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Zimmerman, Bonnie, & McNaron, Toni A. H. (Eds.). 1996. *The new lesbian studies: Into the twenty-first century*. New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, ISBN 1-55861-136-3, \$17.95 paperback, 295 pp.

*Same sex, Different cultures: Gays and lesbians across cultures*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. ISBN 0-8133-3163-3, \$26.00 cloth cover, 204 pp.

Caution! These books should be read with an open mind. The material and information contained in these books will make visible the invisible, challenge and deepen your understanding of human sexuality, gender roles, and heterosexism, and bring forth ideas and questions about social and cultural responses to same sex relationships in contemporary and future cultures.

While both books address aspects of sexual diversity, they approach the subject matter using conflicting theoretical perspectives and address two different sets of issues in different cultural contexts. Gilbert Herdt (1997), draw-

ing on cultural and historical material, discussed the existence of same sex relationships in a diversity of cultures ranging from Ancient Greece to contemporary societies. Bonnie Zimmerman and Toni McNaron (1996) focused on one specific culture, academia, in their collection of writings that provide a historical and reflective insight into the growth and development of lesbian scholarship.

*Same sex, different cultures: Gays and lesbians across cultures* is divided into seven chapters. In the first chapter, Herdt addresses a few of the more significant problems anthropologists experience in studying sexuality; his theoretical position, and anthropological concepts central to understanding further discussion. Herdt raises two primary challenges to studying sexuality. Anthropologists struggle over how one understands sexual behavior and practices without relating it to one's own sexuality. The second challenge relates to cultures that "simply lack categories or concepts that cover the meanings of the contemporary notion of homosexual" (p. 7). Herdt responds to these problems by approaching this book from a queer theory perspective. Queer theory "argues that history and cultural descriptions are never distinguishable from the authors and assumptions of normality through which subjects or objects are described" (p. 9). In doing so, he challenges the use of all categorical and classification systems and all notions of what is "normal." Queer theorists view concepts such as 'sexual identity' and 'the body' as "illusions in language and power relationships" (p. 10). Herdt argued that we cannot understand one's sexual lifeway outside of the context of their sexual culture.

Herdt stated that "the most important lesson to learn from the cross-cultural and historical study of homosexuality is that there is room for many at the table of humankind in societies around the world" (p. 27). While there may be room for all at this table of humankind, Herdt suggests that in some countries, the cultural myths associated with homosexuality have contributed to their not being welcomed or invited. In this second chapter, Herdt provides insight into the dominant myths that permeate the United States and other western cultures, revealing the social and historical prerogatives of power from which they have been constructed.

Chapter three focuses on the existence of same sex relationships in non-western cultures. Drawing on ethnographic reports and existent literature, Herdt suggested that these relationships were based on age, gender transformations, and specialized social roles or practices. Age structured homoerotic relationships are reported to be more frequent amongst men than women. It was believed that these relationships contributed to young men's training as warriors (i.e. ancient Greece, feudal Japan); the development of their masculinity (i.e. Australian aboriginals, Sambia) and as responses to cultural taboos and restrictions (i.e. Africa). Gender transformed roles or third gender roles were related to cultural requirements requiring one of the partners to take on the behaviors, role, and dress of the other gender (i.e. Mojave, and Polynesia). Changes in cultural beliefs for these two types of relationships have been attributed to exposure to Western philosophy and

religious doctrine. Interestingly, even in societies where same sex relations were prohibited or sanctioned, exceptions were made and permission given when same sex relations were required for the performance of a specific role (i.e. Sworn Virgins of Albania, Chukchi of Siberia).

