to identify convincingly its dimensions and locate neo-Paganism within a larger social framework. Any or all of these books could make interesting additions to courses in sociology of religion not only for the details noted about neo-Paganism *per se*, but for the convincing cases made as to how this spiritual trend has emerged through social, cultural, political, and economic imperatives.

Jensen’s book provides a good starting point for discussion, in that the author provides an historical sociological overview of witch hunts in Europe and the United States, as far back as the 1500s—and then deftly brings the reader up-to-date with post-war McCarthyism, the AIDS scare of the 1980s, and the violent—sometimes fatal—persecutions that are suffered by “witches” globally to this day. Along the way, Jensen offers numerous theoretically and empirically driven explanations for why witch hunts occurred and even persist. On a theoretical level, Jensen explores witch hunts in terms of sacrificial ceremony (in which through organized ritual someone is put forth to pay for the veritable sins of the world), strategic persecution (in which a group is persecuted in order for dominant or status quo inter-

ests to be maintained), and scapegoating (in which anxiety over a social crisis is displaced onto a particular kind of person). The author then explores empirically evident variables that to relative degrees accompanied historical periods of witch hunting, including disease, war, and famine—and the economic and political urgencies that emerge therefrom. Impressively, the author provides numbers, graphs, and even correlations in delving back through the centuries. All of this helps to set the stage for the famous Salem witchcraft trials, a situation, asserts Jensen, which was all the more exacerbated by biological agents that led to an encephalitis outbreak. The book concludes with an exploration of more contemporary “witch hunts,” and a discussion as to the extent the metaphor accurately applies. Jensen’s account is highly readable and thought-provoking, and could prove a valuable addition to nonreligious courses as well, such as political sociology—or perhaps even classical theory, given the author’s elaboration upon the meanings and applications of functionalism as applied to witch hunts.

Clifton, an English Professor at Colorado State University, provides an account of the rise of Wicca and Paganism in the United States that focuses not on social upheaval so much as on popular cultural symbols and artifacts, key individuals, and popular texts as instrumental in the said rise. The author establishes early on that Wicca is “textual religion,” asserting that the prototypical practitioner is likely to own an abundance of books and periodicals on neo-Paganism—even as Wicca also places high value on face-to-face training and initiation. Clifton discusses numerous key texts that have informed the neo-Pagan movement, including Gerald Gardner’s 1954 *Witchcraft Today*, and Raymond Buckland’s 1971 *Witchcraft from the Inside*. He also outlines the contributions of openly Wiccan individuals such as Robert Cochrane, Gwydion Penderwen, Paul Huson, and Aiden Kelly, as well as historical figures such as Thomas Morton, who often has assumed a mythical, prophet-like status in Wiccan circles. Not surprisingly, the 1960s counterculture is seen as helping to set the stage for the Pagan resurgence, and secular events such as Earth Day further helped set in motion, according to Clifton, the identification of Wicca as an “earth religion”—an identity that was then highlighted at key festivals. Clifton also analyzes the popular meanings for terms such as witch, Wicca, and Pagan, noting both historical origin and cultural diversions over time. Clifton’s is a book that could enliven courses in popular culture, as well as courses in religion.

Pike’s book explores the history and current status of not only neo-Paganism in the United States, but of New Age as well, noting the similarities as well as strains between these two movements. Hers is a detail-rich, ethnographic account aimed at providing the reader with a solid introduction to the everyday substance of these movements, and how and why they emerged when they did. According to

Pike, key distinctions between New Age and neo-Paganism include: the former's future orientation as compared with the latter's past orientation; more emphasis upon nature and the earth in the latter; less emphasis upon ritual in the former; and more emphasis on professional-client relationships in the former as a tool to self-growth and healing. Seeing the 19th-century popularity of phenomena such as mediums, metaphysics, and faith healing as foundational to what we now call neo-Paganism and New Age, Pike goes on to proclaim the 1960s as the watershed decade. During that decade the extreme popularity of certain novels (e.g., *Lord of the Rings*, *Stranger in a Strange Land*) interfaced with the advent of LSD, the Apollo 11 moon landing, and the assassination of King and the Kennedy brothers to affect youth culture in ways that produced the search for alternative forms of spirituality that emphasized a new of consciousness that was both spiritually introspective and capable of healing the planet. As each person manifested her or his divine self, a new era of humanity could be set into motion.

Pike then goes on to discuss what she views as key dimensions of the neo-Pagan/New Age experience. These include topics such as alternative and spiritual forms of healing, outlining techniques, and practices thereof, and noting ways in which these often place greater emphasis upon the totality of the self than conventional medicine. She then discusses the relatively fluid and tolerant sexual and gender mores of these newer religious movements, and discusses the emphasis upon the goddess in pro-feminist terms. The so-called Age of Aquarius is discussed in terms of its utopian and millennial implications, and the social and environmental activism associated with it. Finally, the author provides a chronology of what she sees as major events in the development of these spiritual movements. In sum, Pike would appear to have succeeded in her intention to provide the reader with a solid basic text on neo-Paganism and New Age in the United States.

