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Image and Identity in Our New World

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BOOK REVIEWS

Image and Identity in Our New World


Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing by Diana Crane; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2000, 294 pages, $30 hardcover, $20 softcover

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The legerdemain of image making

The supply side of the popular cultural marketplace—advertisers, public relations professionals, and grassroots advocates alike—is the subject of *Image Makers: Advertising, Public Relations, and the Ethos of Advocacy*, by sociologist Robert Jackall and anthropologist Janice Hirota. Unlike many scholars writing about popular culture, Jackall and Hirota carefully avoid linking the proliferation of images in contemporary society to postindustrial systems of production or to postmodern culture. In this treatise, after “years of fieldwork and archival research,” Jackall and Hirota scrutinize the origins, micro operations, and ubiquity of the “ethos of advocacy” that they argue now occupies the substrate of our modern, not postmodern, popular culture.

This distinction between modernism and postmodernism, though understated in the text, is important. Chiefly, it signals the theoretical framework guiding the authors’ conclusions about the ethos of advocacy. Jackall and Hirota do not frolic playfully amid the pastiche of juxtaposed meanings and images in contemporary culture. Rather, their theoretical dance partner is the surefooted social theorist Max Weber, most famous for *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1). In *Protestant Ethic*, Weber likens the necessary but nullifying effects of Western scientific rationalism and capitalist bureaucracy—the hallmarks of modernity—to an iron cage. In concluding his study Weber warns of “specialists without spirit” and “sensualists without heart.” In deed, these are the characters Jackall and Hirota sketch in their historical, theoretical, occupational ethnography of modern-day advocacy.

Essentially, their argument is this: Interpretive experts have been around since antiquity—the sages and seers of old with special powers of divination. Thus interpretive experts are not new. What is new is modernity. As U.S. society has grown increasingly technical, specialized, standardized, and bureaucratized, interpretive experts of every stripe have gained prominence. Without the “overarching systems of meaning”—often religious—that unified preindustrial communities, “the modern epoch has produced a new type of interpretive expert, the image maker skilled in the creation and propagation of symbols to persuade mass audiences to some action or belief.”

Today these inducements come at us, segmented into market affinities, at an increasingly rapid pace. “At virtually every turn, Americans encounter . . . the incessant drumbeat of media events pounding out moralistic claims about what is wrong with the world or how the world ought to be.”

Modern-day image makers sell not only products but also morality, and even identity—sometimes combining all three. All increasingly use imagistic means to affective ends. Ad makers, public relations executives, and street-level “technicians in moral sentiment” attempt to spur our sentiments so that we will surrender our kitchens to Mr. Clean, consent to “compassionate conservatism,” and help a talking dog reduce crime rates. They specialize in sound bites, in seemingly spontaneous but carefully orchestrated events, and above all, in symbolic novelty. In short, interpretive experts and image makers feed us daily the mass media—and mediated—symbols that keep the status quo stable.

*Image Makers* chronicles past and present connections between advertising, the government, and the market. The authors ultimately contend that the “habits of mind” of highly specialized interpretive experts have
infiltrated every corner of American society: academia and radio talk shows, social movements and the legal system. The result is a dangerous “fragmentation of knowledge and beliefs.” The final chapter ponders this fragmentation and “the quandaries generated . . . by the endlessly shifting patterns of conflicting representations and claims that the apparatus and ethos of advocacy make possible, and indeed, inevitable.”

The strengths of this text are many. It is a brilliant application of Weber’s theories of modernism a century later—from instrumental rationality to charismatic authority to value-free science: it’s all there. Moreover, the book is well written, if needlessly vituperative in places. The historical chapters are fascinating, readable, and relevant, and they throw considerable light on the highly visible public relations campaigns to which many of us have been keenly attuned since September 11. The ethnographic chapters on ad agencies and public relations firms attain the standards of grounded theoretical work; they resound with an authenticity that comes of achieving “theoretical saturation.”

However, for readers who believe that modern publics retain some ability to discern what seems “real” and “true” or who think the impact of image making can be analyzed only by gathering empirical evidence from these publics, the book’s theoretical framework may seem problematic. Not only does the unifying concept of the “ethos of advocacy” seem thin in places (why not “the ethos of persuasion,” for example?), but so too does the authors’ concern for the poor illiterate masses, “caught in the cages of their own emotional responses to a bewildering society”—pretty much everyone, as it turns out, except perhaps the authors. Theirs is the noble resuscitation of modernist objective truth. Unlike the “technicians in moral outrage” they expose, they do not “traffic . . . in . . . darker sentiments, those that emphasize the splits between people.” Rather, the authors lambaste with apparent impartiality intellectual fads like postmodernism, social movements of the identity-politics variety, anything that smacks of political correctness, affirmative action, academic think tanks, and easy targets on both Left and Right: Al Sharpton and Rush Limbaugh.

