

Reviews

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JUDITH KOHLENBERGER, *The New Formula For Cool: Science, Technology, and the Popular in the American Imagination* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015), 345 pp.

In *American Cool*, Peter Stearns famously calls “cool” a “distinctly American” concept, which “permeates almost every aspect of contemporary American culture” and has “seized a central place in the American imagination” in its many manifestations.¹ If one takes Stearns’s argument at face value, then investigations into the many permutations of “coolness” should also hold a central place in American Studies. The only catch is, however, that pinning down the precise Americanness of “cool” is as difficult a task as defining “cool” itself, as the term has proven too elusive and vague to be easily compartmentalized. As Dick Pountain and David Robins have pointed out, “cool” may be “a philosophy, a sensibility, a religion, and ideology, a personality type, a behavior pattern, an attitude, a zeitgeist, a worldview” (17-18). Cultural artifacts are not inherently “cool,” but we certainly recognize their coolness when we see it; therefore, coolness is not a durable quality, but rather the product of attitudes, affective reactions, and aesthetic sensibilities. A popular sense as to what is “cool” and what not so much will change “from place to place, from time to time, from generation to generation” (Pountain/Robins 21).

Judith Kohlenberger’s monograph *The New Formula For Cool: Science, Technology, and the Popular in the American Imagination* explores one of the most recent changes in the meaning of “cool,” a paradigm shift that has decisively shaped the landscape of American popular culture in the last two decades. While “coolness” has been extensively analyzed in relation to advertisement, fashion, music, and other expressions of youth and counterculture, it has now, the author argues, invaded the world of (techno)science and digital cultures. Rather than merely add new manifestations of “cool” in American popular culture to the vast archive of previously studied permutations of “coolness,” Kohlenberger wants to demonstrate that “recent popular cultural representations of (techno)science in mainstream American film and television are in-

creasingly informed by a prominent focus on cool as an aesthetic and affective, rather than a cognitive or ethical form of scientific legitimation” (13). The aim of her study is thus twofold: on the one hand, it analyzes the use and effects of “cool” beyond its conventional, and well-studied, realms of thematic application, so as to contribute to the “ongoing dialogue between the scientific and the popular in contemporary American society” (15). At the same time, this book understands “cool” as a response to former discourses and sources of scientific legitimation and argues that “cool” challenges, or even replaces, traditional cognitive and ethical modes of justification. The proliferation of (techno)science in virtually all aspects of life in a modern information society—ranging from household gadgets and smartphone applications that supposedly make our lives easier, to digital fingerprints and constant surveillance—both “results from and contributes to these constructions of ‘cool science’ in the popular cultural fabric of the United States,” Kohlenberger notes (13).

The primary material of this study includes recent Hollywood films and TV-series informed by notions of “cool technoscience,” such as Roland Emmerich’s *The Day After Tomorrow* (2004), the *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* franchise (2000-present), or *The Big Bang Theory* (2007-present). These diverse productions all emphasize “cool” as a “highly effective source for legitimating the cultural prestige, epistemological authority, and financial, ecological, and other resources enjoyed by contemporary technoscience,” the author argues (14). The originality of Kohlenberger’s study lies precisely in its unique attempt to discuss the proliferation of cool technoscience under the premise that popular American film and television programs are a response to the postmodern crisis of legitimation proclaimed by Jean-François Lyotard; in other words, the author proposes that the highly commercialized and intellectually rather trivial mass cultural productions she analyzes in her study legitimize what is actually one of the most elitist and “high brow” realms of human cultural practice, that is, Western industrial science.

In order to build up her argument, the author prefaces her four analytical chapters with three theoretical-methodological chapters that discuss the emergence and evolution of “cool” from a countercultural practice to a notion of global dominance, on the one hand, the crisis of scientific legitimation in the

¹ Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York: NYU Press, 1994): 1.

American information society, on the other, and, finally, science and/in/as popular culture. The first chapter counters the argument that “cool” is dead because the values and emotions it stands for (detachment, irony, sarcasm, narcissism, artifice) are viewed with suspicion, while authenticity, sincerity, and empathy are becoming more preferred and desirable attitudes in personal interaction and public discourse. Kohlenberger convincingly argues that even though the rebellion and narcissistic self-stylization associated with coolness may have devolved into nothing more than a charade, the “iGeneration” is very much invested in the creation and celebration of the self which, in turn, has made the mastery of technological gadgets and digital practices one of today’s major connotational fields of “cool.” The second chapter suggests that technoscience permeates all aspects of life in the twenty-first-century information society, including popular culture productions which both reflect and contribute to the progressing dialogue between science and the aesthetics of popular culture. This development, the author notes, can be traced back to a “veritable crisis of legitimation concerning scientific practice and its production of risks,” to which the adoption of “cool” as an aesthetic and affective form of scientific legitimation became a viable response (46). The most succinct and original of the theoretical chapters is the third, in which Kohlenberger problematizes the concept of “popularization,” a buzz term that is frequently used to summarize the interaction between science and public. “Popularization” is an ideologically and culturally loaded term implying inherent hierarchies and value judgments, which Kohlenberger’s study seeks to overcome in favor of a circular or network model of interaction. According to such a model, science and its representations are performatively constituted, historically and culturally contingent products of discourse, and politically charged, just like any other cultural practice. Consequently, Kohlenberger argues, an exploration of how “traditional channels of American popular culture, informed by the all-pervasive notion of cool, are appropriated as resources for legitimacy purposes of science” is more feasible and sensible than an examination of the popularization of science by means of popular culture (90).

The traditional channels of American popular culture Kohlenberger examines in the remaining four chapters of her study are film

and television. The first analytical chapter on *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* and the third analytical chapter on the blockbuster *The Day After Tomorrow* as a case study for cool science in disaster movies prove to be the most convincing chapters, in which the objective of Kohlenberger’s study become particularly clear. *CSI*’s investigators, with their professionally detached attitude and subdued emotionality, ooze coolness; at the same time, “cool” emerges as the show’s dominant aesthetic code in its representation of high-tech gadgets, which pronouncedly focuses on sleek, glossy surfaces, cold textures, and spectacular visual imagery. In *CSI*, the laboratory becomes the cool chamber of truth as every episode reassures the audience that forensic science and pathology can solve any crime and is absolutely infallible, thus unmistakably legitimizing science on an aesthetic level. Kohlenberger’s analysis of *The Day After Tomorrow* is similarly straight-forward and lucid: being safe, the film tells its audience, relies on an advanced level of science, which a technologically progressive nation like the United States can offer and which the savvy scientist-turned-savior can utilize to redeem his fellow citizens. *The Day After Tomorrow* foregrounds the cognitive value of science and establishes the scientist as the rational, athletic, and (above all) cool hero, whose intellectual prowess lets him prevail over the enormous natural disaster. The moments of disaster, similar to the representations of the *CSI* lab, primarily serve the purpose of letting the audience revel in impressive imagery, in this case in computer-generated shots of icy landscapes that “parade the spectacular results of technoscientific production” (219). While the aesthetic dimension of science is downplayed on the diegetic level, it is all the more pronounced on the level of production, as the breathtaking images of impending disaster and catastrophe move the audience and promise the restoration of human community through radical emotional experience (212-13).

The other two chapters on *The Big Bang Theory* and the biopics *The Social Network* (2010) and *Jobs* (2013) are certainly less obvious examples of representations of cool science, but Kohlenberger’s readings of these productions in line of her argument are persuasive and highlight the mutability of “cool.” *The Big Bang Theory*, she argues, develops its own “geek cool,” an alternative form of “cool” that celebrates nerdiness and capital-

izes on geek attire and behaviorisms (151). Coolness, it follows, is a direct consequence of the scientifically informed storylines and the protagonists' nerdy mannerisms, looks, and eccentricities while science *as such* is more or less irrelevant for plot development. The focus is put on the "geek cool" of the scientists, just as the discussed biopics concentrate on Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg and Apple co-founder Steve Jobs as iCons of coolness. Kohlenberger's analysis significantly points to the emergence of a "consumer cool" that is marked by elaborate and outstanding branding and marketing campaigns, which the two biopics are part of. Both films frame their respective protagonists as countercultural icons in popular media, Kohlenberger notes, who become symbols of cool capitalism, consumerism, and commodification. At the same time, they rely on imagery that constructs mass-produced high-tech devices as expres-

sions of individuality. The cool aura of devices like the iPad, the pure aesthetic of the gadget, legitimizes continuing investment into technological innovation—and, in effect, legitimizes highly controversial capitalist ventures.

The New Formula For Cool is a rich and rewarding read, which offers new perspectives for re-examining the notion of coolness as well as the relation between science and the popular in contemporary American culture. The theoretical part of the book is quite dense and complex, but it is precisely Kohlenberger's attention to detail and the care with which she approaches the subject matter that makes this study so compelling and insightful. *The New Formula for Cool* is an important contribution to the study of American popular culture and will be a fixture in future discussions addressing the many permutations of "cool."

Susanne Hamscha (Wien)

VANESSA KÜNNEMANN, *Middlebrow Mission: Pearl Buck's American China* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015), 283 pp.

In an age when academic research suffers from information overload and attention deficit, we welcome studies that offer bird's-eye-view perspectives of the present moment, or that make bold theoretical interventions. Yet we cannot do without projects that are the result of prolonged attention focused on a carefully chosen subject. Neither can we do without projects that revisit cultural phenomena that once held the attention of millions, yet are ignored by today's scholars—often for ideological reasons. Vanessa Künnemann's *Middlebrow Mission: Pearl Buck's American China* is just such a project.

Vanessa Künnemann has given her full attention to two overlapping cultural phenomena: the China mission movement at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century (supported by millions of people in the entire English-speaking world at a time when women's suffrage drew mere thousands) and the fiction of Pearl Buck (which, read by millions, reassessed the mission movement). Continuing the tradition of feminist scholarship that once shifted Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* out of the academic freezer and into the nineteenth-century canon, alongside Melville's *Moby Dick*, Künnemann in her meticulously researched new historicist project carves out a place for Buck in the expanded canon of twentieth-century American literature. The reinstatement of Buck, dismissed by critics as an unambitious writer of middlebrow women's fiction, is no easy task. Künnemann has examined a wide range of aesthetic, ideological, and geopolitical factors that might explain Buck's phenomenal success as well as the reasons for her dwindling popularity after she received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1938.

Künnemann's book is not a literary biography; it critically examines only those works by Buck (fictional biographies, articles, novels, short stories, and an autobiography) that foreground various religious and secular notions of the word "mission" in a trans-Pacific context, and that involve Americans and Chinese as both agents and objects of missions. The book's overarching thesis is that Buck's literary project was a secular extension of the religious mission to China embraced by her parents—a mission she challenged as fundamentally misguided and imperialist. Refusing

to follow in her parents' footsteps, Buck returned to the U.S. where she enacted the role of a self-appointed cultural go-between. Her mission was to convert the American reading public to a vision of China that did not need to be Christianized in order to enter modernity on a par with other nations. In order to be accepted in this role, Künnemann argues, Buck had to build her authority as a cultural insider in China and, at the same time, as thoroughly American. Responding to the reception of her works and the geopolitical situation, she strategically shifted the accent from one to the other (for instance during the Cold War when her Americanness was called into question).

In the introduction, Künnemann provides an overview of Buck's career, positioning her in the context of American overseas missions and middlebrow fiction, and, drawing on feminist critical theory, examines the gender dynamics in the writings themselves and in their reception. The opening section also examines the key words used in the title, thus constructing the thematic backbone of the entire project. Chapter one, which expands on the introduction, offers a detailed historical account of Protestant overseas missions and, specifically, the role played by women in this movement. While missions have been well documented by means of archival materials and historical studies, Künnemann is one of very few literary critics to effectively draw on this wealth of materials.

Chapter two is an interpretation of Buck's 1920s biographies of her mother and father as early attempts to distance herself from the masculinist model of missionary work represented by her father, and to side with the ostensibly more humane cultural-relativist model embraced by her mother. Interestingly, the artificiality of the gender binary set up by the biographies is exposed when Künnemann examines Buck's later works, which show her parents working side by side and sharing the same value system. Künnemann, therefore, persuasively argues that Buck needed to build the binary opposition in order to invent and bolster her own secular mission as a writer on Chinese issues for American audiences.

Chapters three and four focus on Buck's 1930s novels set in China, while chapter five introduces her narratives about Chinese Americans raised in New York's Chinatown who know China from hearsay before they experience it first-hand. Finally, the coda takes on a 1951 novel in which two white Ameri-

can men, a businessman and a social activist, embark on very different neo-missionary projects to China, partially re-enacting the dichotomy set up by Buck in the biographies of her parents but falling short of their goals.

Throughout the study, Künnemann demonstrates her ability to deftly enter into ongoing scholarly debates and speak with a confident and clear voice. Her close readings are strengthened by discussions of Buck's use of narrative voice and structure. Because the argumentation is complex, the text is carefully signposted for the benefit of the reader. Künnemann's prose is consistently lucid and intellectually engaging. The frame of reference she constructs around the work of this writer is magisterial. She also has an unerring sense as to what should be foregrounded in the body of the text and what the reader may want to know but is best supplied in the form of footnotes.

I find Künnemann's discussion of middlebrow fiction, which begins in the introduction and unfolds in the subsequent chapters, especially useful. It relates the notion of the

middlebrow to various other literary phenomena, including the Victorian sentimental tradition and melodrama, nostalgia and concern for a "usable past," and even the Depression Era "proletarian novel." There exist a number of single-author and group publications on American middlebrow fiction (by Botshon and Goldsmith, Bracco, Heimer, Klein, Wood), but none exclusively focused on Pearl Buck. In each of the analytical chapters, Künnemann carefully shows how Buck exploited middlebrow conventions yet managed to invert or violate the set patterns in order to produce innovative effects.

Middlebrow Mission: Pearl Buck's American China is an important and long overdue contribution to the research on Pearl Buck and on Western missions to China in general. Künnemann manages to position herself within a densely populated academic field, taking stock of her forerunners' work. The depth of the primary and secondary research will make future work on Buck much easier.

Dominika Ferens (Wrocław)

WIELAND SCHWANEBECK, *Der flexible Mr. Ripley. Männlichkeit und Hochstapelei in Literatur und Film* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2014), 391 pp.

Forgeries and fakes, Martin Doll observes, do not imitate originals but the attributions and attribution systems that define what counts as an original in a given historical and discursive context.¹ The same holds for impostors and con-men who play social roles in order to deceive. Real and fictional impostors therefore instructively foreground implicit and often overlooked social conventions, such as masculinity codes. This is the key argument Wieland Schwanebeck develops in eight densely argued but highly readable chapters on Patricia Highsmith's most popular character: Tom Ripley. He features in five of her novels and in numerous adaptations for film, the stage and radio.

The five Ripley novels, from *The Talented Mr. Ripley* (1955) to *Ripley Under Ground* (1970), *Ripley's Game* (1974) and *The Boy Who Followed Ripley* (1980) to *Ripley Under Water* (1991), are exemplary for Highsmith's subtle but profound interrogation of literary and cultural conventions (in particular gender-related ones) under the guise of bland realism. Schwanebeck's study draws on recent approaches in masculinity studies and on narratology to address their presentation of gender, their interrogation of a dichotomy of original and copy, and their angle on concepts of conventional masculinity.

