

estate. In Paris, the emancipation from industrial labor took place through office or service work, which—another difference—offered opportunities to second-generation Italian women as well as men. Politically, both communities were characterized by a large degree of indifference. In France, however, the state itself put obstacles to the political participation of the immigrant population through a series of restrictive laws lengthening the residence requirement for naturalization and eventually separating naturalization from the acquisition of civil and political rights. While in the United States a naturalized citizen was indistinguishable from one by birth, in France, by 1927, an immigrant who had obtained citizenship was compelled to wait another ten years to be eligible for public elective positions and even employment by the state.

The one exception to the immigrants' political indifference was their response to fascism in Italy. Since the rise of Benito Mussolini was concurrent with the Immigration Law of 1924, which virtually ended Italian immigration to the United States, it was France that received the new wave of political expatriates from Italy. Hence the rise of a marked Italian antifascism in France, but not in the United States, where Italian immigrants felt great ethnic pride in the feats of the new Italian state, especially the creation of a colonial empire in Africa. Ultimately, however, Italian immigrants to the United States sided unanimously with their new country. One million soldiers of Italian origin fought in the U.S. armed forces during World War II, a clear sign of the assimilation of a group that appears to have been more united and resilient than its counterpart on the other side of the Atlantic.

If any criticism can be made of Rainhorn's excellent book, it is that her otherwise commendable desire to reject definite national models of integration of immigrant groups leads her constantly to dilute the strength of her findings through extensive discussions of any exception to broader tendencies and risks making the exception more memorable than the rule. Nonetheless, Rainhorn's study contributes importantly to the new field of comparative immigration studies.

PAOLA GEMME
Arkansas Tech University

MIKAEL HÅARD and ANDREW JAMISON. *Hubris and Hybrids: A Cultural History of Technology and Science*. New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xv, 335. \$90.00.

This is a bold book. Rejecting the trend towards increasingly specialist histories of science and technology, Mikael Håard, a German historian of technology and Andrew Jamison, a Swedish scholar from the interdisciplinary field of science and technology studies, have chosen to write a synthetic history covering the period from the founding of modern science in the seventeenth century through to the most recent developments in technology such as the rise of the World Wide Web. Their focus is upon cultural appropriation: namely, how

science and technology are given human meaning in "discursive, institutional and daily practices."

Their goal is to sail between the Scylla of the heroic stories told of genius scientists and inventors conquering ignorance and bringing forth the wonder machines of modern life and the Charybdis of the counternarrative, whether fraudulent scientists spinning false hopes of stem-cell breakthroughs, or the doom and gloom of the current ecological angst, or the megamachine of technology running amuck. Indeed, their source of inspiration can be found in the writings of Lewis Mumford who first introduced the idea of the megamachine and its dangers.

The book starts by retelling the story of a failed English tailor, Gerrard Winstanley, and the Diggers (1648–1649), early communes founded in an egalitarian spirit that became the roots of the modern environmental movement with its narrative of resistance. Indeed, during the 1960s counterculture several of the Californian communes were named after the Diggers. The Ludites, too, were responding to the technology of their day, with some of the first organized protests against the domination of the machine. These early movements gained salience with the industrial revolution and spread in the subsequent centuries providing a variety of societal responses to technology. Modern departments of science and technology studies are only the latest manifestation of a long historical *durée*.

Rather than treating these responses to technology in terms of "social movements," Håard and Jamison perceptively see a set process of cultural appropriations at work that take many different forms. Sometimes, as in ages of technological hubris, when scientists and technologists overreach, the responses can be dramatic—such as the counterculture's reaction to the military-industrial complex and its war machine. They argue that both technological optimists and pessimists have it wrong and, drawing on recent science studies thinkers such as Bruno Latour, they argue that humans and machines are in a relationship of hybridity, and that movements and individuals such as Mumford (described as a hybrid intellectual) who recognize this have found the wisdom to live in a more harmonious relationship with science and technology.

The strength of the book is that it reminds us that the rub of science and technology is always found in its myriad impacts on everyday human life: how time and space were experienced by railway travelers in the nineteenth century; how an obscure German invented the first form of the Jacuzzi in the shape of a round-bottomed bathing tub known as the wavebath, where the bather could create his or her own waves by rocking backwards and forwards; and how Norwegian philosopher of science Arne Naess (Scandinavia's answer to Paul Feyerabend complete with his own slogan, "deep ecology") turned from philosophy to environmental protest in the 1970s in opposition to the building of a large hydroelectric dam on the River Alta in Norway.