So while Image Makers compels readers to think about the shoals of sanctimonious sensationalism that threaten to sink reasoned consensus, its effectiveness is undermined by its own illogical dismissal of non-class-based oppression and by its all-too-trendy tone of anti-political correctness. In the ultimate irony, the authors shore up their argument that the ethos of advocacy is ubiquitous; it appears to have crept into even their own scholarship. Despite these imperfections, Image Makers is well worth reading. Mental health professionals with an interest in the social and cultural changes taking place at this historical moment will find it compelling and provocative.

**La femme bohème**

As if in response to the dour Weberian cant that the people are literally captivated by soul-stripping capitalist bureaucracy, Ann Powers, a cultural critic at the *New York Times*, has written an absorbing memoir of bohemian resistance as she and her traveling circus of friends have lived it. Equal parts cultural commentary, Generation X-nography, and finely honed personal narrative, *Weird Like Us: My Bohemian America* offers a wry and surprisingly earnest portrayal of Power’s post–Catholic school, pre–New York Times days of living, loving, and Dumpster-diving in a San Francisco urban tribe.

With empathy and quippy precision, Powers sketches the outline of her twenty-into-thirtysomething milieu on the torn archival paper of the “mean decade” of the 1980s. Her fictive kinship network—whose co-opted mainstream siblings still hang out in a Manhattan coffee shop on the long-running television show *Friends*—shared boots, beds, drugs, abandoned cat piss–soaked green couches, artistic visions, and above all, a hard-won, artfully practiced bohemian sensibility that allowed them to transfigure their difficult childhoods, minimum-wage jobs, and unorthodox lives into meaningful havens of shared spiritual and social rebellion.

Just as when “bohemian” described the scruffy artists of the 1830s Paris café scene, the term still connotes the fringe, the countercultural, the cultural lumpenproletariat of society. Powers contends that these liminal luminaries have been subverting the dominant paradigm since the sixties. Their work can be seen most visibly in the alternative politics and cultures of major urban centers. But bohemia is alive and kicking in the small vestibules of Texas and Tennessee, and indeed everywhere kids who are too smart or too weird or too gay to fit into prescribed high school factions listen to punk music, or write leftist diatribes, or open a laundromat café.

The bohemians of the 1990s go by different names: “slacker, gender-fucker, riot grrrl, hip-hop nation, eco-topia, recombinant techno-revolution.” And like their famous Greenwich Village predecessors of the 1920s, or the Beats, or the hippies, their countercultural closets have been pillaged by corporations and sold to the masses. But in the process, claims Powers, that mythical manufactured “mainstream” has been widened. Bohemians have redefined the substance and style of modern living. “What constitutes a family? What is the worth of work? What are the parameters of sensual pleasure, of love itself?” This is the “historical prerogative” of the bohemian: to question, to discuss, to bury a dying hegemonic past and to inaugurate a fuller, more artistic, more soulful way of life.

Powers chronicles the ways her flock of artist, activist, slacker, and queer friends and acquaintances accomplished these profound upendings of modern morality. In chapters on cohabitation urban group-house style, the borders of consensual sexualities, good drugs and bad drugs, the “cultured proletarian” workplace subversion of the artistic and underpaid, scoring good junk (the recycling ethos of bohemia), the Gen-X indie music scene, and finding “sustainable youth” in modern maturity, we are in-
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Introduced to a group of young, imperfect, impudent, hedonistic, narcissistic, smart, funny, principled, compassionate, creative bohemians.

Powers's book reads at times like an assiduously polished cultural essay, at others like the diaries of our affected adolescent clients. At times it feels like a Rolling Stone review, at others like the middle-class white kid version of Carol Stack's famous ethnography of an African-American working-class community. At its best moments, the book is a resplendent, frank discussion among smart, political friends about being committed, selling out, and getting older. Indeed, Weird Like Us invites all its readers to come out—to tell the unvarnished truth about family and life and love, to broaden the discourse of lived possibility in this millennium. It is a wonderfully written, refreshingly candid, deeply personal and political rejoinder to the passive surrender of our moral and political agency in these momentous times. I recommend it to mental health professionals who have an interest in youth culture and in political and cultural criticism.