The study opens with a brief cultural history of the conman and the impostor and an outline of the theoretical approach. Unlike the German *Hochstapler*, whose lasting literary fame Thomas Mann established with *Die Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull* (1922), the American (confidence) man has turned into an ambivalent cultural icon for an egalitarian, competitive society: He violates the code of honesty and mutual trust yet embodies the ideal of the successful self-made man. Schwanebeck opts for the German term in order to put Tom Ripley into a larger inter-textual and cultural context, one that includes, among many others, the picaresque tradition (chapter four), Thomas Mann's novel, French,

British and German screen adaptations of Highsmith, and art forgery (chapter five).

Impostors and conmen outside fiction are, first and foremost, performers: Their success rests on the mastery of conventionalized social roles and the "scripts" of interaction, as Schwanebeck observes with reference to the sociologist Erving Goffman. Goffman's theory of social interaction as role play points to the fundamentally narrative, performative and often literally textual nature of confidence tricks—playacting, forged documents and biographies, and confessional autobiographical narratives are essential components of successful imposture. The expertise of literary studies can therefore be brought to bear on this phenomenon with some justification, the study argues (53–55). This argument could have been developed with more confidence—no pun intended—since the psychological, legal, and sociological perspectives Schwanebeck surveys in chapter two narrow down confidence tricks to their pathological or criminal aspects and do not even begin to capture their cultural significance.

What, then, can real and fictional conmen and impostors tell us about masculinity? They foreground its performativity and its imitative character, the study argues with reference to Goffman, Judith Butler and Michael Kimmel. Masculinity is construed *differentially*, that is, in opposition to an excluded other such as the feminine or the early twentieth-century cliché of the effeminate man, the "sissy" (chapter four). A concise survey of current positions in masculinity studies (74–79) zeroes in on the issues of hegemonial masculinity (Raewyn Connell) and masculine habit (Pierre Bourdieu; 84–89) to explain how gender conceptions are naturalized and normalized. Schwanebeck is chiefly interested in forms of "unmarked," normalized gender performance (78, 94, 95) since they are often sidelined in studies pivoting on tropes of "gender in crisis" or on marginalized forms of androgyny or homosexuality.

The performativity of masculinity in characters that *conform* to norms of hegemonial masculinity also deserves more attention from narratology, Schwanebeck claims next. If gender dualism is a problematic but ubiquitous category in social life, it is also an implicit category guiding the act of reading. Readers are positioned as masculine, for example, in specific narrative perspectives. Gender, as cognitive approaches to literature suggest, is

¹ Martin Doll, *Fälschung und Fake. Zur diskurskritischen Dimension des Täuschens* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2012) 21.

inscribed into the deep structures of texts so that a “sexing of narratology” is called for (15, 16, see chapter three).

With this theoretical and historical scaffolding in place, Schwanebeck turns to *The Talented Mr. Ripley* and its technique of unreliable focalization. Schwanebeck argues convincingly that we need to consider focalization if we look for conventionalized gender positionings of readers because other than voice, even internal focalization is associated with transparency and objectivity. Inconsistencies in focalization in Highsmith’s novel (151–158) sensitize readers to the fragility of the masculine roles presented diegetically and achieves a subtle, almost unnoticeable interrogation of conventionalized attributions of masculinity in the act of reading.

The chapter on *Ripley Under Ground* shifts its perspective to the instability of distinctions between original and copy in the fields of aesthetics and masculinity. In the second Ripley novel, the motif of art forgery, impersonation and the aestheticization of crime reads as a meditation on Derrida’s and Butler’s ideas that signification systems, including gender, do not refer back to authenticity or originality but, on the contrary, construe these phenomena in a notoriously instable manner (178).

Images of fatherhood and the nuclear family, finally, are the focus of Schwanebeck’s reading of the three remaining novels. Here, references to stereotypes and narratives of masculinity in popular culture place Highsmith’s men and women characters in cultural context and elaborate the *relational* construction of masculinity. The constellation of tutor and pupil in *Ripley’s Game* and *The Boy Who Followed Ripley* is discussed in terms of Highsmith’s sometimes satirical refashioning of conventional role models such as the self-sufficient, active hero and the paternal, benevolent provider and educator. In the novels, they are shot through with half-articulated homoerotic desire and are marked as performances, as the cross-dressing episode in *The Boy Who Followed Ripley* unmistakably suggests. While these instances seem to indicate a subversive take on conventional masculinity, the protagonist’s return to the role of heterosexual husband in *Ripley Under Water* complicates such a reading. The novel’s pervasive imagery of immersion, Schwanebeck argues, points to an acceptance of conventional, “unmarked” masculinity. But he further observes that acceptance is not the crucial point here—

what is significant is the very act of *marking* masculinity as performance. Though not a subversion of gender roles, marking masculinity de-naturalizes the heterosexual matrix.

The study’s wide theoretical scope, ranging from a sociology of culture to gender studies to narratology and film studies, makes it instructive for everyone interested in masculinity, the motif of imposture or Patricia Highsmith’s Ripley series and its adaptations. Moreover, it is a welcome new departure in Highsmith criticism since it dispenses with the long-standing but misleading debate whether she is a crime writer or not, and also finds good arguments for dismissing another dominant critical trend, namely interpretations along psychoanalytical lines. The claim that Highsmith criticism is generally bogged down in “psychoanalytical biographisms” (344), though, is too strong: Fiona Peters’s intricate Lacanian reading of Highsmith’s novels, for example, is not arguing biographically; and Mark Seltzer’s observations on Highsmith also strike off on a very different, systems theoretical path.² But on the whole, the study offers both instructive close readings of novels and films, an engagement with the recent cultural history of imposture, and a thought-provoking invitation to think about lived and narrated “normal” masculinities as constructions and performances.

Nicola Glaubitz (Frankfurt am Main)

² See: Fiona Peters, *Anxiety and Evil in the Writings of Patricia Highsmith* (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2011) and Mark Seltzer, *True Crime. Observations on Violence and Modernity* (New York, London: Routledge, 2007); “Parlor Games: The Apriorization of the Media.” *Critical Inquiry* 36.1 (2009): 100–133; “The Daily Planet.” *Post45. Special Issue on Patricia Highsmith*, 2012. Web. <http://post45.research.yale.edu/>. Accessed 7/1/2014.

JONATHAN KIRSHNER, *Hollywood's Last Golden Age: Politics, Society, and the Seventies Film in America* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2012), 280 pp.

The 1970s are a truly legendary time in US history. Hardly any other period is so richly filled with the political and social changes that are crucial to the formation of both the era of the seventies and the country of the USA. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, the women's movement, the sexual revolution, the economic crisis, and of course the US involvement in the Vietnam War as well as the unsuccessful Nixon presidency turned American social norms upside down. The emergence of the new socio-political turns had a dramatic impact on the cultural forms created during the era, particularly on cinema. This is the subject that Jonathan Kirshner's *Hollywood's Last Golden Age: Politics, Society, and the Seventies Film in America* brings to our attention. The book intelligently combines social and political history of the period with an analysis of the films created during the time and, in doing so, displays the relation between the two, arguing that the cinema of the 1970s was greatly influenced by the socio-political changes that were taking place in the US.

Kirshner divides his account into eight parts, each of which in a relative chronology peels off the shell from the decade, revealing the innovations, tendencies, and themes characteristic of the seventies cinema. At the beginning of the book, however, the author clarifies that the seventies film was born in 1967 and lasted till 1976; therefore, the films he analyzes in the course of the book were created and released during that decade. The first chapter, "Before the Flood," provides a historical overview of the time that preceded 1967. The author singles out three conditions that confined Hollywood: first, state censorship; second, the Great Depression that influenced the film production economically as Americans could not afford going to the movies; third, McCarthyism, i.e., the censorship provoked by Senator McCarthy who claimed that nobody and nothing should have put the values of the USA into question, including films. The chapter proceeds with a general overview of the decade when cinema was finally free from censorship, briefly noting the key socio-political events that took place and claiming that they found their reflection in the

films. The greater examination is, however, scrupulously provided in the following seven chapters.

Thus, in his second chapter, "Talkin' 'bout My Generation," Kirshner draws parallels between the French New Wave and the New Hollywood, arguing that the latter was greatly influenced by the works of such young but talented directors as Chabrol, Godard, Rivette, Rohmer, and Truffaut who strived to make their films as close to reality as possible; thus, in terms of techniques, they sought to use "source lighting," and favored "naturalistic styles of acting"; whereas, in terms of plot they preferred to base their works on "personal stories," "experiment[ed] with the possibilities of the form," excluded "traditional heroes," and almost never finished their films with "a happy ending" (28-29). All these aspects can be found in Arthur Penn's *Mickey One* (1965), John Frankenheimer's *Seconds* (1966), Martin Scorsese's *Who's That Knocking at My Door* (1967), Paul Mazursky's *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice* (1969), and Francis Ford Coppola's *The Rain People* (1969). The films Kirshner chooses to analyze in greater detail in this section are John Boorman's *Point Blank* (1967) that raises the issue of "betrayal" and showcases the connections between "sexuality, morality, and America" (40); Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) that is famous for its "real and honest" depiction of "violence" (the theme is central in the film and can be treated as the director's reaction towards Kennedy's assassination and the US intervention in Vietnam) (43); and Mike Nichols's *The Graduate* (1967)—the film that deals with the "generational conflict" (45) that existed between elder conservative parents and young liberal children. Additionally, part of the chapter is devoted to an examination of music, namely rock and roll songs created by Bob Dylan, the Beatles, and the Rolling Stones that managed to summarize everything that was important in the 1960s: "civil rights, sexual freedom, drug use, and the generational questioning of traditional norms and values" (34).

The next chapter, "1968, Nixon, and the Inward Turn," as it can be easily grasped from the title, investigates the influence of the cruel political reality, namely the Nixon presidency and the US partaking in the Vietnam conflict, on film. The author discusses Haskell Wexler's openly political *Medium Cool* (1968) that focuses on, among other issues, "race,

poverty, and violence" (56), accentuating the latter as the key characteristic of the USA; Bob Rafelson's *Five Easy Pieces* (1970) uncovers the themes of "a generational sensibility" (64) alongside with "gender" (66), whereas his later *The King of Marvin Gardens* (1971) is soaked with "despair, decay, and faded dreams" (71). "The Personal Is Political" or the forth chapter of *Hollywood's Last Golden Age* forces into our view the consequences of the women's movement and the sexual revolution as they were represented in the seventies film. In connection with these issues, Kirshner lingers his attention on Mazursky's *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice*—a groundbreaking film that illustrates the sexual liberties reigning in the society in the 1970s. The author further provides historical facts concerning the changes in relations between men and women, aptly incorporating them into his analysis of Nichols's *Carnal Knowledge* (1971) that, as Kirshner claims, turns out to be "more sympathetic to its female than to its male characters" (91), and Alan J. Pakula's *Klute* (1971) that considers sexuality a prism through which the characters are to be analyzed. More than that, Pakula depicts prostitution unconventionally, i.e., without "glamoriz[ing]" it, as well as stresses the sameness between models and prostitutes from a moral viewpoint (95-96). Kirshner draws on film noir (*The Maltese Falcon*, *Double Indemnity*, *Criss Cross*, *The Lady from Shanghai*, *Out of the Past*, etc.) together with such films as Sam Peckinpah's *Straw Dogs*, Scorsese's *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, and Mazursky's *Blume in Love* that explicitly or implicitly are "misogynic" (84, 98-99). These films reveal that apart from the war the US got involved in thousands of kilometers away, there was a domestic war inside every house in the country: the war against sexism and for equal rights between men and women, husbands and wives.

Kirshner continues meditating upon the US political situation of the period page by page historicizing the Vietnam War and the role America played in it. In his fifth chapter, "Crumbling Cities and Revisionist History," the author underscores the importance of the so-called "revisionist" (110) film that is noteworthy in the analysis of the seventies cinema. Following from this, the revisionist Westerns like Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* (1969), Penn's *Little Big Man* (1970), as well as such "anti-Westerns" (112, 117) as Robert Altman's *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* (1971) and Peckinpah's

Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid (1973) are carefully scrutinized. The second half of the chapter touches upon the topic of "urban combat zones" arguing that the action of many films that were released around 1971 took place in heavily criminalized big cities of America. The films of the period vividly present the problems of murder (Alan Arkin's *Little Murders*), drug addiction (Jerry Schatzberg's *The Panic in Needle Park* and Ivan Passer's *Born to Win*), dangerous streets (John Schlesinger's *Midnight Cowboy*), thrive for money (Joseph Sargent's *The Taking of Pelham One Two Three*), violence and corruption (Peter Yates' *Bullitt*, Stuart Rosenberg's *Laughing Policeman*, and Scorsese's *Mean Streets* and *Taxi Driver*).

"Privacy, Paranoia, Disillusion, and Betrayal," the sixth chapter in the book, continues providing facts about the Nixon presidency and his administration as well as the growing mistrust of US citizens in the government and people in general. To display how directors reacted to the social confusion, Kirshner focuses here on Michael Ritchie's *The Candidate*, Hal Ashby's *The Last Detail* (1973), Coppola's *The Conversation* (1974), Pakula's *The Parallax View* (1974), Sydney Pollack's *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), and Pakula's *All the President's Men* (1976).

The last chapters of the book, "White Knights in Existential Despair" and "Businessmen Drink My Wine," concentrate on the time period when the Vietnam War and the Nixon presidency were finally over. The three films that are discussed in the seventh chapter in extensive detail are Altman's *The Long Goodbye* (1973), Polanski's *Chinatown* (1974), and Penn's *Night Moves* (1975). The final eighth chapter provides a long analysis of three films as well. The first two, namely Altman's *Nashville* (1975) and Sidney Lumet's *Network* (1976) reveal the core issues that existed in America in the mid 1970s, i.e., political problems and economic unbalance, respectively; while the third film, Ashby's *Shampoo* (1975), succeeds in "holding up a mirror to the American left, whose indifference and self-indulgences let Nixon happen" (210). Lastly, Kirshner mentions the fading of rock and roll and the consequential split up of the Beatles and provides a brief overview of the three films created after the seventies era—*Jaws*, *Rocky*, and *Star Wars*—singling out some differences between the New Hollywood films and the films of the post-New Hollywood era.

All in all, Kirshner's *Hollywood's Last Golden Age*, as the subtitle claims, does indeed cover the major socio-political issues and, most importantly, the way they influenced and/or were reflected in the films released between 1967 and 1976. The book's strength lies in the author's extensive and thorough historical and visual analysis of the classic films. Its

only weakness is Kirshner's at times chaotic narration and repetition of certain issues from chapter to chapter. Nevertheless, the book is a remarkable achievement and is recommended to those who are interested in film history and visual analysis.

Tatiana Prorokova (Marburg)

VIOLA AMATO (†). *Intersex Narratives: Shifts in the Representation of Intersex Lives in Northern American Literature and Popular Culture*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016. 304 pp.

