

authenticity (and how one keeps it, measures it, and enforces it). Haenfler examines this complexity in rich ethnographic detail.

In addition, his own reflections on the scene's offerings in his youth contribute to our appreciation of the career of youth sub-cultural membership. Haenfler writes in an engaging and clear personal style, which draws the reader in from the first page. While painting a picture of the larger scene, he considers some of the more compelling aspects of the scene—its appeals (which he sincerely conveys) and its ironic features. In these respects, the book should please academics interested in what subcultures tell us about the structure of social movements and the status of youth/ideology; in addition, those enticed by the Straight Edge scene will benefit from the book as well. Both audiences will appreciate the author's satisfying prose, his grasp of the scene, and the intrinsically interesting subject matter.

Resistance, Repression, and Gender Politics in Occupied Palestine and Jordan, by **Frances S. Hasso**. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005. 231 pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 0815630875.

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This in-depth study of the gendered dynamics of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) over three decades is an important contribution from a Middle Eastern context to the wider literature on gender and social movements, as well as gender and political institutions. It provides an important historical update to Peteet's 1991 study on gender in Palestinian resistance politics, which has remained the standard book on the topic until now.¹ While Peteet's work focused primarily on a specific historical moment and place (the PLO in Lebanon during the 1970s and early 1980s), Hasso's book is more historically and geographically ambitious in comparing the Palestinian political fields of the occupied territories and Jordan

over three decades and ending with a post-script on Syria and Kuwait. In covering this broader range of contexts and circumstances, she has had to narrow her focus to a case study of one political movement—the leftist Democratic Front (DF) including its party and mass organizations. For the purposes at hand, this is a good choice, given that the DFLP was at the ideological forefront in addressing women's rights within a national liberation framework and was relatively the most effective faction in mobilizing women in the occupied territories during the 1970s and 1980s.

Thus, the study situates gender politics squarely in the context of the changing political vicissitudes of the party as it negotiates different political moments and fields. This makes it particularly effective in unraveling the range of mutual and contradictory influences between different spatial scales of regional geo-politics, local political fields, and party organizational structures and strategies. Gender politics are seen as constituted by and constitutive of this complexity of forces and interactions and the political opportunity structure they provide or foreclose.

However, such a multi-layered framework is a difficult analytical juggling act. While Hasso follows through on the gender politics of the Democratic Front at every turn, at times they become submerged under her intricate reading of regional, local, and party dynamics. But when she is able to keep gender in the foreground, the richness of this synthetic approach bears fruit. This is especially so in the chapters on the rise and fall of the DF's mass organization for women in the occupied territories. Here she outlines how the choice of a grassroots organizing strategy of the Palestinian national movement was both a response to the specific opportunities for collective action under Israeli military occupation, as well as in response to larger geo-political conditions set off by the Camp David Accords. These, in turn, necessitated changes in the decision-making structure within the party organization. For the first time, an autonomous leadership structure was created in the occupied territories, replacing the former direct and de-centralized dependence on the exiled leadership. This created a political opportunity structure for experienced DF women cadre in the West Bank and Gaza to develop a highly success-

¹ Julie Peteet. *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement*. Columbia University Press: New York. 1991.

ful independent women's organization (the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees or PFWAC) whose numbers eventually exceeded the combined membership of the party's regular political and youth movements and trade union organization. Motivated by both nationalist and gender concerns, experienced women cadre developed a mobilizational model whose flexibility and fluidity were deeply attuned to the constraints and needs of women at the grassroots level. Simultaneously, this created tensions with the male party leadership whose frame of reference was a conventional focus on factional power based on direct party recruitment. Two changes in the political field allowed for a reassertion of the male hierarchy's approach, which ultimately led to the demise of the women's mass organization. The first was the decision in response to the first Intifada to collapse all mass-based organizations (women's, labour, youth) into mixed regional units (usually headed by neophyte male leaders) while re-orienting the leadership of the women's organization back to general party work. This proved devastating to the former women-friendly structures as it ended the former fluidity between political and social activism that had allowed grassroots women to negotiate activist roles in the face of family fears and wider gender constraints. The final blow was the ideological and then organizational split of the Front in 1989, which resulted in the collapse of the mass movement structures and set the stage for male party elites to re-position themselves in relation to U.S.-sponsored peace negotiations between the PLO and Israel, and eventually vie for positions in the newly emerging Palestinian Authority.

The book's main contribution is its ambitious synthetic approach to gender in resistance politics. By framing the analysis in the dynamic interaction between women's agency and party structures while setting both in the context of political fields and their impact by wider geo-politics, Hasso has set a new standard in our understanding of gendered politics that is relevant far beyond the Palestinian political field.

"We Are Not Garbage!" The Homeless Movement in Tokyo, 1994–2002, by **Miki Hasegawa**. New York, NY: Routledge, 2006. 213 pp. ISBN: 0414976936.

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Hasegawa's fine ethnographic study brings to the literature on social movements and homelessness both a detailed grasp of social movement theory and how that theory can inform the practical realities on the ground of homeless protest movements in Japan and elsewhere. His work examines the activities of the Shinjuku Coalition, composed of homeless and non-homeless persons, and its struggles with the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG). The study provides a good example of how a homeless social movement organization forms, increases in power through disruption, is assimilated, then declines. While recent homeless activism in Japan has centered in the city of Osaka, the examination of the Shinjuku Coalition in Tokyo is a systematic look at one of the first attempts to organize homeless persons in Japan. This book also illustrates the importance of the control of public space, the impact of neo-liberal governing policies, and the problems that come with establishing coalitions under conditions of governmental repression.

Homeless populations in Japan have traditionally been represented by the plight of poor families, especially after mass displacements following World War II. Contemporary homelessness, however, is concentrated around the plight of day laborers losing access to day labor markets ("yoseba"), most often single men who, given the changing nature of the Japanese economy, have been finding fewer and fewer opportunities for work. The book's focus examines the struggles over the occupied physical spaces in a large retail center east of Tokyo, a place where they could secure small jobs and relief from weather overhead.

Hasegawa begins with an examination of homelessness in postwar Japan discussing the Japanese government's response to an estimated 400,000 households displaced by the war. The response was an attempt to con-

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