

ception of genre, but to appreciate how the “traditional” phase of sociological genre involves collective memory. Rossman includes a very funny discussion to this effect of the possibility that the smooth jazz of Kenny G will enter the canon. Indeed, even if Kenny G is not accepted in the jazz canon, this does not mean he won’t have directly or indirectly shaped it, much as *the* canon historically developed in reaction to excommunicated heretics.

Chapters 3–5 all deal with the relationship between jazz and incumbents in the music field. Chapter 3 explores the puzzle that Weimar-era Berlin was a major center for jazz and yet in retrospect Berlin jazz has largely failed to be canonized. Phillips explains this not in terms of continuity being disrupted by the Nazis but rather that there was a sort of cohort effect, in that both the global jazz trends of the early 1930s and German notions of Kultur gave Weimar jazz a distinctly symphonic cast that has not been popular in retrospect. Chapters 4 and 5 contrast “Victorian” incumbent record labels with “Jazz Era” market entrants. Much like Weimar Germany, Victorian labels were skittish about the racial associations of jazz and disproportionately strove toward more legitimate forms, especially white “orchestras.” In contrast, Jazz Era firms were especially apt to distribute black nonorchestras and to use sparse but idiosyncratic combinations of instruments. The Jazz Era firm practices tended to be both more profitable and more artistically creative. Chapter 5 explores how labels engaged in loose coupling to resolve the legitimacy-efficacy trade-off implied by the previous chapter’s findings. In particular, Victorian firms were especially likely to reissue music by (low-legitimacy but high-profit) black nonorchestras under pseudonyms.

Overall the book provides a fascinating and distinctly sociological understanding of a major musical genre stream that has implications for fields well beyond cultural production, as with Phillips’ own argument about how the interaction of exoticism and weirdness would apply to bottled water. I found the first two and last two chapters especially interesting in part because these are the parts of the book that provide novel theoretical mechanisms that should most readily generalize well beyond jazz. The entire book rewards the reading, both for what it tells us substantively about a major art form and what it tells us theoretically about processes of legitimation, diffusion, and canonization.

Justifiable Conduct: Self-Vindication in Memoir. By Erich Goode. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013. Pp. xx+199. \$29.95 (paper).

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Erich Goode locates his study of self-vindication in memoirs within the context of the sociology of deviance. For people to “blab at length about their transgressions, and on the scale that currently prevails,” is a “fairly recent development” (p. viii), he says. Yet even if we confine ourselves to

American society, it could be argued that his phenomenon goes back to the advent of *True Confessions* magazine in 1922. *Justifiable Conduct*'s case studies are all drawn from around the year 2000, and he thus misses the historic connection between a public media feeding off scandal and a young sociology of crime and deviance that was reluctant to acknowledge that we live in a world of not just diverse but often competing moral orders, all of which are constantly undermined or underpinned by a philistine globalizing capitalism. Self-vindication in public media may well always have been a commercial publisher or author's technique, rather than "deviance disavowal" in recognition of a single, national, normative order.

Goode was once impressed with Merton's search for the normative basis of the social contract. In this book, he looks for it in "transgressors' well thought-out and carefully constructed accounts of normative violations" (p. viii) among a bunch of authors who have not been caught out but are engaged in commercially attractive, retrospective reflection. The miscreants, as Goode notes, may well not regard themselves as having done anything wrong. Yet he persists in seeing them as offering "redemptive accounts" (p. ix) and as paying homage to a normative order through their self-vindications, thus revealing "how a major feature of our society works" (p. ix).

Through this book, Goode, in fact, observes the power of the social censures of deviance and crime. Radicals, murderers, libertines, and heretics know their beliefs or actions are "likely to attract condemnation" and engage in "deviance neutralization" (p. xii). But rather than pursuing the more interesting path of chasing the history of the confession and its conversion into a major means of selling media products in the 20th century, or even assessing self-vindication as an inevitable discursive trope in the memoirs of any person with any moral sense whatsoever, Goode wraps his work up within his oft-repeated defense of the concept of deviance. The words of our self-vindicators, such as Roman Polanski, are taken to confirm that they "recognize that they have been tagged with the label 'deviance'" (p. x) and to prove that the idea of self-evidently deviant behavior should not be criticized. The self-vindications might indeed be proof that transgressors, and their publishers, are aware of dominant social censures and their attached stigmas, but that idea says nothing about their sharing of those censures, the really interesting part. Goode says norm violators spin their narratives "according to the setting in which they find themselves" (p. xiii). Most of his self-vindicating memoir writers are unsurprisingly then described as "consummate storytellers." They know, and this is "the nub of the tale that unfolds in this book" (p. xv), that others will object to what they did or said.

Most of Goode's authors are, I assume, famous in the United States but mostly not well known to a global readership: for example, Jim Bouton, Joe Bonanno, William Cope Moyers, Kirk Read, James Frey, and Jack Henry Abbott. They seem to be intended to be a fair reflection of what Goode sees as the "memoir explosion" (p. 23) at the end of the 1990s. In chapter 2, an interesting but all-too-brief account of the history of autonarration, Goode

describes the writings he studies as examples of the “deviance memoir genre,” with many a tall tale, much lying and self-vindication along the lines of once I was lost, now I am found and do good works. He takes the key supposed facts in a story and examines how the author rhetorically exculpates him- or herself.

The fact that a distinguished historian like the late Eric Hobsbawm does not deal with the gossip Goode alleges about his private life means his memoir is of little interest and merely confirms his typically Marxist reluctance to face up to the real issues of life, as opposed to fascism, the Holocaust, and the Jewish experience. Casanova’s memoir is of more significance to Goode. The fact that some, at least, of the works Goode analyzes can be seen as commercially profitable, cynical exploitations of the genre of scandal memoirs, with sometimes no obvious interest in any truth, is deemed irrelevant to his task of exposing awareness of the social censures Goode understands as constituting “deviance.” The truth seems to be that, like many in the labeling tradition of the sociology of deviance, he is fascinated by scandal, for otherwise why not examine the Hobsbawm family’s terrifying flight from the fascists’ censure of Jews?

The book rattles on with examples, stories, and comments interspersed with constant reiterations of his view that the concept of deviant behavior is not at all in decline (“*Deviance* is an eternal concept, an ineradicable feature of social life,”) and the usual Goode insults to anyone who thinks differently, for example, to assert that the concept of deviance has lost its vitality is “asinine” (p. 44). Ultimately, he cannot see how rooted in American social history the concept of deviance is. He says nobody could imagine that the individual’s neutralizing of censures (“transgressions” for him) causes crime because, of course, it is actually engaging in crime that leads to “techniques of neutralization” (p. 57). Yet of course it is precisely the ideological erasure of the Jew’s humanity that was a crucial precondition to the Holocaust: behavior does not precede ideology but is intertwined with it.

It seems the zookeepers of deviance continue to groom the peacocks yet do nothing to change the regimes of truth that define them as animals and keep them in cages. The all-too-human irony is that Goode’s book works as a vindication of his own writings in defense of the concept of deviant behavior.

Women in Class Society. By Heleith I. B. Saffioti. Translated by Michael Vale. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978. Pp. xxiv+378.

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The 19th century saw the rise of conscious solidarity among women in the metropolitan countries. This solidarity emerged from the new bourgeois

* Another review from 2052 to share with *AJS* readers.—Ed.