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**Review of *The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and Conflict in Gender, Class and Race Relations*. Mary R. Jackman. Reviewed by Doreen Elliott, University of Texas at Arlington.**

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## Book Reviews

Mary R. Jackman, *The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and Conflict in Gender, Class and Race Relations*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994. \$38 hardcover.

Competing ideologies such as conflict versus consensus explanations of social structure, psychodynamic versus behavioral interpretations of human learning, qualitative versus quantitative research paradigms, biological determinism versus social influences in "deviant" behavior such as addictions, homosexuality and schizophrenia, and residual versus institutional social policies have created debate, energized, and yet at the same time constrained development in social science theory.

In this volume, Mary Jackman reviews, analyzes and challenges many existing assumptions and competing ideologies associated with explanations of intergroup relations along three key dimensions of gender, race and class. Through an impressive conceptual framework supported by an empirical study, the author builds a strong case for the position that the conflict/consensus continuum in the analysis of unequal social relations is too simplistic. It is proposed that inter-group relations are subject to the terms of the dominant groups in each dimension who use subtle forms of persuasion and coercion to maintain their dominance. An important strand of the argument is that both dominant and subordinate groups put much energy into conflict avoidance.

The book is divided into three parts: Part I reviews trends in the literature on social stratification, the sociology of race, and gender roles from the point of view of demonstrating how conflict and hostility have been central themes in theoretical explanations and yet constitute a very small percentage of manifest behavior in social relations between unequal groups. The more subtle forms of social control, such as the coercive power of love and the persuasive power of reason are considered as an alternative analysis.

Part II and Part III present the findings of the survey conducted in the United States in 1975. The sample was taken from

non-institutionalized adults in the 48 contiguous states. The data are reported within a conceptual framework consistent with that presented in Part I using gender class and race as case studies. Role segregation, spatial segregation and group affiliations are reported through respondents' assessments of their own exposure to an affiliation with other groups. Inter-group relations as measured by affective responses are reported, as well as beliefs about the costs and benefits of inter-group relations. Chapter VI reports data on respondents' views of public policy issues such as economic equality, racial equality, gender equality and the role of government. Results are summarized within a series of matrix frameworks which include one axis representing feelings towards the other group (inclusion and estrangement) and one axis for policy goals (affirmative change and conservative or reactionary positions). The resulting matrix includes positions such as tolerant, integrationist, paternalistic, revisionist, deferent for both dominant and subordinate group positions. Results relating to gender, class and race are superimposed on this general matrix and thus relating the data from the study to the conceptual framework.

In this part of the book, the strong conceptual framework is still present, the analysis is sharp and cogent, excellent illustrations are given to strengthen the points made and the argument is admirably well-constructed. The empirical part of the book, however, is less strong. The survey is somewhat dated (see p. 109), and the sampling distribution across the groups studied shows a certain inconsistency, when 13.9% come from racial minorities and 7.6% from a group described as "poor." The gender distribution is less imbalanced in the sample with a representation of 41.9% men and 58.1% women. (p. 110). Statistically significant differences are reported in some of the tables without indicating which test of significance has been used. The form of reporting the data is largely tabulated percentages. However, the authors claim that: "To the extent that the three cases manifest clearly interpretable patterns I can establish the empirical plausibility of my theoretical framework" (p. 121) is indeed largely born out by the data. One of the clearest findings of the study is that the largest difference between groups in terms of policy goals occurs in the category of race.

Part IV summarizes within the framework of ideology and social control. The ideologies of individualism and competition are presented as subtle forms of social control which prevent challenges from subordinate groups and maintain the status quo for the dominant groups. The author further argues that processes such as this are "neither planned or conscious" (p. 365). The theme of the book is therefore well represented by the title 'The Velvet Glove'. Intergroup relations based on gender, class and race are seen as complex and as using subtle strategies to maintain the position of the dominant groups, whilst 'flagrant hostility is a minor actor' (p. 377). However, one wonders what the effect would be in carrying out the same study in the wake of Reaganite policies, the Los Angeles Riots and the Bobbitt trial as examples of inter-group conflict along the lines of race, class and gender. In summary, the argument is well crafted and provokes questions throughout. This volume is a useful contribution to the literature on inter group relations, and will no doubt provoke further debate and research.

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Evelyn N. Glenn, Grace Chang, and Linda Rennie Forcey (Eds.). *Mothering*, New York, NY: Routledge, 1994, \$49.95 hard cover, \$16.95 paper cover.

Christine Everington. *Motherhood and Modernity*. Bristol, PA: Open University Press, 1994. \$75.00 hard cover, \$25.00 paper cover.

The role of motherhood in contemporary western thought can easily be viewed as the focal point of many disputes regarding the roles and rights of women in society. The meaning and purpose of motherhood has changed over time and in culturally specific ways that deem it either glorifying or oppressive to the female gender. Each of the books reviewed here asks critically important questions: Should feminism celebrate the differences that separate women from men to develop a solidarity, or should the differences between the sexes be down played for the purpose of claiming equality on the basis of "sameness"?