Berger's anthology consists of seven essays by six different authors (including herself) that attempt to sociologically locate the current resurgence of witchcraft and magic. First, Michael York explores the complex and nuanced connections between the New Age movement and magic, noting that while many New Agers do not consider themselves to practice magic *per se*, the notion of self-transformation involves a violation to the order of things as they are, and so still constitutes a kind of magic. Then, Berger herself discusses witchcraft and neo-Paganism, noting and describing its various permutations (e.g., Wiccans, Druids, Odinists), as well as neo-Pagan organizations and festivals. In so doing, Berger notes the ways in which the lack of formal bureaucracy in neo-Paganism is balanced by shared cultural beliefs and experiences, and commonly pursued artifacts such as books, journals, and websites. Next, Wendy Griffin looks at feminist spirituality within witchcraft and magic networks, asserting that this

general movement, in promoting the rebirth of the goddess, has similarly promoted spiritual empowerment of the female. York then returns with an essay on shamanism and magic, in which he outlines shamanism in an historical and anthropological context and then goes on to explain what shamanism means in both New Age and neo-Pagan contexts. In the former case, the emphasis is more on self-healing, while in the latter the emphasis is more on reuniting the self to natural forces.

Ysamur M. Flores-Pena writes about Lucumi, an Afro-Caribbean religious movement that has been gaining popularity in North America for its flexibility in embracing diverse cultural elements. Originating among Cuban slaves, the movement began spreading with the Cuban revolution. Its elements of herbal healing and divinities of both genders suggest compatibility with neo-Paganism. Stuart A. Wright explores how satanic cults and ritual abuse have led to moral panic and a modern-day "witch hunt." Wright finds that there is little empirical evidence to justify this "panic," and that much of it stems from fundamentalist, anti-cult sentiments, as well as increasing sexual permissiveness. Finally, Tanice G. Foltz writes about the commodification of witchcraft. In the general public, this commodification has taken the form of feature films and television programs for both adults and children, trade books and magazines, and pop songs. Within the neo-Pagan community itself, there have been Pagan websites and newsletters, music recordings aimed at Pagan audiences, and camps, schools, fairs, and festivals. In sum, Foltz notes that witchcraft seems to be a profitable theme in the marketplace, citing, for example, the fact that Halloween itself is among the most profitable of U.S. holidays. Taken as a whole, this collection of essays provides the reader with an overview of what witchcraft and magic have come to mean in the United States—from the standpoint of the practitioner, as well as from the standpoint of the opponent and the consumer.

Berger, Leach, and Shaffer offer an ambitious effort to quantify the neo-Pagan experience in the United States by presenting the first national survey of U.S. witches and neo-Pagans. Along the way, the authors found interesting deviations from the general U.S. population as found in the General Social Survey (GSS). For example, the general population would appear to be much more optimistic and idealistic about the existence and characteristics of an afterlife than neo-Pagans. Similarly, the general population would seem to have much more confidence in traditional social institutions. Yet there also appear to be variations within the neo-Pagan community itself. For example, more neo-Pagan women than men support an equal rights amendment and same-sex marriage. And within different permutations of neo-Paganism there can be variations of opinion. For example, Druids are somewhat more likely than the general neo-Pagan population (GNPP) to be politically independent. Unitarian

Universalist neo-Pagans are somewhat more likely to be married and be college graduates than the GNPP. In short, this volume—and the survey created and implemented therein—provides a foundation upon which future studies could be built in quantitatively exploring the beliefs, practices, and lifestyles of the neo-Pagan community.

Finally, Blain, Ezzy, and Harvey have edited a volume that puts research on neo-Paganism on a meta-level: What is it like to research neo-Paganism, and what sorts of methodological concerns does one encounter? The book is divided into four parts. First, in “Performance and Reflexivity,” three essayists reflect on Paganism as self-performance, and the element of reflexivity thereof when encountering and participating in a neo-Pagan community—in other words, researching as an insider versus an outsider, whereby reification of different self-reference points are sought between the former and the latter. This leads to the second part of the book, “Challenging Objectivity, Theorizing Subjectivity,” in which four authors take aim at the veritable holy grail of objectivity in research, and attempt to construct a new and highly utilitarian kind of subjectivity that suggests certain parallels with feminist and ethnic research by insiders. The third section, “Embodying Relationships, Community and History,” has three chapters devoted to ways in which research on neo-Paganism conceptually interfaces with research into the environment and community-building. Lastly, “Re-Locating the Researcher” raises issues as to the intrinsic and extrinsic political nature of neo-Paganism itself as a response to the *status quo*, whereby the very act of researching this movement takes on new kinds of social meaning.

All told, each of these volumes, in its way, makes a valuable and readable contribution to the growing body of knowledge on neo-Paganism and

related forms of alternative spirituality. Along the way, these books also by turns inform one’s understanding of literature, popular culture, politics, social theory, and research methodology. Individually and collectively, they make for illuminating reading.

Further, the volumes are of interest because they provide invaluable sociological records not just of a religious/spiritual movement *per se*, but one that by its very nature—and survival strategy mutations over the centuries—embodies a form of social protest. Issues such as the symbolic rebirth of the goddess, earth-based spirituality, or even the relative lack of formalized dogma or dictates, cannot help but be responses to a status quo seen as patriarchal, more interested in momentary profit than the survival of the planet, and overly eager to tell other people how they should live or what to believe. As these volumes attest, those who pursue neo-Paganism often feel marginalized not only for being a minority religious movement, but also for feeling relatively disenfranchised from what they experience as a highly exclusionary social order.

There are, of course, many ways to rally against social norm or policy, whether through religious or secular venues—and there is, of course, the familiar argument that in effect all forms of religion are a kind of protest in that they articulate dissatisfaction with how the everyday world regards the human experience. But the neo-Pagan movement, as outlined in these books, does signal one means by which dissatisfaction with the mundane world can be given spiritual meaning.

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