Fashion in two times

A fitting complement to the supply-side cultural commentary of Image Makers and the demand-side revisions of Weird Like Us is sociologist Diana Crane's thorough comparative historical examination of a venue of popular culture that affects each of us: clothing. In Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing, Crane considers both the social agendas of fashion and the ways the dictates of dominant fashion have been adopted or subverted by different publics in the 19th and 20th centuries in France, England, and the United States.

In clear, compelling style, Crane asks and answers a series of interesting questions: How has the production and reception of fashion changed over time? How does it differ between more traditionally class-based societies and those that are less class-based? Does fashion move from elite couturiers to the masses? Did it ever? Does fashion retain the same class significance in the 20th century as it had in the 19th? Does contemporary fashion reinforce one hegemonic standard, or several conflicting standards? Finally, how do contemporary American women respond to fashion advertising? Are they mythical postmodern consumers, creating new identities through playful bricolage? Or are they duped consumers who passively accept the mandates of the fashion industry?

Mining four impressive data sets—two historical and two based on Crane's own work in the fashion worlds of New York, Paris, and London—and using focus groups of young and middle-aged women, Crane produces some fascinating findings.

Unlike the class-based social-control agenda of 19th-century fashion, 20th-century fashion is heavily influenced by changes in both cultural and material aspects of society: postindustrial forms of production, more leisure time, the dominance of electronic media, and social fragmentation. While the workplace remains the arena in which occupational and class hierarchies are reinforced rather rigidly by fashion strictures, the force of fashion as an element of social control has markedly diminished.

Current styles, particularly in the media-saturated United States, are often appropriated from urban youth street cultures and rapidly mass-produced by industrial fashion makers, then sold throughout the world. Diversity in clothing and styles has vastly increased; many styles now coexist.

Similarly, gender codes in fashion advertising represent "conflicting" rather than unitary hegemonies. Although women are still represented as passive, objectified, and sexualized, they are also portrayed as strong, successful, and powerful.

Young and middle-aged women who participated in focus groups on fashion advertising were neither duped consumers nor postmodern players. They refuted the idea that advertising influenced their body image. And they were thoroughly modernist in identity, choosing clothing on the basis of its comfort and practicality and evaluating fashions and fashion models with a well-established, coherent, traditionally feminine identity.

Readers interested in cultural phenomena will find Fashion and Its Social Agendas highly readable, timely, thoroughly convincing, and scholarly. I recommend it.

Reference


Race Experts: How Racial Etiquette, Sensitivity Training, and New Age Therapy Hijacked the Civil Rights Revolution


Carl C. Bell, M.D.

This book's effect on readers will probably seem like the O. J. Simpson trial in reverse—most European Americans will love it and most African Americans will hate it. The author, Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, a professor of history at Syracuse University, is severely critical of multicultural education and advocacy for cultural sensitivity. Throughout Race Experts, she repeatedly asserts that because the civil rights movement got involved with pop psychology's "revolt against repression" and the quest for identity, the movement was derailed from its mission of promoting egalitarianism, a universal standard of conduct, and democratic universal-

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that equal treatment and a universal standard of conduct are necessary for us all to get along. Sensitivity to cultural, racial, and ethnic differences are a critical piece of the puzzle.

Race Experts is highly provocative and raises many issues. Unfortunately, the author is so negative in her view about racial etiquette and sensitivity training that despite her admission that “the publication of good books on African Americans, interracial issues, or multicultural themes is desirable and welcome,” I am concerned that this perspective will be lost in her book. Two good counter-balances to this book are the Surgeon General’s report on culture, race, and ethnicity (1) and the work of the National Advisory Mental Health Council Workgroup on Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Research Training and Health Disparities Research (2).

References


The Depressed Child and Adolescent, second edition

Anxiety Disorders in Children and Adolescents: Research, Assessment, and Intervention

Annette M. Matthews, M.D.

Both of these books are from the Cambridge Child and Adolescent Psychiatry series. Each begins with the stated goal of presenting a “thorough critical review of the etiology, natural history, management, prevention, and impact on later adult adjustment” of the disorders covered. Each succeeds admirably in meeting its goal.

