

prisingly, there were many voices: matrilineal, patrilocal, woman, and man. Thus, I felt safe in going forward in my quest for stimulation, knowledge, and inclusiveness.

Razack allays these anxieties with much scholarship, art, and "storytelling," leaving the reader with an abundance of references (532 approximately). Scholarship supports the legitimacy of her voice and the art supports her own authenticity. Finally, storytelling is "theoretical attention to narrative" says Razack; the change of epistemology is shown to be imperative for social change, she states. Thus, storytelling from the silenced "Other" is shown to be unbreakable and necessary. Both stories and documentation include people with disabilities, Aborigines, Africans, and Asians.

Razack's writing style shows much courage and reflection as she exposes the dynamics of classroom and courtroom settings; particularly in her analysis of victims of violence with disabilities. However complex and horrific some of the sources are, Razack is able to present to the reader sexualization, racialization, and subordination in the context of legal ideological practices and sentencing. These sources parallel the examples observed in the dynamics of the classroom, demonstrating the similarities that exist between both structures. What the book attempts to do is educate the reader by recommending a critical analysis that argues for difference rather than oppression.

Some of the difficulties lie in the language structure and the order of voice. Examples such as men then women, white then non-white, perpetuate the existing domination of institutional sexualization and racialization. Critiquing of this kind may assist in a shift in ideology as well as subliminal images and thought processes. As an academic Razack is no doubt in a good position to follow through on such a process.

What could have been another focus in her book is age and age-related dynamics. What I read were

depictions of young offenders, young students, and young victims rather than what transpires when two or more generations clash upon interaction.

In conclusion, I continue to feel a bit hesitant about reading material from the voice of another "Other," but nonetheless I believe it is a necessary tool for understanding cross-cultural boundaries and relations in any context. Clearly a lot of work was done in preparing this publication and Sherene H. Razack should be highly praised for her scholarship that is both well written and very inspiring. The ideologies that Razack advocates require a demonstration of balance between non-whites and whites in order to bring about change in the ever-complex world of power, powerlessness, oppression, and social place we each hold in society.

FREEDOM TO DIFFER: THE SHAPING OF THE GAY AND LESBIAN STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Diane Helene Miller. New York: New York University Press, 1998.

**BY CHERYL VAN
DAALEN-SMITH,
STEPHANIE DIMECH,
AND SANDRA KEATES**

In *Freedom to Differ*, Diane Helene Miller utilizes two-high profile cases to examine how the language of civil rights in America affects those who seek such rights. Miller's background in speech communication serves her well as she examines recent civil rights arguments involved in the experiences of Colonel Margarethe Cammermeyer and Roberta Achtenberg. Miller demonstrates that while the language of the American civil rights movement helps win civil rights suits, it also contributes to a continued

narrowing of how society views lesbians and gays.

Miller starts by asking several critical questions including "how are lesbians and lesbianism constructed, represented, and understood in America?"; and "What are the effects of these representations?" She provides a historical overview of the civil rights movement for lesbian and gay rights, and highlights that this movement is at best a liberal strategy in that much of the advocacy and activism has been directed towards the attainment of equity within existing institutions: institutions which are homophobic and misogynist. The focus of her text lies not in whether lesbians should engage in civil rights initiatives, but rather what is gained and what is lost through such an affiliation. Miller presents two cases which she views as significant because of their inadvertent success in making visible the struggle for control over the meanings and definitions of being lesbian, and how what is said about lesbians will have profound effects on public perceptions and understandings of lesbians.

Miller is also concerned about the dangers for lesbian women in working for civil rights within a liberal framework which seeks to change nothing but inclusion. This is dangerous because this add-lesbians-and-stir approach does little to the patriarchal social structure which continues to exploit, debase, and violate women. In other words, the question Miller asks us is whether lesbians, as women, can afford to work within a system that devalues, excludes and discriminates against them because neither are they men nor do they, as women, share a life partnership with men. Liberal civil rights movements serve only a small socially constructed category of humanity: white men. The two situations outlined in this text examine how lesbian specificity may be sacrificed within the broader struggle for gay rights.

