

organizations, and the gendered nature of emotional labor, *Heroic Efforts* is a heroic testament to the power of ethnography. From the opening pages, where the reader is invited to step into Lois's shoes when she was awakened pre-dawn and deliberates on whether to climb out of bed to rescue an errant hiker to all the moral dilemmas of what it means to be undercover, to break into an initially hostile environment, to learn a set of skills, to make friends with respondents, and to actually marry one, Lois reminds us with painstaking honesty both the dilemmas and rewards of fieldwork.

A Population History of the United States.

By *Herbert S. Klein*. Cambridge University Press, 2004. 316 pp. Cloth, \$65.00; paper, \$22.99.

Reviewer: DENNIS HODGSON, *Fairfield University*

In just 238 pages of text Herbert S. Klein, the Gouverneur Morris Professor of History at Columbia University, offers an overview of US demographic history from prehistory until today. In the Introduction Klein defines basic demographic measures for the nonspecialist reader, and describes the various demographic transitions that have transformed populations over the last several hundred years. The two chapters that follow are a highpoint of the volume as Klein presents a masterful survey of what is known about the demography of the Western Hemisphere from the arrival of the first humans through colonization by Europeans. Klein clarifies differences in how the Portuguese, Spanish and the British settled their New World colonies by examining their differing situations with respect to the availability of indigenous labor and the cost of imported European labor. He also uses this labor supply framework to explain where and when colonizing powers resorted to the use of African slaves.

Klein's treatment of the actual population history of the United States, Chapters 3 through 7, is a more perfunctory examination of mortality, fertility, migration, population growth and population distribution trends during five historic periods: 1776 to 1860, 1860 to 1914, 1914 to 1945, 1945 to 1980, and 1980 to 2003. In these chapters Klein's focus is narrowly quantitative, although he occasionally reviews competing explanations of particular trends, for example why fertility started to decline so early in the U.S. He also includes in each chapter a comparison of U.S. trends with those occurring in European societies. He makes no attempt to treat the contemporary debates and policy initiatives that are associated with the trends he describes. For instance, Klein documents the dramatic decline in immigration associated with passage of the National Quota Laws in the 1920s, but does not discuss the immigration restriction movement or the racist and eugenic fears that produced laws that overtly discriminated against Southern and Eastern Europeans. Similarly, when

describing fertility decline from 1860 to 1914 he discusses the possible increased use of contraception and abortion, but makes no mention of the contemporary legal initiatives (Comstock laws and state abortion laws) that were limiting access to these birth control methods. Of course, many readers will have the requisite knowledge to “fill-in” the missing history, but even Klein’s limited goal of charting U.S. population trends would seem to call for some treatment of contemporary reactions to population trends, especially those that produced policy initiatives aimed at altering them.

Admittedly there is a voluminous literature that narrowly focuses on accurately portraying U.S. population trends, and it has been over half a century since someone has attempted to summarize this body of work in a single volume. A one-volume overview of U.S. population trends would be an ideal main text for the courses in U.S. population history that are beginning to be offered, and would be a very useful ancillary text for many courses in which a general knowledge of U.S. population trends is useful background information. Additionally, research on U.S. demographic trends is a highly specialized affair and researchers tend to focus on a single demographic variable or a single time period. Reading a brief overview of U.S. trends would be an easy way for such specialists to become familiar with research on other demographic variables or other time periods, allowing them to better situate their work within a larger frame. That being said, I have to advise the reader that this particular one-volume overview of U.S. population trends contains more than a few errors of fact and interpretation. I hesitate to recommend it for the purposes mentioned above.

Consider Klein’s description of nineteenth century African American fertility trends. He begins by misreading one source’s rates of natural increase as crude birth rates, arriving at a profoundly incorrect assessment: “The relatively steady level of crude death rates for this population — which remained at around 30 per thousand resident population for the century — was matched by a very significant decline in the rates of reproduction, with the crude birth rate dropping from 22.7 to 14.0 in this same period.” In fact the African American crude birth rate began the century at 53.1, not 22.7, and ended it at 43.8, not 14. Klein then repeats the same mistake when reading a table from a second source to arrive at an incorrect depiction of nineteenth century racial fertility differentials: “Black fertility also declined faster than white fertility and remained below white fertility throughout this period.” African American fertility actually didn’t begin to decline until after 1880, much later than white fertility, and was considerably higher than white fertility, assessments that are clearly stated in the text of the source cited by Klein. Accuracy problems also plague Klein’s analysis of recent crude birth rate trends: “From 1980 to 2000, the crude birth rate dropped from 24 per thousand resident population to just 15 per thousand.” The actual crude birth rate in

1980 was 15.9, not 24. Klein's 38% drop in crude birth rates simply didn't happen, making his analysis of which groups were most responsible for it of doubtful relevance. Klein also incorrectly reports that while in the 1970s teenagers had the highest rates of births outside of marriage "by the end of the century, it was older women whose rate of illegitimacy was highest and rising." In 1999 78.6% of births to women aged 15-19 were to the unmarried, a considerably higher rate of illegitimacy than that of any other age group. There are also problems of interpretation. Klein claims that there has been "little change in the number of women going childless," with a rate that "has stayed relatively steady since 1960 at roughly 15% to 16% for women who have reached 44 years of age." His source actually shows a rapid decline in childlessness from 15.1% in 1960 to 8.8% in 1975 and then an increase back up to 16.5% by the year 1995, a trend line that is not "steady." Technical demographic measures are occasionally mishandled by Klein. He incorrectly defines life expectancy at birth as a median age of death: "when demographers say that life expectancy of a given population is 45 years of age, it means that half the population born in, say, 1850 will survive to the age of 45 in 1895." Life expectancy at birth simply does not mean this. In a number of places (see the titles and descriptions of Graphs 7.3 and 7.4) Klein conflates the total fertility rate (a period rate) and children ever born (a cohort rate) in ways that make passages difficult to decipher: "the total fertility rates barely reached replacement and fluctuated between 2.0 and 2.1 children per women who had completed their fertility by the end of the century."

There are whole sections of this short book that are excellent and insightful. In addition to the first two chapters, I found Klein's treatment of twentieth century mortality trends to be especially good. He makes clear, for instance, that major twentieth century advances in the control over infectious disease largely occurred over the brief period between 1938 and 1952. Many, though, will be using this book as a reference work, a place to turn to when desiring a definitive description of U.S. population trends. The presence of factual inaccuracies and the imprecise use of demographic measures and terms greatly limit its value as a reference source.

Peacocks, Chameleons, Centaurs: Gay Suburbia and the Grammar of Social Identity.

By Wayne Brekhus. University of Chicago Press, 2003. 262 pp. Cloth, \$50.00; paper, \$20.00.

Reviewer: KRISTIN KENNEAVY, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

In *Peacocks, Chameleons, Centaurs*, Brekhus details the results of in-depth interviews conducted with gay men living in suburban areas. The main focus