Both books begin with a marvelous grounding in the historical perspective of their topic. The history of mood disorders and depression is traced from the development of child psychiatry in the 1920s and 1930s to the development of academic child psychiatry in the 1970s to the present. Along the way, changing concepts of “childhood” and “depression” are highlighted.

The history of anxiety disorders is traced from Hippocrates’ mention of fear as an illness in newborns, through the writings of Johann Weyer (the “father” of modern psychiatry), through those of Charles West (the “father” of pediatrics), to the present. Along the way, the roles of religion, heredity, temperament, upbringing, masturbation, learning at school, and life events as contributors to child anxiety are discussed. These historical presentations provide a setting from which the state of the art in child and adolescent psychiatry is presented.

One of the chapters I like most in The Depressed Child and Adolescent is “Suicidal Behavior in Adolescents.” The authors provide a review of the literature and then move on to provide a psychological framework for suicidal behavior in depressed adolescents. They point out that not every depressed adolescent attempts to commit suicide and not every suicidal adolescent is depressed.

Depression and its relationship
with suicide extend along a continuum, from having risk factors for depression, to having nonsuicidal depression, to having suicidal thoughts, to having suicidal depression, and finally to suicidal behavior. The shift from suicidal ideation to suicidal depression can be viewed as the result of the formation of a cognitive “cage” of limited problem-solving skills, a feeling of hopelessness or helplessness, and an accumulation of negative life events and often worsening family relationships. The shift from suicidal depression to attempted or completed suicide is described as an attempt to put an end to an “unbearable conscious pain”—as opposed to a cry for help or a play for attention—combined with suicidal ideation and facilitated by having the means, the opportunity, and some trigger for the attempt.

Other unique and interesting chapters in the book include “The Development of Emotional Intelligence,” “Developmental Precursors of Depression,” and “Life Events: Their Nature and Effects.”

In Anxiety Disorders in Children and Adolescents, I especially liked the chapter “Psychosocial Developmental Theory in Relation to Anxiety and Its Disorders.” The authors review various psychosocial developmental theories of anxiety states and then present an age-based classification of the onset and prevalence of anxiety disorders and phobias in children, organized by cluster.

In cluster 1, which includes children five to nine years of age, fear of fantasy objects, nightmares, and animals is associated with separation anxiety disorder and specific phobia (animal type). In cluster 2, children nine to 13 years of age, fear of physical things like natural disasters or accidents is associated with avoidant disorder and specific phobias (natural and situational type). Cluster 3 covers adolescents aged 13 to 17; here, fear of inadequacy in behavior, appearance, performance, or other social realms is associated with obsessive-compulsive disorder and social phobia. In cluster 4, covering 17- to 21-year-olds, fear of personal loss such as close relationships or failing personal standards is associated with panic disorder and agoraphobia.

Each of these clusters is associated with a stage of psychosocial development (impulsive, self-protective, conformist, or self-aware), suggesting that developmental stage—and age—may have a key role in the type of anxiety disorder or phobia that develops in a child.

Other notable chapters in this book include “Friends Or Foes? Peer Influences on Anxiety Among Children and Adolescents,” “Conditioning Models of Childhood Anxiety,” and “Child-Parent Relations: Attachment and Anxiety Disorders.”

Despite the multi-author structure of these books, all chapters in both are clear and easy to understand and provide a description of the current state of their respective areas of child and adolescent psychiatry. These would be excellent books for anyone interested in child and adolescent psychiatry to have on the shelf.

Sourcebook on Violence Against Women
edited by Claire M. Renzetti, Jeffrey L. Edleson, and Raquel Kennedy Bergen; Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications, 2001, 539 pages, $99.95 hardcover, $49.95 softcover

Denise E. Elliott, Psy.D.

This book largely meets the expansive goals of its editors and serves its readers well. It is unique in bringing together experts from three domains in the field of violence against women: advocates, researchers, and policy makers.

The Sourcebook on Violence Against Women is comprehensive in several ways. It addresses theory about the roots of violence, types of violence, special populations, research issues, program efficacy for victim and perpetrator, public policy, criminal justice, and prevention. This book seeks, through education, to improve the way violence against women is addressed, prosecuted, and prevented.

The consistency of the chapters, in both form and quality, is high. The book is organized into four parts: theoretical and methodological issues in research on violence against women, prevention, direct intervention, and emerging issues. Several excellent chapters explore research in the field and how issues of definition and measurement affect outcome. Cogent and relevant for anyone who has ever raised an eyebrow at the results of a study, the information on research serves the future researcher as well as the discerning, experienced reader.

