

glasses: speakers of English are sometimes hard put to decide whether *cup* or *glass* is the more appropriate word for a particular drinking vessel. Boundary questions are closely tied to recent psychological analyses of category membership that have shown, for example, that some birds are more typical birds than others (compare robins and turkeys). Natural categories, it turns out, admit degrees of membership and this is reflected in how quickly and accurately people process words used to name category members. In discussing category names, Miller and Johnson-Laird seem to assume that there are criterial or "defining" procedures that can be used in deciding whether to apply word X or word Y. However, if membership is a matter of degree, the category itself may be defined by family resemblance à la Wittgenstein, with several properties in common from member to member but no set of properties common to all. The question is whether procedures will prove flexible enough to take findings like these into account.

Language and Perception represents an impressive amount of work on the part of the authors and contains many interesting ideas, but clearly much remains to be done. Everyone concerned with psychological theories of meaning should read this monograph and then weigh for himself the success of this attempt to take a procedural approach to meaning. Whatever the judgment, this book will probably prove as valuable for the questions it has left open as for those it discusses in depth.

EVE V. CLARK

*Department of Linguistics,
Stanford University,
Stanford, California*

Neglected Subjects

Another Voice. *Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science.* MARCIA MILLMAN and ROSABETH MOSS KANTER, Eds. Anchor (Doubleday), Garden City, N.Y., 1975. xviii, 382 pp. Paper, \$3.50.

While many social scientists regret and oppose the exclusion of women in their worlds, they have remained ignorant of the biases perpetrated in their work by the failure to bring women under their lenses. Thus the effect of the missing woman in the social sciences is a relatively new subject of study for those working in the sociology of knowledge.

There is much to correct in the profiles of social groups and institutions that ex-

clude women. When 43 percent of the work force is composed of women but women are not taken into account in studies of "workers," when women are active campaigners in elections yet are not considered by students of political behavior, and when women sponsor, cultivate, and are consumers of "high" culture but are assumed not to be truly creative it is clear that selective perception of a most insidious type limits the vision of those whose eyes ought to be clear beyond all others.

It is true that women have been given attention in sociology in the context of the family. But "family sociology" has been a low-prestige field within the discipline and has never been of much interest to most major scholars. Most new research on the behavior of women has been classified as "sex-role studies" or "women's studies," and the work that falls under these headings has had no better fate in attracting major attention and scholarly resources than the much-undervalued field of family sociology. Does it matter what title is given to new research? Any serious social scientist who thinks about the question will recognize how crucial labels are when they carry implications of worth.

Another Voice is a collection of writings exploring the consequences of the omission of women from studies of social life. Students of the occupations, of culture and art, of social stratification, of the sociology of knowledge, of minority groups, or of social psychology would be remiss to classify the book as just another collection about women, for the insights it presents into their fields are numerous and penetrating.

I would have liked the article by David Tresemer, "Assumptions made about gender roles," to come first in the collection. Tresemer applies logical analysis to the inconsistent and intellectually irresponsible views held by many scientists. Tresemer differentiates between gender roles and sex roles, taking "gender roles" as referring to learned roles and to the psychological and cultural definitions of the dimensions "masculine" and "feminine." "Sex roles" he would prefer to see confined to the tiny number of roles functionally related to sex, such as wet nurse or semen donor.

Tresemer is fighting a lost semantic battle—"sex roles" is the label under which it all began, and the label will probably remain. However, even those who persist in that usage ought to and can be persuaded that sex roles or gender roles are culturally rather than physiologically determined and perpetuated and that

those personality traits that are conventionally associated with femininity or masculinity, such as tenderness or aloofness, passivity or aggressiveness, or docility or assertiveness, are in reality distributed more or less randomly among people, depending on the norms of the society.

Tresemer makes the point that research that seeks explanations for male gang behavior, or for the small numbers of women in high administrative posts, in childhood behavior or in hormonal levels is "overly simplistic, inevitably sexist, and not at all useful for change of the social behaviors of concern."

Most of the essays in this volume, as might be expected, are not candidates for such criticism. I say "most" because here and there one finds a bit of female chauvinism, which I believe is no more productive than the male variety. I don't believe, for example, that women have special ways of looking at behavior or that their emotions lead them to special insights. While it proves to be true that women are more interested in the subject of women than are men, this is a relatively recent predisposition, heightened by political mobilization.

Arlie Russell Hochschild, for example, suggests in a well-reasoned call for a sociology of feeling and emotion that the reason for the past neglect of these aspects of behavior is that they belong to the sentimental, expressive domain—a "feminine" domain. The idea that there is a logical linkage between a discipline and a perception based on a particular sex may be the rationale for including this essay in a volume on "feminist perspectives," but such an explanation is suspect. I'm not convinced it was male chauvinist bias that led Max Weber to confuse "rationality" and "emotionlessness" or that has led social scientists to treat economic and political institutions as "rational" and view the family as the domain of emotionality. It is certainly a reflection of bias, however, to characterize the political arena (one of artifice, gamesmanship, and emotionality of participant and observer) as rational while the family (in which people work to create and maintain food and housing and to train the young for civilized behavior) is labeled emotional and therefore irrational.

In any event, Hochschild's essay is an example of what can be accomplished by discarding old models to conceptualize anew. It argues that science may not exclude human characteristics or structures because they are difficult to conceptualize or measure and that dichoto-

mizing "rational" and "irrational" behavior and attaching greater importance to the former is arbitrary and limits our understanding.

