

Irrationalities in the Ranks

Arms and the Enlisted Woman. JUDITH HICKS STIEHM. Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1989. x, 331 pp., illus. \$29.95.

In her provocative assessment of women's position in the military, political scientist Judith Hicks Stiehm makes some startling policy recommendations. Consider a few of them: Civilian and military planners should increase the representation of women to approximately half of our military force; reserve some military occupational specialties (MOS) for women and others for men (rather than guarantee equal job access); recognize that one of the responsibilities of the military as a social institution is to support young mothers, much as it prepares young men for the civilian workforce; and give the Air Force (and the right to fly in combat) to women. These recommendations are in stark contrast to recent military policy regarding women—get rid of them entirely, unless they can be relegated to specific support specialties and kept far away from combat. Regardless of one's view of Stiehm's recommendations, *Arms and the Enlisted Woman* is an intriguing contribution to the growing literature on the military and women's position within it. It challenges common assumptions and raises important issues that military and civilian policymakers should consider.

As she readily acknowledges, Stiehm does not ground her work in political, sociological, or psychological theory. Nor does she rely on scientific sampling procedures. This is not to denigrate her work, because Stiehm did not intend to make a profound contribution to political theory or to generalize about all military women. Rather, her goal was to understand why so many of the military's policies toward women "fly in the face of both logic and evidence." By focusing on those aspects of military policy that run counter to common sense or experience, Stiehm uncovers unstated assumptions about women in the military and their effective "utilization." To accomplish her goal, Stiehm interviewed hundreds of enlisted women and men of all ranks from all four military services and immersed herself in personal narratives, historical exposition, policy statements, memos, minutes of meet-

ings, analyses of data, and legislation. The result is a rich description of women's and men's lives in the military and a fascinating discussion of how policy decisions affect those lives.

Stiehm's basic conclusion is that a fundamental incompatibility exists between enlisted women and a set of widely held and functional myths about the military. Viewed as necessary to the pursuit of war, these myths assert that war is manly, that warriors protect their country's citizens, and that soldiers are substitutable. Appeals to masculinity and to the image of the warrior protecting hearth and home have long been staples of recruiting strategies. "Fairness" has meant that the risk of dying for one's country is equally distributed; "fate" thus accounts for one person's death in war and another's survival. Some view the very existence of women as contradicting these fundamental beliefs. Others argue that women in uniform threaten our country's "readiness" and send the message to our allies and enemies that we are militarily weak. After all, how can war be masculine if women are permitted to engage in it? And how can the risk of dying be equally distributed when women are not substitutable for men in combat? Stiehm thus argues that it is the *absence* of women that makes them essential to the military. Although women are already very much in evidence in the military, the myths can still be salvaged by prohibiting them from engaging in combat.

Stiehm argues that these myths are functional because all militaries depend on the psychological coercion of young men to build their armies. Appeals to masculinity are necessary because men have fragile gender identities (unlike women, whose gender identities are confirmed by their biological capacity to give birth). Men need to separate from their mothers, and hence from all women, to truly become men. Recognizing this, "old men" require that "young men" undergo this rite of passage before achieving the power and privileges that accompany (male) adulthood. Linking manliness to war thus gives young men the inducement they need to risk their lives as warriors, and old men the bodies they need to fight their wars.

Such psychological reductionism, how-

ever, is itself mythological. To my mind, Stiehm's myths reflect military ideology, and ideology can best be used to understand how elites *justify* decisions made for other reasons. Fortunately, Stiehm provides a plethora of evidence on other, more structural factors as well. A case in point is her narration of how different cohorts of military women were differentially affected by rapidly changing policies regarding women's recruitment. From 1948 until 1984, women's representation in the Armed Forces increased from 0.4 to 10 percent (p. 33). Much of this increase occurred in the 1970s, when civilian and military leaders were more amenable to women in uniform. The passage in Congress of the Equal Rights Amendment, the support of President Carter and his appointees, the move to a volunteer Army, several successful legal decisions, and a demand for military labor that exceeded supply all encouraged women's recruitment and retention. In the 1980s a backlash developed. With the election of President Reagan, political appointees in the services began to downsize numerical "end-strengths" for women and to eliminate some of the gains women had achieved (for example, MOS previously open to them were closed). Strongly held political beliefs regarding women's proper role—in the military and in society as a whole—enabled opponents to successfully change the terms of the debate from one focused on "rights and equal opportunity" to "readiness, effectiveness, and efficiency." Thus the existence of commonly held assumptions (Stiehm's "myths") enabled military planners to assert that other goals had priority over "rights" (p. 49). What was really going on here, however, was that other factors had reduced the military's reliance on female labor: an increase in military wages and a downturn in the economy swelled the number of men seeking military service. Military planners no longer had to rely on women to meet their recruitment goals.

Stiehm also provides evidence to dispel several myths about women's effectiveness as soldiers. An important example is the claim that women are less valuable because they lose more time owing to pregnancy. Until 1975, discharge for pregnancy was automatic. Since that time, such discharge has been voluntary and military leaders have had to confront an issue—pregnant soldiers—that is anathema to many of them. Using the Navy's own data, Stiehm demonstrates that men actually lose more work time than women, even with women's greater losses for medical (including pregnancy) reasons. Another myth Stiehm challenges is that women handicap the military's readiness and effectiveness. Reporting the results of a

1977 Army field experiment, she notes that the percentage of women in a company was unrelated to its performance ("operational capability"). Rather, in the words of their own commanding officers, the important determinants of success were leadership, training, and morale.

