to define the situation and the state appeared to ignore the program's negative evaluation.

The book is extremely accessible and would be useful in criminology, penology, or introductory sociology courses. It would also work well in introductory theory courses. While it is an important piece of reading for criminologists, I hope it will find a much wider audience.

Blind to Sameness: Sexpectations and the Social Construction of Male and Female Bodies. By Asia Friedman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. Pp. x+210. $25.00 (paper).

Katie Ann Hasson
University of Southern California

In *Blind to Sameness*, Asia Friedman intervenes in ongoing debates in the sociology of gender and gender studies over the social construction of sexed bodies (and the relation of sex to gender) from the fresh perspective of cognitive sociology. Friedman's key contribution, filter analysis, theorizes the perceptual and cognitive mechanisms through which reality is socially constructed. Friedman draws on cognitive science to explain the central concepts of attention and inattention, through which individuals filter the overwhelming amount of sensory information they take in, attending to some as relevant and overlooking the rest. She argues that social norms shape these cognitive and perceptual filters, and therefore in turn shape what sensory information we pay attention to or disattend when encountering and classifying others. Norms of binary sex and assumptions of fundamental sex difference form the foundation of our "sexpectations," the cognitive filters that organize our perceptions of bodies by allowing evidence of sex difference through while blocking perceptions of similarities and ambiguities. Our observations then confirm the assumed obviousness of fundamentally different male and female bodies. Accordingly, "the sexes . . . are not nearly as physically different as they typically seem, yet we are socialized to be blind to their sameness" (p. 2).

The first two chapters situate filter analysis within theories of the social construction of reality and feminist theories of the construction of sexed and gendered bodies. In chapter 1, Friedman introduces some basic concepts of cognition and cognitive sociology. She links cognitive science to central theories of social construction (frame, schema, habitus, perspective, and thought style) via their shared focus on perception. In chapter 2, she situates filter analysis within feminist and queer theories and elaborates on sexpectations, highlighting how they constitute "considerable social pressure to focus on sex differences and ignore, avoid, and deny sex similarities" (p. 36). Throughout, Friedman draws from a symbolic interactionist tradition (Suzanne Kessler and Wendy McKenna's work; see *Gender* [Wiley & Sons, 1978]) and poststructuralist feminist and queer theory, noting

that while many theories have explored how individuals enact or "do" gender, we know less about the process of perceiving sex and gender. Friedman proposes a way out of debating materialist vs. constructionist analyses of sex and the body by focusing instead on *how* the "fleshy materiality" of the body is perceived and interpreted through enculturated filters that construct sex differences by directing attention to bodily differences and overlooking similarities or ambiguity.

Friedman's empirical analysis, concentrated in chapters 3 and 4, draws from interviews with 41 transgender and 27 blind respondents. Friedman explains that, in order to make apparent aspects of sex attribution that are usually accomplished invisibly and automatically, she interviewed "experts" (transgender individuals "who are unusually self-conscious and deliberate about sex attribution" [p.7]) and "outsiders" (blind people who attribute sex without visual cues). Chapter 3 examines how individuals in each group attribute sex, detailing the particular body parts, visual cues, or other sensory information respondents draw on to categorize people as male or female. For example, she had transgender respondents rate a list of body parts according to relevance for attributing sex and asked blind respondents how they would determine sex if they had to do so solely by touch. In chapter 4, Friedman reads these responses "against the grain" to destabilize the self-evidence of sex difference and reveal a greater degree of ambiguity or sex similarity than initially appears in respondents' accounts. She uses this information to "rearrange the taken-for-granted cognitive and perceptual map of the body" (p. 165), producing a body diagram that emphasizes similarities. While the widely varying answers illustrate the lack of stable or coherent criteria for assigning sex categories, the analysis is less useful for explaining how filters direct people toward or away from certain pieces of evidence in context, including in different situations or when multiple filters overlap and interact (What might an intersectional filter analysis look like, for example?). Because Friedman is interested in sex in general, the interview questions about particular body parts or hypothetical sex attribution scenarios yield answers out of context; I am eager to see how filter analysis could work "on the ground." Chapter 5's approach of consciously applying a "sex-sameness filter" to medical texts and figure drawing guides provides a helpful model for disrupting sexpectations, but the analysis here is less convincing than in preceding chapters.

In the conclusion, Friedman proposes that we can develop more capacious and flexible cognitive filters by deliberately focusing on the ways that bodies exceed our expectations of sex difference. Theoretically, this shift means continuing to analyze biological sex as itself socially constructed and reconceptualizing sex and gender as a continuum, rather than a binary. Friedman focuses specifically on the overlap between the two, the "excess" where biology and culture cannot be separated. Her "SexGender continuum" places the "ideal types" of pure biology and culture at (unreachable) endpoints, while the primary analytic space lies in the center, where "it is not possible to distinguish what is materially true from what is culturally true about sex" (p. 142).

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.

Tim Hallett
Indiana University

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