

but “male sex work does not use intermediaries such as pimps” (pp. 77, 114). None of these claims is true. In fact, many of the book’s findings regarding male escorts also apply to female escorts who advertise online.

The book does not discuss the *experiential* dimension. We learn much about marketing and what escorts and clients value as measured by earnings but not about lived experiences themselves. Only a few sentences mention negative behavior: “Male sex workers are more prone to violate their clients” than is true for female sex workers (p. 48); clients reveal instances of being attacked or threatened by escorts; and clients complain that escorts renege on already-purchased services. But Logan’s data do not allow him to estimate the frequency of fraud, violence, or any other problem (e.g., altercations over services, client guilt, performance issues). Studies of clients of female escorts have examined client discussion boards and review sites and have produced a rich set of findings not only on what clients value but also on how they experience paid sex encounters. For instance, we now know that many clients seek much more than a sexual release and also prioritize communication, companionship, and finding someone to “connect” with emotionally. This has become known as the “girlfriend experience,” which can develop into a “paid relationship.” The counterpart “boyfriend experience” has been documented by researchers as well, but Logan does not explore this important dimension. Postings on *Daddy’s Reviews* could be mined to determine the degree to which clients are looking for and receiving nonsexual intimacy with male escorts.

These few deficiencies do not detract from the book’s unique insights into this online world. Logan’s findings on the economics of this illicit market, escorts’ presentations of self, and client preferences contribute greatly to our understanding of male sexual commerce.

Nakedness, Shame, and Embarrassment: A Long-Term Sociological Perspective. By Barbara Górnicka. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016. Pp. xi+195. \$59.95 (paper).

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Everyone enters this world naked, and most people are naked at least once a day when they bathe. We do not hesitate to remove our clothing when asked by a physician who is performing a physical examination. Making love generally involves disrobing. Yet the idea of appearing naked in public is one of the more common nightmares, a type of dream that is experienced even by naturists. In *Nakedness, Shame, and Embarrassment: A Long-Term Sociological Perspective*, Barbara Górnicka asks why we have connected nakedness to feelings of shame. Drawing on work by Goffman, Freud, and others, she builds a theoretical framework for understanding nudity using Norbert Elias’s theory of civilizing processes.

This book is broken up into two main sections. In the first section, Górnicka takes the reader into the world of Irish naturism by exploring both her own experiences with Club Nautica, a naturist swimming club, and interviews with members of the club. In the autoethnographic portion, she explores her initiation into the group and provides insights that participants may be reluctant to share, such as her preparations for her first nude swim and her discomfort with one of the other participants at a naturist party. It was surprising, however, that she did not seem to recognize this work as an autoethnography, and she expressed concern over her own account failing to “keep the researcher objective and detached” (p. 42). She seems much more at ease with the traditional ethnographic portion, as she provides excerpts of interviews with members of Club Nautica, examining such questions as how they felt the first time they went to a naturist resort and how they learned the rules of becoming a naturist. She does not shy away from the uncomfortable questions, like how men avoid having an erection when surrounded by nude bodies. The accounts range from amusing to disturbing (as in the case of a man who was sexually assaulted by a woman who mistook naturism for swinging). Górnicka also concludes that, despite the naturists’ assertions that they did not look at other people’s bodies, they were not immune from the desire to look and compare themselves to others. Chapter 4 functions as a kind of bridge chapter between the two sections as Górnicka considers the idea of naturism as a movement or a pastime from the *Nacktkultur* of Germany through the founding of modern Irish naturism. Her aim here is not merely descriptive but rather comparative as she explores the factors that allowed one movement to flourish and the other to remain in obscurity. She argues that the strong influence of the Catholic Church and an individualist ideology surrounding naturism in Ireland stalled the growth of Irish naturism.

The second section of the book attempts to establish a theoretical framework for understanding nudity. Chapter 5 takes the reader on an extended discussion of the idea of nudity through history. Although I realize that the aim of this chapter is to trace how “civilising processes have had a direct effect on how we are affected by the sight of the naked body today” (p. 111), I found the examples to be somewhat glossed over. For example, Górnicka devotes just over two pages to nudity and early Christianity. I was also surprised to find that others who have covered similar ground in far greater detail, such as Ruth Barcan (*Nudity: A Cultural Anatomy* [Berg, 2004]) and Philip Carr-Gomm (*A Brief History of Nakedness* [Reaktion, 2010]), were missing here. Chapter 6 provides a framework for understanding nudity through the lens of Elias’s civilizing processes with a brief nod to Goffman and Foucault. Górnicka attempts to distinguish shame and embarrassment, arguing that they are distinct processes. As she explains, “When I first entered the naturist domain and appeared naked in front of all the other people, it made me feel *embarrassed*, but when I was lying in bed later that night, I felt overcome with *shame* in the aftermath of my naturist experience” (p. 152). She also argues that how people experience nudity depends on both the situation and on the values and beliefs of the time. Chapter 7 lays out a theory of taboo as

it relates to nakedness. Górnicka lays out five specific contexts in which nudity is permitted, including art and being examined by a physician. She is less concerned with the taboos themselves and more interested in the processes that shape them. She argues that current understandings of how taboo functions are too rigid and suggests, "It would be more appropriate to see taboo as part of an ongoing process" (p. 172). However, her framework does not really seem to provide much new insight into these processes of taboo evolution.

My main issue with this book is that it reads like two separate books held together by the concept of nudity. After an engaging discussion of Irish naturism in the first half of the book, she virtually ignores the naturists, with a few cursory nods to their experiences here and there. Górnicka is at her best when she weaves together her own experiences with those of the other naturists to distill the norms and attitudes of this group. The second half of the book was significantly weaker than the first, and more connection with the experiences of the naturists would have helped better illustrate the theoretical framework that she attempts to establish. Her heavy reliance on Elias's work also seemed to paint her into a theoretical corner and cut off potentially productive insights, such as when she dismisses Foucault's concept of panopticism after one page. Still, this is an interesting foray into the nature of nudity, and Górnicka's framework provides a useful way to explain how people experience nudity and how these experiences change over time. This book will be of particular interest to those working in the area of sociology of the body.

Botox Nation: Changing the Face of America. By Dana Berkowitz. New York: New York University Press, 2017. Pp. ix+231. \$89.00 (cloth); \$27.00 (paper).

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The quest to prevent, delay, or reverse aging, or to mask its effects, has a long history. Further, the number of interventions labeled "antiaging treatment" is significant and seemingly ever growing. Since the mid-1990s, the market of such products has expanded to include superfoods, cosmetics and cosmeceuticals, nutraceuticals, hormone treatments, and regenerative therapies. If market reports are to be believed, antiaging interventions and treatments constitute a highly lucrative industry that is set to expand even further in coming years ("Anti-Aging Market Poised to Surge from USD 140.3 in 2015 to USD 216.52 Billion, Globally by 2021" [ZionMarketResearch.com, 2017]).

This book investigates one significant part of this market, namely, Botox treatments. The Botox phenomenon emerged relatively recently; however, as Dana Berkowitz emphasizes in her fascinating ethnographic study, *Botox Nation: Changing the Face of America*, it has quickly become entrenched in American culture. While much research in the United States has been under-