

rigorously controlled studies, but they argue that clinical descriptions are essential for the development of specific, testable hypotheses in this area.

The psychological effects of DES and the relationships among daughters and mothers, physicians and mothers, and physicians and the DES daughters are presented within a psychoanalytic framework. The essential question the authors explore is the disruptive effect of the trauma, given the identification of the female child with the mother, the need for the adolescent to experience both closeness to and movement away from the mother, the importance of and emphasis on the genitalia in normal development for both boys and girls, and the caretaking-caregiving relationship that both physicians and their patients strive to maintain.

Though they do not present their data in a systematic manner with references to specific cases, their narrative "rings true" for the reader who appreciates the authors' viewpoint. The limitation of examining problems chiefly through one set of lenses, however, is that other possibilities are excluded. For example, the authors detail psychological reasons when they try to understand why few obstetricians have complied with requests from the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology to actively contact, inform, and examine exposed female children. They reject the idea that the doctors fear lawsuits from alerted patients, without providing evidence from the doctors. Nor do they consider that the problems of searching through years of voluminous records might make the task nearly impossible.

The authors are to be credited for furthering the discussion of the psychological and social dimensions of the DES problems. Though they cannot fully "explore the history of DES in relation to the general history of medicine and to the ongoing scientific establishment" in 130 pages of text, there is useful information in this work and provocative insights into a problem that is far more than physical. The book is well written, has a glossary of medical terms, 20 pages of footnotes, a bibliography of 400 references, and an index, all of which enhance its usefulness. This work could be consulted by clinical therapists and counselors and health professionals and would be of interest to the educated lay person.

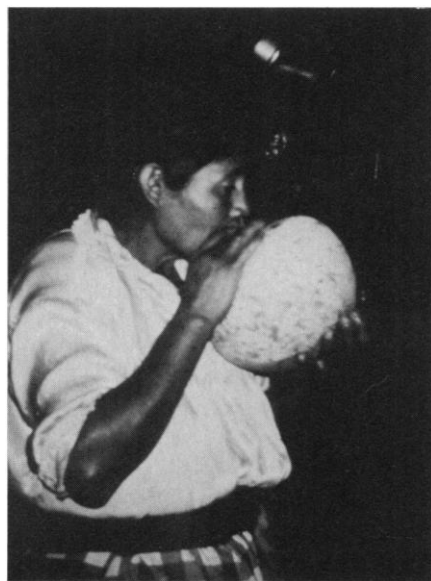
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A Syndrome and Its Meaning

Susto, A Folk Illness. ARTHUR J. RUBEL, CARL W. O'NELL, and ROLANDO COLLADO-ARDON, with the assistance of John Krejci and Jean Krejci. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984. x, 186 pp. + plates. \$22.95. Comparative Studies of Health Systems and Medical Care.

A seemingly endless controversy has exercised anthropologists as to whether there are culture-bound emotional disorders or simply ethnic variants of universal patterns of human aberration. This book will not resolve that issue, but it constitutes an important contribution toward a clearer understanding of it. Two decades ago Arthur Rubel suggested that the emotional-behavioral syndrome known as *susto* (soul loss, magical fright) that is found throughout Hispanic America was a culture-specific folk illness, "syndromes from which members of a particular group claim to suffer and for which their culture provides an etiology, a diagnosis, preventive measures, and regimens of healing." Thus defined, a folk illness could be studied not only in the traditional ethnographic mode but also by employing the rigorous, quantitative techniques of epidemiology. To implement this proposal, the present study was launched among three populations (Zapotec, Chinantec, Mestizo) in Oaxaca, Mexico, with an interdisciplinary team of anthropologists and physicians. The results represent the most systemat-



Zapotec *susto* specialist calls a victim's name into a clay pot "to induce return of her vital essence. The greater the distance that separates her vital essence from her body, the more often her name is called" into the pot. [From *Susto*; copyright Carl W. O'Neill]

ic study of an ethnic behavioral disturbance since Foulks's (1972) multifactorial investigation of Eskimo *pibloktoq* ("arctic hysteria").

The authors present their theoretical assumptions and objectives together with their findings and conclusions in compact form. The appendix usefully includes instruments used for measuring and scoring psychiatric impairment, social factors, and clinical history. The original focus of Rubel and O'Neill on social and cultural data was broadened at the urging of their medical collaborators to include physiological material. Their analysis shares the biocultural approach of the Foulks study but adds methodological advantages: controlled comparison across three populations, inclusion of controls for all three groups, more objective and systematic measuring instruments, and evaluations of cultural and medical data made independently by anthropologists and physicians (Foulks, physician and anthropologist, was a one-person interdisciplinary team).

These investigators found that the onset of *susto* could be separated from the initial traumatic event by days, months, or even years and that the nature of the traumatic events was widely variable. Asustados (victims) differed significantly from controls in being afflicted "by a cluster of symptoms representing diffuse systematic attacks on the organism" (loss of appetite, weight, strength, motivation); they similarly suffered more from several, though not all, organic diseases endemic among peasants of the region, as well as experiencing more emotional difficulties. Indeed, there was a "relative proliferation of mental pathology among the asustados." The factors just listed were generally uncorrelated with local culture, wealth, education, or social position, although in all groups women seemingly were more susceptible than men. Not only are asustados more disease- and disturbance-ridden, they are likely to die sooner than non-asustados, so that "inclusion of *susto* in a patient's medical history tips the balance toward death." As hypothesized, *susto* sufferers do not adequately perform their social roles and are aware that they have failed. Though having more emotional and nervous problems, they did not seem to be more psychiatrically impaired than their control counterparts. Measures of social stress were not correlated with severity and gravity of illness, not surprising given the ambiguous, multidimensional nature of stress as a behavioral variable.

