

correct some minor problems. An awkward acronym, TERRA, is used to summarize the five service quality categories (Reliability, Assurance, Tangibles, Empathy, Reliability) comprising the SERVQUAL index instead of the easier to remember and catchier RATER. However, the clarity of presentation and the practical focus of the this book, which takes the business truism that customers are important and shows how service decisions can be guided by careful satisfaction measures, makes it an attractive choice for a text at either the undergraduate or MBA level.

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Kaufman, P. W. (1996). *National parks and the woman's voice: A history*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Several historians that I know at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill talk about the untapped potential for historical research in the field of recreation and leisure. In fact, several of them have decided that the opportunity is too good to pass up, so they are starting to do their own research about the role of leisure in community development, the influence of race and gender on sport, and the role that recreation played in the labor movement and union organizing. Some of them are interested in the personal aspects of leisure so are analyzing women's involvement in garden clubs, reading diaries about the common experiences of daily living, or gathering oral histories. These historians all suggest that more collaborative research is needed between leisure studies and history.

Some professionals in the field of recreation and leisure studies lament the ahistorical way we approach research and practice. We know almost nothing about our past, especially if we happen to be a woman, a person of color, or a person with a disability. We wait for someone else to tell our story. In her book, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, Polly Kaufman, a teacher of women's history at the University of Massachusetts, tells a revisionist's story. She provides a glimpse through women's eyes into the history of one of our most visible institutions for outdoor recreation—the National Park Service. Her book is thorough, compelling, and insightful. As I read the book, I was struck with how little I knew about women's professional involvement in outdoor recreation. By the end of the book, I was grateful to this woman historian who cared enough to bring attention to the invisibility of women in the out-of-doors and give recognition to the struggle and commitment of women to preserve and enjoy our natural spaces.

Kaufman wrote her book from a feminist perspective that accentuated the male-defined culture of the Park Service. She developed a framework that explores the two main factors on the development of the Park Service (i.e. the military ethos and the public communications approach), the influence of these factors on women's opportunities and expectations regarding

the roles they could fill in the Park Service, and the effect of these factors on allowing women's voices to be heard. For example, she described the conflict that arose when the old-time rangers from the military tradition of protector and enforcer saw the new male ranger-naturalists as effeminate because of the cordiality, grace, and chivalry expected to meet the demands for visitor services and education. This homophobic attitude toward the ranger-naturalists fueled an animosity among the male rangers. The conflict was ultimately directed toward women who wanted to work within the ranger ranks. The old-time rangers felt their jobs were man's-work and inappropriate for women while the new ranger-naturalists felt the hiring of women would confirm the perceived effeminacy of their jobs. The culmination of these homophobic attitudes was a Park Service policy that prohibited women from all ranger positions for the next four decades.

Kaufman has developed the book around the voices of women. In her first section that "speaks for parks" from the women pioneers' perspectives, she brings visibility to the roles that women carried into the outdoors as explorers and travelers, early park founders and advocates, the first women ranger-naturalists, and Park Service wives. She detailed the lives of many women unknown to most of us, yet went beyond providing a list of accomplishments. Throughout these chapters, she developed a comprehensive framework that included a broad range of involvement of women in environmental movements as well as professional careers. One has only to read these chapters to understand the struggles of women as they explored the wild areas, vied for positions as ranger-naturalists, enlisted in efforts to save and preserve natural areas, and eventually accepted the only route of service open to them within the National Park Service—as wives of Park Rangers.

In these early sections, Kaufman described women's struggles to be heard within arenas related to the outdoors. Within the Park Service, women confronted the biased societal perceptions of women as weak, unassertive, and unable to meet the rigors of a ranger's job. Outside of the professional sphere, women as advocates for the preservation of national parks and wild areas also wrestled with acceptance within the conservation movement. The women encountered a male-defined culture within the conservation movement that eventually drove them to organize their own women-run organizations. These women environmentalists chose a separatist approach to their campaigns that they maintained until the Alaska lands debates in the 1970s. At that time women once again worked as national leaders within established male-defined environmental groups. Many efforts of women environmentalists have been overlooked by historians, because of the focus on major environmentalists in male-directed organizations. Through Kaufman's research, women's efforts both in and outside the Park Service are acknowledged and discussed as valuable influences on the development of national parks and the Park Service.

In the later sections of the book that focused on women who "speak for the parks as modern sisters," Kaufman's writing illustrated the efforts of women to be recognized as park professionals, environmentalists, and ad-

vocates of parks. The contributions and influences of women's involvement was shown in the types of jobs undertaken and causes supported. Kaufman discussed links between women's socialization as nurturers and carriers of culture and a new style of interpretation. The women professionals brought significance to racial and ethnic cultures and cultural landscapes within parks, a positive emphasis on communication rather than confrontation, less intrusive ways to handle landscape design problems, and a willingness to speak against outside interests that threatened the integrity of national parks.

