

undocumented aliens. One wonders if the applicants for amnesty tend to fall into the "more settled" end of the migration typology, or if the traditional employers of the undocumented will now search elsewhere for workers. There is surely a basis here for a companion work.

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Life-Course Trajectories

Adolescent Mothers in Later Life. FRANK F. FURSTENBERG, JR., J. BROOKS-GUNN, and S. PHILIP MORGAN. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1987. xiv, 204 pp., illus. \$27.95. Human Development in Cultural and Historical Contexts.

To what extent is the life-course trajectory predetermined by the circumstances of early childhood and adolescence? Does adolescent motherhood set the stage for a lifetime of welfare dependency and related disadvantage for both mother and child? Or can childhood poverty, teenage pregnancy, and early marital instability be overcome in the early and middle adult years? In this book, a sociologist, a developmental psychologist, and a demographer wrestle with these questions in assessing continuity and change in the lives of teenage mothers and their children. Prior research on teenage childbearing has shown its linkage to school dropout, difficulties in the job market, and marital instability, but the focus has largely been restricted to the first few years of the mother's life following the birth of a child. Longitudinal studies extending across broad phases of the life course are needed to determine the long-term consequences of adolescent childbearing and to address the complex interactions between person and environment that mold lives through the life span.

This monograph is based on research that began in 1966 as an evaluation of the effects of a prenatal care program at a large Baltimore hospital. Over 400 pregnant adolescents and 350 of their mothers were initially interviewed (1966–1968). Subsequent (1966–1984) interviews with the adolescent mothers took place 1, 3, 5, and 16 to 17 years after delivery. To provide a comparison group, classmates who delayed childbearing were also interviewed. Children of the adolescent mothers were interviewed in the fourth (1972) and fifth (1983–1984) waves of data collection, at about 5 and 16 years of age. Seventy-two percent (289) of the adolescent mothers initially interviewed

were retained throughout the study, and there were 296 completed interviews with children in the most recent wave. Attrition was greater among whites, among less frequent church attenders, and among respondents who had shorter residential tenure at the time of the initial interview. Because of the high white attrition, the regression (logistic and OLS) analyses are restricted to blacks. Findings from Furstenberg's National Survey of Children and three national surveys supplement the Baltimore data.

Furstenberg *et al.* find that early childbearing is associated with educational and income disadvantages, as well as marital instability. But they emphasize the great diversity in the lives of the Baltimore mothers in socioeconomic attainment, marital history, and fertility, belying the popular image of the teenage mother as doomed to a lifetime of failure. At the fifth follow-up, 28% of the mothers were on welfare while another fourth had yearly family incomes above \$25,000. Given that economic self-sufficiency was found to be related both to earlier (low parental education, being below school grade level at the outset of the study) and to later (unmarried status, high subsequent fertility) circumstances, Furstenberg *et al.* conclude that a highly deterministic model of life-course development is unwarranted.

The children as a group, however, were doing rather poorly on a host of indicators. They experienced pervasive school failure (53% of the teenage children repeated at least one grade) and suspension or expulsion (49%). Since only a fourth of the adolescent mothers at the beginning of the study were one grade or more below the expected level for their age (see Furstenberg's *Unplanned Parenthood: The Social Consequences of Teenage Childbearing*, Free Press, 1976, p. 135), the younger generation may be considerably more educationally disadvantaged than the older one. (However, this difference might also be due to change in educational policies with respect to grade repetition.) The investigators also report considerable "misbehavior" among the children (for example school disciplinary problems, running away from home, being stopped by the police). These data, buttressed by a comparable pattern in the National Survey of Children, suggest continuing costs of adolescent motherhood in the lives of the children. Since the children's emotional behavior as preschoolers "was generally well within normal ranges," behavioral discontinuity may be said to characterize the children's lives.

Finally, the authors address the degree of continuity across generations. Does the life-course trajectory of the mother significantly predict that of her child? The mother's history of intimate relationships obviously

influences the child's living arrangements over time. By 1984, only 30% of the children had spent all 16 years of their lives in one family configuration; fewer than 10% resided continuously with both biological parents. Most experienced a variety of household types, with 85% spending at least some time alone with their mothers and close to half spending at least some time in other arrangements—with mothers and biological fathers, mothers and stepfathers, and mothers and boyfriends. Little is known about the implications of such instability in the various stages of child development.

Assessment of the effects of the mothers' educational, welfare, marital, and fertility histories on a range of child outcomes (including grade failure, sexuality, delinquency, and substance use) indicated that the timing of intergenerational influence differs across maternal-experience and child-outcome domains. For example, the mother's welfare status had negative effects on academic competence in early childhood as well as upon entry into adolescence. However, welfare status affected only preschool behavior and temperament, not misbehavior in subsequent years. In contrast, the educational attainment and marital status of the mother had weak effects on the child at preschool age but were associated with academic outcomes in adolescence. Because "the life-course model that best fits these data is a flexible but continuous one," Furstenberg *et al.* conclude that "it is never too late for effective intervention" (p. 128) and make specific preventive and ameliorative recommendations for social policy.

Perhaps in an attempt to make the book more accessible to non-technical readers, much of the data analysis is placed in appendixes. This organization, coupled with some discrepancies between tables and between tables and text, poses difficulties for the reader who is interested in the empirical basis for the conclusions. And in the consideration of the linkages between mothers' and children's lives, a more comprehensive view would seem to be indicated. For example, though it is shown that the mother's recent welfare, marital, and educational experiences are related to adolescent grade failure, the analyses presented do not allow the reader to ascertain which of these effects would remain significant if the others were controlled. But these are, for the most part, rather minor problems.