Herd't's discussion of coming of age and coming out ceremonies in chapter four is the most limited in his representation across cultures. Unlike other chapters where he provided numerous examples to support his discussion, this chapter is focused primarily on the role of same sex relations as a coming of age ritual in Sambia and on the coming out process in the United States. Although limited in its scope this discussion is interesting because it views the woman's reproductive system as superior to males. Of equal interest is the secretive nature of the tribes male sexual culture. Herdt discusses the coming out process as another "ritual that intensifies change in a young person's sexual identity development and social being" (p. 126). However, Herdt's discussion of coming out seems to revolve around those forces that contribute to internalized homophobia and self hate and little attention is paid to the ritualistic or ceremonial aspect of the coming out process.

In Chapter five, Herdt turns his attention to the sexual lifeways of developing countries paying specific attention to China, Senegal, Mexico, Brazil, India, and Thailand. The goal of this chapter is to examine the impact that socioeconomic development is having on the sexual lifeways of these developing countries. Examination of these six cultures suggests that changes in a countries socioeconomic status have disrupted some of the roles, rituals, and cultural beliefs that shaped their countries earlier sexual culture. However, the local cultures have not totally disengaged from their previous beliefs that continue to shape and develop new themes and identities that are reflective of local meaning and practice. The role of the penetrator and the power identified with that role continues to be important in discussion of the sexual cultures in these developing countries. Changing sexual cultures have contributed to the emergence of new societal issues and concerns related to the increasing spread of HIV.

Herd't sets out in Chapter six to reflect on previous discussions of sexual lifeways and cultures and their relevance to understanding lesbians, gays, and bisexuals in contemporary Western societies. Although complicated by the social and ethnic complexity of this nation, Herdt suggests that the primary difference between the sexual culture of same sex relationships in the contemporary United States and other cultures, across time and place, is the focus on egalitarian relationships. This trend parallels shifts in sexual and gender equality in heterosexual relationships as well. Herdt also notes significant shifts in societal and cultural attitudes in the United States, European and Scandinavian countries.

This sixth chapter is problematic for two reasons. Although made, the linkages of our understandings from non-western and developing countries to contemporary society are not clearly stated. These reflections and linkages, however, are more clearly discussed in Herdt's concluding comments

in Chapter seven.. A second concern is the misplaced discussion of social constructionism and biological determinism which would appear to fit better with the discussion of theory in chapter one.

Zimmerman and McNaron adopt a significantly different approach in their discussion of lesbian studies. Unlike Herdt who adopted a queer theory perspective, Zimmerman and McNaron, in their introduction, discuss the historical importance of a lesbian centered approach to scholarship and identify some of the critical issues in the heated debate and discussion between scholars who believe in maintaining the area of lesbian studies and those who are proponents of queer theory scholarship. There is increasing pressure for lesbian scholars to conduct research under the rubric of queer scholarship. The contributors to this edited volume each have their own response to the "invitation to queer" themselves which is made clear in their writing.

"Remembering Our Roots", the first section, consists of nine essays from the original version of *Lesbian Studies*, edited by Margaret Cruikshank in 1979. The essays in this section, although dated, are reflective and insightful and serve as a chilling reminder of what it was like to be a lesbian in academia at a given moment in time and in some respects what it is still like. The women who contributed to these essays wrote about their lives and experiences as teachers in a diversity of academic settings and disciplines. The essays by Beck, Bennett, Davenport, and Segrest make visible the painful costs of invisibility in their lives. Faderman, Moraga and Smith, and Frye discuss the importance of including lesbian material into women's studies courses but the difficulty of finding that material, specifically as it has to do with third world cultures. Hynes discusses the difficulties experienced by all women in the traditional sciences as they struggle to find a balance between the sciences and women's studies. Finally, Gurko discusses the politics associated with sexual energy in the classroom.

