

neoliberalism; although they exist because of, and do not disrupt, neoliberal conditions, their aims, delivery, and effects cannot be seen through neoliberal logics. The commitment to analyzing homelessness and homeless policy through one all-encompassing theory leads to neat conclusions incongruent with some of the empirical material.

Golden Years? Social Inequality in Later Life. By Deborah S. Carr. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2019. Pp. xviii + 357. \$35.00.

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Baby Boomers are the first cohort to reach older adulthood in the modern risk society. While the average net worth of retired Baby Boomers is \$1.2 million, nearly one-third of Baby Boomers do not have any retirement savings at all. One in four new bankruptcies are filed by adults age 65 or older, with unpaid medical bills being the most common cause.

In *Golden Years? Social Inequality in Later Life*, Deborah Carr explores the vast inequality among current older adults and likely trends for future cohorts. Carr begins with a discussion of the demography of the aging population in the United States, providing a snapshot of older adults today. Then she outlines the key theories in sociology used to understand how social inequality is produced and accumulated over the life course. Each subsequent chapter takes up a major life domain: physical health, mental health, social relationships, residential arrangements and experiences, and end of life. The book ends with a brief discussion of policy, both current and recommendations for future interventions.

The central theme running through the book is the way that social and economic disadvantage create precarity in later life. Across life domains, Carr demonstrates that those with fewer resources are robbed of the fundamentals of a “good” old age: choices and control over what happens to them, buffers from negative shocks, and affirmation of personhood. Carr does an expert job of demonstrating how these fundamentals require a web of safety nets, spanning social, financial, and emotional resources. Further she demonstrates how social location, specifically race, gender, and socioeconomic status, limit the ability to accumulate these resources over the life course and how they unravel faster for the disadvantaged in later life. In many ways, *Golden Years?* is the big picture companion to Corey Abramson’s (*The End Game* [Harvard University Press, 2015]) ethnographic study of the ways poor and nonpoor older adults navigate the challenges associated with old age.

A second important point in Carr’s thesis is that while inequality in income and wealth has received enormous amounts of attention in sociological work, poverty in social relations can be as great a dimension of risk in later life. Her attention to social isolation and loneliness dovetails with the

European focus on social exclusion among older adults, which grounds this epidemic of loneliness in structural ageism.

A fresh contribution from Carr is her emphasis on the ways that the social forces that influence one's ability to amass resources are interactive, multiplicative, and intersectional. A number of scholars have taken an intersectional approach by studying specific populations who experience economic and social disadvantages in older adulthood. For instance, Katherine Newman (*A Different Shade of Gray* [New Press, 2006]) addressed the challenges of aging among poor, urban black women. Madonna Harrington Meyer (*Grandmothers at Work: Juggling Families and Jobs* [New York University Press, 2014]) studied older women who stretch their finances and health to the brink to support their adult children and grandchildren in need. Rachael Woldoff's (*White Flight/Black Flight* [Cornell University Press, 2011]) study of one neighborhood's economic and racial transition over 20 years shows how older adult homeowners may feel run out of their neighborhood or trapped in it with strangers.

Carr effectively ties together the multiple domains that are represented singly in these works, showing clearly how a wealth of one resource may not compensate for dearth in another domain. One such example she gives is that older men are substantially less likely to live alone but are at much higher risk of loneliness. This social isolation is considered to be a key to understanding higher rates of suicide among older men.

A goal of the book, as Carr notes, is to demonstrate that "public policies play a major role in helping to even out the playing field in later life, but they cannot fully eradicate disparities in older adults' well-being because these chasms are so deep-seated and their roots so multifaceted" (p. 7). The final chapter of the book sets out potential interventions that could reduce inequality or take the sting out of its consequences. Carr discusses current policies and possible improvements in health care access and affordability, family caregiving supports, and investing in education and disease prevention.

While these are reasonable solutions for lessening the impact of social or economic disadvantage on later-life outcomes, the discussion would be well served to acknowledge the role of past and present policies in producing inequality. For instance, redlining and legal housing discrimination blocked black Americans from the single greatest vehicle for wealth: homeownership. Consequently, much less wealth is transferred to the next generation, reproducing the inequality. Second, some policy solutions may need to be implemented now to protect the upcoming cohorts of GenX and Millennials as they age. These may include addressing the student debt crisis or implementing protections for workers in the gig economy.

Overall, this book is an important contribution as it provides a comprehensive and wide-reaching review of the field and its current state of knowledge on causes and consequences of inequality in later life. Carr focuses on documenting this inequality among older adults rather than tracing the accumulative processes themselves. The primary dimensions of inequality covered are race/ethnicity, gender, and social class, so future work building

on this volume could integrate other disadvantaged groups such as immigrants or sexual and gender minorities as their experiences will be vastly different in later cohorts compared with older adults of today.

The book is extremely well researched and documented. Some of the territory covered is well known by sociologists who study age and inequality, but few readers will have command of the breadth across the domains Carr addresses. The book also brings in emerging topics that have not yet received as much attention, such as the special vulnerability of older adults in disasters, aging in prison, and the impact of the Affordable Care Act on health care for older adults. Given its format and expertly presented landscape of the field, the book has multiple audiences. It can serve as a reference for those writing and working in the field and could also be used in a seminar for those who need an introduction to population aging, the life course perspective, and the intersection of age and inequality.

White Identity Politics. By Ashley Jardina. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. xvii + 365. \$99.99 (cloth); \$24.99 (paper).

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Two decades into the 21st century and America's racist roots still haunt it. While public commitments to the principles and precepts of multiculturalism proliferate, Americans are more polarized around issues of race than at any other time since at least the 1960s. It has become commonplace to attribute this increased polarization to the presidential campaign and election of Donald Trump in 2015–16 and his administration's subsequent positions on immigration, crime, and war. While Trump's rhetoric and policy making certainly contribute to and reflect Americans' polarization around race, recent scholarship reveals this polarization predates the Trump era.

One of the more compelling studies within this recent body of scholarship is political scientist Ashley Jardina's *White Identity Politics*. Jardina's detailed analysis of multiple public opinion data sets reveals the extent to which white Americans are mobilizing around their own racial and ethnic identity. Relying primarily on data from the 2012 and 2016 American National Election Studies Time Series—the gold standard of public opinion data—Jardina frames whites' mobilization as the result of political and material shifts within the United States and abroad that lead some whites to circle their wagons around perceived threats to white identity and white solidarity. In reaction to this perceived threat, many white Americans are bringing their racial identity to bear on their political attitudes and practices, including supporting candidates and policies that appear to protect whites from those perceived threats.

Jardina's theory of dominant group identity is straightforward and well aligned with contemporary scholarship in the sociology of race and ethnicity.