The success of Jeffrey Eugenides's 2003 novel *Middlesex* directed attention to intersex as a topic in American Studies. At the time of its publication, this coming of age narrative of the Greek-American intersex protagonist Cal_ie was received against the background of poststructuralist approaches to gender and sexuality that had gained prominence within American Cultural Studies since the publication of Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* in 1990. At the time of its publication, *Middlesex* was the first American novel with an intersex protagonist, and even today, 14 years later, there are still only few fictional narratives with intersex characters. Prior to the success of *Middlesex*, the emerging intersex movement of the 1990s paved the way for fictional representations of intersex and the academic debates that followed. Viola Amato's insightful monograph *Intersex Narratives: Shifts in the Representation of Intersex Lives in North American Literature and Popular Culture* (2016) deserves credit for honoring and emphasizing the importance of the pioneering intersex movement. In her study, she contextualizes Eugenides's representation of intersex with other texts of different media and genres that negotiate "intersex persons, intersex communities, and intersex as a cultural concept and epistemological category" (13); she includes memoirs, novels, and TV-series that came out between 1993 and 2014. In addition to an extensive reading of *Middlesex*, she provides analyses of the following shorter autobiographical texts from the intersex movement, Thea Hillman's memoir *Intersex (For Lack of a Better Word)* (2008), Kathleen Winter's novel *Annabel* (2010), and four episodes from the TV-series *Chicago Hope*, *Emergency Room*, *House*, and *Grey's Anatomy*. Amato classifies her diverse corpus of texts as belonging to both "hegemonic intersex discourses and 'counternarratives'" (14), but she does not claim that both stand in monolithic opposition to each other. To the contrary, she convincingly demonstrates how hegemonic discourses and counternarratives influence each other or to what degree they are interrelated. Her thorough contextualization of these different realms of intersex discourses will necessarily

lead to more nuanced academic readings of intersex representations in the future.

Amato's study builds on the observation that the year 1993 marks a paradigm shift in discourses on intersex. This shift occurred because persons with intersex variation started to organize politically and publish their writings in small publications. Next to chronology, the important reason for Amato to begin with these intersex voices is to put first-person-narratives of intersex writers at the center rather than to set the tone with analyses of texts by non-intersex writers. Also for this reason, she discusses Hillman's memoir *Intersex* and its critique of *Middlesex* from an intersex perspective before her analysis of Eugenides's novel, even if the memoir was published five years later than the novel. Amato highlights the crucial importance of the founding of the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) and the publication of its newsletter *Hermaphrodites with Attitude* (1994-2005) and the special issue of *Chrysalis*, 'Intersex Awakenings' (1997/98). Her analyses of sixteen autobiographical texts published in *Chrysalis* and in *Genderqueer* (2002) and her reading of Hillman's memoir form the background against which she reads the fictional intersex narratives in the subsequent chapters. Analyzing these largely unknown writings of the intersex movement, she sheds new light on well-known cultural images of intersex, such as the one depicted in *Middlesex* and popular TV-series. In addition to the textual level, Amato pays attention to the material conditions that enable intersex persons to speak their own voice to contest earlier medical and pathologizing narratives. Her analyses of the autobiographical texts and Hillman's memoir provide the reader with new and important insights in the process of the forming and self-actualization of the movement and belong to the most original parts of Amato's study.

Many of Amato's analyses are based on what she calls "ethical implications" (17). Because of the long history of medicalization and pathologizing of intersex and ongoing worldwide political struggles concerning issues such as forced genital surgery, human rights violations, and legislation, she wants her study to be understood as a contribution towards the emancipation of intersex persons. She clearly states her indebtedness to emancipatory political movements that aim at human rights and legal recognition of intersex persons. In Western societies with a rigid

two-gender system, intersex subjectivities are invisible and often inconceivable. If intersex is addressed at all, the only language available emerges from a history of medicalization and pathologizing of persons with intersex variations. It is because of these difficulties to bring intersex into representation that Amato builds on Judith Butler's theory of intelligibility as a theoretical foundation for her study. The term "intelligibility" refers to categories and norms that enable and restrict the self-expressions of human beings. In a society whose norms enforce a rigid gender binary of male and female, intersex identities are rendered unintelligible. Throughout her study, Amato discusses how the different representations and negotiations of intersex variations relate to conditions of intelligibility and asks to what degree these conditions are contested or reaffirmed. She takes the brevity of the early autobiographical texts of intersex writers as an indication for the lack of words to describe intersex variation and demonstrates that these accounts often rely on the medical vocabulary of the decades before. The term "intersex" itself is a case in point. Rather than using a new term to refer to their subject position, intersex activists take the medical term and invest it with new meaning. The semantic change of this term is one example of a shift in representation, which makes room for intersex subjects to become intelligible.

Whereas Amato's clear political positioning is one of the strong points of her study, it simultaneously effects conclusions and analyses that sometimes tend towards the formulaic. For example, prior to her analyses of the novels *Middlesex* and *Annabel*, she formulates a catalogue of questions to guide her readings of these novels. All of these questions concern intersex intelligibility and focus, for example, on the novels' negotiations of the intersex characters' subjectivity and gender, the ways in which the inner conflicts of its protagonists are dealt with, the providing of narrative spaces "for acting out alternative, affirmative concepts of intersex" (162), or the novels' self-reflexivity of the ways in which they might perpetuate norms that affect the characters negatively. Whereas this catalogue of questions lead Amato to conclusions about the degree of the novels' emancipatory potential concerning intersex intelligibility, other aspects of the novels, such as form, language, or symbolism tend to move out of the focus of critical attention.

There is no abundance of intersex representations in American culture or in other parts of the world. Because of the very few existent intersex narratives and the still emerging language to speak about intersex, Amato discusses the authors' responsibility for their strong influence on the ways in which intersex subjects become intelligible. Accordingly, she devotes subchapters to the questions: "Is there a Moral Obligation to Write a Particular Story of Intersex?" (199) and "Does an Intersex Story Have the Obligation to be Subversive?" (236). With regard to *Middlesex*, for example, she discusses the moral implications of its ending. Granting that the novel makes room for its intersex protagonist to become intelligible, she criticizes the narrative closure that constructs and normalizes Cal_lie as male and heterosexual rather than imagine an intelligible subject position beyond the gender binary. Amato extends this critique by arguing for an interrelation of fiction and the material world. She makes the strong claim that "this gender assignment [...] made by non-intersex authors iterates the non-consensual gender assignment made by doctors (and parents) with the aim of 'normalizing' the intersex subject" (239). In contrast to the ending of *Middlesex*, she states that *Annabel* "defies a narrative closure [...] that is reached by establishing the intelligibility of the intersex character by assigning a clearly defined male or female gender" (238). A reading with a stronger focus on other elements of the novels, such as setting in the case of *Middlesex*, might have added a productive additional perspective to this conclusion. After all, Eugenides negotiates Cal_lie's intersex variation by symbolically juxtaposing a segregated Detroit at the beginning of the novel with a unified Berlin in the end, which suggests a reconciliation of estranged parts and might arguably be read as a critique of the gender binary.

One underlying assumption of Amato's study is that negative depictions of intersex characters carry "narrative violence," or, in the case of television programs, "violence of representation" (243). There is no doubt that the use of language can hurt people. Still, it would have made Amato's line of argument stronger, had she explained if and where she sees differences between narrative violence and actual violence together with the ethical implications that follow from both forms of violence. Without such an explanation, some of her conclusions appear not as persuasive as they could

be. For example, with regard to one episode of the TV-series *House*, she states that its representation of intersex characters “results in narrative violence, which translates in actual violence against girls/women whose bodies do not conform to cultural norms of femaleness, also called intersex misogyny” (302). This assumption of an easily predictable causal relation between fictional representations and physical violence grants the viewer little agency in their own reception of a TV-program. Amato’s reading of *House* is a good example to question her own assumption, because her viewing of the episode does not lead to physical violence on her part but the opposite, it becomes an incentive to argue in favor of intersex emancipation. Some of Amato’s ethically informed readings would become more nuanced if she granted average readers and viewers an ability for a critical engagement with the texts they

read and the films they watch. After all, cultural expressions such as camp aesthetics and drag have emerged from subversive readings of heteronormative narratives.

Despite my few critical remarks, I consider *Intersex Narratives* a groundbreaking study that clearly closes a research gap in American Studies. I know of no other systematic study to thoroughly investigate such a diverse body of intersex narratives. It is particularly Amato’s rootedness in poststructuralist theories of sex and gender and her awareness of the indebtedness of academic discourse to the largely underrepresented history of the intersex movement that lets the better-known intersex narratives appear in a new light and provides a new ground for nuanced future readings of intersex narratives.

Simon Dickel (Berlin)

BARRY SHANK, *The Political Force of Musical Beauty*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 344 pp.

The intricate relationship between popular music and politics has been the subject of much scholarship since the 1960s. Civil rights songs, Riot Grrrl punk music and conscious rap, among many others, have been the focus of a vast body of research, documenting the significance of music in social movements throughout U.S. history and beyond. Rock and pop music has been hailed as a “weapon of cultural revolution” and as a means to social transformation,¹ while more nuanced arguments have acknowledged the music’s intrinsic nature as a mass commodity meant to be sold and consumed as part of the culture industry.² A negotiation of conflicting needs guides many of the questions that have been raised: How does music exert political influence? How do pop songs shape political thought and represent political ideas? How does music foster political belonging? Or, put another way: Can sound subvert?

In *The Political Force of Musical Beauty*, Barry Shank approaches these questions in a strikingly new and refreshing way. Shank steers clear of the popular yet somewhat simplistic notion that music serves as vehicle for political actors to communicate shared political ideas and forward an agenda. He showcases the agency of music itself, the ways in which it “enacts its own force, creating shared senses of the world” (2), as he suggests in an introductory chapter titled, tongue-in-cheek, “Prelude.” The experience of musical listening, Shank purports, forms communities characterized by difference, not unity—and this pleasurable experience has both aesthetic and political implications. Putting aside the intentions of the artists and the identity of the listeners, he highlights how music’s political force pertains to its “capacity to combine relations of difference into experiences of beauty” (16). The experience of beauty, according to Shank, is an experience that allows the listener to recognize the possibility of change, a change for a “better future”: “a truly aesthetic

musical act,” he claims, “is one that reveals the political significance of sounds previously heard as nothing but noise” (3).

Shank uses case studies to illustrate how the power of music is located in beauty, and how musical beauty comes to life in the act of listening. The chosen examples—ranging from Moby’s sampling of Vera Hall’s version of “Trouble So Hard” on his track “Natural Blues” to the civil rights movement’s prominent “We Shall Overcome,” the sounds of Takemitsu Toro and Yoko Ono, the Velvet Underground’s “Heroin,” poet-rock star Patti Smith, Alarm Will Sound’s concert collage *1969*, and TV on the Radio’s musical encounter with Tinariwen, a band of Tuareg musicians, to name just a few—all create “a sonic image of right relations, an audible constellation of mobile forms shifting in time, performing and occasionally transforming one’s sense of the world,” as Shank explains. The choice of cases, albeit at first seemingly eclectic, works well for Shank’s argument—and makes this study a deeply personal one, as Shank admits in a little caveat: “To be honest, every one of the musical examples I analyze transformed my sense of the world” (4). While some readers may wish for a less subjective and emotionally charged sample of case studies and others will search in vain for a discussion of hip hop, Shank’s passion for his subject matter is actually one of the many strengths of this book—the author’s grasp, his keen sense of music and nuanced understanding of the sensibilities of musical listening make it both accessible and highly entertaining to read.

In order to frame the ensuing explorations of the relationship between musical beauty and political belonging, chapter one (“Listening to the Political”) provides the reader with an analytical framework rooted in aesthetic theory. Shank, professor of Comparative Studies at Ohio State University, builds on Jacques Rancière’s concept of “the distribution of the sensible” in order to explain the relation between aesthetics and politics (27). Shank links Rancière’s concept to philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy’s observation of musical listening as an “attentive relationship to meaning that reveals the gaps in symbolizing while it reveals in the social and embodied sensuousness of its reflexive processes” (20). This kind of engagement with the music, or *sens*, as Nancy calls it, manifests itself in the listeners’ search for meaning—a search that demands a reconfiguration of the sensible. The experience of musical beauty may lead to

¹ John Sinclair, *Guitar Army: Street Writings/Prison Writings* (New York: Douglas Book Corporation, 1972), 117.

² Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock’n’Roll* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 6.

a transformation of the sensible, but doesn't necessarily lead to palpable political change. However, according to Shank, it "affects the shape of the common, changing the qualities of feeling and the possible elements that can be included in the debate by shifting the sensibility toward relations that can forge together into a meaningful (if divided) whole" (28). This is the locus of the political agency of music: A redistribution of the sensible recalibrates the listeners' sensibilities and creates "communities of listeners oriented toward an object of musical beauty" (260).

Shank applies his theoretical considerations throughout his book and elegantly interweaves philosophical thought with rich case analyses. An excellent case in point is his discussion of electronica artist Moby's release "Natural Blues" which features African American folk singer Vera Hall's version of "Trouble So Hard." Hall was first recorded singing "Trouble So Hard" by John Lomax in the late 1930s, and then again in the late 1950s by his son Alan Lomax. While some critics blamed Moby of yet another "theft" of her voice in a world still teeming with racially coded power inequalities, Shank offers a different interpretation. His close reading of "Trouble So Hard," a song that contains allusions to racism and the rule of white supremacy, and its recontextualization in Moby's 1999 hit song convincingly asserts that "Natural Blues" unfolds political agency due to the fact that it makes the listeners think about the production and underlying struggles of the track. It calls attention to the continuing role of racial inequality in U.S. culture and sheds light on the necessity "to build political community with the knowledge of that divide, a political community of difference" (37).

Shank's analytical skills are on fine display when he takes on some of the more obviously political songs in a chapter entitled "The Anthem and the Condensation of Context": National hymns like "The Star-Spangled Banner," the civil rights movement's prominent "We Shall Overcome" and pop anthems like Sam Cooke's "A Change Is Gonna Come" have been the subject of much scholarship, and yet Shank's reading of these songs opens up new perspectives. Shank enlists Lauren Berlant's concept of the *intimate public*, a term Berlant uses to describe "groups formed in and through a sense of shared and ordinary feeling," in order to explain how "anthems" confirm belonging, create a sense of justice and assert the equality of feelings. In a close

reading of "A Change Is Gonna Come"—as always, Shank ascribes as much importance to musical arrangements (rhythm, key, instrumentation, arrangement, timbre) as to lyrical content—the author demonstrates the importance of musical and historical context, especially with regard to soul as a secularized version of gospel: In continuation with a certain anthemic tradition this 1964 soul song's potential is located in the "already existing unity of a political community confirmed by its congregational context" which works to transform musical sounds into "musical agents capable of generating new and expansive inclining communities united for a moment by a song" (70). While the song didn't require the listener to subscribe to a tangible political agenda—and intimate publics are always at risk of sentimental dilution—, it left no listener unaffected. Pop anthems, Shank argues, work "through the power that music has to catch our ear, fix us in place, and get us to listen" (71).

Throughout his study, Shank draws on an impressive range of musical examples—his discussion of the Velvet Underground's drone as a critique of commercial imperatives strikes the reader as particularly salient—to thoroughly develop his argument. The musical and historical background he provides for each of his case studies are meticulously researched and designed to elucidate theories, terms, and arguments both vividly and in-depth. The greatest accomplishment of this riveting inquiry into the mechanics of popular music is, however, Shank's discussion of 'musical listening' which he believes to reach far beyond a close attention to the lyrics or even the musical score. His emphasis on the importance of musical beauty in the emergence of political agency contributes substantially both to aesthetic theory and music studies.

