
Book Reviews

Women and Men's Wars. Edited by Judith Stiehm. Oxford, Pergamon Press, Ltd., 1983, 231 pp. (Previously published as a special issue of *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 5, Nos. 3-4, 1982)

Sixteen pieces by women comprise this excellent anthology. They document women's war-related activities, past and present (including international conferences and peace movements) and theorize about women's war-related responsibilities. Included are two poems—a Japanese perspective on nuclear bombing and a Japanese-American perspective on the relocation camps—as well as two syllabi, very different from each other, from university courses on women and the military. The anthology is well-balanced, bearing out its editor's observation that "there is no woman's position on or response to war" (p. 245). While shaped by the agenda of relationships between feminism and women's war-related responsibilities, it is not skewed toward the editor's conclusions. Her views are argued powerfully in her own concluding essay (more anon).

Three of the documentary essays deserve special mention. One is Lela Costin's highly readable presentation of the 1915 International Congress of Women, discussing an overlapping segment of the histories of pacifism and feminism with many valuable references. Another is Cynthia Enloe's report on the April 1981 international conference in Amsterdam on women in NATO militaries, which included an invited Israeli participant, although Israel is not a member of NATO, because of Israel's example in its inclusion of women in the military. Third is Scilla McLean's report on the peace people of Northern Ireland. Also included are informative pieces on women's participation in Third World national liberation struggles (in Zimbabwe and the Philippines), affirming the active involvement of women in armed combat, and a report on the 1975 and 1980 conferences of the UN Decade for Women, exploring contemporary relationships among peace, development, and women's equality.

There is, disappointingly, no *extended* discussion of women in the Israeli military, nor are there accounts of women's participation in armed resistance to the Nazis, for example, during World War II. Enloe's essay reports that 45% of Israeli women currently called up are exempted from mili-

tary service and that only 35% of those who serve hold nonclerical positions, many as instructors of Hebrew. One would like to know more. Her essay also reports on discussions on the sexual division of labor generally within the militaries, especially exclusion of women from combat, and of race and class representations, of factors affecting governmental discussions to recruit women for military service, and of exclusions of women from military drafts.

The theoretical essays tend to address the question, or dance around the question, whether it is more consonant with feminism for women to *resist becoming warriors* or, on the contrary, to *refuse to acquiesce in being excluded* from access to weapons of defense. Three I found most thought-provoking were (1) Stiehm's own essay, "The Protected, the Protector, the Defender," supporting the latter alternative; (2) Nancy Huston's "Tales of War and Tears of Women," supporting the former alternative; and (3) "A Materialistic View of Men's and Women's Attitudes toward War," by Berit Ås of the University of Oslo's Institute of Psychology, redirecting the issue. Ås points out the role of women as having been the victims rather than perpetrators of war, mothers rather than comrades of warriors, and included in the booty rather than owners of territories fought over — she raises the question what we (women) will consider worth fighting for, and how, when these material relationships change as women's oppression is alleviated. "It is the weak connection of women to territories, power, capital, and technology," she observes, "which has provided the new women's movement with an anchorage in values which largely protect fundamental human rights" (pp. 363-364).

Nancy Huston argues that war narratives, presenting women as mourners and rape victims, serve as models and incentives for waging new wars. She urges new alternatives to these roles as "weepers," without, however, women becoming warriors. I was puzzled about the point of the two parables with which she concludes. One is about a mother threatening to break her son's knees if he enlists (isn't engaging in violence to prevent violence a typical rationale of war itself?) and the other about a harem being trained for military service who *laughed* at their orders, with the consequences that the king's two favorite members were executed as punishment and the rest solemnly carried out the original orders (reinforcing, for me, the moral that war is no laughing matter). We are still left with the challenge to construct workable alternatives to both weeping and joining.

Editor Stiehm, who has written books on nonviolent resistance and on women in the military, argues that women's exemption from military service actually contributes to the likelihood and violence of war by creating a protected class dependent on a protector class, who then have an interest in maintaining the need for protection, who may also develop hostility to the "protected" if unable to provide adequate protection, and who can be manipu-

lated into battle by the threat of being stigmatized as "effeminate." She asks whether the same arguments compelling us to reject economic dependence don't also compel us to reject dependence in the military sphere. Her hypothesis is that a society of *defenders* (where *all* have access to the means of destruction/protection) is ultimately *safer* than one divided into protectors and a protected class. She concludes that unless one is a pacifist, the more cogent feminist position is to press for women's full integration into the military, including combat. A major problem she acknowledges is that "the military" is that of a nation-state, and nation states often act as "protectors" to others. Her solution, then, appears insufficient to eliminate the "protection racket." She leaves us to ponder whether it is not, still, a step in the right direction. Not addressed is the extent to which the reasonableness of one's sharing responsibility for a society's defense depends upon one's being able realistically to share in determining what it will treat as dangerous and at what cost it will be prepared to defend itself or its allies.