Part Two, "Studying Ourselves:" is a mixture of scholarly reports and reflective essays. that provide insight into what can be learned as we study ourselves and the challenges experienced by those who do. McNaron traces the changes in her 40 year academic career from a time where disclosure would have resulted in termination to now where her work is widely recognized and applauded by her fellow colleagues. Weston shares a contrasting view as she discusses the difficulties experienced by recently graduated lesbian scholars in the job market and the stigma attached to doing lesbian scholarship in some fields. The remaining essays in this section focus on issues of age and various cultural and ethnic issues. Quam's essay on old lesbians summarizes the various ways that these women have been represented and chosen to represent themselves in fiction, poetry, film, and academic studies. Cochran, Chan, and Espin write about their lives and research with Native, immigrants, and East-Asian-American lesbians. Cochran echoes the concern, raised in the previous section, regarding the absence of literature on lesbians from Third World countries and tribal bound cultures such as Native lesbians. Espin illustrates the conflicts and pressures that lesbian

immigrants experience as they struggle between their desire to be of service to and maintain ties with other immigrants and their desire to the support and understanding received from other members of their immigrant group and their desire to form a new identity as a lesbian. Chan in her study of East-Asian American women calls into question the difficulty these women have in discussing their sexuality and the need to maintain a public image as a heterosexual woman while maintaining a private life as a lesbian. Common to these three studies is the desire of the women in these studies to be recognized for their ethnicity and their sexual identity, not just as lesbians.

The essays in "Standing and Delivering", the third section of this book explore various strategies for including, presenting, and discussing lesbian scholarship in the classroom. Painter and Willer examine the status of lesbian studies classes in North America identifying shifts in disciplinary affiliation, topic, content, focus, and forms of evaluation. Rose's essay on feminist psychology proposes strategies to facilitate the inclusion and tolerance of lesbian scholarship in the classroom. Hillyer describes how lesbian scholarship adds an additional dimension to our understanding of women and disabilities. Hickok offers a list of anthologies that contain a diversity of lesbian images. Woodard's essay questions the way in which diversity is classified; suggesting that diversity is viewed as a problem rather than a source of positive energy. Pelligrini and Franklin discuss how queer collaboration in and out of the classroom is experienced by students and colleagues.

The eight essays in this fourth section, "Transforming Knowledge", bring to center what populations that were once at the margins of society and lesbian scholarship. In doing so these essays bring to light what lesbian scholarship contributes to the knowledge base of specific disciplines and how disciplinary frameworks help to mold and shape the direction of lesbian scholarship. Rupp, in her essay, brings into question the silenced representation of lesbians in history. Leyva and Ng, in their respective essays suggest that the history and lives of Latina and Chinese lesbians have been silenced in ways that differ from other cultures. Leyva contrasts the silent history of the past with the emergence of the Latina lesbian movement in the present. Ng brings into question the label of "lesbian" and whether the purpose of historical research is to identify specific women as lesbians or to understand the "rich emotional lives of these remarkable women." Mayne's essay, *Screening Lesbians*, is a play on words discussing the various ways that lesbian relationships are portrayed on the screen, and the way those relationships are screened into invisibility. Umpierre, in her discussion of Puerto Rican literature, brings to center the various ways that the stories of lesbians are concealed behind curtains of text and multiple masks. Arguelles and Rivero, reflect on interpretations of spiritual traditions and texts in ways that allow them to neutralizes the prejudices that arise from them or to create spiritualities and seek spiritual homes. Schneider and Dalton argue that sociological theories provide insight into social movements and organizations, legal inequities and employment practices, the creation and celebration of families, and the politics associated with identity and difference. The prob-

lems and challenges involved in conducting cross-cultural lesbian research is commented on by Blackwood, an anthropologist.

The various ways that lesbians and lesbian scholarship seek and find homes in academia is discussed in the fifth section of this book, "Working With/In Institutions". This section brings to center the contributions of those working in women's resource and action centers, libraries, residential and student services, and women's athletic programs. Brody discusses the challenges and issues that emerge from the ever expanding and at times overwhelming resources available in cyberspace. Zemsky reports on the emergence of GLBT offices and addresses the issue as to how well the needs and concerns of lesbians are met in a "queer" environment. Homophobia's impact on women's sports is discussed by Cahn. Bowen speaks to the contributions that black lesbian scholars bring to the academic area; at the same time questioning to what extent allies will be present to contribute to the work to be done. Lesbian scholarship is not unique to the United States. Lindeqvist offers some insights into the lack of lesbian scholarship in Sweden, a country recognized for being a leader in equality for women, men, and same sex couples. This is contrasted by Sayer's discussion of the emerging queer studies program that is developing in New Zealand. A cross cultural comparison of lesbian studies is offered by Muni who discusses similarities and differences between the United States and the United Kingdom.