Finally, the issue of physical strength has long been a sticking point regarding the effective utilization of women in the military. One consequence of the backlash in the 1980s was the reassessment of women's assignment to "nontraditional" (that is, non-traditional to women in the private sector) MOS. Certain specialties were assessed as unsuitable for women because of their lesser strength, stamina, and agility and reassigned as men-only jobs. Military leaders trotted out various studies purporting to show that women were "misplaced" with respect to physical strength. And yet, as Stiehm points out, about one-half of the women in the Army were already doing the jobs for which studies claimed they were unsuitable (p. 203). Military planners were thus using a physical-strength criterion to eliminate women's access to certain MOS. This is only one example of how military leaders institutionalize sex differences in opportunity within the military. They also reserve certain jobs for male military personnel rotating back from sea duty, or allot jobs on the basis of men's career development, presumed sex differences in interests, and definition of jobs as combat-related.

The military and civilian leaders who buy the myths Stiehm describes have a problem. Though they have succeeded since 1980 in restricting women's access and mobility within the ranks and in keeping them from combat, they cannot make military women go away. The military is too good a deal for women, especially poor women whose only alternative may be welfare. After all, the military provides secure employment, equal pay for equal work, and benefits for dependents (especially important for single mothers). Stiehm suggests that the military might be looking at the issue backward, that there is really a "man problem" rather than a woman problem. The military, after all, regularly coerces its soldiers to accept a variety of things uncritically (for example, relocation, jobs). Rather than falling back on the assumption that women cannot lead, Stiehm argues that the military needs to coerce men to follow when women do lead (p. 107).

In conclusion, I doubt that even those sympathetic to women in uniform will buy all of Stiehm's recommendations. I wish that, as it might be put in military jargon, Stiehm had prioritized her recommendations. Some seem hopelessly unrealistic (for example, give the Air Force to women). But

we should not be turned off by such recommendations and miss the important issues Stiehm addresses. She boldly challenges us to rethink our prejudices and uncover our ingrained ideas about women in the military. In that she succeeds admirably.

PATRICIA A. ROOS
Department of Sociology,
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick, NJ 08903-5072

The Bones from Zhoukoudian

The Story of Peking Man. From Archaeology to Mystery. JIA LANPO and HUANG WEIWEN. Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, and Oxford University Press, New York, 1990. viii, 270 pp., illus. \$29.95. Translated by Yin Zhiqi.

The bones of Peking Man are famous for being both lost and found. They were found during the 1920s and '30s in a former cave near the village of Zhoukoudian, approximately 50 kilometers southwest of Beijing. In 1941, during the Japanese occupation, the bones were crated and sent away for safekeeping. Although stories differ, they appear to have been sent to the U.S. Embassy, after which they disappeared. Rumors about their whereabouts have been circulating ever since. Were they inadvertently discarded as trash, sunk aboard a ship, or hidden for ransom in Japan or the United States?

The Peking Man collection (some specimens are female) is classified as *Homo erectus* and comprises parts of several skeletons—including some well-preserved skulls—dating back between 700,000 and 200,000 years. The excavation of the Zhoukoudian site has been a large-scale, international affair involving scientists from North America, Europe, and Asia on and off for more than 50 years.

Jia Lanpo is a distinguished Chinese archaeologist and Quaternary geologist and the most senior living Peking Man fieldworker, having begun work at Zhoukoudian in 1931. With the help of co-author Huang Weiwen, he tells his side of the Peking Man saga firsthand. Jia Lanpo has no real axes to grind, except perhaps with the former Chinese government because it held up the Peking Man project for years, pronouncing its international character inconsistent with the ideology of "cultural revolution." He discusses the main Peking Man controversies about dating, artifacts, the use of fire, and cannibalism. He also describes, albeit briefly, other early *Homo* sites in China in order to place Peking Man in spatial and temporal context. Jia Lanpo believes that the common ancestors of all *Homo* swept out of

Asia—probably South China—to populate perimeters of the Old World. Some Western scientists will be inclined to call this interpretation Sinocentric.

Historians of science will enjoy Jia Lanpo's tales about the early search for Peking Man among collections of "dragon bones" and his personal recollections of well-known anthropologists like Davidson Black, Franz Weidenrich, Pei Wenzhong, and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. Unfortunately, many of his book's black-and-white photographs are of poor quality or dubious worth and detract from the publisher's apparent attempt to make the book attractive. The main contribution of *The Story of Peking Man* is that it gives an authoritative Chinese perspective on what is, after all, a Chinese find. It will not spoil Jia Lanpo's story to reveal that, despite hunches, he too does not know what happened to the Peking Man bones. Their fate remains a mystery.

PAUL A. ERICKSON
Department of Anthropology,
Saint Mary's University,
Halifax, Nova Scotia B3H 3C3, Canada

Natural Clones

A Functional Biology of Clonal Animals.

ROGER N. HUGHES. Chapman and Hall (Routledge, Chapman and Hall), New York, 1990. xii, 331 pp., illus. \$75. Functional Biology Series.

Functional biology seems to be the newest trend in the "organismal renaissance," an amalgamation of what we used to call physiology and functional morphology. As defined in the foreword to this monograph series, functional biology is "the way organisms acquire and then make use of resources in metabolism, movement, growth, reproduction and so on." The goal of the series, then, is to elucidate both how and why organisms of a particular type, in this case clonal animals, work.

The title of the present book notwithstanding, it concerns itself largely with the population and evolutionary consequences of cloning. There are a number of interesting aspects of the subject, such as how clones integrate information and resource use, that are not considered. In fact, no consideration is really given to how the biology of clonal animals differs from that of non-clonal animals, except with respect to reproduction.

The book is organized into seven chapters, beginning with reviews on the nature, mechanisms, and the consequences of cloning, in which the terminology of gametic and agametic cloning is introduced. These chapters are reasonably comprehensive and,