

mother does), or that Islamic women engage in or with politics, one can question whether this amounts to the transformative project—with its concepts of egalitarianism, economic justice, and human rights—that feminists and other progressives of the modernist trend have sought and fought for.

To conclude, while Moallem is rightly critical of “Islamic fundamentalism and the politics of patriarchy in Iran” (to use her book title), Mahmood seeks to emphasize her subjects’ religious piety as agency and politics and to convince the reader that somehow the Islamic revival in Egypt has produced a feminist subject in the women of the mosque movement. This reader, for one, is not persuaded. ■

Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison-Industrial Complex. Edited by Julia Sudbury. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Domestic Violence at the Margins: Readings on Race, Class, Gender, and Culture. Edited by Natalie J. Sokoloff with Christina Pratt. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Women’s Police Stations: Gender, Violence, and Justice in São Paulo, Brazil. By Cecília MacDowell Santos. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

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Feminist theorizations of violence against women have followed the same trajectory as second-wave feminist philosophies in general. Groundbreaking work bringing wife beating and rape into the public gaze in the 1970s gave way to much-needed critique of the myopic focus on white women’s struggles. These critiques ushered in fruitful engagement with intersectional approaches and opened the field to consider a wider range of violences. Most recently, transnational approaches have expanded the race, class, and gender model and have begun to provide tools for analyzing the relationship between violences and transnational flows of people, goods, and information. These analyses trouble the role of the state, through problematizing nation-state boundaries, revealing new ways that states exert power over subjects, or both. The three texts reviewed here all represent important contributions to the feminist literature on violence against women by building on previous feminist insights, extending these insights transnationally, and interrogating the con-

tradictory role of the state in both mediating and enacting violence against women.

Of the three texts, *Global Lockdown* most fully grapples with transnational feminist themes and develops the most critical view of the state. This powerful anthology theorizes the sharp rise in the rates of incarceration of women from a transnational feminist perspective. Editor Julia Sudbury has compiled essays from scholars and activists, including current and former prisoners, who are committed to revealing the injustices in mass incarceration policies. The text is divided into three sections. The first section, "Criminalizing Survival," discusses how differently situated women end up in prison. The second section, "Women in the Global Prison," theorizes women's experiences in prison. The third section, "From Criminalization to Resistance," contains four examples of different social movements aimed at dismantling the prison system.

The essays dwell on women's lived experiences long enough to give the consequences of incarceration policies flesh and bone, though they successfully resist the impulse to construct individualistic analyses. Instead, Sudbury aims to "connect the individual and personal with macroeconomic and geopolitical analyses" (xvi). Lamenting individualistic explanations of women's incarceration, Sudbury asserts that "ironically, feminist preferences for qualitative and hands-on research methods and interests in the personal and psychological realms tend to contribute toward this problem" (xvi). This volume keeps the focus on structural issues in myriad ways; one of the most interesting is Lisa Neve and Kim Pate's chapter, "Challenging the Criminalization of Women Who Resist," in which Neve tells and theorizes her experiences within the criminal legal system. Both authors then contextualize Neve's experiences within a frame that includes "dissect[ing] Lisa's construction as a dangerous offender . . . explor[ing] the stereotypes about young women and violence that inform the treatment of poor, racialized, and disabled women . . . [and] an analysis of the impact of economic restructuring and the dismantling of social safety nets on the criminalization of women and girls" (20).

Resisting theories of individual deviance is one of four ways in which Sudbury seeks to change the dialogue on women's incarceration. She also aims for her text to engage in intersectional analyses that address multiple axes of difference. These two aims continue current conversations in feminist scholarship. Sudbury's two remaining goals—to bring transnational feminist analyses of globalization to antiprison work and to bring antiprison and immigration scholarship and activism into conversation with each other—represent important and newer interventions. In order to accomplish these goals, Sudbury proposes a new field of scholarship: trans-

national feminist prison studies. She makes a compelling case for it, and I suspect she will find many readers who will want to join in this “scholarly and activist journey” (xi).