Other essayists in the collection show how the exclusion of women from the focus of their disciplines, or misinterpretation of women's roles within the institutions under study, leads to incomplete or faulty analysis.

Marcia Millman shows how value judgments creep into the analysis of women as criminals and women as victims in the sociology of deviance. She suggests that men are always depicted as more interesting in playing the deviant role. Women are not seen as initiators or as "correctly" motivated. In the words of the essay's title, when they engage in deviant behavior women are thought to "do it all for love." Millman doesn't give us a systematic analysis of why women do commit crimes. I suspect she would agree that *some* actually are motivated by love, but in pointing to the prejudice implicit in the sociology of deviance her contribution is heuristic. (Why don't researchers ask men whether they do it for love? Probably a goodly number do.)

Judith Lorber's article discusses women as medical practitioners and as patients and indicates that women are discriminated against in both roles. Like Millman she points to the enormous neglect implicit in women's total absence from studies presuming to describe an entire profession.

Gaye Tuchman examines the reasons why women's active and visible roles as sponsors and purveyors of culture seem to be largely ignored in both popular and academic analyses of the social structure of the art, literary, and musical worlds. In the course of her examination Tuchman calls attention to a number of notable women painters, composers, and musicians.

Are women really "just there," as Lyn H. Lofland asks in her probe of the invisibility of women in urban sociology, even in work done by liberals such as Herbert Gans and Elliot Liebow? Are women only supporting cast because they are not hanging out on the street corners or sitting in the bars where our urbanologists can see and get to know them? If they are, tell us why and what consequences this has for community life and for the society. If they are not, as Lofland's inquiry suggests, let us send our urbanologists into the supermarket, the coffee shop, and the beauty shop as well as the bar and the poolroom.

In her article on women and the structure of organizations, Rosabeth Moss

Kantor might well have conceptualized the inattention to women she addresses by adopting Lofland's use of "thereness." Because work has so long been considered a male enterprise, in spite of the fact that the work force includes almost as many women as men, even the most sophisticated studies of organizations have excluded from analysis the jobs typed as female, such as secretary. Thus the dynamic interplay between people in male jobs and people in female jobs is missed, as well as the description of careers and work lives of the women who hold these ancillary but integral and crucial positions.

Kantor provides a fruitful discussion of how models used in organizational analysis direct the analytic eye away from women's contributions in the workplace, as well as provide legitimation for the exclusion of women from jobs of high rank and power.

It would be useful indeed if scholarship inspired by the women's movement pressed sociological inquiry into the avenues suggested in this volume as well as directed more attention to blue-collar workers, the poor, and minorities (see the essays of Roby and Myers especially). A look at current issues of several journals shows that more social scientists are turning their attention to women. It is not so clear that they have accepted the notion that other major areas of study ought to include analysis of women's part in social units rather than isolate women's activity for separate study. The study of "organizations," for example, ought to include women and not deal only with men in the implied expectation there will be a separate study of "women and organizations." I cannot agree with some of the writers in this volume (whose views are representative of those of a number of serious feminist sociologists) that there must be, or are, special women's models or special insights that can be attained only within the context of a female sociology done by women. If there are special insights or techniques stemming from a feminist perspective, they must be communicated to all. If there are not, both men and women should apply themselves more diligently to adopting a more value-free approach. *Another Voice* offers important insights toward new and corrective areas of work in the social sciences. One wishes they had not been labeled "feminist perspectives" but "new perspectives."

CYNTHIA FUCHS EPSTEIN
*Bureau of Applied Social Research,
Columbia University, New York City*

Theoretical Chemistry

Group Theoretical Techniques in Quantum Chemistry. C. D. H. CHISHOLM. Academic Press, New York, 1976. x, 272 pp., illus. \$22.25. Theoretical Chemistry, vol. 5.

The past decade has seen the arrival of tens of books on group theory. Those that have not been mainly formal have generally dealt with a set of what are now traditional applications of symmetry to chemistry, such as simple selection rules, classification of electronic and vibrational states, molecular orbital simplifications, ligand and crystal field theory, and concepts related to solids. As a work aimed primarily at chemists, *Group Theoretical Techniques in Quantum Chemistry* goes beyond the traditional approach and presents the formal theory relating to a wide-ranging set of topics in addition to some applications that should be of interest to theoreticians and experimentalists in chemical physics.

After a systematic development of introductory material on molecular symmetry groups, linear algebra, and group representations, Chisholm describes how matrices for irreducible representations for finite groups can be constructed and used in various conventional ways in molecular problems. It is pleasing to find a discussion of the often-overlooked symmetric and antisymmetric direct products included. The text then successfully treats the symmetric groups (permutations) and their applications in symmetry simplifications of many-electron systems. Like some of the other chapters, this one is aimed primarily at quantum chemists interested in fundamental properties of electronic wave functions including spin.

The importance of the method of irreducible tensors in experimental chemical physics is becoming more evident in the literature, so the clear, detailed account this book gives of the basic theory of continuous groups through the method of irreducible tensors and the chapters on tensor operators and direct products and angular momentum coupling coefficients are timely features. There is also a nice chapter on the quantum mechanics of simple systems in which exactly soluble problems as the hydrogen atom, the harmonic oscillator, and the rigid rotor are dealt with by means of group theory.

In contrast to many of the other chemically oriented books on group theory, the present volume seems to contain sufficient fundamental theory to provide the careful student with the apparatus to describe his own applications. Thus its