I was disappointed with Marcia Yudkin's address on Virginia Woolf's classic, *Three Guineas* (1939), for concluding with "why not . . . put on the uniform . . . but don't believe in it, and use the privilege of our positions to engender a world of peace . . ."? Woolf's essay, urging a kind of separatist sabotage but not deception, was more sensitive to the dangers of "privilege" and cooptation.

Overall, this anthology is highly informative and deeply reflective. Its objective, says Steiehm, is "to assist women (particularly those women whose countries have not been devastated by war in their memory) to examine their responsibility," moral and causal, regarding war. It engaged me in some serious reconsidering. I recommend it highly.

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Girls at Puberty: Biological and Psychosocial Perspectives. Edited by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn and Anne C. Petersen. New York, Plenum Press, 1983, 321 pp., \$32.50.

In an effort to stimulate dialogue between endocrinologists, pediatricians, anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists, Drs. Brooks-Gunn and Petersen, with funding from the Personal Products Company, organized an

interdisciplinary conference on the impact of puberty on female development. This book is a collection of the papers presented at the conference. In keeping with the goals of the conference, the chapters present a state-of-the-art review, a discussion of methods and methodological problems common to the authors' area, and suggestions for future research programs.

Reading the collection gives one a wide perspective on current research and theory regarding female development in and around puberty and early adolescence. I came away from the book excited by the rich array of ideas, stimulated to think further about adolescence and female development, and both frustrated and prodded by an overwhelming sense of how far we have to go in this new and extremely important area. Both the need for interdisciplinary work and the difficulty of implementing truly interdisciplinary work is made quite apparent in several of the chapters. It is clear that books and conferences such as this are an essential first step in promoting the kind of interdisciplinary work necessary to advance our understanding of female development during this critical period of growth.

The book is divided into a biological section, a psychological section, and a sociological section. The biological section includes chapters summarizing the current state of knowledge on physical and hormonal changes associated with puberty and adolescence, on the impact of body weight and exercise on the biology of puberty, on the difficulty of defining and charting both puberty and the more general stages of adolescent development, on menarche and dysmenorrhea, and on the treatment of idiopathic precocious puberty. The chapters in the psychological section focus on the meaning of puberty and pubertal timing to the individual, the experience of menarche and its psychological and sociological correlates, and pubertal change and cognitive development. Chapters in the sociological section focus on society's response to puberty and adolescent development.

One is sensitized to the need for more interdisciplinary dialogue and collaborative work by the discrepancies across these three sections. By and large, the chapters in the biological sections are closely tied to data, focusing extensively on endocrinological studies of developmental change, on the impact of body weight on the onset of hormonal changes, and on the link between endocrinological variables and either physical changes or dysmenorrhea. With the exception of the discussion of the link between endocrinological variables and dysmenorrhea, the chapters contain relatively little theoretical speculation regarding possible links between biological factors and psychological development. Similarly, with the exception of the discussion of the link between body fat, life style, and the onset and/or maintenance of menstruation, the chapters contain relatively little theoretical speculation regarding the impact of social and psychological factors on biological development.

In contrast, the chapters in the psychological and sociological sections take a much more theoretical approach. While several present data and some focus exclusively on data, most of these chapters present elaborate theoretical discussions of the conjoint influences of biological, psychological, and sociological factors on female development during early adolescence. These discussions lay the ground work for the many exciting suggestions offered in these chapters for future research.

However, these chapters also provide relatively little in the way of concrete suggestions of the link between specific biological processes and psychological development. It is quite clear from the biological chapters that we need to think very specifically about biological processes; for example, we need to be thinking about which specific hormones might be influencing specific aspects of psychological development, about how this influence operates in the body, and about how the influence is modified by other biological and psychological processes. These types of questions can only be framed and answered by interdisciplinary research terms. The high quality of the chapters in this volume suggests that the absence such specific theoretical discussion reflects the current state of the art. The editors have succeeded in bringing together a collection of papers that should stimulate this type of theoretical discussion and collaborative work in the future.