The conclusion, or "Coda," serves as an excellent aggregation of Shank's insistence on "beauty as the locus of music's power" (3) that lingers in the mind of the reader. Shank ends his insightful and dense discussion of music and political belonging with Tinariwen, a Tuareg band, and their encounter with indie rock band TV on the Radio. The vastly different musical-political contexts from which these bands originate enable a dialogue between aural imaginaries: Musical beauty creates new relations in an intimate public and renders a redistribution of the sensible possible.

Bärbel Harju (München)

STEFAN PAVENZINGER, *The Voice of America. Die gesellschaftspolitische Vermittlerfunktion Johnny Cashes 1963-1972*. (Trier: WVT, 2012), 408 pp.

Johnny Cash ist eine der herausragenden Künstlerpersönlichkeiten des 20. Jahrhunderts. Seine Jahrhundertstimme, der unverwechselbare Sound und ein Songrepertoire, das die Geschichten des Lebens und des Landes erzählt, haben den 2003 verstorbenen Country-Sänger zu einem Klassiker der populären Musik gemacht. Klassiker erleiden bekanntlich häufig das Schicksal, dass sie in Vergessenheit zu geraten drohen. Bei Cash kann davon keine Rede sein. Wie groß sein Einfluss auf die US-amerikanische und weltweite Popkultur eingeschätzt wird, lässt sich an den zahlreichen Büchern und Artikeln ablesen, die mittlerweile über ihn publiziert wurden. 2013 etwa erschien eine 700 Seiten starke Biographie aus der Feder des bekannten Musikjournalisten Robert Hilburn, die Cashes bewegtes Leben minutiös nachzeichnet und sein künstlerisches Schaffen bilanziert.

Längst ist Johnny Cash auch zu einem Gegenstand der Wissenschaft geworden. In den meisten Arbeiten stehen die künstlerischen Aspekte, also die Musik, im Vordergrund. Cash, der 1932 in Kingsland, Arkansas, auf die Welt kam und seine Kindheit und Jugendzeit auf den Baumwollfeldern seiner ländlichen Heimat verbrachte, hat sich selbst als Country-Sänger bezeichnet, wollte aber niemals ausschließlich auf diese Richtung festgelegt werden. Tatsächlich wird Cash in den Plattenläden jedoch bis heute fast immer unter Country, oder wie es früher hieß: Country & Western, einsortiert. Unter allen Preisen, die er im Laufe seiner Karriere gewann, bedeutete ihm die Aufnahme in die Ruhmeshalle der Country-Musik 1980 laut eigener Auskunft am meisten. Cashes Bandbreite wies aber von jeher über die engen Grenzen des Genres hinaus. Nahm er zu Beginn seiner Karriere bei Sun-Records in Memphis Mitte der fünfziger Jahre die Einflüsse des Rock and Roll musikalisch auf, wurde er in den sechziger Jahren von der aufkommenden Folkbewegung inspiriert. Sein grandioses Spätwerk, das ihm ab 1994 ein triumphales Comeback bescherte, entzieht sich der Kategorisierung noch stärker. So wurde Cashes 1996 aufgenommenes, zweites American-Album *Unchained* mit einem Grammy für die beste Country-Platte ausgezeichnet, während die zwei Jahre zuvor erschienenen

American Recordings denselben Preis in der Rubrik "Best Contemporary Folk" erhielten.

Eine andere, weniger intensiv bearbeitete Forschungsrichtung nimmt die gesellschaftspolitische Wirkung des Künstlers in den Blick. Sie fokussiert naturgemäß stärker auf Textrepertoire, Auftreten und Äußerungen in der Öffentlichkeit sowie das soziale und politische Engagement. Mit Stefan Pavenzingers Münchener Dissertation liegt jetzt eine Arbeit vor, die diesen Aspekt in Johnny Cashes Leben und Werk zum ersten Mal systematisch und umfassend beleuchtet. Der Autor sieht die gesellschaftspolitische Bedeutung Cashes vor allem in seiner Vermittlerfunktion zwischen dem ländlich-konservativen und urban-liberalen Amerika. In den turbulenten sechziger Jahren habe es Cash geschafft, die beiden auseinanderstrebenden Seiten der US-Gesellschaft gleichermaßen anzusprechen und für sich einzunehmen. Die Arbeit möchte ergründen, wie und warum ihm dies gelungen ist. Dabei stellt sie zum einen auf Aspekte der Persönlichkeit ab, die die charismatische Ausstrahlung und Authentizität der Inszenierung des als *Man in Black* zum Mythos gewordenen Sängers hervorheben. Zum anderen fragt sie nach inhaltlichen Themenschwerpunkten und den Haltungen, die Cash zu diesen Themen im Einzelnen bezog.

Die Vermittlerfunktion Johnny Cashes wird auf den Zeitraum zwischen 1963 und 1972 plausibel eingegrenzt. Nach seinem erfolgreichen Einstieg bei Columbia-Records im Jahr 1958 durchlief der Jungstar zunächst eine kommerzielle Durststrecke, die er erst 1963 mit der Aufnahme von *Ring of Fire* beenden konnte. Indem der Millionenseller Cash einen lukrativen neuen Plattenvertrag einbrachte, hielt er ihm zugleich den Rücken für die Arbeit an Konzept- und Themenalben frei, die nicht besonders hit- und verkaufsträchtig waren. Noch vor *Ring of Fire* hatte Cash mit *Blood, Sweat and Tears* 1963 eine Platte herausgebracht, die ausschließlich aus Songs über den *working man* bestand. 1964 folgte mit *Bitter Tears* das Album über das Schicksal der amerikanischen Indianer, das viele bis heute für sein bestes überhaupt halten. Cashes Kreativität in dieser Zeit ist umso bemerkenswerter, als er hier bereits schwer drogenabhängig war. Nach der (vorläufigen) Überwindung seiner Sucht konnte Cash mit seinem im Staatsgefängnis von Folsom (Kalifornien) live aufgenommenen Album einen lange gehegten Wunschtraum realisieren. Als

Johnny Cash at Folsom Prison in stürmischer Zeit Mitte 1968 herauskam, traf es den Nerv einer durch die politischen Ereignisse zunehmend verunsicherten, ja traumatisierten amerikanischen Gesellschaft. 1969 legte Cash mit einem weiteren Gefängnis-Album nach (*At San Quentin*), das seine öffentliche Präsenz in neue Dimensionen katapultierte und ihn endgültig zum amerikanischen und weltweiten Superstar machte, dessen Plattenumsätze jetzt sogar die der Beatles übertrafen. Der Erfolg trug Cash eine Prime Time-Fernsehsendung ein, die—in 58 Folgen von 1969 bis 1971 ausgestrahlt—den Höhepunkt seiner Vermittlerrolle markierte. Die Gästeliste liest sich wie ein *who is who* der US-Musikgeschichte. Sie deckte die unterschiedlichsten Sparten ab und bot dem konservativen Nixon-Freund Bob Hope genauso ein Podium wie dem von manchen als Kommunisten gebrandmarkten Antikriegsaktivisten Pete Seeger, auf dessen Einladung Cash gegen den Willen der Programmverantwortlichen bestand.

Die Absetzung der Show stellt rückblickend betrachtet eine entscheidende Zäsur in Cashes bis dahin erfolgreich wahrgenommener Vermittlerfunktion dar. Dem Sender missfiel, dass der Sänger das Fernsehen als Plattform benutzte, um sich offen und bisweilen missionarisch zu seiner Religiosität zu bekennen, was zu dieser Zeit in den USA noch nicht en vogue war. Dies mag mit dazu beigetragen haben, dass Cash und seine Frau June Carter—gegen jede “karrieretechnische” Vernunft und den ausdrücklichen Rat des damaligen Managers Saul Holiff—die Erfolgsspur bewusst verließen, um in Israel 1972 den Jesus-Film *Gospel-Road* zu drehen (der sich kommerziell prompt als Flop erwies). Zur selben Zeit endete Cashes sichtbares politisches Engagement. Desillusioniert von seinen gescheiterten Bemühungen um eine Reform des Gefängnisystems, für die er im Rahmen einer Anhörung auch im US-Senat öffentlich geworben hatte, wandte er sich nun in seinen Liedern und öffentlichen Auftritten von der Gesellschaftskritik ab und schlug patriotischere Töne an. Damit huldigte er zugleich dem konservativer gewordenen Zeitgeist, der im Zuge des Watergate-Skandals nach einer Rückbesinnung auf die nationalen Traditionen verlangte. Stellvertretend für diese Wende stehen das 1972 veröffentlichte Album *America* und die zwei Jahre später erschienene Eloge auf die “zerschlissene alte Fahne” (*Ragged Old Flag*), die Cash in seinen US-amerikanischen Konzerten bis 1997, als er

das Touren krankheitsbedingt aufgeben musste, regelmäßig intonierte.

Pavenzinger macht Cashes gesellschaftspolitische Vermittlerfunktion an vier Bereichen fest: (1) an der erwähnten Gefängnisreformdebatte, wo sich das Engagement des Sängers seit dem Folsom-Album auch mit seiner persönlichen Beziehung zu dem dort einsitzenden Häftling Glen Sherley verband, um dessen Freilassung im Jahre 1971 sich Cash erfolgreich bemühte. Sherleys Selbstmord sieben Jahre später nach einem gescheiterten Leben in Freiheit steht symbolhaft für Cashes eigenes Scheitern mit seinen Reformbemühungen. Als “Herzensangelegenheit” schildert Pavenzinger (2) Cashes Eintreten für die Native Americans, das auch nach 1972 nicht endete, obwohl er das Thema seither (mit einer Ausnahme) in keinem seiner Songs mehr aufgriff oder öffentlich und medienwirksam dazu Stellung nahm. Ambivalenter gestaltete sich (3) die Haltung Cashes zu den Afroamerikanern. Abgesehen von einer rassistischen Äußerung aus seiner Militärzeit in Deutschland gibt es keine Hinweise, dass Cash Vorurteile gegenüber der schwarzen Minderheit gehegt haben könnte. Dagegen spricht allein, dass er ein entschiedener Gegner des Ku-Klux-Klan war, der ihn wegen seiner angeblich afroamerikanischen ersten Frau Vivian Liberto 1966 öffentlich als “Negerfreund” und “Rassenschänder” beschimpft hatte. Cash tat sich allerdings nie als Fürsprecher für die Schwarzen im Allgemeinen oder die Bürgerrechtsbewegung im Besonderen hervor. Dafür fehlte es ihm als Südstaatler, der mit Afroamerikanern kaum in Berührung gekommen war, an Empathie, einmal abgesehen davon, dass es ihn von der weißen Unterschicht entfremdet hätte, die den Kern seiner Anhängerschaft ausmachte. Ein ähnliches Problem kennzeichnet (4) seine Haltung zum Vietnam-Krieg, der die amerikanische Öffentlichkeit genau zu dem Zeitpunkt am heftigsten polarisierte, als Cash auf dem Zenit seiner Popularität angelangt war. Einerseits unterstützte Cash bedingungslos die überwiegend aus der Unterschicht rekrutierten Soldaten, andererseits musste er sich gerade deshalb vor einer dezidierten Absage an den Krieg und einer Unterstützung der Kriegsgegner hüten, die den Soldaten angeblich in den Rücken fielen. Die Sympathien der Friedensbewegung sollte sich Cash spätestens im April 1970 verschmerzen, als er die Einladung Präsident Nixons zu einem Konzert im Weißen Haus annahm.

Die auf breiter Quellenbasis angefertigte Studie stellt eine imponierende Forschungsleistung dar. Sie gibt nicht nur einen tiefen Einblick in das Wirken und Schaffen des Künstlers Johnny Cash in seiner produktivsten Phase, sondern spiegelt auch wesentliche Kapitel und Zäsuren der US-amerikanischen Kultur- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert wider. Selbst die kühnsten Cash-Fans werden sich schwer tun, in der Darstellung sachliche Fehler zu entdecken—die wenigen Ausnahmen sind nicht nennenswert. Der Autor begegnet seinem Gegenstand zwar mit Sympathie, wahrt aber stets die für einen Wissenschaftler gebotene kritische Distanz. Damit bietet die Studie

auch für diejenigen wertvolle Aufschlüsse, die—wie der Rezensent—mit der Biographie des Helden bestens vertraut sind. Die Arbeit ist zudem gut geschrieben und meidet den in kulturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen häufig überbordenden Jargon. Dass eine an Umfang und Gründlichkeit vergleichbare Untersuchung in den USA bisher noch nicht vorgelegt wurde, gereicht der deutschen Amerikaforschung zur Ehre. Es kann zugleich als Ausdruck einer besonderen Wertschätzung des Sängers betrachtet werden, der in Deutschland bis heute eine seiner weltweit treuesten Fangemeinden hat.

Frank Decker (Bonn)

ANJA SCHÄFERS, "Mehr als Rock 'n' Roll: Der Radiosender AFN Mitte der Sechziger Jahre" *Transatlantische Historische Studien* 52. Ed. Hartmut Berghoff, Clelia Caruso, and Mischa Honeck. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 454 pp.

In ihrem Buch über den US-amerikanischen Radiosender AFN (*American Forces Network*) untersucht Anja Schäfers dessen Geschichte überaus gründlich und präzise, indem sie den Forschungsgegenstand aus den verschiedensten Perspektiven betrachtet. Ihre Studie schreibt nicht nur frühere Arbeiten fort, sondern darf vielmehr zu Recht als weiterführend angesehen werden. Die Historikerin beschäftigt sich mit der Gründung von AFN noch während des Zweiten Weltkriegs, im Jahr 1943 in Großbritannien, sowie mit der Inbetriebnahme des Senders in Deutschland mit der Sendeanlage in Ismaning bei München im Jahr 1945. Ferner setzt sie sich mit den sich wandelnden Programminhalten und der Wirkungsgeschichte der frühen Jahre des Senders auseinander. Schäfers betrachtet 1965 als ein Wendejahr, indem sie darlegt, dass der Sender danach seine *nicht* US-amerikanische Zuhörerschaft, darunter ein beträchtlicher Anteil von Deutschen, verlor. Die Gründe hierfür lagen erstens in den Servicewellen, die sukzessive in der ganzen Bundesrepublik eingeführt wurden und mit einer standardisierten Stundenstruktur ausgestattet waren. Hinzu kam die Aufnahme anglo-amerikanischer Popmusik in die Sender. Drittens wurden die Programme zunehmend in narrativer Form moderiert. Und schließlich wurden die Programme mit formatierten Kurzbeiträgen versehen. Daher ist es sinnvoll, dass Schäfers ihre Studie mit dem Jahr 1965 abschließt, gehört der US-amerikanische Radiosender ab diesem Zeitpunkt doch mehr und mehr der Geschichte an. Zweifelsohne hatte AFN positive (Spät-)Folgen. Am deutlichsten ist dies an der "AFN-Generation" der nach 1945 Geborenen zu sehen. Denn sie waren der Grund für die Richtungsänderung, die der Verbund der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten (ARD) der Bundesrepublik Deutschland weg von einem auf Bildung ausgerichteten Radio mit anspruchsvollen, stündlich alternierenden Inhalten hin zu einem "Populär-Radio" und auf schnellen Service ausgerichteten Magazin vollzog. Geprägt wurde der neue, "frische" Stil eines modernen Radios von einer Generation jüngerer, aufstrebender Hörfunk-

journalisten, die allesamt über AFN-Hörerfahrungen verfügten und nunmehr begannen die Funkhäuser der ARD zu "infiltrieren". Als prominentes Beispiel sei der deutsch-US-Amerikaner William McCreery Ramsey genannt, besser bekannt als Bill Ramsey. Er war ein Aushängeschild von AFN, begann als Discjockey, arbeitete nebenbei als Jazzsänger in diversen Clubs in Frankfurt und stieg schließlich zum landesweit populären Schlagerstar, TV-Entertainer und Schauspieler auf. Dass alle von Schäfers befragten Zeitzeugen, Publizisten und Literaten, darunter Günter Kunert und Wolfram Schütte, von AFN als Radiosender und dem völlig neuen Sound, den er spielte, noch heute begeistert sind, ist daher auch nicht verwunderlich. Und so kann es auch nicht überraschen, dass sie die von AFN verkörperte Mischung aus cool-lässigem Lebensstil, Modernität, dekretierter Lockerheit und Populärmusik—von Country über Rock 'n' Roll bis Swing und Soul, von Bing Crosby, Ella Fitzgerald, Bill Haley bis Elvis Presley—begierig aufsogen. Es waren nicht wenige deutsche Jugendliche, die bei AFN eine neue Heimat fanden, auch wenn sie sich manchmal gezwungen sahen, sie vor ihren zumeist (sehr) konservativen Eltern zu verbergen.

