

field points out, "the racist ideology that defined Black people as biologically inferior and socially undesirable was developed to justify Black slavery. This racist ideology, in new and contradictory forms, evolved, developed, amplified, and amended, lives on in America today" (p. 48).

Goldfield has written an easy to read, informative book assessing the role of race in the political and social development of the United States. He does so through an historical examination of critical periods of the nation's history as well as an assessment of the labor movement and the lack of the formation of a lasting multiracial labor coalition. He draws parallels from the historical period to the current one. He admits to being circuitous in his approach, and this is the major shortcoming of the book. He restates many historical events in each era that are rather cliché, and in some instances he states the obvious. He uses a variety of secondary sources whose arguments are quite familiar to readers. While many of these authors (Beard, Foner, DuBois) are certainly notable, there is nothing new in their arguments, nor does Goldfield add anything new. He also makes the argument that race has been a central feature of U.S. politics to the point of overkill. The repetition of this theme disguises the underlying theme of race overshadowing class issues. His book is equally a discussion of labor relations and the barriers that have thwarted working-class solidarity.

Despite these limitations, the book has value in its linking of the historical development of the subordination of African Americans to the current white racist coalition building, with its blame-the-victim approach to problem solving. His message that diversionary tactics have been used to avoid addressing the real causes of injustice and inequality in the United States is quite noteworthy. The fact that the system has failed to develop substantive policies to eradicate the scourge of inequality underscores the institutionalization of racism. In Goldfield's view, "white people's attitudes will only be changed substantially on racial matters when a determined group that is uncompromising and relentless on the issues, proselytizes, organizes, and refuses to go away" (p. 462). This group should be composed of both genders and various races and ethnic groups. Then, and only then, will a just and equitable society be created.

African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965. Edited by Ann D. Gordon, with Bettye Collier-Thomas, John H. Bracey, Arlene Voski Avakian, and Joyce Avrech Berkman. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997. 217p. \$45.00 cloth, \$15.95 paper.

How Long? How Long? African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights. By Belinda Robnett. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 256p. \$35.00 cloth, \$18.97 paper.

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This monograph and a collection of essays effectively argue that to treat gender in the history of African American struggles for political equality one cannot just "add women and stir." Rather, to incorporate women, new methods and new theorizing are required. As the essays make clear, existing paradigms fail to appreciate the heart and scope of the experiences of African American women and the intersectionality and simultaneity of struggles around race, sex, and class. These new works follow in the tradition of Paula Giddings (*When and Where I Enter*, 1984), offering greater historical depth and guidance on recovery of primary source material. Both books contribute to their stated goals of discovering and learning more about black heroines in the

struggle for political equality and citizenship. Robnett and several authors in *African American Women and the Vote* go farther and contribute importantly to the project of retheorizing.

How Long? How Long? is a very impressive and theoretically rich piece of scholarship by sociologist and women's studies scholar Belinda Robnett. A chapter rethinking social movement theory and one on theoretical conclusions frame the book, with the rise of the civil rights movement in the South and its ultimate unraveling from below by 1966 marking the progression of Robnett's story. Most chapters add fresh insights to understanding the formal organizations, formal and informal leadership, and grassroots mobilization of the civil rights era. Robnett finds complex interactions and offers an exceptionally vivid and compelling specification of the way regional culture, race, gender, class, and education shaped leadership possibilities, roles, and experiences.

Robnett has drawn on a rich treasure of interviews with movement participants, including open-ended telephone interviews with 25 women she conducted from 1990 to 1992. The narratives of movement participants are beautifully and seamlessly woven into the analysis. The interview data allow her to make good on her goal of avoiding essentializing categories, instead relying on "narratives to express the identities of the actors in question and define their own social locations" (p. 5). She generally moves with ease among engagement with the scholarly literature, frames of analysis, and the interview materials. There are, however, points at which the reader may dread seeing the term "bridge leader" (with its four variants) or the terms primary and secondary formal leader one more time.

