about it and more likely to be mothers. Why not combine these two into one, but discuss how there seemed to be gendered patterns in resistance and perceived consequences?

In addition, notwithstanding the class sensitivity noted above, Kane sometimes seemed a little blind to points of intersectionality, particularly when class and gender intertwined. "I can't really see how knowing about dump trucks is going to help you in college," observes one affluent mother (p. 148), noting how her preschooler could instead identify mammals and mollusks. While noting how the woman's class advantage afforded her some *confidence* to chart her own path, Kane labeled the woman a gender "innovator" when she sometimes seemed simply to be encouraging a different kind of hegemonic masculinity, one grounded in class privilege. In another example, Kane argues that parents who encourage a daughter's interest in child care are preparing her to be dependent on a man's higher wage, but thinking about the intersections of gender and class complicates that conclusion; the increasing threat of outsourcing for working-class jobs make face-to-face services like child care an option with a more secure, albeit low-wage, future, and thus not simply about curtailing women's reach.

Fundamentally, this book delves deeply into the meanings and practices of gender in parenting, offering concrete examples of the daily bargains and compromises that parents and children make and situating their negotiations in a palpable world of witnesses whose gaze parents feel upon them. Undergraduates will enjoy the real-world stories of gendered structures coming alive in interaction. The rest of us are likely to be surprised by what Kane found, either so much gender resistance or so much gender retrenchment—with both ably chronicled here.

Into the Fire: Disaster and the Remaking of Gender. By Shelley Pacholok. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013. Pp. x+167. $50.00 (cloth); $21.95 (paper).

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Can a disastrous wildfire undermine gender hierarchies in a highly masculinized occupation? This query is the focal point of Shelley Pacholok's *Into the Fire*, which examines the experiences of firefighters during British Columbia's Okanagan Mountain Park fire of August 2003. Locals described it as a "home-run fire" because it was fast and particularly devastating: in the end, it destroyed over 250 homes and nearly 26,000 hectares of forest. The analysis, which draws primarily on 36 in-depth interviews with a nearly all-male sample of firefighters, paints a picture of an occupational and organizational culture that has long venerated a hegemonic ideal of masculinity: bravery in the face of danger, physical strength, protection, competence, and aggressiveness are core aspects of firefighters' identities, both as individuals and as groups. Supplemental data from media reports and on-

site observations underscore how those perceived as living up to this ideal are rewarded with status and resources.

With this backdrop, Pacholok argues that a wildfire disaster opens up opportunities to challenge the link between firefighting and masculinity by creating what R.W. Connell terms "crisis tendencies," contradictions that destabilize dominant patterns of gender relations. Three chapters focus on such contradictions: the firefighters' failure to prevent widespread destruction of property (a shock to an occupational culture premised on invincibility), the exposure of a hierarchy between groups of firefighters (a pattern fueled by media attention and preexisting tensions), and the presence of women firefighters in a high-pressure situation.

For the most part, these challenges to the masculinity of firefighting led to fairly predictable efforts to defend it, and ultimately, did little to disrupt the gender order. Though many firefighters felt that they had "lost" the fire, they simultaneously shifted blame to third parties, such as safety mandates that were too restrictive or other groups of firefighters. Finger-pointing between structural (city) and wildland firefighters also reinforced a hierarchy of masculinity, with the opposing group characterized as less masculine by, for instance, incompetently "letting" the fire get too big or simply "running away" from it. In a few cases, however, the disaster did prompt modifications to the ideal image of firefighting. The wildland Protection Branch changed its name to the Wildfire Management Branch to more readily acknowledge human vulnerability to wildfires. Skilled performances of two women in the wildland firefighting group also prompted a shift among their male colleagues toward a discourse that accepts the idea that a woman could do the job. Yet, these women were widely viewed as exceptions to their gender and earned respect only by fitting into a masculine physical and personality mold. Pacholok concludes that, in these cases, the disaster led to a "redoing" (Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, "Accounting for Doing Gender," *Gender and Society* 23 [2009]: 112–22) of gender because, although some firefighters revised their beliefs about what characterizes an appropriately gendered firefighter, they still reinforced binary and hierarchical differences between masculinity and femininity.

Unlike much prior work on masculinities, which focuses on the construction of masculine identities in individuals, Pacholok analyzes how threats to the masculine identity of an entire occupation and its associated organizations prompt reactions from both individuals and communities. One of the most interesting paradoxes in the book is the finding that structural (but not wildland) firefighters were held up as local heroes by the media and the members of the very community whose homes they failed to save; the firefighters then used this public support to successfully negotiate raises the following year. Thus, in the face of a substantial failure that posed a threat to the masculine image of firefighting, the public compensated by buttressing firefighters' identity as heroes worthy of esteem and rewards.

Another key strength of the book is its well-crafted analysis of the effects of the natural environment and geographic location on gender relations within an occupational group. One particularly interesting insight is that

wildland firefighters received little media attention and public recognition in large part because they were fighting the fire in remote forestland areas where media and local citizens were prohibited. This point and others similar develop critical linkages between gender theory, environmental sociology, and disaster scholarship.

In light of the book's overall focus on disaster as a catalyst for change in the gender structure, the analysis was surprisingly quiet on the question of how the fire may have "undone" gender in critical domains beyond the workplace (such as the firefighters' families). Moreover, firefighters ostensibly deal with disaster as part of their routine business. Thus, even though it centers on one particularly disastrous event, the study is largely one of the gendered occupational and organizational culture of firefighting. As such, its conclusions regarding gender change could have been better informed by prior studies on gender segregation in the workplace. For example, the experiences of the two women wildland firefighters, which were powerfully colored by heightened visibility and scrutiny, are strikingly similar to those of the women "tokens" in the male-dominated workplace that Rosabeth Moss Kanter studied more than three decades ago (*Men and Women of the Corporation* [Basic Books, 1977]). Pacholok's conclusion that firefighters are simultaneously doing and redoing gender in the face of changing circumstances is also similar to recent arguments by scholars such as Cecilia Ridgeway (*Framed by Gender* [Oxford University Press, 2011]), who suggests that people often reformulate binary and unequal gender relations even in the face of dramatic changes in structural arrangements.

Nevertheless, Pacholok's analysis of how a high-stakes natural disaster can spark uneven change in gender relations at work is novel, insightful, and thorough. It makes an important contribution to our knowledge about gender processes in occupations that have been most successful at preserving a firmly masculine culture despite women's mass entry into the labor market. Accordingly, this book will be a valuable and engaging resource for scholars of gender, work, and the environment alike.

Knowledge in the Time of Cholera: The Struggle over American Medicine in the Nineteenth Century. By Owen Whooley. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. Pp. xiv+307. $30.00 (paper).

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Debates over Obamacare—and every other U.S. government plan for expanding health insurance over the past hundred years—have in part been disagreements over who is in charge of medical decisions: physicians or their patients. The government can empower citizen-patients through laws, but since World War I any attempts at public control of medicine in the United States have required working against a default arrangement in which doctors and medical organizations have had not only the first word