Für Schäfers stellen die Jahre von 1943 bis circa 1965 die Hauptphase des ursprünglich als reines Informationsmedium für die US-amerikanischen Streitkräfte gedachten AFN dar. Die sogenannte "Goldene Ära" von AFN endet, als der Sender zunächst zu Beginn der 1960er Jahre harten Sparmaßnahmen unterzogen wurde und überdies in jenen Jahren den Übergang ins Zeitalter des Fernsehens "verschief". Der Autorin gelingt es diese zentrale Zeitspanne des Senders in weitgehend klar verständlicher Sprache darzulegen, wobei sie wissenschaftliche Fachterminologie lediglich angenehm moderat einfließen lässt. Mit Beginn der 1960er Jahre verschwand allmählich auch der Geist von Aufbruch, Erneuerung und Vitalität, der mit einer so liebenswürdig-gewinnenden Wesensart die späten 1940er und die Dekade der 1950er Jahre geprägt hatte. Hinzu kam, dass die zuvor in (West-)Europa vorherrschende Populärmusik aus den USA von einer neuen Musikrichtung, der aus Großbritannien stammenden "Beatmusik", an deren Spitze die "Beatles" und die "Rolling Stones" standen, sukzessive ins Abseits gedrängt wurde. Die junge westeuropäische Generation hatte somit nach Blues, Country,

Rockabilly und Rock 'n' Roll sehr schnell wieder einen neuen, eignen Sound für sich entdeckt, der genauso schnell von der immer mächtiger werdenden Unterhaltungsindustrie erfolgreich vermarktet wurde. Ein weiterer Grund für den Niedergang von AFN war, dass ab 1965 der öffentlich-rechtliche Rundfunk begann, die ersten Sendungen für Jugendliche (etwa die Radiothek des Westdeutschen Rundfunks, die Europawelle Saar oder – am populärsten – der TV-Beat-Club von Radio Bremen) auszustrahlen.

Die gut aufgebaute Studie ist in die historischen Zeitabschnitte, also die 1940er bis 1960er Jahre, sowie in die zwei zentralen Kapitel "Programm" und "Hörerschaft" unterteilt. Basierend auf der Auswertung der vorhandenen Quellen thematisiert Schäfers auch vergleichsweise früh in ihrer Arbeit das Geheimnis beziehungsweise die Formel für den großen Erfolg von AFN: Der Sender richtete sich von vornherein ganz gezielt an junge Leute, angefangen mit einem Musikprogramm, das sich aus Country, Rock 'n' Roll, Jazz und Swing zusammensetzte und somit das typische US-amerikanische (Musik-) Entertainment bot. Dieses Musikprogramm wurde dargeboten durch Moderatoren, die mit klangvollen Stimmen und in gefälligem Plauderton durch die Sendung führten. Gestiegen wurde der Charme der Sprecher durch ihr "American English", das Coolness und Lässigkeit verbreitete, sowie ihre ungezwungene Offenheit und Freundlichkeit und das dem Sender zugrundeliegende "Disc-jockey"-Prinzip. All dies trug dazu bei, AFN "lässig" und vor allem authentisch erscheinen zu lassen. Hinzu kam, dass die Moderatoren über sogenannte "Call-ins" in direkten Kontakt mit ihren Hörern traten. Sie spielten Musikwünsche der Hörer, die zumeist auf Postkarten tausendfach beim Sender eingingen und standen gelegentlich direkt im Fokus der Öffentlichkeit, wenn sie als DJs in örtlichen Clubs auftraten. Vollendet wurde das Angebot der AFN-Radioshows durch die aktuellen Hinweise auf Konzerte amerikanischer Stars oder Big-Bands, welche gerade in deutschen (Groß-)Städten, wie etwa München, Heidelberg oder Frankfurt gastierten. Dies wiederum erzeugte eine direkte und spezielle Hörerbindung, die bei den öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten jener Dekaden noch völlig unvorstellbar war. Daher gelangt Schäfers zu folgendem Fazit hinsichtlich des Konzepts des Radiosenders AFN: Das Programm be-

stand zumeist aus neutralen Nachrichten mit den Schwerpunkten (West-)Europa und USA, wobei sowohl auf Polemik als auch auf politische Diskussionen verzichtet und stattdessen auf Lifestyle-Tipps und einen umfangreichen Service gesetzt wurde. Das entscheidende Ziel dieser Strategie war es, den US-amerikanischen Soldaten und ihren Familien in Übersee eine angenehme und sorgenfreie Unterhaltung darzubieten, um somit deren Verbindung "nach Hause" nicht abreißen zu lassen beziehungsweise zu gewährleisten. Ferner erörtert die Autorin in welcher Form und bis zu welchem Grad sowohl die kulturellen als auch die gesellschaftspolitischen Veränderungen in Berichten, Kommentaren und Nachrichten Eingang fanden und wie die US-Armee als Betreiber und Geldgeber von AFN damit umging. Als Beispiele seien hier die Reportagen der Jahre 1945/46 über die in Nürnberg stattfindenden Kriegsverbrecherprozesse sowie die über den Radiosender in Umlauf gebrachten Werbetexte mit dem warnenden Slogan "Don't fraternize" erwähnt. Letztere forderten die US-amerikanischen Soldaten dazu auf, sich höflich, zugleich aber zurückhaltend und reserviert gegenüber der deutschen Zivilbevölkerung und insbesondere gegenüber den einheimischen Frauen zu verhalten. Ferner arbeitet Schäfers heraus, dass es während des von ihr untersuchten Zeitraums auch zu Kontrollen inhaltlicher Art sowie Zensurvorgängen seitens der Administration der US-Streitkräfte kam. Beispielhaft sei hier die Reportage über einen schwerwiegenden Unfall im Kontext mit der von den West-Alliierten errichteten "Luftbrücke" Frankfurt/Westberlin genannt sowie die Berichterstattung über den Aufstand am 17. Juni 1953 in Ost-Berlin, bei der sich die Frage aufdrängte, wie man über die Ereignisse berichten solle und insbesondere, wie die Vorkommnisse im sowjetisch verwalteten Teil Berlins einzuschätzen seien.

Anja Schäfers Untersuchung beeindruckt durch ihre Gründlichkeit, Präzision sowie durch einen journalistisch angehauchten Schreibstil und hebt sich dadurch positiv von anderen Werken über die Radiosender beziehungsweise Soldatensender American Forces Network (AFN) und British Forces Broadcasting Service (BFBS) ab. In ihrer umfangreichen Studie weist die Autorin durch eine fast lückenlose Aufarbeitung der vorhandenen Quellen sowie Interviews mit Zeitzeugen nach, dass AFN mit überzeugenden Musik-

und Sendeformaten sowie den “American Way of Life” vermittelnden Moderatoren nicht nur die Radiolandschaft im Westen Deutschlands sowie der späteren DDR tiefgreifend prägte, sondern auch den Lifestyle der folgenden Generationen maßgeblich beeinflusste. Kurz gesagt: AFN brachte seiner Hörerschaft ein jugendliches Lebensgefühl in den Bereichen Mode (unter anderem das Tragen von Jeans), Frisuren (speziell die Rockabilly-Haartolle) oder Genussmittel (vor allem amerikanische Zigarettenmarken wie “Lucky Strike” oder “Coca-Cola”) nahe, ein Lebensgefühl, das unauflöslich verknüpft war mit einer modernen, nach vorne gewandten und insbesondere auf den Prinzipien der westlichen Demokratien basierenden Sichtweise der Welt. Diese Kulturpolitik griff –und das war im Rahmen der “Reeducation” durchaus beabsichtigt–in den nach 1945 aufbrechenden Generationenkonflikt zwischen der deutschen Nachkriegsjugend und deren Elterngeneration ein, wie die Autorin anschaulich in dem Kapitel “Zwischen ‘Ami-Mist’ und ‘unofficial ambassador’”. Deutsche und amerikanische Deutungen von AFN” darlegt. Insofern geht Schäfers Arbeit weit über die Untersuchung eines Rundfunksenders hinaus, der heute nicht mehr existiert und nur noch in der Erinnerung von Zeitzeugen weiterlebt; vielmehr ist sie auch eine kleine Geschichte der deutschen Nachkriegszeit bis Mitte der 1960er Jahre, schildert sie doch das wechselhafte Schicksal eines Radiosenders vor dem Hintergrund tiefgreifender politischer, gesellschaftlicher, kultureller Transformationen und Mentalitätsveränderungen im besetzten Nachkriegsdeutschland.

Auch wenn die Autorin ihre Quellen in Fußnoten darlegt und somit ein umständliches Nachschlagen im Anhang entfällt, so liest sich die Arbeit dennoch nicht immer flüssig, verliert sich die Autorin doch des Öfteren in für die Arbeit nicht unbedingt relevanten Details. Besonders deutlich wird dies in den Abschnitten, in denen sie in allen Einzelheiten auf Radiofrequenzen, Ultrakurzwellen oder den “Kopenhagener Wellenplan” von 1948 (international vereinbarter Plan über die Verteilung der Radiofrequenzen unter den einzelnen Staaten beziehungsweise den in ihnen betriebenen Sendern) eingeht. Als weniger differenziert erweist sich die Arbeit

gelegentlich in den kulturhistorischen Darstellungen. Auch wenn sich die Rolle der Frau in den westlichen Gesellschaften seit 1945 und dann erneut seit Ende der 1960er Jahre erheblich gewandelt hat, mutet es doch seltsam an, wenn die Autorin Bereiche des Alltags, wie etwa Mode, als genuin “weiblich” bezeichnet (295), oder wenn sie schreibt, dass “Kinder zu dieser Zeit [in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren] Frauensache waren” (301). Wie alle aktuellen Studien zeigen, sind Kinder heute zwar nicht mehr ausschließlich, aber noch immer mehrheitlich “Frauensache”. Ein weiterer sachlicher Fehler unterläuft Schäfers, wenn sie behauptet, dass sich etliche US-Amerikaner im Untersuchungszeitraum für Country-Musik schämten (362). Es ist zutreffend, dass Country-Musik an der Ost- und Westküste und in den urbanen Zentren der USA stets weniger Anhänger hatte, ja manche Amerikaner sich für diese Musikrichtung sogar schämen mochten. Doch es handelt sich um eine kleine Minderheit. Vielmehr war Country von Anfang an ein sehr populärer Musikstil und ist es in den USA bis heute, da sich Country, eine Gattung, die im übrigen nichts mit der deutschen “Volksmusik” gemein hat, in den letzten Jahrzehnten immer wieder erfolgreich wandelte beziehungsweise neu erfand.

Trotz einiger Mängel ist Schäfers’ Arbeit zusammenfassend doch als gelungen zu betrachten, wobei ein Register mit ausgewählten Personen und Orten von Konrad Adenauer über Elvis Presley bis zu Wolfman Jack das insgesamt positive Bild des Werkes abrundet. Lobenswert ist jedoch vor allem die methodisch relevante Tatsache, dass die Autorin ihre Untersuchung nicht nur auf Informationen aus zweiter Hand und Literaturrecherchen stützt, sondern vielmehr ehemalige Mitarbeiter von AFN sowie andere Zeitzeugen interviewt, Archive in Deutschland durchforstet und sogar einige Monate zum Zweck des Quellenstudiums in den National Archives in Washington verbracht hat. Das aus dieser gediegenen Forschungsarbeit entstandene ebenso umfangreiche wie spannende wissenschaftliche Werk zeigt dem Leser, dass der Radiosender AFN zwar auch, insgesamt gesehen jedoch weitaus “mehr als Rock ‘n’ Roll” war.

Stefan Pavenzinger (Regensburg)

MICHAEL RAUHUT, *Ein Klang Zwei Welten—Blues im geteilten Deutschland, 1945 bis 1990* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2016), 366 pp.

This book is the latest addition to Michael Rauhut's series of publications on the topic of Blues and popular music in cold-war Germany. In contrast to most of the author's previous works, *Ein Klang – Zwei Welten* sets out to examine the reception of Blues music not just in a specific area of Germany but seeks to compare the respective scenes in East and West Germany that formed around this music. After a brief introduction, Rauhut dedicates a short chapter to frequent misconceptions about Blues music and where these biases come from. The text's main part is structured into four chapters, each of which is divided into five thematically linked subchapters, discussing and comparing key players of the German Blues scene, modes of interpretation and their political potential.

Even though Rauhut makes clear from the beginning that his angle is very much that of a fan, he largely manages to convert his "subjective experience to scientific insight" (13). Except for the occasional romanticization of key figures like Günther Boas (54), he succeeds in not letting his fandom cloud his vision (13) but uses his exceptional knowledge of the German Blues scene to deliver an abundance of relevant information. The author excels when he compares different interpretations of Blues music; his assessment of the West German authenticity debates is especially interesting. By juxtaposing the various stances on what authentic Blues music is supposed to sound like (and how bizarrely they are intertwined with race) without explicitly voicing his own opinion, Rauhut's bird's eye view-style of writing cleverly exposes the absurdity of how a few white, privileged European music critics claimed absolute authority not just over the interpretation of Blues music but black experience as well. He does so by unearthing various Blues magazines and newsletters in order to shed light on the West German scene and by plowing through the vast amount of GDR-surveillance data available to him, thereby demonstrating how massively different and ideologically informed these individual networks of fans and musicians were. For example, the effort the intelligence agency of the Socialist Unity Party put into keeping such a marginal music at bay is quite impressive. Rauhut's text, then, can be seen as a strong argument for the politically subversive poten-

tial of popular music, discarding the idea that it is too standardized and repetitive in order to have any effect of the sort. However, the meticulous research that must have preceded this book is both its greatest quality and flaw, as it frequently delivers more details than necessary. While the comparisons of the exact fees musicians were paid for their performances are intriguing to know when examining their economic circumstances, the lists of authors, musicians and radio personalities (e.g. 168-169) that appear throughout the text can become disorienting, since they are of no consequence to the narrative and would have made more sense as footnotes.

Since the topic of race dominates much of the book's subtext, it is appropriate that a subchapter is dedicated to the problematic but at the time widespread notion that Blues music's authenticity hinges on a performer's skin color. However, while Rauhut devotes considerable space to the topic of racial discrimination, he treats the fact that women were often relegated to the fringes of the West German Blues scene without going into detail. The few examples the text provides of the blatant sexism that was part of the network (particularly in West Germany) are downright bizarre (258) and left me wondering about the scale of sex discrimination in the Blues music scene. Therefore, dedicating a more comprehensive subchapter to gender discrimination would have been highly desirable.