How Long? How Long? remodels and redefines leadership, combating scholarship that has failed to see women's participation in the civil rights movement as leadership. Robnett demonstrates the importance of methods that do not define leadership on the basis of formal titles, prominence in organizational records and newsletters, or even frequent speaking at meetings. Titles, she argues, generally fail to reflect women's authority in this movement. Women with formal titles were likely to be relegated to secretarial functions in the office. Women without titles, who worked in the field, often had considerable autonomy to lead, considered themselves leaders, and were recognized as such (sometimes as charismatic leaders) by their co-workers and by those they mobilized. In contrast to the assumption that leaders mobilized followers, Robnett argues that women leaders in the community frequently recruited and mobilized male formal leaders.

Though cultural and societal norms established some limitations on women's formal leadership, Robnett finds the lens of gender discrimination inadequate for analysis of women's roles. "The exclusion of most women from formal leadership positions created an exceptionally qualified leadership tier in the area of micromobilization" (p. 191). They bridged formal organizations and the grassroots. Bridge leaders, many of whom were women, were critical to building and sustaining grassroots mobilization. Their mobilization skills built the base on which the civil rights movement rested. They helped forge political consciousness and group solidarity in the African American community. Their own courage and willingness to put their lives in danger in moments of crisis and leadership breakdown mobilized via emotion—a vital component of movement recruitment and mobilization, Robnett argues. At the time, these women did not (by and large) experience the limitations on their formal leadership opportunities as gender discrimination. Especially in those organizations that were least hierarchical, women were able

to lead in ways they had never done before, and they felt their empowerment. In the early years of SNCC, people "leaped out of" prescribed roles (p. 194). "Ironically, it is this 'now' perceived limitation that served to catapult and sustain the identity, collective consciousness, and solidarity of the movement" (p. 191). Since bridge leaders provided the glue that held the movement together, when it unraveled, it was from the grassroots up. New hierarchical arrangements, emphasis on male leadership, and black nationalism in SNCC pushed bridge leaders and the agendas of their Southern grassroots followers (voting rights, jobs, health care) off the screen.

When dealing with charges and perceptions of sexism in the movement that date from that time, Robnett is inclined to dismiss them, which is at first glance unsettling but upon greater reflection quite nuanced. One example will suffice. She considers at length one 1964 paper produced by two white women charging SNCC with gender discrimination, and her argument stresses positionality. She points out that white women were more likely to work in the office than their African American counterparts (among other reasons, their presence in the field could endanger the lives of black activists), and they therefore experienced more traditionally gendered divisions of labor than field workers. The complex nature of the relationships among gender, class, and race again appears.

Robnett examines women's activism in the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Women's Political Council of Montgomery, and the Montgomery Improvement Association, noting that leadership opportunities for women varied with the level of centralization in the organization. The portrait of Martin Luther King is not very flattering. King was reluctant to capitalize on grassroots victories and energy in this period, totally unwilling to imagine women as leaders, and deaf to their counsel and ideas. If Robnett is enthusiastic about the early years of SNCC, she nonetheless acknowledges that SNCC could not have taken the road to empowerment it did unless there was at least one other movement organization (e.g., SCLC) that engaged the state and made compromises (p. 195). In these organizations, male leaders frequently had to deal with the white power structure. "The women were not faced with the pressures of national credibility and the need to compromise" and therefore had the luxury of remaining more true to their constituents (p. 165). The author is partial to those women leaders least willing to yield or compromise their own visions, including Ella Baker, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Gloria Richardson (featured on the dust jacket), whose work was undermined by male leaders.

African American Women and the Vote is a collection of essays written chiefly by historians and African American studies scholars, growing out of a 1987 conference held at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. In revising the papers, authors incorporated a few later contributions to scholarship. Several essays that frame their arguments for the simultaneity of race and gender struggles, as opposed to giving precedence to one or the other, retain a mid-1980s flavor.

The volume is organized chronologically, charting key turning points in the political activity of black women. It begins with the first antislavery convention of American women and ends with the civil rights struggle in the 1950s and 1960s. An express goal is to lay the groundwork for a comprehensive political history of African American women. It is a project of historical recovery and, as Bettina Aptheker suggests, empowerment and self-esteem.