This volume does raise a few prob-

lems. The sample size is not stated in every table and is variously reported as 103, 100, and 95. Stating the total *N* used in each analysis could no doubt explain these discrepancies. A strong case is made that the three groups, being different linguistically and ecologically and having been "assiduously" controlled for "demography, income, gender-role expectations, form of governance, and the influence of outside change-agents," practice different cultures. But since all have been under Spanish Catholic influence for nearly five centuries, Galton's problem may not have been completely accounted for. This reader would have preferred much fuller discussion of the results, and perhaps a more detailed attempt to place the research within the stream of culture-bound-syndrome studies. Rubel and associates insist that susto

is a "clinically distinct syndrome," since their research "demonstrates how cultural and disease processes interact to form an entity unfamiliar to cosmopolitan medicine." This conclusion requires much more explication and theoretical analysis.

Nevertheless, the study is a model of its kind and points the way to the kind of biomedical research that is essential for clarifying the problem stated at the opening of this review. The question of whether there are culture-specific illnesses ultimately may prove to be unanswerable. But it needs to be addressed, and Rubel, O'Neill, and Collado have moved that effort a long step forward.

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An Academic Preeminence

The Chicago School of Sociology. Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research. MARTIN BULMER. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985. xx, 285 pp., illus. \$29. *The Heritage of Sociology*.

Evaluating Chicago Sociology. A Guide to the Literature, with an Annotated Bibliography. LESTER R. KURTZ. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984. x, 303 pp. \$22. *The Heritage of Sociology*.

In 1830, Auguste Comte proclaimed that a science of society could take its place among the physical and other natural sciences. Few listened to Comte's proclamation; and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that sociologists penetrated the halls of academia. Even in Europe, where self-conscious sociological analysis first emerged, there were few academic sociologists and even fewer who saw themselves as research scientists. Research-oriented universities had existed in Germany for decades, and the founding of Johns Hopkins in 1879 marks the beginnings of the modern research university in America. But with the founding of the University of Chicago in 1890 research and graduate training were blended in a new, synergetic combination. So open and innovative was the University of Chicago that it allowed for the creation in 1892 of a small, fledging department of

sociology under the leadership of Albion Small. Over the next four decades, the "Chicago school" was to dominate sociological inquiry in America.

Martin Bulmer's *The Chicago School of Sociology* and Lester R. Kurtz's *Evaluating Chicago Sociology* can now be added to the growing number of accounts of the Chicago school during its "golden era" between 1915 and 1935. They are both excellent books, with somewhat diverse purposes. Both summarize the substantive, methodological, and conceptual approaches of early Chicago sociologists and both give descriptive accounts of the institutional processes by which sociology became established; but they do so in different ways. The Bulmer book is the longer and more detailed and emphasizes the historical events that led to the ascendancy of the Chicago department of sociology. The Kurtz work is narrower and concentrates on the substance of the department's research program, providing a 150-page annotated bibliography of work about, or inspired by, the Chicago school. Yet despite the differences in approach I find the works similar in one important respect: both become so enamored with the success of the Chicago department between 1915 and 1935 that they fail to address the broader institutional questions: What are the conse-

quences for a nascent discipline when one department dominates inquiry during its early years? Is it necessarily good for the cumulation of knowledge that a single department can control such a large share of a discipline's funding, its graduate population, its political offices, its publishing outlets, and its network structure?

These kinds of questions draw attention to the politics of intellectual activity. For the ascendancy of the Chicago school was more than a simple intellectual blossoming; it was also a process in which one department gained power in its field. Bulmer and Kurtz both tend to ignore the fact that academic scholarship is also a political process. For virtually all organized intellectual activity involves competition among universities and their faculties, who often gain hegemony by producing paradigms that dominate the conduct of inquiry, at least for a time, and who exercise control over the flow of not only intellectual but also financial resources. Such processes need not be consciously implemented or particularly Machiavellian, but to ignore them is to miss much of what makes science a sociologically interesting phenomenon. And thus, as I reconstruct Bulmer's and Kurtz's historical accounts, I will draw attention to what these otherwise very good books ignore: the long-run consequences of the "Chicago paradigm" and its implementation through control of academic and professional resources.

Let me begin by describing the general academic environment in which the Chicago school and its paradigm for scientific sociology first emerged. At a time when Johns Hopkins was in a transitional period of retrenchment and other universities still emphasized undergraduate instruction, the University of Chicago was building strong graduate programs, primarily with the initial endowment of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. Though the city of Chicago was a rough and somewhat unseemly place in the 1890's, the university offered real research opportunities and was thus able rather quickly to assemble a strong faculty. Other elite universities had not yet turned to an emphasis on research and graduate training, and so Chicago was at a competitive advantage in the academic marketplace generally. And in sociology in particular, where there were virtually no academic niches for research sociologists, Chicago was favored in securing funding from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for support of a small sociology faculty, a large graduate population, and an ac-