Though several of the chapters in *Global Lockdown* raise issues of intimate violence, this is not the volume’s primary focus. For readers with a specific interest in intimate partner violence, *Domestic Violence at the Margins* merits close attention. Though the title locates the text “at the margins,” this is misleading—the breadth and scope of this anthology should earn it a central place in the study of domestic violence. Thoughtfully constructed, this anthology is ideal for classroom use and for those who want an overview of outstanding scholarship on domestic violence from U.S. multicultural and structural perspectives. The text persuasively lays to rest the idea that violence against women can be theorized on the basis of gender alone. This volume represents an important corrective to earlier work on domestic violence that essentialized gender and made universalizing claims about the shape, texture, and manifestations of domestic violence worldwide.

The extended abstracts and brief historiography of feminist theorizations of violence make it a good choice for introductory classes; the complexity and diversity of the articles make it appropriate for advanced classes. I was pleased to see work from many authors I have found particularly useful in my own research and teaching compiled here, including pieces by Donna Coker, Shamita Das Dasgupta, Jyl Josephson, Valli Kalei Kanuha, Beth E. Richie, Andrea Smith, volume editor Natalie J. Sokoloff, and Neil Websdale.

The text is divided into three sections. The first, “Frameworks and Overarching Themes,” includes articles that use intersectional approaches to understand and contextualize domestic violence. The logic of the section is straightforward and useful. I found the organizing logic of the other two sections, “Culture, Resistance, and Community” and “Structural Contexts, Culturally Competent Approaches, Community Organizing, and Social Change” more opaque. The introduction to the second section states that its purpose is to “examine . . . how culture and community interact with social, structural, economic, and political conditions to shape women’s experiences of violence, the individual, institutional, and state responses to violence, and, most important, women’s patterns of resistance to domestic violence” (115). The third section aims to “reorient and reorganize the locus of social change and place community in the foreground as the axis for organizing, mobilizing, and conceptualizing anti-violence work” (294). Though the chapters in the third section focus more explicitly on showcasing new intervention models, the undertheo-

rization of resistance and social change leads to an unclear division of articles between the second and third sections. This is a minor issue, and one that I suspect would only be of note for instructors.

Domestic Violence at the Margins offers compelling critiques of criminalization and intriguing examples of alternatives, including restorative justice practices in communities of color and strategies for African American churches to resist domestic violence. Overall, *Domestic Violence at the Margins* sounds a more ambivalent note about the state than the clearly critical view offered in *Global Lockdown*. Though some pieces in *Domestic Violence at the Margins* clearly theorize the state as a primary perpetrator of violence against women (notably the “Incite!—Critical Resistance Statement” introduced by *Global Lockdown*’s editor Sudbury), Sokoloff and Ida Dupont caution that “agents of change should carefully evaluate and implement alternative modalities to ensure the safety of women and children” (8).

Several of the articles in *Domestic Violence at the Margins* (e.g., Smith’s “Looking to the Future: Domestic Violence, Women of Color, the State, and Social Change” and Websdale’s “Nashville: Domestic Violence and Incarcerated Women in Poor Black Neighborhoods”) use insights from transnational scholarship to theorize domestic violence in the United States; this is a particularly valuable contribution of this volume. The anthology as a whole, however, leaves transnational connections relatively untheorized. Making explicit the connections between various manifestations of violence and global political economic forces would be an excellent contribution to the literature—too often U.S. scholarship on violence neglects to theorize the United States within a larger context. In this sense, *Global Lockdown* and *Domestic Violence at the Margins* are excellent texts to read in tandem.

Cecília MacDowell Santos’s *Women’s Police Stations* is a case study that productively engages with many of the key issues raised in *Global Lockdown* and *Domestic Violence at the Margins*. Informed by both multicultural and transnational theorizations of violence against women, this slim volume provides a rich and nuanced analysis of Brazil’s female-only police stations. Santos’s case study grapples with the tensions inherent in focusing on “women” without ossifying the category; what types of violence are “acceptable” within scholarship and activism on violence against women; how categories of race, class, and sexual orientation complicate analyses of gender; and the problems inherent in looking to a repressive state to provide safety for women. Santos’s work provides a good example of scholarship that does not shy away from the messiness and contradictions inherent in anti-violence against women projects. This is both a real

strength and challenge of the project. Although the ways she complicates her analyses are theoretically informed and intellectually astute, I had trouble tracking the findings of her multilayered analyses.

