

years when it includes all three groups in its discussion of the devastating effects of changing crop prices.

This groundbreaking work will interest readers familiar with the experiences of Mennonites in Mexico, as they will see parallels in the experiences of Low German Mennonites in both countries. *Landscape of Migration* reminds historians and scholars in Mennonite studies and Latin American studies that while some parts of the Mennonite experience of immigration in Bolivia were unique, their experience aligns with the experiences of other groups in the surrounding context.

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James A. Cates, *Serpent in the Garden: Amish Sexuality in a Changing World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020. Pp. 224. Hardcover, \$39.95 USD.

In *Serpent in the Garden: Amish Sexuality in a Changing World*, James A. Cates draws on his expertise as a clinical psychologist and his long history of work, and friendship, with the Amish to explore the challenging topic of sexuality in Amish culture. Cates approaches the Amish as both a cultural and a sexual minority, using queer theory to explore how Amish culture reinforces heteronormative behaviour. As Cates demonstrates, Amish sexual identity is subsumed by a cultural identity that reinforces particular behaviours, including an understanding that sexuality is given by God for the purpose of procreation. As do other aspects of Amish faith and tradition, Cates argues, Amish perceptions of sex, gender, and sexuality increasingly separate them from the mainstream world and reinforce church-community boundaries. *Serpent in the Garden* is an excellent addition to the growing body of work on the Amish.

Cates's work is comprehensive. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the Amish, providing a general overview of the history, faith, and values that define today's Amish church-communities, while chapter 2 presents queer theory and explores its application to the study of Amish sexuality. Chapter 3 discusses the Amish understanding of sexuality, exploring the distinction the Amish make between sex for procreation and other sex behaviours, and how they minimize the knowledge of non-procreative sex behaviours to encourage heteronormative behaviour. Chapter 4 offers a closer look at Amish

Ordnungs (church disciplines) and how Amish churches police themselves to ensure the redemptive community functions smoothly, and chapter 5 explores how Amish heteronormative understanding of sexuality is revealed in and reinforces particular gender roles. The final four chapters focus more particularly on intimacy in the Amish context, sexual abuse and the disconnect between mainstream and Amish approaches to dealing with abusers and their victims, sexual paraphilias, and, finally, homosexuality within an Amish heteronormative context in which personal identity yields to the group. In the epilogue, Cates questions whether certain sexual behaviours might find greater acceptance in Amish communities and notes that the collective nature of Amish church-communities does not rule out individual variation or require lockstep homogeneity. "Change comes slowly," he writes, "but change does come" (163).

In three appendices, Cates includes "Suggestions for Further Reading," which offers an annotated list of works about the Amish; "Professional Interaction and Amish Sexuality," which describes the personal way in which the Amish work with those outside the community; and "A Quick Guide to Other Plain Groups," which provides a summary of the different traditional Anabaptist churches. There is also an excellent bibliography.

Serpent in the Garden is an essential first step for our understanding of sexuality in plain groups, for it lays out a productive theoretical approach and demonstrates its effectiveness in answering important questions. Accessible to a wide audience, this book offers important insights, not only into Amish sexuality, but also into church discipline, gender, and generational relationships.

Nevertheless, it is just a beginning, for as Cates himself notes, "There is no flat, categorical statement that describes the Amish attitude toward sexual minorities both within and outside the culture" (150). As Amish church-communities become increasingly diverse, not only in their interaction with mainstream society but also in their understanding of appropriate gender behaviour, they challenge researchers to build on the groundwork Cates has laid.

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