Despite the title's emphasis on the vote, another important goal of the book is to challenge and expand traditional definitions of politics. To look only at suffrage, from which

many African American women were excluded during many of the years under scrutiny, is to miss or miscalculate the actual power wielded by African American women. As Terborg-Penn points out in an overview essay, suffrage was "merely one seam in the fabric of women's political struggle" (p. 20). Several essays illustrate "the independent initiatives by black women toward establishing a power base in the community from which to assert greater influence and control over issues crucial to their daily lives" (Aptheker, p. 206). Essays, case studies (including black female legal challenges to emerging Jim Crow statutes), and examinations of the activities of particular black feminist leaders (Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Charlotta A. Bass) display the rich variety of political concerns of female African American activists.

Several essays offer far richer insights and fertile theoretical reformulations than the rest. Cynthia Neverdon-Morton's essay on southern African American women's organizations from 1895 to 1925 is noteworthy for highlighting the important community-building role played by rural women involved in social service programs, for emphasizing the frequent flow of information and influence from local organizations and activists upward, and for examining possibilities and limits in interracial cooperation within women's organizations. The special standouts in this volume are the essays by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham on clubwomen and electoral politics in the 1920s and, most notably, Elsa Barkley Brown on southern black women's political history from 1865 to 1880.

Too frequently, the 1920s are cast as a decade in which women's mobilization collapsed after their Nineteenth Amendment victory. Higginbotham's northern urban African American clubwomen had a strong sense of political efficacy and saw themselves as in politics to stay. In the 1920s, organized African American women played a significant role in mobilizing voters; they engaged in door-to-door canvassing and talked and held meetings on political issues of concern to the community. In African American communities increasingly differentiated along class lines, clubwomen prepared women for citizenship. Like Neverdon-Morton, Higginbotham traces the fate of fledgling alliances with predominantly white organizations, here the League of Women Voters.

Elsa Barkley Brown's dazzling essay on the immediate post-Civil War years is a remarkable example of what placing African American women at the center of the analysis can do to retheorize citizenship struggles. For these newly freed women, husband, children, and community at large were bound up with their vision of autonomy; "individual freedom could be achieved only through collective autonomy" (p. 69). African American women did not understand freedom, citizenship, representative institutions, or property in the same individualistic and market-oriented terms that their northern liberators employed. Their worldview involved an ethos of mutuality; members of the community were responsible for one another. An example of this differing vision of citizenship finds African American men and women thronging to early state conventions and legislative sessions, expecting not just to watch but to participate alongside delegates. Women refused to remain passive spectators. African American women saw themselves having a vital stake in the male franchise, considered the vote a collective good, and imposed sanctions against African American males who dared to vote Democratic. "That African American women did not operate inside the formal political process does not negate the intensely political character of their actions" (p. 86). Barkley Brown persuasively reminds us that current scholars have lost

the language with which to express the concepts that these African American women understood.

To the extent these two new books expand our notion of the scope of African American women's political activity, reconceptualize and acknowledge their leadership, and re-theorize African American women's place in struggles for citizenship and civil rights, they merit praise and careful attention. Robnett and Barkley Brown deserve an ovation.

The Bully Pulpit: The Politics of Protestant Clergy. By James L. Guth, John C. Green, Corwin E. Smidt, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Margaret M. Poloma. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997. 221p. \$35.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.

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Like other types of social leaders, clergy serve a role that is not explicitly political. Nonetheless, many do become involved in politics. Clergy are simultaneously citizens, religious professionals, and institutional leaders. As a result, their political attitudes and behavior are shaped by a myriad of forces. *The Bully Pulpit* represents a major step forward in our understanding of why and how clergy become politically involved. It is also a significant empirical contribution to the literature on religion and political behavior.

Not since the 1970s has such serious attention been paid to the political orientations of clergy. Fortunately, the authors have taken this important task very seriously. The wealth of data they have collected on the political attitudes and behavior of Protestant clergy is remarkable; there is also much to be learned from their interpretation and analysis. Over the years these authors have worked diligently to create reliable and valid religious measures, and this effort has served them—and a host of other scholars—well.