Santos does an excellent job of historicizing and contextualizing Brazil's women's police stations. She provides ample (and interesting) background information on the sociopolitical conditions that led to the establishment of the first women's police station in 1985. She then traces the growth of the phenomenon to its current state, with 339 women's police stations in Brazil and the emergence of similar stations in eight other Latin American countries as well as in India and Pakistan. These police stations—staffed and used exclusively by women—generate brisk business. In 2002, the women's police stations in São Paulo alone recorded 356,667 complaints.

Santos seeks to fill gaps in the literature on women's police stations and feminist state theory. She critiques the former for focusing narrowly on “micro-level analyses of the women's police stations, neglecting to examine how macro-political processes shape the social interactions between feminists, policewomen, and complainants” (6). She faults feminist state theory, however, for privileging macrolevel processes. Both literatures, she contends, fail to theorize groups of actors (in this case, feminists, policewomen, and complainants) as heterogeneous and constructed by factors beyond gender.

Santos frames her intervention as a multifaceted corrective to these shortcomings “by examining the political and social processes shaping the dynamics of the complex and often contradictory relationship between women and the state from both a macro and micro perspective . . . this study also serves to shed light on the contributions and contradictions of institutionalizing a gender-based agenda through the creation of an all-female space within the repressive arm of the state” (8). To accomplish these goals, Santos conducted interviews with feminists, policewomen, government officials, and women seeking relief at the police stations. She also conducted archival research and participant observations.

Santos cautiously praises women's police stations, arguing that they have furthered the construction of “gendered citizenship” (7) and have led to material improvements by creating a new job market for women, expanding legal options, and providing a way for women to break the silence around the violence in their lives. However, she also points to their limitations, which include uneven benefits for women (e.g., policewomen give greater credence to intimate partner violence than to racially motivated or police-inflicted violence), the paucity of cases that make it to court, and discrimination against and ghettoization of policewomen within the police department. By theorizing the state as heterogeneous

and the border between state and civil society as blurred, Santos effectively complicates the conversation on the role of the state in mediating violence against women.

These three volumes represent exciting contributions to the feminist literature on violence against women; in these exceedingly violent times, these interventions carry particular importance. By holding state-sponsored and interpersonal violence in the same frame, theorizing violences transnationally, and deeply questioning previous theorizations and activist practices, these texts extend the conversation in productive and provocative ways. ■

Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision.
By Barbara Ransby. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

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Ella J. Baker wanted the economically oppressed black people of the rural South, where she had maintained a network of connections since the 1940s, to take radical action on behalf of themselves and their communities. In *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, Barbara Ransby is tireless in substantiating Baker's radical activism and intellectual prowess. Ransby's task is not to be envied. Throughout the writing, Ransby says, she was constantly reminded by colleagues—hers and Baker's—that Baker “was bigger than that” (171). She knew everybody in the black freedom movement and she was everywhere *it* was, like Bayard Rustin, her friend and fellow traveler.

Baker was born in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1903; was raised in Littleton, North Carolina, her redoubtable mother's birthplace; was educated away from home at Shaw Academy and University in Raleigh from 1918 to 1927; and migrated to Harlem—and not for the nightlife—in 1927. She maintained the same apartment there until 1986, the year she died of Alzheimer's-related causes.

From the 1920s at Shaw, when she led a group of students to petition the dean of women to allow women students to wear silk stockings, to 1964, when she shepherded the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party onto the floor of the Democratic National Convention to challenge the credentials of Mississippi's Dixiecrat delegation, Baker exemplified “the revolutionary in action, transcending more attendant concerns and reach-