thers attempt to make changes to their personal lives without confronting the larger context that constrains their choices. She astutely notes that structural changes are necessary to accommodate dads more effectively and to provide them with the resources they need to be more involved with their children in productive ways.

Superdads is a welcome addition to the expanding collection of rich, qualitative studies that bring to life men's everyday joys and struggles as fathers. In particular, Kaufman provides an empirically grounded account of men's intersecting aspirations and responsibilities as fathers and workers. This book will appeal to a wide range of social scientists interested in learning directly from fathers how they perceive and handle work-family conflicts.

Gay Dads: Transitions to Adoptive Fatherhood. By Abbie E. Goldberg. New York: New York University Press, 2012. Pp. viii+235. $75.00 (cloth); $22.00 (paper).

Brian Heaphy
University of Manchester

Lesbian and gay families are increasingly recognized as part of the contemporary relational landscape and are the subject of a growing number of sociological studies. In parts of North America, Europe, and elsewhere, changes in policy, legislation, and cultural representations signal an increased social acceptance of sexually diverse family forms and this, combined with the growing cultural confidence of lesbians and gay men, has opened up historically new opportunities for how sexual minorities imagine and "do" family. At the same time, as is evident in the arguments made by those who seek to protect heterosexual privilege with respect to marriage, same-sex-couple parenting continues to cause considerable concern among family conservatives. Critics of same-sex-couple parenting, and especially gay male parenting, often equate it with exposing children to heightened physical, psychological, and emotional risks and see it as indicative of contemporary irresponsibility and fecklessness with respect to family and social norms. Such concerns can be especially heightened where neither same-sex parent has a biological link to the child, as in the case of same-sex-couple adoption.

Against this backdrop, Abbie E. Goldberg's *Gay Dads* provides a detailed and nuanced analysis of gay male parenthood from the perspective of gay couples who were in the process of adopting a first child and who, either through single or coparent adoption, had actually adopted by the time the study was completed. Unlike most recent studies of same-sex parenting that focus on the implications of gay parenting for children, Goldberg focuses on how same-sex couples negotiate the adoption process and early parenthood and the interpersonal, legal, family, and community factors that influence this. Seventy individuals (35 couples) were interviewed before and

after the adoption, and a thematic analysis of the interview data illuminates the issues raised for couples themselves and for the interlinked politics of gender, sexuality, and family life. Goldberg's analysis illustrates the challenges, constraints, and creativity that male same-sex adoptive parenthood involves. Drawing on a loosely defined theory of heteronormativity, she argues against the kind of simplistic arguments that would see same-sex-couple adoption and parenting practices in dichotomous terms—as evidence of assimilation *or* resistance to heterosexual norms. Instead, she argues that they illustrate the ways in which heteronormativity is often simultaneously challenged and bolstered in day-to-day living.

Given the dearth of contemporary studies about gay male parenthood, the detailed thematic nature of the analysis is to be welcomed and provides a sound baseline for future studies. The book begins by outlining the factors that influence gay individuals' and couples' parenting desires and their decisions about how to become parents. It continues by considering the structural and symbolic inequalities that many gay men, and gay couples in particular, encounter in pursing adoption. The analysis then moves onto the factors that influence couples' decisions about balancing paid work and parenting and the implications of such decisions for the men's gender, sexual, and work-based identities. Following this section, the focus is broadened out beyond the couple and child-centered family to explore the implications of adoptive parenthood for gay couples' relationships with families of origin and friends and to consider the implications of gay male adoptive parenthood for making visible same-sex relationships *and* nonbiologically linked parenthood.

Ultimately, two issues stand out. First is the labor or work involved in gay couples' negotiation of parenthood generally and of adoptive parenthood in particular. For example, in addition to the interpersonal negotiations about if and how to enter into parenthood, having decided on adoption couples must then decide what form of adoption to pursue. Where same-sex partners are forbidden to adopt as a couple, decisions need to be made about how to deal with adoption and other agencies, about who should "officially" adopt, and if and how to legally recognize and protect the "nonofficial" parent. In the absence of clearly defined gendered roles, same-sex couples must make decisions about how to manage paid work and parenting. Through adoption they also often enter into a process of renegotiating their self-identities and couple practices, as well as their family, friendship, and community relationships. Ultimately, adopting as a same-sex couple involves a high degree of practical, reflective, and emotional labor. In this respect, the book illustrates that far from being a thoughtless or feckless endeavor, same-sex couple adoption necessitates an intense and active commitment to parenthood and involves an ongoing and heightened degree of self- and couple reflexivity about how parenting is best done in practice.

Second, by focusing on the highly situated ways in which gay couples negotiate the challenges involved in adoption and parenting, Goldberg's analysis brings the issue of resources to the fore. Put simply, because of their access to economic, cultural, and social resources, some same-sex couples

are better placed than others to successfully negotiate the kind of adoption, parenthood, and child-centered family that they want. For example, those same-sex couples with few economic resources in culturally conservative locations with minimal sexual community supports are likely to have limited options and choices with respect to adoption. In contrast, those couples who are financially well-off and who live in culturally liberal urban areas with access to organized sexual communities are most likely to be able to choose the kind of parenthood and adoption that they want. By bringing these issues into focus, Goldberg shows how heteronormativity as it links to gender and sexuality is not the only factor that limits new family possibilities in practice. Rather, class, race, geographical, and other positioning interacts with gendered and sexual positioning to delimit such possibilities.

One slight disappointment about the analysis presented in the book is the lack of consideration given to the links between the constraints and new possibilities encountered by gay adoptive couples and broader developments that are reshaping gay *and* heterosexual family life more generally (be they conceived as individualization, neoliberalization, or postmodernization). This omission raises the question of how the politics of contemporary family life in its broadest sense might be best conceived and the part that gay families and adoptive parenthood play in such politics.

Overall, Goldberg has written an engaging and accessible book that provides a benchmark for future studies of gay male adoption. The book makes a new and important contribution to scholarship on contemporary family diversity and to gay families and relationships in particular.

The Gender Trap: Parents and the Pitfalls of Raising Boys and Girls. By Emily W. Kane. New York: New York University Press, 2012. Pp. x+287. $75.00 (cloth); $23.00 (paper).

Allison J. Pugh
University of Virginia

At one moment in *The Gender Trap*, Emily Kane's account of how parents negotiate gender in childrearing, a mother observes that little girls are often told not to get dirty, but as for boys, well, "There are some days when those same parents just think . . . 'sit in the circle and don't punch anybody and I'll be satisfied'" (p. 113). Is this how far we've come? Are we still at a place where girls can't get dirty, while boys just have to try not to punch anybody? Kane's answer is both yes and no. Most parents she interviewed for this thoughtful, thorough book offered some essentialist explanations for how boys and girls are just so different. Yet most also tried to resist a gendered script dictating compliant, pretty femininity and aggressive, achieving masculinity. One of Kane's central points is the surprising degree to which many parents tried to push back against gendered structures, only to be forced back into reproducing those structures by the self-