Strike, a group formed to support the 12,000 workers who went on strike against Inco in Sudbury in 1978. While the authors are dedicated trade unionists, they make no bones about the fact that the labour movement is still male-dominated, and that barriers often arise not only when facing the employer, but within the unions themselves.

Perhaps most impressive about *Union Sisters* was the ability of its editors to bring together so much expertise and experience on such a diversity of labour-related issues. *Union Sisters* essentially continues where Julie White's also excellent *Women and Unions* leaves off (White is also a contributor to *Union Sisters),* taking a more detailed look at the specific struggles labour women are waging on a day-to-day basis. For women outside the labour movement, the book provides significant insights into how unions and labour centrals operate. And for those of us who are labour activists ourselves, it gives a sense of perspective, demonstrating some of the different strategies that have been used in the ongoing fight for equality.

Also noteworthy are the last two chapters — a "Cineography", listing films, videos and slide presentations dealing with women, work and unions, and a bibliography of union publications related to women, complete with the addresses of the unions which produced them.

While virtually all the contributors acknowledge that women have a long way to go to achieve equality in the workplace and in the labour movement, the overriding tone of *Union Sisters* is one of optimism. As Jane Adams and Julie Griffin put it in their chapter on "Bargaining for Equality":

> Women have not stopped, and will not stop using the collective bargaining process to address the broad range of issues affecting women's health, happiness and welfare. Five years ago, few people thought sexual harassment, paternity leave or paid child care were fit issues for collective bargaining. Now many people are looking at the whole range of seemingly "sacred" management rights. These issues will become increasingly subject to collective bargaining and women workers have only to gain from such challenges.

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Congressional Women: Their Recruitment, Treatment and Behavior Gertzog, Irwin N. *New York: Praeger, Women and Politics Series, 1984 pp. 290*

Political Equality in a Democratic Society: Women in the United States Kendrigan, Mary Lou *Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1984 pp. 149*

These books, while strikingly different in focus and approach, are nonetheless best examined together as their strengths and weaknesses are complementary. Gertzog's book is a straightforward, empirical analysis of women in Congress which eschews theoretical discussion of the field of women and politics. Kendrigan's book, on the other hand, raises numerous theoretical issues without exploring the relevant empirical data to flesh them out. Together, they offer the reader a significant amount of food for thought.

Gertzog's purpose is to determine whether or not contemporary Congresswomen differ from their predecessors. Accordingly, he gathered background data on all the women who had served in Congress from 1917 to 1976. As well, he interviewed 13 of the 18 women and 11 of the 25 men reputed to be sensitive to personal and professional relationships among House members serving in the 95th Congress about the experiences of contemporary Congresswomen. The dis-

cussion is divided into three main sections: recruitment, treatment and behaviour.

In the area of recruitment, Gertzog finds that the Congresswomen from 1965 onward have more professional training, more political experience and are younger than their predecessors, and are increasingly similar to the men in terms of these background characteristics. He concludes that the political recruitment process is more inclusive than in the past and that women are now more available for recruitment than in the past, both of which are healthy developments.

The next section explores changes in patterns of acceptance of women members by Congressmen and the extent to which they are treated as equals. While all Gertzog's respondents agreed that things were much improved over earlier periods, there was some disagreement over the character of the current situation. Not too surprisingly, the women tended to see the situation as rather worse than the men. Even among the women, however, there was substantial disagreement. Given the small sample sizes, and the anecdotal nature of the evidence, little can be resolved about such matters, though the impression emerges that the men are gradually adjusting to the growing number of women colleagues.

Women have largely integrated into the informal groups of the House, but were still excluded from some. Most notable here is the Chowder and Marching Society, a conservative Republican group which typically includes the inner circle of the Republican party in the House. No women have ever belonged to this group and several Republician Congresswomen did not even know it existed. The significance of this is rather speculative, however, since the real role of such a group is not determined and the Congressswomen did not feel their effectiveness was undermined by their exclusion.