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Social Behavior of Female Vertebrates. Samuel K. Wasser. New York: Academic Press, 1983, 385 pp., \$35.00

Attention to reproduction and social behavior among females has been an outgrowth of several factors. Perhaps two of the important ones include (1) the increasing application of sociobiology which has provided a framework for looking at social and reproductive behavior; and (2) the increasing number of women researchers who have raised questions about female behavior within and without the sociobiological frame work. Wasser's *Social Behavior of Female Vertebrates* exemplifies the growing awareness of, and focus on, the reproductive success of females and their contribution to the survival of the species. It forms part of the wave of books which deal with females and reproduction, such as Jeanne Altmann's *Baboon Mothers and Infants*, Linda Fedigan's *Primate Paradigms*, and Sarah Hrdy's *The Woman that Never Evolved*.

The framework of the book under review is sociobiology, a topic that caught the attention of those outside animal behavior with the publication of E. O. Wilson's *Sociobiology* almost a decade ago. Wilson compiled information from animal behavior studies and presented it within the theoretical context of sexual selection, and kin selection and inclusive fitness, this latter a theory that focuses on the benefits and costs of association among individuals who share genes by common descent. The concept of kin selection and inclusive fitness was formulated 20 years ago by William Hamilton, but the discussion of sexual selection goes back to Darwin and his book *Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. Darwin viewed sexual selection as having two parts: (1) male-male competition (intrasexual selection) to determine the strongest and most fit of the males; and (2) female choice of sexual partners and mates from among those fit males. Robert Trivers added another dimension by proposing the idea that parental investment—the sex investing the most time and energy in its offspring to the exclusion of having another—was the basis for female choice.

For a long time, female choice—if it existed at all—was thought to consist of a female's ability to discriminate and so choose a male of the same and, therefore, the appropriate sex. Anything beyond that remained only a theoretical possibility. As studies were carried out that recorded female behavior, it became apparent that female choice of sexual partners not only was theoretically possible, but in some cases did exist. It was also assumed that female animals show little or no variance in reproductive success, and certainly much less than do males.

Social Behavior of Female Vertebrates addresses these issues. It covers a range of species that illustrate at least one of two topics: (1) female reproduction and sexual selection or (2) cooperation and competition and kin selection. Sarah Hardy, along with George Williams, writes an excellent introduction that lays out the issues from the point of view of the female of the species. Hardy was among the first in primatology to point up the theoretical framework as well as examples to support it, that competition exists among females and is a factor which influences their reproductive success.

In an article by Brown and Downhower we learn that among female sculpin, a small freshwater fish, the pattern and mechanism of female choice of mates is influenced by the timing of reproduction, their ability to move around the range, and the dispersion patterns of the males. Whether bird song is shaped by male-male competition for resources and mating sites, or for attraction of females and their choice of males as mates is a topic examined by Robert Payne. He concludes that the male-male competition model explains more aspects of bird song than does the female choice model. Ring dove sexual behavior is discussed from the female dove perspective by Susan Lumpkin.

The unusual and remarkable reproductive pattern in shore birds is discussed in depth in an excellent article by James Erckmann. Female shore birds are polyandrous; they lay more than one clutch during the breeding season with different males, which incubate the eggs and raise the young. Thus, there is a reversal of the usual roles of the sexes, and males perform all the parental care and females compete for males. Acorn woodpeckers also show a polyandrous bias in mating, and female–female competition may be a dominant factor influencing the mating pattern of this species and other cooperative breeders.

James Russell explores the extent to which kinship influences the care of young and adult social bonds in the gregarious coati, a small carnivore related to racoons. Among elephants, Holly Dublin suggests that dominant females may reduce the reproductive success of lower-ranking females either by outcompeting them for resources necessary for reproduction or by direct behavioral intervention. Long-term studies where individuals are known by their maternal relationships, such as on Japanese macaques and rhesus monkeys on Cayo Santiago, gave early researchers on primate behavior the basis for focusing on females. These studies demonstrated that kinship influenced the outcome of an individual's behavior, that dominance was "passed down" through the mother's line, and that some matrilineal groups were dominant over others. Joan Silk and Robert Boyd examine mate choice from the point of view of females in the same matriline and develop a model to explain the evolution of hierarchical organization and social behavior of female macaques. Among yellow baboons, Samuel Wasser argues that female–female reproductive competition is an important aspect of their reproductive success, thus questioning the common assumption that there is little variance among females in reproduction.

