

Using this premise, Kellough continues with a detailed account of the struggle for abortion rights by Dr. Henry Morgentaler and the work of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics (OCAC). As a "participant-observer" in this process, Kellough's vantage point allows the reader access to the intricacies of a struggle by a group of people dedicated to bridging the gap between ideology and practice. Throughout her cogent and illuminating discussion, Kellough examines these events within her theoretical framework. For example, the Morgentaler defence was not really centred on a woman's right to abortion, but on the premise that the TAC requirement restricted Dr. Morgentaler's liberty to practice medicine as he saw fit. However, "Morgentaler's willingness to respond to women on their own terms was an important component in the struggle for reproductive freedom, even though it did not itself constitute such freedom." Clearly, Morgentaler's victory would benefit his patients. Kellough presents the OCAC strategy because she believes that "the political work of this group of women provides an example of a feminist process designed to mediate the inevitable tension between moral vision and practical reality."

Ultimately, Kellough's vision includes the interpretation of established discourses as a "political tool that we can use to disclose or create a space for change ... and each time we use these spaces to promote strategies that reconnect agency and responsiveness, we will once again be faced with the reality of our own power as social beings." If women are to overcome the inequality inherent in the current legal and social hegemonic discourse, the right to reproductive freedom, however individual women choose to exercise that right, must be at the core of any discussion.

KILLING THE BLACK BODY: RACE, REPRODUCTION, AND THE MEANING OF LIBERTY

Dorothy Roberts. New York: Pantheon Books, 1997.

BY EVELYN MARRAST

Roberts' *Killing the Black Body* traces the effects of the classic tension in American constitutional discourse between the principles of liberalism and equality. The central question asked by Roberts is: "How does Black women's experience change the current interpretation of reproductive freedom?" Her answer is that factoring in black women's reproductive rights could change the meaning of liberty for everyone.

Beginning her survey with a perhaps too extensive history of the excesses of slave breeding, Roberts fixes the abuses of slavery as the beginning of a continuous assault on the reproductive rights of black women. Most of this is familiar ground to scholars of nineteenth-century American and African-American history. Her ability to connect past abuses with current debates on reproductive and abortion rights is, however, a refreshing addition to contemporary feminist legal discourse around foetal rights, reproductive rights, and the role of the state in determining women's control over their bodies.

The crux of Roberts' book turns on a critique of the sacred cow of American constitutional and legal ideology: liberalism. For the most part she is careful in negotiating a path between the rights of individuals and the rights of groups and communities such as black women. This she does with remarkable sensitivity. For example her treatment of the controversial mother of the early birth control movement, Margaret Sanger, is at least ambivalent rather than con-

demnatory, making her one of the few black scholars to show such regard.

The position of black women as the poorest segment of American society has placed them closest to state mechanisms and agencies which continuously violate the very principles of liberalism so important to the more privileged members of the mainstream society. The War on Poverty which began with Lyndon Johnson's reform of the welfare system in the late 1960s has become, through continuous state intervention, tantamount to a war on the poorest and most disadvantaged members of society, most of whom are black women. Some 30 years later, and caught in the new rhetoric of Clinton's welfare reform, some blacks as well as whites are only too willing to relinquish the right of the poor to privacy and self-determination in their attempt to get poor people off the welfare rolls. Since many welfare recipients are black single mothers, the War on Poverty has become a war on black motherhood.

Differential treatment under the law, by the medical establishment and by the media, have all contributed to the persistent denigration of black motherhood. Black and Latina women in the United States, in their struggle against abusive and excessive state and medical intervention, have a great deal more in common with other non-white women in developing countries than with affluent white American women. Medical interventions such as the distribution of and coercive implanting of Norplant in the poor, forced sterilization, and the withholding of proper birth control information, do not merely infringe on the reproductive rights of visible minority women, they also contribute to poor health care and a higher than average infant mortality rate.

One of Roberts' avowed intentions in the book is the undertaking of a redefinition of reproductive liberty. In attempting to do this she takes on the abortion rights movement and

its primacy in the public discourse on reproductive rights; to many Americans the right to choice means only the right to abortion. Considerations such as the right to prenatal care and state intervention to block abortion funding for women on welfare are not included in the women's movement's public discourse around choice. Despite her obvious desire to avoid offense, some of this is sensitive material and bound to ruffle some feathers. For example she critiques the resources spent on IVF and suggests other ways of distributing these to benefit a greater number of women.

This book is a valuable survey of the means and methods Americans have employed in their attempts to solve the thorny problem of poverty and other social evils in their society. As such it would be invaluable as a feminist resource in any classroom.

QUELLE CITOYENNETÉ POUR LES FEMMES? LA CRISE DES ÉTATS- PROVIDENCE ET DE LA REPRÉSENTATION POLITIQUE EN EUROPE

Alisa Del Re et Jacqueline Heinen.
Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996.

PAR ÉDITH GARNEAU

Cet ouvrage collectif découle d'un séminaire du Réseau international de recherche nommé *État et rapports sociaux de sexe* sur la citoyenneté sociale et politique des femmes en Europe occidentale. Réunis sous la direction de Alisa Del Re, politologue italienne et Jacqueline Heinen, sociologue française, on retrouve quatorze textes provenant

d'auteures de différents horizons académiques (sciences politiques, sciences sociales, histoire et droit notamment), de différentes langues quoique les textes soient tous en français (traductions de Jacqueline Heinen) et enfin, de différents pays surtout européens. Fait intéressant à souligner, la provenance de trois textes d'auteures québécoises et canadiennes (Jane Jenson et Diane Lamoureux) et le texte d'une Américaine (Linda Gordon) qui n'appréhende pas l'aspect européen de la citoyenneté des femmes mais plutôt l'exclusion des femmes comme effets pervers de l'État-providence américain, leçon à saveur américaine.

L'ouvrage comprend une bibliographie commune mais qui malheureusement est incomplète, ce qui désappointe puisque les textes cités ou mentionnés semblent très intéressants. L'ouvrage aurait pu profiter davantage d'un index. Mentionnons qu'un seul texte est de type empirique et comprend

des tableaux (Daly). Aussi, une autre caractéristique distinctive est assurément le dernier article du livre où l'on suggère des propositions de rechange au traité de Maastricht (Vogel). Outre ces commentaires sur le format, une conclusion aurait été des plus utiles afin de situer les avides lectrices qui s'attendent à une quelconque réponse à la question posée, dépassant les constats inventoriés dans l'introduction.

La question générale posée dans l'ouvrage consiste à savoir quel est le statut des femmes face à l'État et quelle est la définition de la citoyenneté pour les femmes en Europe: «[ce] n'est pas seulement de savoir qui est citoyen, il s'agit aussi de savoir quels sont les droits de la citoyenneté, et jusqu'à quel point ils ont une dimension sexuée» (12). Cette question est importante car les auteures constatent que «les représentations symboliques sur le contenu de la citoyenneté ne sont plus aussi consensuelles que par le



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