

cosmopolitan credentials, typically ignored the study of religion (though he duly notes as rule-proving exception the 1963 Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan *Beyond the Melting Pot*). In her "Conclusion," Karpathakis updates the Glazer-Moynihan-Herberg point that immigrants quickly learn that Americans are more tolerant of religious diversity than of ethnic differences and thus in the not-quite-futile effort at group maintenance negotiate some away-from-home religious retrieving. She illustrates this complex and fluid ethno-religious identity construction with examples of Hindu immigrants becoming more religious partly as a way to distinguish themselves from American blacks, and the Greek Orthodox construction of a Hellenic "white" identity as a way of retaining the second generation. In the rush to correct for once regnant hyper-secularization assumptions, no one considers any end-of-ethno-religious consciousness possibilities, though there surely is at least a cyclical hypothesis worth some speculation.

The NYC case studies cum overviews contain detail that can serve readers' more general interest in religious phenomena. The reader can learn, for example, that 82 percent of New Yorkers say that religion is very or fairly important to their lives, that the Mass is celebrated in 32 languages, that local African-American church leaders tend to be politically conservative and that less than 2 percent of them often give discrimination as a reason for minority poverty, that NYC African-American church leaders come from more than 42 different denominations, that sophisticated NYC has the largest concentration of Bible institutions of any American city. This more parochial reviewer was heartened to learn, for example, that the first American Muhammadan was founded in Brooklyn in 1907, that in his 1904 American visit Max Weber visited Brooklyn and, as Brooklynites knew anecdotally, that 44 percent of Manhattanites have consulted a psychological counselor.

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GOODBYE FATHER: THE CELIBATE MALE PRIESTHOOD AND THE FUTURE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By Richard A. Schoenherr, edited with an introduction by David Yamane. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. xlii + 275 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Richard A. Schoenherr, co-author of *Full Pews and Empty Altars*, an important demographic study of the Catholic priesthood published in 1993, intended to follow that book with a much larger theoretical study of the causes of the shift he and Lawrence Young had chronicled. The follow-up study, reported in a manuscript too long and unfinished to find a ready publisher, was intended to provide a theo-

retical, world-historical framework to interpret the changes *Full Pews and Empty Altars* identified.

Schoenherr's draft was completed in 1995. He died in 1996, having been unable to edit the study to an appropriate size. David Yamane was asked to edit his mentor's manuscript, to reduce the length significantly, though (purposefully) not to update statistics or references. Given the degree to which Yamane was forced to cut, he has done an excellent job of preserving a clear line of argument and making it readable.

The book's primary argument is that the decline in the number of Catholic priests is the most potent in a matrix of changes that portend dramatic differences in the Catholic Church, first in regard to celibacy for the clergy and eventually to male exclusivity.

Schoenherr writes with the aim of leading an intellectual vanguard toward revolution, hoping that "progressives" in the church will use the information to "seize the historical moment" (p. 142) and resolve the threat that celibate exclusivity poses to a church facing severe priest shortages. "Bureaucratic counterinsurgents" might also use this information as well, but Schoenherr makes obvious that he would rather not see "old and spent" (p. 132) ideas triumph. "This book challenges Catholics and society to say goodbye to *Father*," that is, to male celibate exclusivity (p. 107). In self-consciously Marxist terms, he highlights a dialectic at work in the church, and wishes to encourage stakeholders to respond as they believe right. As such, this is not a work of disinterested social science. Schoenherr uses phrases like "authentic religion" that many sociologists would find inappropriate.

Schoenherr sees the Eucharist as the center of Catholic practice and self-understanding. The key threat is tension generated by reserving the priesthood exclusively to celibate males at a time when the number of priests is declining. This decline, he says, results from "irreversible social forces" (p. 9). Other factors affect the church significantly as well: a shift from dogmatism to pluralism among the faithful, a shift from a transcendentalist to a personalist understanding of human sexuality, a decline of Eurocentrism and the growth of the church in the third world, the rise of feminist consciousness, and greater expectation among the laity that they should have a role to play in church life.

Schoenherr expects that the male and celibate aspects of priesthood will be the elements of religious polity and practice most vulnerable to change. He expects the collapse of male celibate exclusivity "during the lifetime of this generation of churchgoers" (p. 185).

The book purports to contain within it a theory of social change in organized religion, but the theory is really more a theory of social "progress," and in that regard, despite its Marxist and Weberian emphases, seems rather tautological. "Social progress results when structural tension creates conflict over the status quo, a charismatic coalition resolves the

conflict, and the organization moves in the direction of the charismatic coalition's progressive values" (p. 191).