The least illuminating paper focuses on human societies. Irons' article on human reproductive strategies draws on information from three traditional societies and formulates the hypothesis that women exhibit four reproductive strategies. One of the subheadings in the article "Human breeding systems" encapsulates his approach and the difficulty of applying sociobiological theory to human societies in general. Although some people might prefer to think of women as breeders, there is more to reproduction in human societies than bearing and rearing children. marriage rather than breeding systems define the context of women's reproductive activities, which includes not only the place of her children relative to her and her husband's lineage, but also the inclusion or exclusion of sexual and labor rights.

A sociobiological framework is of limited usefulness in understanding the diversity and complexity of these patterns cross-culturally because they include environmental, historical, sociological, ideological, and symbolic components that are quite separate from genes or biology. Because human behavior has the added dimension of language, it is fundamentally different

from the behavior of other animals. As S. L. Washburn pointed out, with language, the rules change and human social behaviors cease to be under genetic control. Any theory which omits the fact that most of human behavior is linguistically mediated is bound to be confusing, oversimplified, or — at best — misleading.

Taken as a whole, however, the book offers new information on a range of species and adds another and important perspective to our understanding of female behavior.

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The Future of Marriage, second edition. *Jessie Bernard*. New York: Yale University Press, 1982, 342 pp., \$25.00 (cloth); \$8.95 (paper).

This new edition of *The Future Marriage* is a reprinting of the first edition, with a 9-page update added. I would like to be able to say that the book is out of date and that the situation of marriage has changed tremendously since the first edition was published in 1972. Unfortunately, the book is still very timely.

The first section of the book suggests that rather than discuss the idea of "marriage," we need to specify whose marriage: the husband's marriage is very different than the wife's marriage. Jokes and complaints to the contrary, marriage is very good for men. When compared with unmarried men, married men are physically and mentally healthier, economically more successful, and happier. The same is not true for women. Unmarried women, compared with married women, tend to be physically healthier and mentally healthier. Marriage has detrimental effects on women, especially because of the status denigration that marriage brings. However, more married women than unmarried report themselves as happy. Bernard questions why love and companionship must demand such a high cost from women. She also considers the negative effect that children have on marriage and suggests that shared roles between the husband and the wife would benefit marriage.

In the second part of the book, Bernard discusses the past development of marriage, as well as some present trends and future projections. Marriage has involved the idea of commitment, though the specifics of the commitment have varied in different times and different cultures. In recent history, marriage has become more democratic in terms of who may marry and who selects one's mate, but not necessarily in terms of the marriage rela-

tionship. Bernard explores the issues involved in egalitarian relationships, particularly the supposed conflict between companionship and sexuality. Several demographic projections are discussed in terms of the effects that they will have on the wife's marriage and the husband's marriage.

The third section of the book deals with male and female prophets, as well as Bernard's own future visions. When envisioning changes in marriage, male prophets emphasize alterations in sexual relationships, such as group marriage and swinging. However, the female prophets emphasize changes in relationships between the sexes—these changes are sexual, personal, psychological, and social, such as shared households and nonmarriage. Bernard's future vision is one of shared roles in marriage, in which housework, parenthood, and economic support of the family would be shared by the spouses.

In the final section of the book, Bernard states that marriage does have a future. This future is full of options and there will be wider possibilities of happy marriages. Change is inevitable, and changes in marriage will occur.

The update section addresses some recent trends, such as changes in attitudes toward marriage, the continued increase in two-earner marriage and the wives' overload and increase in cohabitation. And Bernard's answer to the question, "Does marriage have a future?" is still a strong "Yes!"

This book is a good hybrid between a population book and an academic work. Through there is liberal and appropriate use of other sources and studies, they are presented in a way that will not distract the casual reader. The tables, notes, and references are placed at the end of the book. Though this might be slightly less convenient for the scholarly reader, it makes the book more accessible to the casual reader.

The questions that the book addresses are still important questions and deserve serious attention. Some readers might be put off by the main text of the book containing only pre-1972 references and information. Though a revision integrating more recent material into the main text would be interesting, it is clear that the issues and their treatment in this book remain current. I recommend this as a good book to stimulate thinking on the future of marriage.

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