The Rationalization of Miracles. By Paolo Parigi. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Pp. vii+193. $99.00.

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To qualify for Catholic sainthood during the 17th century, one did not have to die a martyr. As Paolo Parigi's *The Rationalization of Miracles* explains, a candidate for sainthood needed supporters capable of navigating the Catholic Church's bureaucratic rules. During the nearly 400-year-long span when these rules were in effect, mobilized proponents attested to their candidate's virtues and miracles and financed trials before a special commission, the Congregatio Sacrorum Rituum (Congregation of the Sacred Rites). Through these rules, the Catholic Church maintained its position during uncertain times by coordinating actors with mutual interests in routinizing the charisma of particular leaders.

Extending Weber's rationalization concept, Parigi argues that by rationalizing miracles, the Catholic Church gained legitimacy while enabling local actors' meaning-making efforts. Using social movement terminology, Parigi contends that the Catholic Church's centralization of the designation of sainthood also integrated acolytes, or supporters whom he likens to activists, who organized around attempts to institutionalize their leaders' charisma, which Parigi considers mobilizing events. By establishing rules that regulated the "social form" (i.e., coordinating supporters across social classes) rather than the "content" or type of miracles (p. 19), the Catholic Church simultaneously positioned itself as the arbitrator between "true" and "false" miracles and secured the allegiance of acolytes who sought to preserve their positions under canonized leaders.

Parigi claims that he has identified a new way of establishing an institutional field through collaboration rather than by conflict or co-optation. He argues that by implementing universal requirements for sainthood, the Catholic Church maintained control, while locals benefited from externally legitimated institutions that were longer enduring and generated revenues. The first step in the canonization process involved local church authorities, thereby incorporating acolytes' activism. Approval at this stage led to subsequent multiple trials by Catholic Church–appointed officials in several geographic locations; the Promotore Fiedei (protector of the faith), or a devil's advocate, was responsible for refuting advocates' claims of miracles as true miracles. Supporters not only had to testify in sufficient numbers, but also financially underwrite the trials.

Parigi's substantive chapters discuss the different actors involved in promoting an individual to sainthood, with the conclusion chapter mostly clearly identifying the actors (local believers, local church officials, central

Church officials, and acolytes) and their changing relationships during the development of the institutional field of sainthood. Parigi's analysis shows that two-thirds of miracles considered during the trials for sainthood concerned cured illnesses, and that recipients of miracles and witnesses were connected across social classes. Acolytes mobilized support by advertising stories of such miracles and offering relics, such as the deceased candidate's body parts or belongings, to foster miracles. To distinguish between real and false miracles, trials often incorporated doctors for their status and testimony; this procedure subordinated expert knowledge to a process upholding the Catholic Church's legitimacy. Parigi demonstrates that the degree of mobilization of witnesses mattered, with the Catholic Church accelerating trials for highly mobilized supporters. When the Catholic Church changed regulations to stipulate that trials could not start until 50 years after the candidate's death, proponents in monasteries were the most able to sustain the institutional memory needed to advance candidates. Compliance with rules, rather than mobilizing large numbers of testimonials about miracles, became the key to sainthood. Parigi asserts that the rationalization of miracles has allowed the Catholic Church to incorporate local conditions as well as expand into new territories, contributing to its longevity.

Chapter 2 and the appendices describe Parigi's analysis of trial records for those who achieved sainthood between 1588–1751. Parigi's methodological approach is a less conventional one for organizational studies and reflects the data available. To compensate for sampling on the dependent variable, Parigi considered candidates in different states of recognition, "saints, blessed, or venerable" (p. 172) and drew on seven cases of saints, five of which he selected and two of which were randomly chosen, from cases typologized into four types. These types categorized candidates for sainthood based on their location (urban vs. rural) and clergy type (high-status "priests, cardinals, and bishops" vs. lower-status "monks, friars, and nuns" [p. 42]); the analyzed cases represent three of these four types. To construct his cases, Parigi analyzed records from a sample of the trials about the 511 miracles considered, witnesses who testified, arguments posed, and the trials' locations and years. Using these records, he ran descriptive statistics, conducted network analysis, and calculated the odds of candidates reaching a particular stage of sainthood.

In discussing his book's contribution, Parigi opines that organizational scholars have overlooked the Catholic Church as an enduring, powerful actor. To bridge this gap, this book could benefit from more explicit engagement with others' research on organizations and social movements. For example, studies of centralized versus decentralized social movement organizations and for-profit franchises offer a possible analogue. Moreover, the discussion of collective memory and reputation building could

apply to artists in the art world, as well as academics in the modern tenure system (i.e., acolytes equal supporters who advance a candidate through the tenure system; relics equal publications; etc.). Also, the routinization-of-miracles concept raises tantalizing questions about meaning making. For example, might the trials also have served as commitment-building mechanisms, as well as a means of coordinating collective action via storytelling that reinvigorated rationalizing practices with meaning? Finally, Parigi's brief assertion that this institutional field developed via collaboration, and not co-optation, raises Tillyesque concerns about how to empirically distinguish between the two. Skeptics may argue that relying upon one institution's records might obscure the extent to which multiple interests are reflected in organizational processes. These issues notwithstanding, *The Rationalization of Miracles* should appeal to those seeking a specialty reading in organizational studies, social movements, the sociology of religion, and the sociology of culture. In particular, Parigi's study adds to the recent literature on how organizations preserve or advance their power and legitimacy.

Finding Mecca in America: How Islam Is Becoming an American Religion. By Mucahit Bilici. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp. xii+257. $25.95 (paper).

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Finding Mecca in America is a brilliant account of both the anxiety and activism of Muslims in America, especially after 9/11. Islam, the religion of the 7th century that emerged in the Arabian Peninsula, appeared on the European continent not long ago. The history of the advent of Islam in America is also not so old. Although America remains a politically secular and religiously Christian-dominated society, Muslims in America have been constantly struggling with the question of their existence as Americans with local values and cultures and as American Muslims with an Islamic culture and heritage. The horrific event of 9/11 suddenly overexposed them and their religion, albeit negatively, and challenged their visibility in American society. As the national psyche has been shaped by this particular event, Muslims have been perceived as "intruders" (p. 2) as well as "cultural aliens" (p. 6), and Islam is seen by some as something "monstrous" (p. 2). "American" and "Muslim," Mucahit Bilici writes, "are seen as distinct, distant, and even opposing identities" (p. 2), and Muslims are forced to prove their loyalty to the nation.

The fear of exclusion makes them active in the politics of inclusion. *Finding Mecca in America* deals with dual anxieties of Muslims—about