Overall, Way's book provides a rich account of boys' struggles to maintain their friendships while forging a masculine identity. There is ample material in *Deep Secrets* to motivate additional new research using survey and network data to learn more about gender differences in friendship ties during adolescence and study their possible effects on numerous developmental, educational, and other outcomes.

Falling Back: Incarceration and Transitions to Adulthood among Urban Youth. By Jamie Fader. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2013. Pp. xviii+256. $27.95 (paper).

Leslie Paik
City College, City University of New York

Jamie Fader's ethnography *Falling Back: Incarceration and Transitions to Adulthood among Urban Youth* explores the role of incarceration in young men's transitions to adulthood by following 15 black and Latino young men over three years as they prepare for and adjust to their release from a reform school. Her central argument posits that the current literature on reentry and juvenile justice policy is limited or skewed in how scholars conceptualize the issue of teenagers returning back to the community, reintegration, and the adolescents' transitions to adulthood. Fader argues that we need to consider the larger structural context of why these kids are unable to successfully "fall back," or avoid reoffending, and to expand our view of "success" for these justice-involved young men beyond just desistance and recidivism.

While Fader's study follows 15 young men, four play a central role in this book: two who managed to fall back and two who didn't. The detailed ethnographic accounts of those four men's lives show the complexities of human change that go beyond these young men's efforts. It involves looking at the structural, cultural, and individual levels of change. In addition to the ethnographic data, Fader also tracked these teenagers' criminal involvement postrelease by looking at their arrest records and probation reports. She uses her past work experience in the juvenile justice system impressively to gain access to these young men and their criminal justice records while maintaining her sociological objectivity, not succumbing to the institutional discourse about the young men's "criminal thinking errors."

The most interesting, albeit depressing, aspect of the book is to see just how much has not changed in these communities over the past several decades. Fatherhood is central to these young men's transitions to adulthood, yet is still not necessarily a predictor of complete success. Just like Elliot Liebow notes in *Tally's Corner* (Little and Brown, 1967) or Jay MacLeod finds in *Ain't No Makin' It* (Westview Press, 1987), Fader notes that the limiting influence of fatherhood stems from the formal economy being closed to these men, leading to heightened frustration on their part (and

on the part of their partners) as they are unable to financially provide for their families. Fader also shows the importance of place in understanding the structural constraints on individuals' ability to succeed, as described so clearly in Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton's *American Apartheid* (Harvard University Press, 1993). Equally important are the issues of employment discrimination for minorities with criminal records which Devah Pager (University of Chicago, 2007) has showed so convincingly in *Marked*. Fader's book shows how the structural mechanisms have only become more intractable and the barriers even higher since those previous studies were conducted, while the individuals' adaptive strategies appear to be the same as before.

The book raised two interesting challenges for any ethnography to tackle. First, ethnographers can never present all of their data so they face key editorial choices in writing up their results. Fader's book does manage in many respects to meet this challenge. However, after reading the book I was left questioning how its argument would have been more compelling had Fader focused more on certain topics over others. For example, while the chapter on the reform school graduation ceremony was an interesting way to "highlight the precariousness of success" (p. 207), I would imagine a chapter on how the young mens' ongoing probation involvement post-release potentially threatened their success would have revealed more of the structural limitations on youths' chances. Again, this critique is not so much directed at the book as much as it is a methodological comment on the difficulty in distilling an argument from an overwhelming amount of rich ethnographic data.

A second ethnographic challenge that this book raises is theorizing from the data. To be clear, I am not referring to ethnographies where the authors seek out data to test or expand upon existing theories. Rather, I respect and personally prefer Fader's naturalistic style of letting the theory arise out of the data. Yet still, the book could have presented a stronger theoretical framing in the beginning to guide the reader through the subsequent data chapters. For example, the book's stated focus on the role of incarceration in the transition to adulthood for minority teenagers could have been more clearly situated within the larger context of race relations in the United States, where blacks consistently and unjustly have been treated as second-class citizens unworthy of equal treatment and protection under the law. This background allows for a more grounded and critical understanding of the young mens' difficulties in succeeding in "falling back." It is not just the reform school's negative view of their chances for successful reintegration, the devaluing of the young men's culture, or the structural barriers of unemployment or housing that lead to the their failure to fall back. The often disappointing results for these teenagers come from a larger systemic and historical institutional racism that explicitly or implicitly states that they are not valued members in American society. Seen in this light, it is even more impressive that some of the young men manage to succeed or not openly reject the norms of the mainstream American society that is closed to them.