The author states in his introductory remarks that his study does not aim to be a comprehensive guide to Blues music (15), and while it surely would need to cover much more ground to deserve that predicate, it definitely is an extremely helpful introduction to its subject matter. Rauhut recognizes the value of cold-war era Germany as a natural experiment on the reception of music and largely succeeds in painting a vivid picture of the two different scenes. He convincingly demonstrates that the very same music can be associated with vastly different meanings depending on its cultural and political context. The author arrives at the conclusion that the West German Blues scene was a male-dominated environment of "collectors and connoisseurs" (301) fighting for interpretative authority of a music they perceived to be the "anticapitalist mouthpiece" (ibid.) of the social precariat. In contrast, the GDR-based Blues fans experienced it as an escape from the bleak reality of socialism. Rauhut proves himself to be a

true specialist with outstanding expertise in this particular area of German music history, capable of compiling massive amounts of research data and, for the most part, presenting it in a comprehensible and useful manner. While Blues music, in terms of commercial appeal and audience is certainly a marginal

music, the insights provided by this book are universally applicable to any form of popular music. In any case, for anyone seeking a basic understanding of Blues music in Germany Rauhut's study is indispensable.

Jonas Müller (Mainz)

DANIEL STEIN, *Music Is My Life: Louis Armstrong, Autobiography, and American Jazz, Jazz Perspectives* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2012), 349 pp.

Based on his award-winning dissertation, Daniel Stein's book is a timely and innovative addition to the vast amount of scholarly literature on Louis Armstrong. It is a welcomed intervention into the discourses established by biographies and music or jazz histories: *Music Is My Life: Louis Armstrong, Autobiography, and American Jazz* revolves around the musician's various forms and practices of life writing and situates them within larger socio-cultural constellations and historical contexts. At the same time, it constitutes a methodologically and theoretically ambitious study that presents an inspiring take on autobiography understood as "a writing practice" (12) and on intermediality.

Stein discusses Armstrong's "autobiographics" (17) not only on the basis of the musician's two autobiographies (*Swing That Music* and *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans*) but also with regard to Armstrong's published and unpublished letters, essays, interviews, recordings, articles, and his performances in e.g. music, film, photography, and stage acting. Stein's approach to this wealth of material from the Armstrong archive as well as secondary sources speaks to both his thorough research and his excellent analytical skills. Armstrong emerges as prolific writer, chronicler of his life, and maybe even "jazz's most productive autobiographer" (8). *Music Is My Life* sets out to understand Armstrong as "transmedial artist" and to trace "the intermedial effects of [his] autobiographical performances" (23).

Stein lays out four goals for his study: to assess Armstrong's role in the creation of his public persona, to contribute to the scholarship on "jazz autobiography" (William Kenney), to analyze jazz as an intermedial phenomenon, and to understand the historical constructions of "blackness" from the minstrel stage into the civil rights era (cf. 26-27). Against the backdrop of these objectives, the six chapters cover different aspects of Armstrong's autobiographics while documenting his career and life writing. Stein starts out (chap. 1) with close readings of Armstrong's reflections on New Orleans jazz traditions and especially "musicking" (Christopher Small), i.e. music making as activity and practice.

He reads Armstrong's personal account of his New Orleans years as intervention into jazz history, as an assertion of his position as cultural icon, and as a template for the public construction of his life narrative.

The following analyses (chap. 2 and 3) focus on the performativity of Armstrong's writing practices and the stylistic features of his texts and musical performances. Stein traces the musician's literary influences and references to various traditions and narratives (e.g. the rags-to-riches formula or African American autobiography). He interrogates the tensions between Armstrong's vernacular style, the editorial practices of his (white) editors and managers, his audiences, and biographers/critics. The analyses reveal the musician's struggle over his public image and, on a different level, indicate how Armstrong's writing strategies, including "versioning," point towards "interfaces between autobiography and music" (107). Regarding its style, Armstrong's writing is shown to capitalize on unconventional typography and orthography, on jive language and word play, and on what Brent H. Edwards has termed "scat aesthetics" (109). Its transmedial impulses and linkages become evident in the analyses of jive language's relation to jazz and of the signifying practices, the provisional style, and the scat aesthetics that characterize Armstrong's writings as well as his music and performances.

Stein's argument then (chap. 4 and 5) turns to Armstrong's position in the history of blackface minstrelsy and to the racial discourses that shape his public perception and self-representation. Minstrelsy, or "an intermedial minstrel poetics" (168), figure prominently in (the cultural contexts of) Armstrong's life. According to Stein, his "minstrel sounding" creates ambiguity by referring to the blackface tradition and simultaneously reflecting his own position (154). Armstrong's Satchmo figure attests to his ambiguous racial politics; yet, he also appears as "a marginalized and postcolonial performer" (186). In analyses informed by historical performance practices and contemporaneous cultural discourses, Stein exposes Armstrong's ambivalent appropriations of black performance traditions, e.g. in his controversial appearance as Zulu King. Finally (chap. 6), Stein scrutinizes Armstrong's cultural politics, particularly in the context of the 1950s and 60s, when the musician was perceived as "submissive Uncle Tom figure" out of touch with the black libera-

tion struggle *and* as “more outspoken Ambassador Satch” in the Cold War era (230). Stein offers a balanced account of the strong apolitical stance of Armstrong’s work and his rather political statements about, for example, racism and discrimination. This account reveals a political dimension to Armstrong’s oeuvre, which is, nonetheless, ambiguous, conflicting, and contradictory.

Overall, *Music Is My Life* pits Armstrong’s individual autobiographic account against dominant historiographies of American jazz. It takes the musician seriously as the author of his own life narrative and follows his autobiographics and its wide-ranging repercussions and resonances. Stein succeeds in connecting Armstrong’s individual life story with larger cultural and political constellations in the US. His readings of Armstrong’s multimedia texts are highly incisive and instructive even though

they include some speculations (e.g. about the musician’s intentions). The structure and argument of this study are compelling and well-organized despite some slight repetitions throughout the chapters. The book comes not only with several illustrations and an index but even provides the readers with a helpful list of carefully selected suggestions for listening and further reading. *Music Is My Life* manages to offer both a complex portrayal of a multi-faceted artist in the socio-cultural contexts of his time *and* an intriguing argument about autobiographical practices across different media. It is an excellent study that is recommended reading for anyone with an interest in American jazz history, autobiography and intermediality, and, of course, Louis Armstrong.

Katharina Gerund (Erlangen)

ELIZABETH L. WOLLMANN, *Hard Times: The Adult Musical in 1970s New York City* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 271 pp.

In *Hard Times: The Adult Musical in 1970s New York City* untersucht Elizabeth Wollman eine Untergattung des amerikanischen Musicals, die Musickenner meistens nur von ihrem verruchten Ruf her kennen und die auch nur selten in Studien zum amerikanischen Musical betrachtet werden, obwohl es sich mittlerweile um eine dominierende Untergattung handelt. Die Autorin entführt den Leser auf eine unterhaltsame Zeitreise in die zügellosen 1970er Jahre und gibt einen historischen Abriss über das für Erwachsene komponierte Musical, das spätestens seit der Premiere von *Hair* (1968) am New Yorker Broadway florierte. Wollmans Studie ist geprägt von einer informativen, sehr detaillierten Darstellung der selten besprochenen Untergattung des Musicals, deren Kontext sie beleuchtet und dabei auf ihre Verdienste im amerikanischen Theater aufmerksam macht. Wollman versteht ihre Untersuchung als kulturhistorische Darstellung des amerikanischen Musicals in den 1970er Jahren, das geprägt war von sexueller Revolution, dem Emanzipationsbestreben der Frau und der Debatte über die Gleichstellung Homosexueller. Was aber das feministische Musical mit dem Adult Musical zu tun hat, bleibt unklar. In *I'm Getting My Act Together and Taking It on the Road* geht es um die Gleichberechtigung der Frau in der Gesellschaft, und beide sind mit Sicherheit familien-tauglich und haben nichts mit den Musicals der anderen Unterkategorien zu tun, in denen sexuelle Zweideutigkeiten und Pornographie sowie leichtbekleidete oder nackte Akteure das erwachsene Publikum begeistern. Das feministische Musical hat nichts mit dem von Jonathan Ward geprägten Begriff "adult musicals" zu tun, den die Autorin in der Einleitung zu ihrem Buch aufgreift. Sie definiert "adult musicals" als Musicals mit vollständig unbekleideten Akteuren, angedeuteten freizügigen Aktivitäten, sexuellen Anspielungen oder explizit freizügigen Dialogen bzw. Nummern oder ausdrücklich sexuellen Inhalten in der Handlung. Wollman beleuchtet das amerikanische "adult musical" in seinem historischen, kulturellen und künstlerischen Zusammenhang durch die verschiedenen Dekaden von seinem goldenen Zeitalter bis zu seinen heutigen Ausprägungen. Dabei versucht sie das Adult Musical aus verschiedenen

Perspektiven zu betrachten und auch diverse Vernetzungen aufzuzeigen, indem sie zwei Musicals, nämlich *Oh! Calcutta!* und *Let My People Come*, gewissermaßen als rote Fäden die gesamte Studie durchziehen lässt. Auf einer begleitenden Website werden dem Leser Hörbeispiele und zusätzliches Bildmaterial geboten, auf die auch im Buch hingewiesen wird. Wollman ist Lehrbeauftragte für Musik am Baruch College in New York und hat in ihrem Buch *The Theater Will Rock: A History of the Rock Musical, from Hair to Hedwig* (2006) eine weitere Untergattung des amerikanischen Musicals untersucht. Auch ihre vielen Besuche des New Yorker Broadway machen sie zu einer Expertin auf dem Gebiet.

Das Buch gliedert sich in vier thematisch gegliederte Abschnitte. Im ersten Kapitel gibt Wollman einen Überblick über die Vorgeschichte des Adult Musicals. Historisch verortet die Autorin die Untergattung in der Tradition des Vaudevilles und der Burleske des 19. Jahrhunderts sowie den leichtbekleideten Tänzerinnen in den Ziegfeld-Follies. Dabei geht sie sehr ausführlich auf *We'd Rather Switch* ein, dem ersten am New Yorker Broadway uraufgeführten Adult Musical. Darauf aufbauend diskutiert Wollmann im gattungsspezifischen Kontext die dem Leser wohl bekannteren Musicals *Hair* und *Oh! Calcutta!*, die zu ihrer Zeit das bürgerliche Broadway-Publikum revolutionär erregten, aber nicht irritierten. Beide Musicals sprachen in den 1960er Jahren vor allem die männlichen Fantasien an, ohne dass das bürgerliche Publikum daran Anstoß nahm, wobei *Hair* wohl mit Abstand das einflussreichste Adult Musical ist. Weitere von Wollman erörterte Musicals sind *Salvation* und *Stag Movie*. Die Struktur der alten Revuen mit ihrem Nummernprogramm bestimmte auch den Aufbau des Adult Musicals, das thematisch nur oberflächlich zusammengehalten und von den Kritikern wegen seines Mangels an einer dramatisch-integrierten Form verachtet wurde. Den Kritikern waren diese Musicals entweder nicht erotisch genug oder aber zu hard-core-pornographisch. Das Publikum dagegen entschied anders, stürmte die Theaterhäuser und verhalf dem Adult Musical zu seinem Durchbruch. Wollman zeigt in ihrer Studie, dass sich das Adult Musical entgegen den Widerstand der Kritik als ein Experimentieren der theatralischen Ausdrucksform für neugewonnene sexuelle Freiheiten und Freizügigkeiten durchsetzte, insbesondere im Gay Musical und im feminis-

tischen Musical, auf die sie in den folgenden Abschnitten ihrer Studie eingeht.

Im zweiten und dritten Kapitel betrachtet die Autorin das Gay Musical. Auch hier kontextualisiert sie die Untergattung kulturgeschichtlich, indem sie auf die Anfänge der Caffé Cino Szene, das Off-Off-Broadway der 1960er Jahre, die Stücke *The Boys in the Band* und *Company* sowie das Gay Rights Movement eingeht. Als Wiege des Gay Musicals sieht Wollmann *Oh! Calcutta!*, ein Broadway-Erfolg lange bevor im Juni 1969 auch politisch in den Stonewall-Aufständen für die Rechte Gleichgeschlechtlicher gekämpft wurde. Genauer werden die Werke von Al Carmines und des Judson Poets' Theater interpretiert, unter anderem *The Faggot*, *Let My People Come* und *Lovers*. *The Faggot* ist das erste Broadway-Musical, das sich den Interessen Homosexueller annahm. In *The Faggot*, *Let My People Come* und *Lovers* steht Sexualität im Mittelpunkt, und die Autoren perspektivieren die Themen für Erwachsene, wobei die Tabuthemen weniger das Theater revolutionierten, als vielmehr die Konventionen des Musicals um solche Themen erweiterten. Das Verdienst der Autoren liegt darin, dass sie das erwachsene Broadwaypublikum für erotische Themen begeisterten, die nicht als Familienunterhaltung gedacht waren, und diesen Stoff unterhaltsam und mit hohem künstlerischem Anspruch umsetzten. Wollman analysiert im Kontext des Gay Musicals der 1970er Jahre *The Faggot*, *Boy Meets Boy*, *Lovers*, *Gay Company* und *Sextet*.

Der dritte Abschnitt widmet sich dem feministischen Musical. Auch diese Kapitel beginnt Wollman mit der Darstellung des kulturhistorischen Kontexts und geht auf das Musical *Hair* zurück. Obwohl *Hair* die Befreiung von bürgerlichen Konventionen in Bezug auf Musik, Politik, Sprache und Drogen thematisiert, sind die weiblichen Charaktere von dieser Befreiung ausgeschlossen. Die Autorin kritisiert das amerikanische Musical als sozial konservativ, was dazu führe, dass nur wenige offensichtlich feministische Musicals kommerziell produziert wurden. Im interpretatorischen Teil des Abschnitts werden die Musicals *Mod Donna*, *A Space-Age Musical Soap*, *The Club* und *I'm Getting My Act Together and Taking It on the Road* analysiert. Wollman zeigt ihre Entwicklungsgeschichte auf und legt dar, wie stark die Werke kritisiert wurden und wie wenig Unterstützung sie von männlicher Seite erhielten. Erst die späteren

1970er Jahre verhalten mit ihrem Sinn für Humor dem feministischen Musical zum Durchbruch.

