

Friedman's clear and direct writing style makes this book highly accessible. It would be quite useful in undergraduate courses on gender, especially early in the course, where it could shake up students' long-held beliefs about biological sex differences. For graduate students and gender scholars, this book will encourage new ways of asking questions about sex, gender, and the body. Overall, the strength of the book lies in its theoretical contribution. Friedman states early on that her main aim is to "challenge the visual self-evidence of sex differences—to tell a story that helps the reader see the body differently" (p. 10). Friedman provides readers with the tools to do so and in the process proposes a shift in perspective that should spark generative discussions for sociologists of gender and the body.

Manufacturing Morals: The Values of Silence in Business School Education.
By Michel Anteby. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. Pp. xii+231.
\$25.00.

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If you've ever wondered what it's like to be a faculty member at Harvard Business School (HBS), *Manufacturing Morals* is the place to start. The book provides a view into the elite world of HBS faculty through the eyes of Michel Anteby, himself a member of that world, as he journeys from assistant professor to untenured associate professor (at HBS tenure is rare and granted at the full professor level). It's notoriously difficult to study elites, but Anteby intrepidly pulls the veil. What he reveals is neither glamorous nor monstrous, but is instead mundane and routine, albeit in an exceptionally privileged way. And that's the point. In documenting his own experiences navigating the everyday life of HBS, Anteby's argument is that these routines, although partially scripted, leave room for discretion and hence responsibility—the mundane as moral.

To make this argument about routines and morals, Anteby guides the reader through the HBS faculty world. First Anteby describes how the physical space tacitly shapes expectations. Then he examines how the promotion process at HBS creates a unique evaluative standard through its emphasis on research that is scholarly but also relevant. Anteby makes a convincing case that promotional reviews are routine: "The ritual of submitting a review packet occurs as regularly as influenza in an untenured faculty member's life" (p. 35). Moreover, through this routine a type of "academic purity" is sanctified. Chapters 3 and 4 examine teaching at HBS, and show how, despite a structured and routinized "core" curriculum, discretion remains: the case-based approach at HBS pushes faculty to teach such that students will find a moral to the story, but students are to construct that moral end themselves, without the faculty taking a stand. Chapter 5 examines the division of labor at HBS, unpacking how it implicitly tells faculty what kind of work they should and should not be doing

and by extension what counts as “good” and “bad.” The last substantive chapter examines the faculty selection process, and how this routine defines and perpetuates what is “right” by weeding out the “wrong” candidates. This tour though HBS is smooth, facilitated by an engaging writing style, yet the tour is also scholarly and the endnotes are detailed and rich. The reader learns as much, if not more, from engagement with these gems.

While Anteby supplements his research with archival material, the study is primarily autoethnographic. This approach enables him to see what is not, perhaps, objectively apparent, and herein lies his conceptual contribution, what he calls “vocal silence,” “a routine that requires significant decision making on the part of those involved with little direct guidance from higher authorities in a context rich in normative signs” (p. 127). It is Anteby’s quiet, internal voice that makes vocal silence audible. The substantive chapters demonstrate how vocal silence, though not explicit or coercive, operates to construct and reconstruct norms. Although the empirical details are specific to HBS, this is a concept that will travel.

All empirical studies and the concepts drawn from them are methodological artifacts; our methods necessarily shape our data and ideas. In Anteby’s case, Harvard’s internal review board wouldn’t allow him to take fieldnotes on school or departmental meetings (p. 154). Additionally, his access to archives was limited, and he wasn’t permitted to interview other faculty (p. 165). While there can be virtues to “telling your own story” (p. 150), in this case it was a necessity—the only story allowed. Consequently, however convincing his narrative may be, it is univocal. Lacking these additional, and often publicly vocal, data points, it is perhaps unsurprising that Anteby’s focus is on “vocal silence.” What we are told is not from a chorus. We can only speculate as to what the study would look like with more data. If his other published research is an indicator, Anteby would have collected this data if permitted; this shortcoming is more of Harvard’s IRB than the author’s. Nevertheless, and despite the various critiques of authority and voice that have been lobbed against the realist ethnographic tradition, autoethnography is not necessarily multivocal, and often is decidedly not so.

As Anteby notes, his reflexive approach is “a feminist methodological form” (p. 154), but he decouples this methodology from the kind of feminist critique one might expect of a beacon institution for capitalism. In fact, he shies away from any explicit critique. He describes HBS as a moral order, and it is in the sense that it constructs a normative framework for understanding what counts as good or bad scholarship and teaching and that new faculty must adapt or deal with the consequences. Yet he does not (dares not?) question the larger HBS mission. That duty he leaves to his colleague, Rakesh Khurana (*From Higher Aims to Hired Hands: The Social Transformation of American Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of the Management as a Profession* [Princeton University Press, 2010]). I couldn’t help feeling that his reluctance to criticize reflected his precarious position as an untenured professor at HBS. I greatly admire how Anteby went out on a limb for this study and persisted despite pressure to abort the

project (pp. 143–44). However, I was unconvinced by his argument that the low probability of obtaining tenure at HBS actually provided him with relative freedom (p. 159). Rather, the vulnerability he expresses in his postscript (describing his eventual promotion to untenured associate) does more to reveal his grudging dependence on this elite institution and the power dynamics at play. The danger is that those who are looking to wash their “hired hands” clean of capitalist sin and elite excess could point to this book and, through a misreading, claim morality without making the distinction between a local moral order and broader rights and wrongs. I’m eager to learn what Anteby would say about these larger moral concerns off the record.

This is a small book; the main text is a mere 165 pages, but it has a large audience. I recommend it to anyone transitioning into a faculty position, in the same way that I recommend *Boys in White* (Howard S. Becker et al. [University of Chicago Press, 1961]) to anyone transitioning into any graduate educational experience. It is a welcome addition to recent scholarship on higher education, such as Neil Gross’s *Why Are Professors Liberal and Why Do Conservatives Care* (Harvard University Press, 2013) and Amy J. Binder and Kate Wood’s *Becoming Right: How Campuses Shape Young Conservatives* (Princeton University Press, 2013). Scholars interested in organizations and culture will also find value in turning its pages.

Paging God: Religion in the Halls of Medicine. By Wendy Cadge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp. xii+293. \$25.00.

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Research on the relationship between religion and health is rapidly becoming a core area in the sociology of religion. Much of this research is quantitative, focusing on associations between indicators of religiosity and both physical and mental health. Little research, however, explores the treatment of religion and spirituality in existing medical institutions. With urbanization, longer life spans, the decline of dangerous jobs, and other social changes, we are spending far more time in hospitals than we used to; as Wendy Cadge notes, we are considerably more likely to die in hospitals than we used to be. The growing prevalence and length of hospital stays combined with increasing religious diversity force us to ask how medical professionals address religion in contemporary, secular hospitals. This question is the focus of Cadge’s *Paging God*.

Drawing on historical records, in-depth interviews, and ethnographic work in 17 large, academic hospitals, Cadge explores the ways that medical professionals deal with religion in their daily work. The narrative includes stories highlighting key points, such as an account of a dying Buddhist monk in the opening pages. Most of her data, however, come from her time shadowing a chaplain in one hospital, interviews with chaplains, administrators, physicians, and nurses in several hospitals, and time spent