The idea that the personal is political comes home to roost with science and technology. Modern life, as the

Luddites, Karl Marx, Charlie Chaplin, and Mumford were all too well aware, is conducted in choreography with machines. The personal today is technological, whether the cell phone, the internet, or the heart pacemaker. Technology and science shape our lives, discipline our minds and provide us with ever new experiences and fantasies of life and death. A mirror to such cultural appropriations is to be found in the representation of science and technology in movies, and the authors devote one chapter to analyzing such material.

This book provides a welcome balance to the familiar focus on U.S. and British stories of technology. Scandinavia and Germany take center stage, and there is a welcome chapter on Japan, China, and India. We learn, for instance, about the unique Swedish response to modernity. This, too, had its moments of hubris. The Swedish state with its combination of pragmatism and social democratic bureaucratic institutions remarkably carried the discredited racial hygiene policies of eugenics and sterilization through into the 1970s.

Given the sweep of the book, it is no surprise that in places the writing and coverage are uneven. Several chapters have already appeared as articles. This is a book to dip into and parts can be usefully assigned for teaching. The focus upon cultural assimilation and appropriation means that less attention is paid to the technical details of technologies. This is somewhat dissatisfying, as the technical details are often the carriers of the most subtle social meanings. The heroic narrative, if it did nothing else, made technology and science come alive. Certainly hubris needs to be tempered, and hybrids are everywhere. But hybridity, if not handled with care, soon becomes an empty concept. If hybridity and states of hybridity mean just bringing different things together, as it seems to become for these authors, we never have anything upon which to rest the lever of an explanation. All we get are more and more hybrids, and history becomes a smorgasbord. A smidgeon of hubris is always needed to bring the history of technology alive.

TREVOR PINCH
Cornell University

JOAN W. SCOTT and DEBRA KEATES, editors. *Going Public: Feminism and the Shifting Boundaries of the Private Sphere*. Urbana and Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 406. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

Decades of feminist scholarship have revealed the concept of two separately gendered public and private spheres of life to be a historical fiction that failed to describe social reality. As historians have shown, social life was never clearly demarcated between a public, male world of politics and economic activity and a private, female sphere of intimate, domestic life. At the same time, the discourse of separately gendered spheres has held tremendous power to shape social behavior, influencing the parameters of citizenship and the nature of rights in Western liberal democratic theory and practice. The same distinction has profoundly

influenced the opportunities and rights of men and women in Western economies and has served as the basis of state policies, leading to strong disagreements among feminists about the boundaries of public and private and their practical, policy implications for women's rights and opportunities. For example, although historically, and in the present, some feminists have argued for state intervention to insure equal treatment in employment, to provide maternity leaves, or to reimburse women's care work, others have argued that the state has no place interfering in the private realm to curb women's reproductive choice.

These fifteen essays by prominent feminist historians, anthropologists, political scientists, and literary theorists, address issues such as these and demonstrate the complexity and instability of the meanings of public and private in settings as diverse as Thailand, India, France, China, Iran, and Sudan. An opening essay by Denise Riley points to the permeability and blurriness of public/private, outside/inside distinction and suggests alternative formulations. Part one addresses how the private has infused the public and thereby eroded the boundaries between the two spheres. Wendy Brown examines the relationship between equality and tolerance in liberal thinking by exploring the framing of women's status in terms of "equality," and the status of Jews in terms of "tolerance," in nineteenth-century France. The definition of Jews as a race rather than as a distinct community allowed them to be assimilated as citizens into the French nation within a regulatory framework of tolerance; women in contrast were sexed and thus irrevocably different. Afsaneh Najmabadi investigates another way in which the private—sexuality—infused the public in the historical process of Iranian nation building, and examines the displacement of male homoeroticism in favor of public heterosexuality for men and women as part of the modernizing project of Iranian society. Rosalind C. Morris similarly addresses how private sexual behavior became public in showing how prostitution and political corruption have transgressed the social order of these allegedly distinct domains in Thailand. Prostitution, embodying the commodification (public) of sex and love (private domesticity) produced anxiety about the distinction between "private truth and public performance" (p. 87). Corruption has complicated the distinctions between public political life and the private ties and interpersonal relations on which it (corruption) is based. Melissa Wright presents the fascinating results of her ethnography of an American company in China to show how, in the interests of efficiency and increasing production, employers managed women's "disposability" by regulating women's sexuality and reproduction, obliterating any real distinction between public and private realms.

Part two examines the role of the state and law in recognizing and legitimating the private domain of kinship and sexuality. Judith Butler examines the meanings of kinship in debates over gay marriage. As Butler writes, the idea that marriage should be the only way of

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