In chapter two, entitled "Clinton's Damn Lesbian," Miller outlines the U.S. Senate debate as to whether

Roberta Achtenberg, an out lesbian and activist, was suitable for office. Miller does a good job describing the series of events surrounding the scathing and libelous liberal attack on Achtenberg's identity and actions. Jesse Helms, the loudest opponent, called her un-American, and the authors of this review viewed that as a compliment. Miller countered by asserting that all the hyperbabbles on identity *versus* actions, public *versus* private, out of the closet *versus* "over the line," and civil rights *versus* so-called "political agendas" was merely a smokescreen for the blatant discrimination against a superior candidate ... all based on the gender of her life partner.

Despite the Achtenberg debate being well researched and meticulously reported, Miller's arguments were at times repetitive and somewhat tiresome due in part to a sporadic lack of direction and clarity. As well, for the reviewers, we found too much space taken up by the oppositions points and temper tantrums. The chapter ends with the sobering realization that Achtenberg's nomination as Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development was a painful triumph at best. She got the job—as long as she ceased to be an activist.

Chapter three, creatively titled "And the Ban Played On," provides an interesting look into military policy and its impact upon civilian society. In fact, the "ban" does play on—the ban that disallows gay and lesbian visibility and inclusion pervades not only the military but the larger context of society. Taken from the popular refrain "and the band played on," the article highlights how the military is devoted to producing the masculine man and upholding all that is heterosexual. Interestingly, the book depicting the chronological events surrounding the AIDS epidemic holds the same name.

The chapter provides an interesting look at how homophobia is justified and made to be the problem of gays and lesbians. The discussion reveals

how military policy makes the issue one of difference rooted in sexual behaviour. As with all oppressed groups, the problem or issue of inclusion and equality is seen as theirs. Gays and lesbians are the problem, not the pervasive homophobia that exists in the military.

The military has since adopted a "don't ask, don't tell" policy. Don't ask me, so I won't tell you and we can both go on our merry little way. The entire chapter does well to highlight the various arguments made for how military policy is implemented and maintained. Even though the policies are rooted in homophobia, there is somehow a rationale that supports them. Discussion demonstrates how homosexuals are constructed through language, myth, and stereotype and how these constructs provide the foundation upon which military policies are built and maintained.

Further discussion focuses on the military's commitment to heterosexual masculinity, rooted in the slogan that the military will and can make a "man" out of a boy. Gay men are a threat to this because they will somehow undermine ideals of masculinity. Also, despite the advances of women in the military, they too are seen as not achieving masculinity and this failure serves as the basis for their exclusion. If the military continues to work with myth and stereotype, lesbians should then be embraced as the masculine beings they are often perceived to be. The author does well to link homophobia and sexism in this chapter.

The author points out and makes the case that we civilians cannot take lightly the position the military has and maintains in regard to lesbians and gays, for whom the military's policies and procedures have far-reaching implications. The ability to serve one's country provides visibility and legitimacy, something enjoyed primarily by heterosexual men. As long as gays and lesbians are seen as threats and not legitimate, they will neither be respected nor included in the larger context of society. What is

clear for both Cammermeyer and Achtenberg is that their difference, their admission to being lesbians, awarded them political battles that would ultimately impact upon gays and lesbians everywhere. As society marches on, so too does the exclusion of gays and lesbians from the very fabric that should protect them. As long as the music, the status quo, enjoys a familiar beat, gays and lesbians will continue to try and march along.

Miller's strength is in her scholarly deconstruction of both events and the surrounding discourse, and her concluding chapter "Envisioning our Future" illustrates this strength. She demonstrates that these cases provide a clear view as to how civil rights initiatives can simultaneously advance and constrain the movement for lesbian and gay liberation. The reviewers believe the same can be said for black rights and women's rights. Instead of changing what Miller calls the "roots" of the two systems, i.e. American politics and the American military, both women were faced with the insistence on their silence and invisibility as the stipulations for mere tolerance. You can be lesbian, but don't tell, and for God's sake, don't be an activist.

Miller's, though occasionally tedious summary, makes several visionary suggestions. For instance she wants those of us committed to lesbian and gay rights to develop a long-term vision that transcends the horizons of civil rights gains alone. She sees the law as a limited remedy for the marginalized, especially lesbians and gays, asserting that legal battles only fortify boundaries that divide human beings into distinct and inflexible categories. These categories, besides being myth, maintain the "othering" that lesbians, heterosexual women, and others have experienced for centuries. Finally, Miller asserts, failing to draw distinctions between gay men and lesbians is dangerous, due in part to the historical obscuring of lesbian specificity under the generalized

terms "homosexual" or "gay." This is the same phenomenon as women's obscurity under the term mankind or humanity. Women lose out, in civil rights and in much of Queer theory, both of which are androcentric and eurocentric.