This book comes to a close with four essays that reflect on the future of lesbian studies. In "Theorizing Our Future", Holland, Halberstam, Malinowitz, and Zimmerman raise a number of challenging questions. Holland reflects on critiques surrounding the 'whiteness' of lesbian studies and outlines directions for a 'new' lesbian studies. Is there a way of 'queering' lesbian studies without losing the focus on women's lives and experiences is the question that Halberstam attempts to answer. Malinowitz takes the debate between lesbian and queer studies and questions whether they are truly oppositional and what can be done to reconcile the differences between these two political stances. Zimmerman's essay closes this book with a look at where can lesbian scholars work; questioning the cost that will be paid in the battle between conflicting discourses.

Much has changed since the original *Lesbian Studies* in 1979. The original text touched on issues and ideas that were lost in this issue; such as discussion of the lace curtain lesbian. Overall, however, *The New Lesbian Studies* is insightful and thought provoking. Editorial decisions contributed to some of the difficulties I experienced in reading this book. The editors chose to preserve the contributor's voice by "respecting their original styles, word choices, and modes of documentation." This discontinuity in voice, language, and theoretical framework at times left me feeling like I did when I was first learning how to drive a standard transmission. At the same time, however, I respected the editors decision to honor the uniqueness and individuality of each contributor's voice and style.

Studying different cultures, Herdt and Zimmerman and McNaron approach their task drawing on different theoretical paradigms. While I ex-

pected these books to be different what was interesting was the dynamic way they illustrated the points that the other was making. The concerns about the queering of lesbian studies include the fear that the history, images, and experiences of lesbians will be lost. To some degree this information is lost in Herdt's discussion using queer theory. However, Herdt's use of queer theory served as a useful paradigm for understanding and discussing same sex relationships in cultures that do not have Western concepts associated with homosexuality. Herdt's discussion was particularly useful in understanding issues raised by authors such as Ng in her discussion of lesbians in Chinese history.

While there is no direct discussion of leisure in either of these books, they each raise interesting questions and ideas for the future of leisure research. These books challenge the assumptions of heterosexuality that dominates much of leisure research and offers introductions to and examples of theoretical paradigms rarely used by leisure researchers. Herdt's discussion of third gender or gender transformation provides new direction to those conducting research on gender and leisure. Herdt's approach to understanding experiences in cultures who use different symbolisms, rituals, language, and tradition provides direction about cross-cultural research in our own field. While *Same Sex, Different Cultures* left me thinking about applications of theory, the essays in *The New Lesbian Studies* left me with a series of questions. Where is the lesbian in leisure scholarship? Where is the lesbian in women's studies texts? What roles have lesbians played in the history of our profession? What steps are we as scholars and as an academic community taking to enable lesbian or queer studies to exist in our field?

Should these books be read by everyone? Yes and no. Caution! The material contained in these books may expand your views of life and the world.

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Pipher, M. (1994). *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the selves of adolescent girls*. New York: Ballantine. ISBN 0-345-39282-5. \$12.50 (paperback). 304 pp.

The President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sport. (1997). *Physical activity and sport in the lives of girls: Physical and mental health dimensions from an interdisciplinary approach*. University of Minnesota: The Center for Research on Girls and Women in Sport. Available from: 203 Cooke Hall, 1900 University Avenue S.E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455; or can be downloaded from: <http://www.kls.coled.umn.edu/crgws/>

Recently, I sat waiting with a group of mothers as our daughters finished their practice at the gym. As mothers do, we were exchanging "war stories"