Im letzten Teil der Studie geht es um den legalen Status von Obszönität und Zensur seit Mitte der 1950er Jahre. Die öffentliche Akzeptanz von Pornographie, der Bedeutungswandel von Obszönität und die schwindenden Grenzen zwischen Kunst und Erotik gaben dem amerikanischen Musical in den 1970er Jahren neue Impulse. So hatte etwa der Porn Chic der 1970er Jahre Einfluss auf *Let My People Come*. Wollman analysiert *The First Nudie Musical*, *Alice in Wonderland: An X-Rated Musical Fantasy* und die Revue *Le Bellybutton* von Marilyn Chambers. Weitere Stücke, die in diesem Zusammenhang betrachtet werden, sind *Che!* und *Let My People Come*. Während *Oh! Calcutta!* Probleme mit der Zensur umgehen konnte, wurde *Che!* vor Gericht verhandelt. Schließlich betrachtet die Autorin die Entwicklung des Broadway-Musicals in den wirtschaftlich erfolgreichen Jahren von 1965 bis 1975 und während der darauf folgenden wirtschaftlichen Krise. Einerseits wollte der Broadway sich touristen- und familienfreundlich zeigen, andererseits wollte der Broadway auch das Adult Musical als massentaugliche Unterhaltungsform fördern. Die sexuelle Revolution im Broadwayhit *I Love My Wife* (1977) von Michael Stewart (nach seinem Erfolg mit *Hello Dolly*) und Cy Coleman zeigt, dass das Adult Musical tatsächlich massentauglich geworden ist und auch von Meistern des amerikanischen Musicals verfasst wird. Wollman beschließt ihre Studie, indem sie die Einflüsse des Adult Musicals der 1970er Jahre auf das Broadway und Off-Broadway-Musical der 1990er Jahre zeigt.

Hard Times: The Adult Musical in 1970s New York City lässt sich aufgrund des narrativen Stils gut lesen. Die Autorin führte zahlreiche Interviews mit Personen, die in die Szene des Adult Musicals der 1970er Jahre involviert waren; schon allein das macht das Buch lesenswert. Trotz seiner narrativen Teile ist das Buch akademisch und diskutiert die Entwicklung der künstlerischen Darstellung und gesellschaftlicher Einstellungen zu Sexualität, Erotik und Pornographie im gesellschaftlichen Wandel seit den 1950er Jahren am Beispiel ausgewählter Werke des Broadway-Musicals, die speziell für ein erwachsenes Publikum geschrieben wurden. Der historische Abriss zeigt auch die Experimentierfreudigkeit des amerikanischen Musicals, das gleichzeitig

jedoch sehr konservativ an möglichst vielen Konventionen festhalten wollte. Die Studie zeigt ferner, wie sich das Broadway-Publikum allmählich für diese Themen öffnete und dass auch das mittelständische Publikum dem Adult Musical gegenüber aufgeschlossen war. Damit steht *Hard Times* in der Tradition wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen, die die Aufnahme gesellschaftlicher Themen und den gesellschaftlichen Wandel als gattungsspezifisches Merkmal des amerikanischen Musicals untersuchen. Es wäre interessant gewesen, hätte Wollman den Bogen weiter gespannt,

indem sie die Anfänge des amerikanischen Theaters mit den Aufführungen der Werke Shakespeares, die ja teilweise auch frivol und obszön sind, die Balladenoper und auch die Minstrel Show mitberücksichtigt hätte. Aber ihre Entscheidung, das Vaudeville, die Burleske und die Revue als die direkten Vorläufer des amerikanischen Musicals auszuwählen ist eine gelungene Verortung des Adult Musicals in der Tradition des amerikanischen Musiktheaters.

Marc Bauch (Hermeskeil)

PEKKA HÄMÄLÄINEN, *The Comanche Empire*. (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008), 512 pp.

GAIL D. MACLEITCH, *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire*. (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2011), 344 pp.

KARL-HERMANN HÖRNER, *Die Natchez: Staatenbildung am unteren Mississippi?* (Neck-enmarkt: Novum Pro, 2011), 238 pp.

ANDREW H. FISHER, *Shadow Tribe: The Making of Columbia River Indian Identity*. (Seattle: U of Washington P, 2010), 320 pp.

Sovereignty and agency have advanced to become central terms in Native American and Indigenous Studies. With different emphases, both center Native people and peoples as agents in political, social, economic, cultural, and intellectual terms that value, defend, and enact a particular form of autonomy and self-determination in respect to colonial powers or the U.S. settler nation-state. At the same time, particularly the notion of agency draws attention to how Native American nations do not simply occupy positions of resistance, adaptation, or cooperation, but are active in deploying different and variable strategies in maneuvering colonial impositions as well as in shaping the histories of the Americas from first contact to present-day U.S. in ways that are easily effaced by narratives of Euro-American progress. While these foci on autonomy, on the one hand, and active participation in the making of American histories, on the other, suggest different approaches to Native American histories, cultures, and politics—also indicative of differences in disciplinary approaches, since sovereignty is more firmly situated in cultural and literary studies as well as social and political sciences, agency more prominent in history—there is also a significant overlap between these terms. Most importantly, both analytic perspectives share the concern of lifting colonially imposed misconceptions of Native American peoples as apolitical, ahistorical, passive victims of Euro-American progress or unwitting collaborators to their own demise. A look at four selected works in Native American history then not only indicates the varied relations and tensions between forms of sovereignty and agency in practice and thought, but also should help to illuminate the breadth of these concepts and their historical variability. Centering sovereignty and agency in this Native

history review essay thus aims at illuminating both the diversity of Native peoplehood and selfhood as well as the complex relations to European colonial powers and the U.S. settler nation-state that these works explore. Reviewing these four books with this emphasis further aims to add new perspectives to their respective individual reception. At the same time, it seeks to show how these four studies can be seen as indicative of a wider spread focus in Native American histories on formations of sovereignty and agency in different contexts that further point to the diversity of the political lives of North American Indigenous nations in relation to non-native invasion and occupation past and present.¹

Of the four books, Pekka Hämäläinen's *The Comanche Empire* (2008) offers the most radical version of Native sovereignty and agency in its widely noted formulation of an Indigenous imperialism: it outlines the establishment, growth and organization of a Comanche empire from the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

Already the introduction "Colonialism Reversed" makes clear how it seeks to upend received notions of imperial expansion and Native resistance by outlining how the Comanches were not simply a "daunting barrier of violence to colonial expansion" (1) but formed a power through which "European imperialism not only stalled in the face of indigenous resistance; it was eclipsed by indigenous imperialism" (2). Comanches thus "built an imperial organization that subdued, exploited, marginalized, co-opted and profoundly transformed near and distant colonial outposts, thereby reversing the conventional imperial trajectory in vast segments of North and Central America" (3). Both subduing other Native nations and European colonial powers, this Indigenous empire dictated the terms of politics, confounded European expectations and sought expansion and control, extending outward from its center of gravitas in the American Southwest.

Throughout the book, Hämäläinen is dedicated in his rich historical narrative to outline

¹ A further notable work in this regard is for instance Joel Pfister's *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (Durham: Duke UP, 2009) specifically through its focus on individual agency which then opens up toward a communal dimension of activism and intellectual sovereignty.

the specific features of the Comanche empire in order to strengthen the claim of an Indigenous *imperialism* and to argue for the distinctness of an *Indigenous imperialism*. According to Hämäläinen, the primary trademark can be seen in its flexibility and decentered political structure, as it was not “a rigid structure held together by a single central authority” nor “an entity that could be displayed on a map as solid block with clear-cut borders” (3-4). The decentered political nature made it difficult for Spanish, Mexicans and Texans from mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century to establish a stable relationship with the entire nation, since, for example, a peace agreement with one band, acting mostly autonomous, did not hold sway over another, leaving Europeans exposed to unexpected attacks. In addition, Comanches saw “trade and theft not as mutually exclusive acts but as two expressions of a broad continuum of reciprocity” so that time and again Europeans experienced a “policy of alternating raiding and trading” (82).

Indicating another dimension of their “fluid and malleable” version of empire, Hämäläinen emphasizes how Comanches entertained a flexible notion of empire when it came to claiming clearly marked territory. The Comanche empire dominated the Southwest before American imperialism entered the landscape and could coexist with it for a short while, because the Comanches were not so much interested in officially drawn borders but in the area they controlled by action. In accordance with an idea of Indigenous imperialism in relation to land, Hämäläinen argues that to the Comanches the usage of land and its resources equaled dominion and rule over it, not the official entitlement to its possession. In this respect, especially New Mexico and northern Mexico were not so much political autonomous entities for the Comanches in the early nineteenth century but *de facto* the “subjugated hinterland” (182) of their empire exploited for its resources, which in turn suggests how the Comanches’ perceptions and actions created different “geopolitical structures” (182). Finally, the Comanches also demonstrated flexibility as to whom to include in their imperial population. Through the establishment of literal and metaphoric kinship ties, they integrated captives, both members of other Indigenous nations and Europeans, in *Comancheria*, making use of both practices of enslavement and adoption. Thus instead of erecting strict, racially motivated barriers

on account of which to exclude other people, the Comanches incorporated these outsiders when it suited their needs and strengthened their overall position.

On all of these grounds, Hämäläinen’s study concludes, the Comanche empire did not conform to European notions of political sovereignty, structure and interactions, thus making it difficult for any colonial power to develop a coherent strategy of actions towards them, while the Comanche evaded any attempts at being controlled or contained. Their ultimate demise, then, in Hämäläinen’s narrative, is consequently not solely orchestrated at the hands of a powerful imperialist U.S. settler-nation state seeking expansion aggressively and confronting the Comanches with greater force than any previous opposing power. The U.S. success is also so overpowering because the Comanches were already weakened, partly by their own expansionist efforts and their sheer size which aided diminishing the natural resources on which they subsisted. As a massive equestrian power, the damaging effect on the Prairie grass in turn hurt the nourishment of the grazing bison which in addition was gradually overhunted and over-exploited for its meat and hides, the latter being an important factor in the Comanche economy. Making a compelling case for the extent of Native agency of both a cooperative and hostile nature, with beneficial as well as disadvantageous effects for the Indigenous nation, Hämäläinen points out “the full potential of Indigenous agency, its positive, negative, predictable and unpredictable dimensions” (360). He manages to narrate history as an open-ended process whose results only appear predetermined in hindsight and, doing so, portrays the Comanches as sovereign agents significantly shaping a distinct region in a particular historical period, as well as being contributors to their own collapse partly as a consequence of their far-reaching and thriving empire.

Only in passing does Hämäläinen himself offer a possible comparative perspective as to whether other Indigenous nations can be said to have had similar imperial aspirations or successes, leaving any further development of this thought to the reader. Thereby, he also invites criticism that once again the Comanches are painted as an exception instead of suggesting that their version of Indigenous imperialism can be regarded as a paradigm that could change the perception of historical

Indigenous-Euroamerican/settler relations in general by adding another facet to the spectrum of Native sovereignty and agency. Interestingly, though, in a comment on Jon Parmenter's recent history of the early Iroquois (*The Edge of the Woods: Iroquiuia 1534-1701*, Lansing: Michigan State UP, 2010), Edward Countryman observes that "Iroquois were participants in and in many senses masters of the developing colonial situation, dealing with it in ways analogous to Pekka Hämäläinen's Comanche" (350),² solidifying a comparative ground while also already testifying to the impact of *The Comanche Empire* by assuming familiarity with its argument.

In her study on the Iroquois, *Imperial Entanglements*, Gail D. MacLeitch does not present their reach of agency on equal footing with Hämäläinen's Comanches. Instead of building an empire of their own, the Iroquois Confederacy, as her title demonstrates, is entangled in the growth and ongoing consolidation of the British Empire in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Seven Years War becomes the lens through which she observes the ties to the British power growing stronger in ways that both opened up opportunities for Iroquois agency while also eroding their autonomy and sovereignty in the long run. While none of these processes were swift and unchallenged transformations, as MacLeitch is quick to point out, but gradual changes and incremental shifts, the Seven Years War still provided a "catalyst" which motivated "forces that would undercut the situation of the Iroquois in the late colonial period" (9). MacLeitch makes clear that to different degrees the Iroquois nations found imaginative ways to adapt to the new situation, engaging in a "burgeoning market economy" (205), modifying perceptions of gender and ethnicity, using the war as a means to enhance their status as allies for the British. The eventual results, however, were ambivalent, as these adaptations to new circumstances also destabilized and gradually eroded traditional ways of living and perceptions. The Iroquois found their political influence waning and racial attitudes hardening in a British empire for which the acquisition and securing of territory became an ever more central feature to the imperial enterprise, particularly so after the war.

MacLeitch's analysis is notable in the ways it shifts focus in regard to some of the classic works considering the history of the Iroquois confederacy, in that it puts less emphasis on military history and public policy. Instead, she puts more attention on issues of gender, race, and participation in a market economy, and thus narrates more pointedly a cultural history of Iroquois peoples in its confrontation and entwinement with Empire. This shift also registers, however, how changes and forms of resilience are experienced and enacted on an every-day basis, and how this level of the quotidian helps to constitute, in equal terms with military and diplomatic history, what Audra Simpson has termed in another context the "political life" of Indigenous peoples, specifically the Kahnawà:ke Mohawks, within and in tension to imperial formations.³ On the whole, MacLeitch's account is very nuanced and constantly strives to maintain the balance of "change" and "persistence," as stated in the title; for instance, she states: while the Iroquois peoples in British North America achieved under new circumstances "a formulation of new cultural identities," these were "a product of both coercion and agency" (211). In this situation, agency is available to the extent that the imperial world offered options; "acts of self-determination" are still possible but have less relevance for the assertion of political status than the definitions "by more powerful groups in British North America" (244); and autonomy can be eroded through the exercise of limited agency by creating stronger dependencies on the British empire that, at the same time, became less dependent on the Iroquois confederacy. Thus: "The Iroquois had not become a colonized people, but they were no longer truly sovereign either" (245). At times, such an insistence on differentiation, oftentimes formulated in such a give-and-take rhetoric, might seem frustrating. However, even if MacLeitch's narrative of change and persistence—and the potentially complicated relationship between agency and sovereignty—is also one of weakening political status, it is not one of decline. Her final statement is clear when she emphasizes the "presence and ongoing resilience" (247) of the Iroquois peoples in their existence within, ongoing engagement with, and one might add,

² Edward Countryman. "Toward a Different Iroquois History." *William and Mary Quarterly* 69.2 (2012): 347-360.

³ Audra Simpson. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham: Duke UP, 2014.

in Audra Simpson's term, interruption of an imperial formation, now institutionalized as a settler colonial nation-state.

In contrast, the eventual decline and near eradication of the Natchez people in the 1730s is more of a point of departure for Karl Herrmann Hörner's *Die Natchez: Staatenbildung am unteren Mississippi?* (2011), in which he reconstructs mostly pre-contact Natchez social, political, and cultural structures. The subtitle naming the possibility of state formation already points to the most striking aspect of the version of sovereignty and agency Hörner presents in his monograph. Largely, Indigenous Studies scholars emphasize that Native forms of sovereignty were articulated in terms distinct from, or at least not reducible to, European notions of statehood. Hörner, however, asks whether Natchez pre-contact forms of strongly hierarchized and centralized governance (especially in comparison to many other Indigenous societies), developed through ongoing institutionalization and secularization from kinship-based systems to statehood, as understood in European political thought.

While this is clearly the central question of his study, the book is structured in a way that it only centers on this question towards the end. The first half situates the study in a number of academic fields and debates, pertaining to models of social organization, archaeology, and ethnology, and provides a brief historical overview of the North American South-East until the near-eradication of the Natchez in the 1730s by the French. The second half largely details social organization, political structures, and the role of religion of the Natchez in precise but fairly descriptive terms, in which the link to the argument could have been made stronger. Thus, the central question of the book is only directly addressed in the last chapter, "Anfänge eines Natchez-Staates," in which the centralized social organization, state-like structures as well as the institutionalization and secularization of political life are named as evidence that the Natchez—before increasing colonial pressure—had begun to develop from a kinship-based system to a centralized state formation. Interestingly, Hörner argues that the more de-centered, flexible, and kinship-oriented forms more prominent in times of greater colonial contact and conflict are indeed the result of colonial pressures. He suggests that reverting to these forms preceding a stricter hierar-

chization and centralization might have been seen as a way of making the Natchez less vulnerable to assault than, as he states, the more complex formation of beginning statehood. In this, the book makes the noteworthy observation how forms of governance interacted with modes of agency and could have been modified to maintain agency for an Indigenous people in situations of adversity with colonial powers.

