

descriptive, sometimes moment by moment, account of the sequence of events leading up to and following the 1984 Christmas morning bombing of three abortion clinics in Pensacola, Florida. The account includes paraphrases of the testimony of many witnesses and arguments by the prosecution and defense. Unfortunately, the authors chose to restrict their analysis to footnotes and the last few chapters, making the text frustrating to the reader with scholarly goals. When the analysis is presented, it is so remote from the data that evaluation is difficult. Unsupported assertions are too common. For example, the authors propose that working-class men are perpetrators because they work fewer hours, so have more time to get into activism than do middle-class men (p. 300 n. 45) without supplying any evidence from their own data or from the research of others. Still, the narrative is well written, often engaging, and gives insight into the worldviews of people who condone or even commit clinic violence.

Together, these two books represent our options. We can no longer afford to be silenced on abortion—the stakes are growing more costly all the time. Respect for life is only a limiting concept in the hands of those who are not committed to nurturing each life. The assertion of reproductive rights is hypocrisy without the transformation of workplace policy and provision of public services needed to underwrite the right to choose parenthood. Clearly there is room for discussion here. If we fail to meet the challenge of Mensch and Freeman, we face a future in which Blanchard and Prewitt's account becomes commonplace. If we continue to cede public morality to fundamentalist extremists, we can expect violence to continue, to accelerate, and to spread to other issues.

*And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland, 1855–1990*, by **Marian J. Morton**. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993. 183 pp. \$39.50 cloth. ISBN: 0-8142-0602-6.

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At first blush, Cleveland, Ohio, between 1855 and 1990 may appear a surprisingly

narrow, even parochial, stage on which to set one of the major dramas of U.S. welfare-policy development over the last century and a half. Nevertheless, in this very straightforward, largely factual history of Cleveland's social policies toward unwed mothers during this period, and of the philosophies that guided these policies, virtually all the most important themes emerge. Nonmarital pregnancy was interpreted by Cleveland taxpayers and their representatives as both sin and public expense; this interpretation led in the nineteenth century, and continues to lead, to niggardly as well as punitive social policies.

Morton, a historian, traces these policies as they played out over time in the variety of Cleveland institutions that assumed responsibility for unwed mothers, or had these responsibilities thrust upon them: private maternity homes for unwed mothers, organized and run by religious bodies or along religious lines, and public hospitals. Maternity homes were a product of the late nineteenth century. Whether they originated in the evangelical experience of Charles Crittenton, in the virile religiosity of Charles Booth, or in the soul-saving concerns of Catholic nuns, these homes were established in the belief that "fallen" young women would be saved through religious conversion and the power of redemptive maternity. Morton documents this philosophy in the Cleveland experience and—in some of the book's sociologically most interesting passages—discusses the influence on this philosophy and on maternity home practice of several relevant historical developments: the professionalization of social work, the medicalization of childbirth, the deinstitutionalization of poor relief, and the shifting demographic composition of the unwed mother population. In contrast to several other scholars who have written on this topic, Morton argues that in practice, at least in Cleveland, maternity homes maintained their evangelical approach well into the late twentieth century.

Maternity homes have now largely disappeared or been transformed, unwed mothers are perceived as predominantly poor (correctly) and black (erroneously), and their maternity care has become the province of public hospitals. Morton effectively describes how the combined disabilities of class, gender, and race have led unwed mothers in public medical facilities to receive care that "has been precarious at best, terrible at worst" (p. 125). Despite frequently expressed concern over high rates of infant mor-

tality among African Americans compared with those of whites in this country, the institutional sources of this disparity have received relatively little attention from sociologists. Morton's account suggests an important direction that this much-needed inquiry might take.

The immediate management of women's sexuality—whether situated in a maternity home, an obstetrical ward, a birth control or an abortion clinic—is almost always in the hands of women: nuns, Protestant churchwomen, social workers, nurses, abortion counselors. Morton describes this circumstance as one of degrees of powerlessness. When women have power, it is only over other women with even less power than themselves. The top financial and managerial jobs are held predominantly by men. Morton touches on but does not explore in any detail the consequences of this gender-stratified system for the nature and quality of services provided to unwed mothers.

Gender stratification is only one among many fascinating aspects of this country's health and welfare system that are raised in this book, illustrated with Cleveland data, and then set aside without further sustained analytic attention.

Indeed, prior familiarity with the history of that system may be necessary for this book to be fully appreciated by sociologists. First, very little of the larger social context within which this system developed, and which helps account for some of its more arcane features, is presented; second, without knowledge of developments elsewhere the reader has no way of knowing whether Cleveland is unique, or whether it mirrors, as it in fact does, the national scene. However, for the sociologists who have begun to focus on the peculiar history of social welfare in this country, *And Sin No More* will be welcome additional grist for their mill.

*Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race before Roe v. Wade*, by **Rickie Solinger**. New York: Routledge, 1992. 324 pp. \$25.00 cloth. ISBN: 0-415-90448-4.

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exploration of the racially distinct ideological constructions of black and white single pregnancy before *Roe* provides an empirically grounded understanding of the development of race-coded welfare politics since World War II. Her analysis of the racialized reproductive politics that followed from the different social meanings of black and white single pregnancy warns us that reproductive rights must not only encompass a woman's choice to conceive, use contraception, or terminate a pregnancy but must also win honor and social support for whichever choice a woman makes.

Solinger shows how reproduction reinforces gender subordination in women's lives. She further shows "that gender subordination is not a single phenomenon" depending only on womanhood (p. 18). For the white single mothers Solinger describes, public policy and social judgment hinged on an assessment of their failure as individuals to assimilate moral, family, and gender norms. First viewed as morally wanting, then as neurotic, white unwed mothers were targeted for reform. The maternity home was the main venue for the reeducation of the white unwed mother. There, she learned femininity, morality, and the value of a stable, socially sanctioned conjugal relationship with a man. Since the white unwed mother was presumed to be morally and psychologically unfit, the rehabilitation of her family values and marriageability included relinquishing her baby to adoption. Only a future pregnancy, based in marriage, would entitle her to motherhood.

Through a careful reading of policy debates inside maternity homes and the U.S. Children's Bureau, as well as among social workers, psychologists, and policymakers, Solinger maps the political terrain of white women's bodies after World War II and before *Roe*. Forced to carry pregnancies to term before *Roe*, only to give up their babies after birth, Solinger's "representative" unwed white mother—broadly middle class—sparked the larger culture's concerns for political reproduction and idealized gender relations.

Black women's bodies were politically different. While Solinger sees shifts and detours in the dominant culture's view of black women, she nevertheless finds a common thread of racist sexism which she

Rickie Solinger has advanced political and scholarly debates on at least two fronts. Her

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