All of these stories support the final goal of the book which is to reclaim women's legitimate place in the history of the Park Service and the national parks themselves. The book helps us define history through the lives of the women involved with the parks. We are left with the information needed to answer the question "Who decides who America will remember?" when asked about the history of national parks. Not only do we have the historical data, but we also see the on-going result of this historical effort as we are greeted in our parks by women rangers, see women in administrative positions within the Park Service, and are asked to get involved with environmental organizations lead by women intent on saving park lands.

I think this book raised many good questions about the relationship between gender and the park profession. However, Kaufman wrote from a liberal feminist approach that stayed focused primarily on the issues of equality. She did acknowledge that the women she wrote about could basically choose to confront the male-defined culture of parks by embracing male culture and hiding their differences (e.g. equality as assimilation) or they could abandon the male culture and create their own goals based on their values and work as outsiders to bring about desired change (e.g. a separatist approach). At the end of the book, I believe she advocated for a model of equality as acceptance (Littleton, 1991) where the differences between women and men, whether cultural or biological, are accepted as equal norms that complement each other. This model values diversity, resists the devaluation of what has been defined as female, refuses to restrict women (or men) to particular roles, and works to dismantle the hegemony of white males.

I think Kaufman was in the perfect position to provide a strong social critique of the ways in which gender has influenced the ability of women to be accepted into outdoor professions and environmental movements. For example, the issue of homophobia was alluded to in several areas in the book, yet she never developed the links between masculinity, femininity, homophobia, and outdoor professions. Race and ethnicity perspectives were another area where gaps were apparent. Perhaps we should not expect one book to erase all of the invisibilities of the past century, but the perspectives from women of color were an obvious missing piece to the puzzle.

This book does provide one of the few attempts to document the influence of women in all types of life situations including explorers, wives of rangers, scientists and environmentalists, ordinary women involved in advocacy issues around the wilderness, and women park professionals. Kaufman

gathered hundreds of interviews with women and carried out meticulous archival research that resulted in this slice of history unlike any other story available to us. For example, she illustrated the concept of social control of women within the Park Service. Kaufman developed this concept by analyzing the admittance of women in the early 1920s as ranger-naturalists to their ouster a few years later because of a perceived threat to the masculinity of the male rangers. With few alternatives, these women often ended up as wives to rangers where they were acknowledged as "honorary custodians without pay" (p. 93). They often were expected to carry out the same responsibilities as their ranger husbands since the Park Service saw a husband and wife team as a "two for the price of one" opportunity. The wives were thought to add civility to the job, were often easier for local community members to approach than their park personnel husbands, and were considered surrogates for their husbands in emergencies.

While my first reaction was to feel frustration over yet another example of patriarchal control at work, Kaufman took the additional steps to show how this occurrence actually served an important role in the future employment of women park professionals. By analyzing aspects of these wives' stories, she developed a picture of professional opportunity for women rangers that grew out of these wives' experiences. The Park Service began to recognize and acknowledge that women were able to meet the expectations and responsibilities of rangers, because the visible proof was seen everyday with the wives. The Park Service began to professionalize some of the functions done by the wives. Kaufman illustrated through personal stories the ways in which women, particularly the wives, developed new views of themselves, including confidence in their competencies, that encouraged them to take the next step of demanding independent careers for themselves. Without this historical perspective, the acknowledgment that park wives paved the way for the modern Park Service professional woman would have been lost.

This book will likely not be a supplemental text for classes, although it would be beneficial if read by students interested in outdoor professions, the environment, or history. However, I would highly recommend the book be added to your professional reading list and for some of the ideas to make their way into lecture notes and professional meetings.

The full acceptance of women into many professions is still a struggle that includes aspects of the themes discussed in this book: patriarchy, social control, homophobia, gender roles and expectations, invisibility, status, and social change. Perhaps the following quote from Kaufman (1996) can serve as a reminder of the past and directions that many of us need to have for our future:

The culture of the Park Service was constructed by white men who were anxious to preserve their hegemony and their masculinity. Although the service as a whole was not aggressive in seeking diversity, training, opportunities, and a new emphasis on education in parks helped women achieve opportunities for field positions. The strength of the male-oriented culture, however, influenced the

first Park Service field women to seek a male-defined model and not value their own different voices. As women moved up the hierarchy, becoming park superintendents and administrators and branching out into such new professional positions as historic preservation and resource managers, they began to search for their own voices, often unconsciously, and to find their own places. (p. 146-147)

That quote is what historical research is all about: to acknowledge where we have been, to understand why we are where we are, and to know better where we might go.

References

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