Adolescent Mothers in Later Life makes an important contribution to the scientific understanding of adolescent motherhood and its implications for the lives of both mothers and children. Furthermore, given the centrality of the questions addressed for life-course analysis and the dearth of cross-

generational, longitudinal research, the book's relevance extends much further than its particular substantive topic. The data will surely become even more valuable as the investigators continue to study the families and the children, some of whom have already become teenage parents, as they make the transition to early adulthood.

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A Partly Social Disorder

Fasting Girls. The Emergence of Anorexia Nervosa as a Modern Disease. JOAN JACOBS BRUMBERG. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1988. x, 366 pp., illus. \$25.

From the medieval period in European history to the contemporary United States, young women have regularly refused to eat. This fasting, which we call anorexia nervosa and which is perhaps the most common psychological ailment among young women in the United States today, has had a long and complex history. In *Fasting Girls*, Joan Brumberg traces this history. Her particular focus is on the 19th and 20th centuries, on the varying medical treatments employed during this time period, and on the social matrices behind the illness.

It was not until the 1870s that anorexia nervosa was identified as a specific illness and given its present name. Even then, Brumberg argues, the treatment employed was largely wrongheaded. Rather than attempting to assess patient motivation, doctors infantilized their youthful charges and focused on ending their physical symptoms. Confinement and forcefeeding were the first techniques employed; after the First World War glandular and then hormonal therapies were added. Even when psychological techniques were introduced in the 1930s, the treatment revolved around curing presumed physiological sexual malfunctionings. These varying treatments, Brumberg argues, drew from prevailing medical vogues. They focused on physical symptoms stemming from the fasting, and their originators failed to realize that these symptoms were in reality partly reflections of underlying psychological malfunctionings, not only within the patient but also within her family and within the larger society.

Brumberg does not discount the possible importance of physiological and hereditary factors in causing anorexia. But her stress is on those social influences which she thinks doctors in earlier ages slighted. In the 19th century the particular culprit, in her view,



The "first published photo of an anorectic in an American medical journal" (*New England Journal of Medicine* 207, 5 Oct. 1932). "By the 1930s there were three essential techniques in the management of anorexia nervosa: change of environment, forced feeding, and psychotherapy. Severe cases were generally treated in private psychiatric hospitals." [From *Fasting Girls*; courtesy of the *New England Journal of Medicine*]

was the Victorian family. Within its narrow confines, young women were raised to conform to rigid gender requirements, and they were encouraged to regard themselves as spiritual, not physical, beings. This Victorian family type was structured around possessiveness, both of material objects and of its human members, and the giving or withholding of food was often used both to discipline and to praise children. Thus for young women food became an analogue of the self, and not eating became a way both of adhering to Victorian family expectations and of rebelling against them. In more recent times, Brumberg thinks that the vogue of dieting and the commercialized cult of thinness bear primary responsibility for what is in actuality a vast increase in the incidence of the illness.

Such arguments may seem to stress obvious cultural forces. But what is important

about Brumberg's analysis is her demonstration that these differing forces produced differing symptomatology. In particular, hyperactivity has become a regular new feature of the illness. This symptom was not present 75 or 100 years ago. For in present times the body for women is no longer considered to be an object that should express spirituality. Rather it has become an object of competition, a means for women to express that overwhelming urge to excel over others that lies at the heart of modern capitalism. One can never be, the adage goes, too rich or too thin.

That illness can function as a cultural metaphor and that cultural factors can dictate the nature of illness are realities long noted by social historians of medicine. In *Fasting Girls*, Brumberg has richly documented this truth in the case of anorexia nervosa. Social historians might quibble with some of her periodizations and wish that she had paid more attention to the literature on fashions in physical appearance. What responsibility modern families play in the etiology of the illness via-à-vis their Victorian counterparts ought to have been more fully explored. She might have profited by a closer reading of Hillel Schwartz's recent book on dieting (*Never Satisfied: A Cultural History of Diets, Fantasies, and Fat*, Macmillan, 1986), and especially by his argument that dieting in the United States was first vogueish among men. Nonetheless, Brumberg's book is written with verve and grace, and it makes an important contribution to the literature on the history of medical treatment and on the nature of women and of the society in which they live.

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Responses to Automation

Workers, Managers, and Technological Change. Emerging Patterns of Labor Relations. DANIEL B. CORNFELD, Ed. Plenum, New York, 1987. xxii, 362 pp. \$37.50. Plenum Studies in Work and Industry.

For over a decade social scientists have been debating the assertion made by Harry Braverman in his classic study *Labor and Monopoly Capital* (Monthly Review Press, 1974) that new technologies simultaneously increase managers' control of workers and reduce the latter's skills. For a far longer period labor unions have been debating

whether, to put it baldly, they should accept or resist new technologies. The essays published in this volume, which consider the relationship of technological change and labor relations across 14 industries in the United States, offer a useful collective vantage point from which to view and review both debates. What conclusions emerge?

Most striking is the finding that unions, with some exceptions, have decided not just to accept new technologies but in fact to encourage them. In his introductory chapter Daniel Cornfield examines the labor movement's shift from its traditional policy of