Miller concludes with a call for a need to address the social construction of *all* sexualities towards a more pluralistic *versus* dualistic conceptualization. The infusion of a lesbian feminist perspective is presented as key in enhancing the sophistication and precision of a *new* civil rights discourse... one that shifts, responds, and truly accords a "Freedom to Differ" to all.

CITIZENSHIP AND THE ETHICS OF CARE: FEMINIST CONSIDERATIONS ON JUSTICE, MORALITY AND POLITICS

Selma Sevenhuijsen. Trans. from Dutch by Liz Savage. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.

BY MELINA BUCKLEY

Care and women's emancipation have often been opposed, resulting in the belief that in order to participate fully in political and moral life women need to abandon their caring selves. Selma Sevenhuijsen challenges this opposition, and in so doing, makes a significant contribution to the debates surrounding the whole nature of care and democratic citizenship.

This discussion of feminist morality and concepts of justice is situated in an understanding of care as a social practice. Sevenhuijsen argues for the need to develop a broad and diverse perspective on care as a form of human agency. The starting point should be the recognition of conflicting and contested notions of care—a mixture of caring about and caring for, being cared for and re-

specting the care of others, but centred on key values of attentiveness and responsiveness.

The context of care as a social practice is highlighted from the start with opening scenes recounting media depictions of caregivers' lives: the daily routine, joys and sorrows, the heavy burdens, stress and loneliness, and an account of caring gone awry where a nurse has killed several of her patients. These scenes are evocative of the fact that women carry out this work with great responsibility but little power.

Sevenhuijsen's project is to contribute to the building of a contextual and situated form of feminist ethics that can accommodate both care and justice. The ethics of care should be placed in a context of citizenship so that it acquires significant political meaning without being slotted into identity politics or interest-promotion. In her view, when the ethics of care are located within such a notion of citizenship, discursive space is created for carers to bring their expertise and moral considerations into public debates without their being associated with a fixed caring identity or with associated claims to moral truth or moral goodness.

The author demonstrates how feminism has become associated with liberal socialism and the political idioms of modern citizenship: the language of freedom and equality, redistribution, autonomy and individualism. She explores the apparent dichotomy between care and justice and makes a strong argument for the need to reflect on, and rethink, this normative framework.

For example, she shows how the ideal of abstract autonomy in fact overlooks what it is that makes care an element of the human condition—that is, the recognition that all people are vulnerable, dependent and finite, and that we all have to find ways of dealing with this in our daily existence and in the values which guide our individual and collective behaviour.

Sevenhuijsen reviews recent writings on possible relationship between ethics of care and justice, and concludes that the two should be integrated in a fundamental way.

Of particular interest to those concerned with legal issues is Sevenhuijsen's provocative argument concerning the problematic concepts of equality. She explores the continuing power of the notion of equality as sameness and the resultant negative evaluation of difference. It is neither an easy nor an inviting proposition for feminism to relinquish the norm of equality, but she concludes that this is not inevitable. Our problems are principally ones of application. As she points out, if there were no differences it would be pointless to take equality as an ideal.

We need not dispense with deliberation on issues of equality, justice, and rights—in fact the opposition of care and justice is precisely one of those fruitless polarizations which need a great deal of rethinking. Feminism would benefit from concepts of justice which are not exclusively framed in distributive terms and which do not automatically lead to taking sameness as the norm where differences would make a better starting point for political argumentation. This model of distributive justice should be replaced with one of social justice for oppressed groups.

To move away from the focus on distributive justice and rational choice, we need to allow more discursive space for values associated with trust, respect for differences, and the encouragement of respect. One way to accomplish this is to open up space for reflection and moral deliberation on these values—to listen to and interpret the moral deliberations about care expressed by the providers and receivers of care. In this way Sevenhuijsen subscribes to Jane Tronto's view that care of all is the premise of justice. Care demands that we continually assess the position we occupy as we begin to make judgments.

Sevenhuijsen applies this inte-