

find ways to compromise. Eiesland looks at the impact of a megachurch in Georgia on three other local congregations, drawing an instructive parallel to the varied responses of these churches with the ways small-town merchants have had to respond to the arrival of WalMart.

The final two essays are concerned principally with individuals. Matthew P. Lawson looks at spiritual narratives offered by four women from the same dysfunctional family. This essay is the least like traditional ethnography of the entire collection, and, while interesting, it is also the least convincing as sociological analysis. Janet Stocks also focuses on four women, but she uses Hirschman's notion of "exit and voice" to examine insightfully the factors that contribute to decisions on the part of feminists to either remain in or leave conservative churches.

Taken as a whole, this collection makes a convincing case for the methodological virtues of ethnography. The accessible essays would work well in both undergraduate and graduate classes.

Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration, edited by **R. Stephen Warner** and **Judith G. Wittner**. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1998. 409 pp. \$59.95 cloth. ISBN: 1-56639-613-1. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 1-56639-614-X.

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This is one reader that is greater than the sum of its parts. In the early 1990s, Stephen Warner became aware of how little was known about the religious practices of America's so-called "new immigrants," largely from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. At the same time, he was promoting what he called a "new paradigm" in the sociology of religion, one emphasizing the consumer-orientation of ordinary people in religious innovations. He stressed the diversity of religious life in the United States, instead of the single overarching sacred canopy that, he suggested, was the norm wrongly assumed by adherents of an older paradigm. With an evidentiary gap to fill and a paradigm to promote, Warner orchestrated the efforts that led to this book. Funded by the Lilly Endowment and the Pew Charitable Trust, he led the New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations Project (NEICP)

which, in turn, supported ethnographic research on new immigrants' religions.

Ten NEICP fellows contributed 10 original chapters that are the heart of this book. These 10 mini-ethnographies are sandwiched between separate contributions by the two co-editors. Warner's introduction sets the stage, detailing the background and organization of the NEICP, outlining his theoretical claims, and summarizing how the ethnographies lead to new insights or questions in his proposed paradigm. Wittner contributes a conclusion that considers bigger questions, including how the groups studied fit into a global economic system and how this affected their migration (was it forced by desperation or chosen as a strategy of class mobility?); gender, class, and generational differences within the various groups studied, and between them and the host society; how the different ethnographers' relationships to those they studied affected their questions and evidence.

To guide their fieldwork, the ethnographers had a common set of orienting questions, derived from Warner's new paradigm ideas. This common thread provides the coherence that distinguishes this volume. The diverse groups reported on include Jews from Iran, Mayans from Guatemala, Hindus and Christians from Kerala, Korean and Chinese Christians, Haitians, Hispanic Evangelicals, Yemenis, and Rastafarians from Jamaica and elsewhere. Their religious behaviors are equally diverse. Haitians in New York City, for example, simultaneously practice Catholicism and Voodoo because they brought these with them to the United States and because ostentatiously displaying their Catholicism sets them apart from other blacks, mostly Protestant, who are stigmatized in our racialized society. Though they attend mass, Guatemalan Mayans do not feel at ease in the Los Angeles parishes that pigeon-hole them as "Hispanic"; in their homes they get together for their own religious purposes, which focus on recreating their home village experience. Hindu professionals from Kerala, such as doctors and engineers, are very different from the Christian immigrants from the same Indian state, who are largely nurses and their less-skilled husbands. It is perhaps not surprising that these Christian men use religion to give themselves one arena where they were still important. Similarly complicated pictures emerge from the other chapters. Juxtaposing the various groups facilitates

the recognition of the salient evidence in each contribution.

Because of how they were chosen, the groups studied do not allow a test of the new paradigm of religious competition. However, scholars who use the market model to explain religious participation will find much to complicate their thinking. For example, while particular "religious entrepreneurs" were key in many groups, their apparent motivations and actual practices were diverse. Moreover, several of the ethnographers pointed to the importance of the supply of ministers and the demand for lay-leader positions in churches as well as the supply of and demand for denominations.

This is a "must read" book for anyone interested in the new paradigm in the sociology of religion. But it will be a shame if only students of religion get to know it. The 10 ethnographies are also case studies of the fluidity and negotiated construction of ethnicity. Theorists of ethnicity and of culture and identity more broadly will find much to learn from the pentecostal mariachis and the many others we encounter in this book.

Wolves Within the Fold: Religious Leadership and Abuse of Power, edited by **Anson Shupe**. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998. 243 pp. NPL cloth. ISBN: 0-8135-2489-X. NPL paper. ISBN: 0-8135-2490-3.

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To history goes the credit of offering us the sad fare of abuse of power by religious leaders, epitomized by "witch hunts, inquisitions, and pogroms" (p. 1); to Shupe's edited volume we owe the analysis of a contemporary niche of clergy malfeasance: pedophilia, deadly nerve gases in subways, pyramid schemes, fraudulent fund raising, sexual abuse, gross indecency, guru misconduct, insurgency, and illegal conduct among Catholics, Aum believers, Baptists, ISKCON (the Hare Krishna movement), and fundamental Protestants. *Wolves Within the Fold*, with 13 chapters, provides a range of approaches, but the thrust is sociological.

For Shupe, churches are "hierarchies of unequal power," involving the need to trust the actions and motives of the powerful—and, sometimes, the breach of that trust. He uses the

concept of elite deviance to explicate empirical evidence of clergy malfeasance, which is a "systematic patterned problem that has to be seen as more than simply the product of a few bad apples among the clergy." In the case of economic fraud, Shupe offers a perspective that can be a template of future analyses: Clergy economic malfeasance is akin to white-collar or corporate crime. Ideas borrowed from religious studies and criminology help demonstrate that special trusted-group contexts, structural isolation of elites (and their invisibility to the rank and file), and the role of the silent accessories contribute to malfeasance.

Shupe has organized his edited work into three parts: the social structural perspective of clergy malfeasance, the reaction to malfeasance, and the definitions of the situation offered by the clergy themselves. In this brief review, I consider only the chapters that analyze the barrel, so to speak, that produces the bad apples.

Theresa Krebs's chapter offers a rich balance of insights and documented data to tell us more about the barrel that leads to malfeasance. Church structure facilitates pedophilia among Roman Catholic clergy, because of the church's penchant for anonymity throughout its complex network, as well as its wide geographic spread. Church efforts to neutralize allegations of pedophilia give tacit approval from superiors for the perpetuation of such behavior. The dynamics of secrecy, moreover, deflect institutional responsibility.

For Peter Iadicola (Chapter 12), however, Shupe's template, while initially useful, does not go far enough. Iadicola avers that trusted hierarchies can be found in other organizations and that, therefore, abuse in religion deserves study no more than in any other organization. Moreover, he feels, Shupe gives no consideration to traditional, respected groups versus newer, smaller groups in surviving clergy malfeasance. Iadicola makes other criticisms, but all center around the idea that both internal and external power hierarchies play a key role whether or however clergy malfeasance is normalized and neutralized. Importantly, Iadicola urges Shupe to look at the connections between religious organizations and wider society.

Jenkins's chapter on creating a culture of clergy deviance is a good example of what Iadicola speaks about. The chapter covers news blackouts, media silence, and censorship that has governed relations between the Catholic