The book draws on two decades of research on thousands of Protestant clergy serving eight traditionally white evangelical and mainline denominations (the Assemblies of God, Christian Reformed Church, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Covenant Church, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., Reformed Church in America, Southern Baptist Convention, and United Methodist Church). The denominations the authors have chosen capture the variety of white Protestantism, but the reader may be left wishing for similar information on African American Protestant clergy, who have traditionally been more politically active than any other group of ministers in the United States. The authors begin by providing rich contextual detail about a handful of specific clergy in a series of anecdotes reminiscent of James Davison Hunter's introduction to his noted book (*Culture Wars*, 1991). These stories, while enormously interesting, are unlike the rest of the book; the chapters that follow are occupied by the presentation and technical discussion of the quantitative data.

The authors base their analysis on the notions of *theology* and *social theology*, which constitute the primary predictors of ministers' political goals and activities. Ministers' basic theological orientations, they argue, are the central components of their overall belief systems and as such may be expected to have a profound effect on their political attitudes. Theological traditionalists (evangelical Protestants) are expected to focus their energies on moral reform, while theological modernists (mainline Protestants) are supposed to espouse a social justice agenda. Social theology refers to "beliefs connecting theology to public affairs" (p. 8). The authors argue that there are two predominant social theologies at work in the United States today: the individualism of conservative evangelical Protestants and the communitarianism of liberal mainline Protestants.

White Protestant clergy therefore come in two distinct breeds, as the authors see it: traditional individualists (conservative evangelical ministers) and modern communitarians (liberal mainline ministers). This "two-party system" dichotomy characterizes the political agendas and activities of white Protestant clergy, as table after table in this book demonstrate. Traditionalist clergy embrace "moral" issues and vote Republican; they prefer to involve themselves politically by stating their views in religious settings. Modernist clergy are more likely to be concerned about social justice and to vote Democrat; they prefer to participate in a wide range of political activities both inside the church and in the surrounding community.

There is, however, diversity within these two "parties"; not all traditionalists are Christian Right activists, and all modernists do not embrace 1960s-style protest politics. In fact, only 9.7% of all clergy these authors surveyed fall into each of these categories. Clergy engage in a wide range of political activities, but some do not participate at all. Moreover, while some clergy prefer to engage in direct political action, others favor a strategy the authors label "cue giving," which involves taking explicit stands on issues or candidates. In short, while ideological orientations appear to fit tightly into a two-party system, political participation may be somewhat less rigidly dichotomous.

This study thus begins to address the important theoretical need to understand the circumstances under which social elites (in this instance clergy) make the choice to translate their leadership into the political realm while others do not. Understanding the circumstances under which clergy become interested and involved in politics paves the way for future research on how clergy create political contexts within their churches. Yet, the authors focus on national patterns, which means that they sacrifice some level of detail in their exploration of intradenominational pluralism. While they argue early on that social context is an intervening variable between theology/social theology and clergy goals and activities, they do not operationalize the notion of context formally. They consider a few contextual measures (such as church size) in their analyses, but their real focus is on the predictive power of the theological constructs. This emphasis on theology and ideology provides an important—but in my view incomplete—account of how and why clergy become politically involved.

Two fascinating challenges are posed by this important and useful book; these flow from the authors' *a priori* assumptions and constrain the study's broad applicability somewhat. First, the utility of the "two-party system" dichotomy would be diminished if the scope of the analysis were moved beyond white Protestants. In particular, neither African American Protestants nor Catholics fit neatly into either of these categories because (in different ways) both groups embrace a complex combination of traditionalism and modernism.

Second, I question whether theology (variously defined and named) is the crucial independent variable for understanding the political orientations of clergy. The exclusion of other important variables tapping such things as local political context may clear the path for the theology variables to succeed no matter what. The way these theological variables are used also suggests that denominational affiliation may be a sufficient proxy predictor of the political orientations of clergy. As I see things, the path between these two variables is far more complex and circuitous than the authors seem to imply. Moreover, there is tremendous diversity within the traditionalist and modernist camps of white Protestantism, which the authors note, but this diversity does not come through as clearly as it could in the book. A simple but telling