In chapters on the impact of violence, many previously overlooked populations are discussed, notably women with disabilities, elderly women, women of color, immigrant women, and lesbians. Cultural competence is clearly a value informing this volume. There is an excellent discussion of the “tripartite discrimination of misogyny, racism, and xenophobia” in the experience of immigrant women. The error of merging ethnic groups into broad categories such as “Latina” or “Asian” is demonstrated. When these broad categories are broken down into more specific ethnic groups, a very different picture emerges.

True to the editors’ wish to raise awareness, the multicultural perspective both within the United States and elsewhere gave me a larger perspective from which to work. Although reading about female infanticide in China is painful, the reader is diverted from despair with the subsequent discussion of political, therapeutic, and social action responses.

Although comprehensive and di-
verse, the book reads well from beginning to end. Established information is included, often challenged or confirmed by newer studies. Programs are closely examined for their effectiveness, the cultural competence they demonstrate, and how they interact with other programs, researchers, and public policy makers.

Overall, I was impressed with the depth and breadth of the Sourcebook. The articles do not do the work of integrating different fields for us, but they move us in that direction as they broaden our perspective in an exciting and useful way. Although the writing style makes the text quite accessible, the extensive use of academic citations and some jargon make this book seem better suited to people in the fields of human service, advocacy, research, criminal justice, and public policy than to a general audience, as the introduction suggests. I recommend the Sourcebook to all professionals in the field who wish to update and expand their knowledge with a stimulating, comprehensive text.

**Handbook of Culture and Society**

*by Wen-Shing Tseng; San Diego, California, Academic Press, 2001, 855 pages, $149.95*

**Albert C. Gaw, M.D.**

Putting together this encyclopedic handbook was a mammoth undertaking, even for an author as distinguished as Wen-Shing Tseng, M.D., professor of psychiatry at the University of Hawaii, who has devoted his career to thinking, researching, writing about, and teaching subjects in cultural psychiatry. Professor Tseng, with the assistance of a cadre of consultants from around the world, set out to produce a volume on cultural psychiatry that would present the materials systematically, comprehensively, and in an integrated manner. Judging from the organization and content of the book, I believe he has succeeded in his objective.

The *Handbook of Culture and Society* is organized into eight major themes clustered in sections: culture and human behavior, culture and mental health, culture and psychopathology, culture and clinical practice, culture and psychological therapy, culture and therapy with special subpopulations, social phenomena and therapeutic considerations, and, finally, research, theory, and training. An appendix provides a useful, up-to-date list of references organized by topic.

This book is interesting from several perspectives. First, rather than soliciting chapters from multiple contributors, the author did all the writing himself. The result is a broad, well-organized, and synthesized book that reads well and is easy to follow. The inclusion of numerous photographs enlivens the text and accentuates key points. Where else could you find, for example, a picture of a female patient suffering from woro, a genital-retraction anxiety disorder, with friends trying to hold onto her nipples to allay her fear that they will shrink into her body, resulting in death?

Second, many subjects are included in this book that are not found in most textbooks on cultural psychiatry—normative human behavior, child development, and migration, among others. These various topics serve as a backdrop to understanding psychopathology and therapeutic practices across cultures. Novice students of cultural psychiatry as well as clinicians will find this material helpful.

Third, the scope of the subjects the book covers is global. Professor Tseng extends the vista of cultural psychiatry to its natural bounds—his perspective is worldwide. For example, by discussing different ways in which culture influences the development, manifestation, and prevalence of psychiatric disorders across cultures, he adds a dimension of cultural aspects to psychopathology that is comprehensive and avoids ethnocentrism.

Fourth, the book includes categories of psychiatric phenomena worthy of psychiatric research and examination. For example, one chapter discusses epidemic mental disorders. Among the topics covered are koro epidemics in Singapore, Thailand, India, and South China reported in the past several decades; a nervous twitching epidemic in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1939; mass hysteria in an Arab culture in 1997; and endemic hysteria in Malaysia in 1963. Also discussed is the collective suicide that took place in Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978. It is useful to be reminded that psychiatric phenomena can assume epidemic proportions, just as smallpox, anthrax, and cholera can, particularly in times of social unrest and rapid sociocultural change. I particularly found the discussion of culture-bound syndromes provocative and first-rate.

This book should be a welcome addition to anyone’s library as a basic textbook on culture, mental health, and mental disorders and as a reference text for cultural psychiatry.