Schoenherr views religious change in fundamentally teleological terms, suggesting that religion and human consciousness evolve to overcome the shortcomings of historical religion as critiqued by Marx and Freud, leading us to "a higher phase of social evolution" (p. 45). "Authentic religion" is that which enables this. In Catholicism, Schoenherr sees sacramentalism and sacerdotalism as the essential means for raising believers to the "transrational, spiritual levels of human development" (p. 51).

Schoenherr draws on Otto, Hubert, Mauss, Eliade, Piaget, Erickson, Kohlberg, Fowler, and Ricoeur to make this case. Elsewhere he devotes considerable attention to examples from 19th- and 20th-century church history to provide examples of competing coalitions that could win out. The primary three coalitions he sees are "bureaucratic," "priestly," and "prophetic." The heroes of the prophetic coalition are two of the most liberal bishops in America, along with organizations such as CORPUS (whose purpose is to advocate the full reincorporation of married "former" priests), Call to Action, the Women's Ordination Conference, and the Association for the Rights of Catholics in the Church. Together these are seen as a possible revolutionary force.

Patriarchy, he asserts, is more deeply rooted and stronger than celibacy. Thus celibacy will go first, but a married clergy will over time lay the ground for a change in patriarchy. Schoenherr repeatedly asserts that he sees no change as inevitable, except for a continuing dire shortage of seminarians. Whether reversal of this shortage is impossible is certainly open to question, hard as that may be to envision in a postabuse-crisis church. Whether—or how long—"bureaucratic insurgents" can hold out is an even more open question, but here we can benefit by reading the book as a revolutionary call to action more than as a prediction of inevitable change within any predictable timeframe. Schoenherr's age cohort in the progressive organizations he mentioned have certainly been surprised at how long they have had to wait.

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KEEPING THE FAITH IN LATE LIFE. By Susan A. Eisenhandler. New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2003. xxii + 208 pp. \$36.95 cloth.

In *Keeping the Faith in Late Life*, Susan Eisenhandler reports findings on religion in late life (an age range from 60 to 93) based on in-depth interviews conducted with 46 men and women living in the community or in long-term-care residential facilities. The participants come from a Judeo-Christian background, the majority is white, and most have

lived all their lives in Connecticut. The participants were selected for inclusion in the study based on their willingness to talk about their family backgrounds and matters of religiousness and faith. The sample's limitations in size, diversity, and geography, however, pale in consequence against the depth of the interview material and the author's unique sensitivity to the nuances contained in the narratives offered by the study participants.

The book consists of seven chapters in which the author uses retrospective data to probe into the stability of faith and religion from childhood to old age, and concurrent data to investigate the salience of prayer and participation in formal religious rituals in the lives of the participants. The religious experience of community dwellers with residents of long-term-care facilities is also contrasted. Attention is given to the variety of ways the individuals "bend," muse, and question their long-held religious beliefs. Throughout the book, Eisenhandler is attuned to what she calls *the folkways*: the customary and taken-for-granted practices that permeate the religious narratives offered by her participants.

There are two main findings from Eisenhandler's research. First, the retrospective accounts of religious participation and practices highlight an enormous stability of faith across the lifespan. Early childhood socialization—instigated primarily by the mother—constitutes a *bedrock of faith* on which the participants build the edifice of their adulthood faith. Time and again, Eisenhandler finds impressive evidence of continuity in religious practices and faith, although, particularly among the Protestant members of the study, there is some denominational switching based primarily on pragmatic considerations of location or convenience to a place of worship.

Second, Eisenhandler finds that prayer constitutes the most important folkway of faith and religion among these older age individuals. In fact, prayer is much more central to faith than regular attendance at a place of worship irrespective of the interviewee's religious affiliation. In a wonderfully evocative chapter on the folkways of prayer in late life, Eisenhandler captures with great sensitivity the rich and nuanced ways prayer permeates the lives of her informants. While some recite prayers that they learned by heart in childhood, others describe prayer as a conversation with a higher being that may or may not have a human appearance. There are many reasons for prayer, including a desire to talk with God, offer gratitude and appreciation, and request guidance and fortitude. Prayer is used only very infrequently, however, for the instrumental purpose of trying to secure personal gain or benefit. As Eisenhandler writes: "the power of prayer seems to reside in the act of formulating the words cogently and with sincerity by the individual, much more than in any actual, latent expectation a person might have about receiving an answer or a solution" (p. 51).

In sum, Eisenhandler finds that the faith of her study participants is much more *reflexive* or habitual