However, there are also problems with Hörner's argument of the Natchez developing toward and back away from statehood before then being eradicated. The major problematic lies in the way he classifies different forms of political and social organization, associates them with progress or regress, complexity or simplicity. While Hörner's narrative of development and regression can be linked to a plausible historical trajectory, it becomes highly problematic by his additional equation of de-centered, kinship-based forms of governance with simplicity, centralized forms with complexity (and furthermore seeming to understand kinship largely as literal, instead of also fictive and metaphorical). Moreover, he identifies an increasing complexity with a movement toward statehood in the European tradition; a model of political and social organization which is only articulated via reference to European political and social theorists. The implication is that the Natchez political system is more complex the more it can be read, under a European lens, as a state, while the kinship-based structures within the Natchez, or constitutive of many other Indigenous polities, are inherently simpler and cannot acquire the same political reach or efficacy as a state-formation. Thus, Hörner claims that only institutionalization and secularization, i. e. depersonalization, can constitute a unified political system that is effective across states and entire empires in ways that a kinship-based system cannot; a claim that remains largely unsupported and falters especially in light of Hämäläinen's account of the Comanche practicing a decentralized, kinship-based Indigenous imperialism.

In this imposition on European (and Eurocentric) models for the analysis of Indigenous political formations, the book unfortunately does not reflect the current status of Native American Studies or the writing of Native American histories. This problem might be linked to a second issue, since the research drawn on for the book mostly dates from de-

cares until the 1970s, with only a few exceptions of more recent scholarship after 2000; if much of the research has thus been done at an earlier time, the manuscript should have been revisited for publication in 2011 more thoroughly. This might also have helped in integrating more recent perspectives on Native histories and politics. Without the underlying current of a progress/regress, complexity/simplicity dichotomy, the book could have made its point about the characteristics of Indigenous pre-contact settlement in all of its socio-political differentiation, and changing modes of agency and sovereignty under the impact of colonial pressure, much more convincingly. Finally, while the focus of the book is explicitly on pre-contact Natchez and thus puts an emphasis on the near-eradication of the Natchez in the 1730s, it is still important to note that this, as Noel Edward Smyth as recently put it, is not “The End of the Natchez.”⁴ Hörner follows a tradition of Natchez histories, as Smyth outlines, of concentrating on pre-1730s history to the extent of suggesting that Natchez history effectively ends at the hands of French colonial power, and thus omitting the existence of the federally recognized Natchez nation in Oklahoma, as well as state-recognized Natchez communities in South Carolina. There are continuities, then, that might speak to the successful adaptations of Natchez socio-political formations as well as their ongoing struggles in the face of colonial forces, as Hörner describes it for the much earlier period, in situation-specific terms that are not reducible to questions of more or less complexity.

While all four histories thus implicitly or explicitly also point to questions of Native presence today, Andrew H. Fisher’s *Shadow Tribe: The Making of Columbia River Indian Identity* is the only book selected for review which traces the history of off-reservation communities in the Pacific Northwest from the 1850s to the present. The Columbia River Indians, Fisher declares at the outset, are nei-

ther “a cohesive aboriginal group nor a federally recognized tribe” (5). Instead, they are “the product of social and political processes triggered by Euro-American colonization.” A loose set of communities “living between the Cascade Rapids and Priest Rapids” (5), they refused to be moved during removal to the reservations of the tribes they were assigned to, and developed an identity whose sense of autonomy and sovereignty was strongly connected to “resistance to the reservation system, devotion to cultural traditions, and detachments from the institutions of federal control and tribal governance” (5). As they do not register in the U.S. legal framework as a tribe, were never recognized as such, but still insist on understanding themselves as a tribe, Fisher designates them a shadow tribe: “Cast by the imperfect light of federal policy and dimly perceived by the colonial gaze” (6), they sometimes disappear when they appear identical to the recognized treaty tribes, but their contours appear most strongly once their interests do not align, and the Columbia River Indians insist on their existence as an independent tribe.

Precisely through this focus on the constructed quality of “tribes,” Fisher adds to, and complicates, Native histories of agency and sovereignty. First of all, he clearly states that “the U.S. government did not give Native Americans their identity any more than it gave them land or sovereignty” (11). However, the desire to integrate Indigenous peoples in a legal framework which could recognize sovereignty without troubling U.S. authority led the federal government to establish manageable political categories for Indigenous peoples, while political and cultural identification were expected to adhere to these categories. Fisher thus continues that “in the process of seizing land and abridging tribal sovereignty, the United States attempted to simplify and standardize indigenous forms of social and political organization to suit its own purposes. In doing so, federal policy and law triggered the formation of new tribes” (11). In this context, tribes are not simply the natural political units of Indigenous peoples endowed with sovereignty. Instead, tribes appear as designations that are partly produced by U.S. authority, and whereas its agents liked to imagine U.S. authority as absolute, its limitations come to light particularly in the instances in which the effort to translate “indigenous forms of social and political categories” into tribes as

⁴ Noel Edward Smyth. “‘The End of the Natchez’? A Genealogy of Historical, Literary and Anthropological Thought about the Natchez Indians since the Eighteenth Century.” *Native Ground: Protecting and Preserving History, Culture, and Customs. Proceedings of the Tenth Native American Symposium*, ed. Mark B. Spencer. Durant: Southeastern Oklahoma State University, 2013. 55-72.

manageable categories fail, and in which indigenous people do not feel bound in their actions, day-to-day practices, sense of self and community to the tribes to which they, according to federal policy, ostensibly “belong.” In the case of the communities that refused to leave the Columbia River and came gradually to identify and eventually to organize themselves as Columbia River Indians, this increasing sense of autonomy could trigger tensions both towards the federal as well as tribal governments. To the present, they have regularly confounded and frustrated colonial figures of authority such as Indian agents as well as irritated the recognized treaty tribes when those felt that non-treaty “tribes” challenge their sovereignty, as manifest in government-to-government relations and treaty rights.

Fisher traces the history and fluid identity of the community that sees itself as a tribe even when they were never recognized as such through apparently well-established stages of US-Indian policy: removal, assimilation, self-determination, conflicts over treaty rights and environmental changes. At every step, however, his focus on the off-reservation communities at the Columbia River that began to understand themselves as the Columbia River Indians produces insights that run counter to received understandings of these periods and policies. While being clear about the assault launched on Indigenous people by the federal government through many of these policies, the resilience and resistance of the off-reservation Columbia River Indians highlights their limitations, possible unpredictable outcomes, as well as avenues of agency available beyond the terms of federal recognition. Just to name a few examples: Although intended as such, removal was not complete, and reservations could figure for Native people as simply one place to live during their seasonal rounds, and not as a permanent place of habitation and containment. Similarly, refusal to participate in U.S.-Indigenous warfare could be an indication of Native identity that did not seek alliance with the U.S. but detachment from both federal and tribal governments. Also, allotment in the time of the Dawes act had disastrous consequences for Indigenous communities throughout the U.S., but it allowed communities off-reservation to obtain land on the public domain, or receive allotments on the reservation. At the same time, they did not necessarily become assimilated agriculturalists, but used the land for lease

as financial resource when fishing and other seasonal activities did not provide sufficient earnings, or in order to gain a stronger say in reservation-tribe affairs as “official residents.” Finally, Fisher sheds new light on the struggle over fishing on Puget Sound in the 1960s, one of the best known instances of defending treaty rights in this period, by pointing the focus to the discussion within tribes to which extent treaty rights such as fishing were subject to tribal regulation. Columbia River Indians, for instance, seeing fishing as their ancient right regardless of tribal regulation and as necessary for their livelihood, insisted on continuing to fish even when treaty regulations forbade it, thus challenging the recognized sovereignty of the treaty tribes (that wanted to demonstrate they could control their tribal members so as to minimize state incursions) at the same time as they felt they exercised a sovereignty of their lifeways that extended beyond and was not reducible to administration by federal or tribal governments. The times when these disputes were taken to court reveal both the limits of agency available for tribes lacking federal or state recognition, as well as motivated the off-reservation communities to officially organize themselves in the form of the Mid-Columbia River Indians Council.

In these and other instances, Fisher adds fascinating facets to ideas of Indigenous agency and sovereignty; and while his narrative ends on an open and uncertain note about the continued existence of this shadow tribe, history has shown the ability of the Columbia River Indians to resurge whenever they felt their integrity or interests threatened. Fisher is certain however, that the history, present, and open future of the Columbia River Indians has a lot to teach us about Native American histories—and towards the end of this review essay, this can also be said to hold true for all of the four books discussed.

In their considerations of dimensions of agency and sovereignty, they bring to the fore a variety of Indigenous social and political formations either in dominance of colonial powers, in entanglement with them, in adaptation to colonial pressures, or at odds with the legal fictions imposed by the U.S. settler nation-state. These formations are neither reducible to positions of resistance, adaptation, cooperation, subjugation or to the processes, possibilities and problems of recognition. What these books—and the more widely

spread trend in the writing of Native histories they serve to represent in this review essay—can offer, each in its own way, is to present a version of what Audra Simpson has called the “political life that, in its insistence upon certain things—such as nationhood and sovereignty—fundamentally interrupts and casts into question the story that settler states tell about themselves” (2014, 177). To conclude, I want to submit that particularly in the ways

these histories are able to add some stories while complicating and interrupting others, their perspectives on the political lives of agency and sovereignty from early contact to the present has not only something to teach us about the history of Indigenous North America, but also its present as well as its open and unpredictable futures.

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COURTNEY Q. SHAH, *Sex Ed, Segregated: The Quest for Sexual Knowledge in Progressive-Era America* (Rochester: The U of Rochester P, 2015), 228 pp.

In *Sex Ed, Segregated*, Courtney Q. Shah examines the early twentieth-century sexual education movement in the United States by exposing the debates surrounding sex ed and curriculum development in schools; how messages pertaining to sexual education were tailored for specific populations (men/women, girls/boys, working/middle class, black/white); and how groups with political agendas (e.g., Progressives, the YMCA, the military, the media, girls' schools) tried to shape mainstream sex ed. As Shah adeptly illustrates, sexual education was, and still is, contoured by social, cultural, political, economic, religious, and scientific forces, and is never simply about education. More often than not, it is part of the arsenal of props deployed by American society to promote a specific hegemonic racial, gender, moral, or medical discourse.

A revised version of Shah's PhD Dissertation ("‘This Loathsome Subject’: Sex Education in Progressive-Era America," University of Houston, 2006), *Sex Ed, Segregated* builds on the existing early twentieth-century sexuality, social hygiene/purity, and reproduction literature by mining under-examined sources, particularly those illustrating how sexual education was modified based on its target audience. In the early twentieth century, sexual education included instruction on a range of topics such as courtship, marriage, sexual intercourse, human anatomy and development, health, wellness, procreation, contraception, and venereal diseases, usually combining practical knowledge with the scientific and morals ideas of the era. As Shah explicates, sexual education was, and still is, a product of its time. Thus, the sexual education of the first few decades of the twentieth century reflects its social context: Jim Crow, xenophobia, eugenics, class tension, World War I, and rapid social change (urbanization, industrialization, Progressivism, and the rise of the "New Woman" and "New Negro").

As Shah illustrates, sexual education texts were often modified for specific populations (titles, introductions, and illustrations were changed for black and white readers), and such alterations were based on racial assumptions and an unquestioned acceptance of racial difference. For example, while chastity and

respectability were emphasized in African American texts, books published for white audiences focused on political and social hierarchies (white racial superiority) and eugenics (improving the national stock by encouraging reproduction among the "fit" and discouraging it among the "unfit"). Such manuals, however, also had certain elements in common: their religious and moral undertones, their emphasis on education and reform, and their faith in science, medicine, and technology. Moreover, they "normalized white male (middle class) sexuality and pathologized any departures from the white male norm" (x).

Americans were far more divided when it came to the sexual education of women, and in particular white women. While some Progressives advocated candid and explicit education that would eliminate ignorance and sexual double standards by empowering women to take control of their bodies (i.e., they saw it as part of larger feminist goals), others believed such a direct approach would ruin the moral fiber of womanhood and motherhood. World War I erased a great deal of the conservative resistance to sexual education, forcing Americans to come to terms with the high incidence of venereal disease among soldiers as well as the reality of prostitution. The need to protect officers and enlisted men became a matter of national security, and reformers developed a specific type of male, military-oriented sexual education. As private concerns gradually entered the public sphere, the federal government responded by implementing new sexual education policies and programs which, over the course of the twentieth century, became increasingly pro-active and intrusive. As Shah contends, "what could have been a revolutionary way to empower people was more often used to reinforce power relations" (xiii), with different groups with different agendas—the government, charities, clubs, social and political associations, religious authorities, eugenicists, physicians, legal/criminal experts, and other professionals—vying to dominate sexual education discourse.

The bulk of Shah's work deals with these groups and their competition to define and control sexual education in America. Over the course of six chapters, she delineates how the American Social Hygiene Association, the National Medical Association (the main medical society for black health care professionals), the YMCA, the Boy Scouts of America, the federal government, municipal authorities,

law enforcement, educators, and social purity (anti-prostitution) activists all attempted to shape—with varying degrees of success—the American sex ed agenda. In chapter seven, Shah extends her analysis of sexual education into the Roaring Twenties, a period of intense social upheaval when, spearheaded by co-eds, flappers, and the mass media, America developed a sex culture. This new culture was part of the broader expansion of personal freedoms, which came in numerous forms: the automobile, birth control, alcohol and cigarette consumption, and the clothing revolution. As Shah concludes, while the Progressive sexual education movement empowered many (some information is better than no information), it also harbored a dark side, especially in terms of its support of rigid gender, racial, class, political, cultural and social hierarchies and ideologies (e. g., eugenics).

The strength of Shah's work lies in the vast array of both primary and secondary sources used in its writing. *Sex Ed, Segregated's* footnotes includes the major texts for each area explored, whether it is Shah's discussion of WWI soldiers and venereal disease or her exploration of Margaret Sanger's birth control movement. Moreover, its bibliography of primary and secondary sources can also serve as a required

readings list for anyone researching sexuality during the Progressive Era. However, the number of manuscript collections Shah consulted is limited. There are five in total: one is an online database, two are located at the University of Minnesota, and two are located in San Antonio, which underscores my main criticism of the work—that more could have been done in terms of delineating regional similarities and differences with respect to sexual education. Furthermore, while Shah's conclusion ties Progressive Era sexual education agendas to contemporary dialogues, this section of the book could have been enriched in numerous ways (for example, by comparing contraception/abortion, venereal diseases, and teenage pregnancy discourses found in contemporary sexual education to early twentieth-century discourse; or, by discussing how discourses of race, class, and gender have or have not changed). Nevertheless, Shah's *Sex Ed, Segregated* is very classroom friendly, and would be a welcome addition to specialized courses on the American Progressive Movement or the History of Sexuality in the United States, as well as general courses in American social and cultural history or the medical humanities.

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