In terms of access to leadership positions, Gertzog observes that the situation has improved for Democratic women and declined for the Republican ones. He concludes that the situation will not change much until there are significantly more women elected and they achieve much more seniority, which is the major obstacle to top leadership positions for many women. At the same time, he reports that women are no longer restricted to the committees dealing with "women's issues", but now serve on virtually all committees, including the most powerful ones, such as Ways and Means.

In the area of behaviour, Gertzog finds that contemporary Congresswomen are more concerned about introducing equalitarian legislation than were their predecessors. At the same time, many of them pointedly reject the label of "feminist" or a role for themselves as "women's representatives". The reluctance of many Congresswomen to identify with the feminist cause is amply illustrated in Gertzog's discussion of the Congresswomen's Caucus, with the intricate bargaining and compromising required to obtain full membership. Also interesting here is his discussion of Bella Abzug's performance and the reactions to it by her male and female colleagues. These offer solid political analysis of how constituency pressures severely constrain joint action by women.

Throughout his discussion, Gertzog demonstrates a keen knowledge of the ways of Congress. This book is perhaps primarily directed at students of legislative processes. It is a very good presentation of how women have integrated into these institutions. This fills a gap in the literature on women and politics, which has tended to focus on state and local, or on nongovernmental, institutions.

What is missing from Gertzog's analysis is any extensive response to feminist analyses of the constraints on women's participation. His book concludes with the observation that "the full integration of women into congressional life will not take place until myths about women's

subordinate social role are rejected". However, there is relatively little to support this observation in what has transpired in the text. Beyond that, one might examine what difference it makes to have women in the House vis-a-vis women's issues. The impression emerges that it makes a difference in matters of administrative process (banning naked go-go dancers on military bases) but rather less in matters of national policy-making. While Gertzog has not addressed these issues explicitly, nevertheless there is much in the text to stimulate reflection on such matters. Gertzog has offered a solid descriptive study of women in a national legislature which fills a significant gap in the existing literature.

Kendrigan's stated purpose is "to assess what feminists want from politics when they direct their attention toward politics". More than anything else, feminists see politics as a means toward increased equality between the sexes. Accordingly, Kendrigan proposes to analyze the requirements for greater equality working from a feminist critique of society. In general, she argues that political equality will only be possible when there are changes within the economic sphere and the private spheres of human relations. She also proposes to evaluate the contributions that feminist thought and research can make to substantive democratic theory. This is a large task and one which is potentially a significant contribution to both feminist and democratic theory. Unfortunately, the promise is not realized in any of these areas.

The first three chapters consist of good, concise summaries of the literature on political, social and economic inequalities. She employs the concept of "institutional sexism", which is social stratification with a "double whammy", to explain why things are not changing substantially despite two decades of attention to the issue. She especially emphasizes the role played by family responsibilities in constraining women's efforts to achieve equality. Moreover, Kendrigan attempts to explain the general lack of interest in reform among women by claiming that this is simply further proof that women are exploited, since "it is precisely the mark of extreme exploitation or degradation that those who suffer from it the most do not see themselves differently from how their exploiters see them". In these sections she tends to overstate the extent to which the characteristics of personal life inhibit women's political involvement. The more recent literature, Virginia Sapiro's *The Political Integration of Women* for example, has tended to significantly reduce its importance.

The last two chapters present Kendrigan's proposals for more equality. She advocates "equality of results" in both the economy and politics. For all the importance of this concept to her argument, its content is left surprisingly vague. At one point she illustrates it by remarking that it involves raising the bottom of the social structure and decreasing the extent of economic inequality. Later, she defines it as a situation where nobody is utterly powerless or powerful and where all citizens effectively influence political decisions. Both these definitions could be criticized as excessively modest or unrealistically demanding, depending on the precise standards used. This needs much more serious development.

The same might be said of her remarks about political equality. She states that "the results to be achieved are not absolute equality of condition, but enough equality of condition to allow more equal participation in citizenship for women." She maintains that "women will not receive adequate representation until feminist concerns are given serious consideration in the development of public policy". This requires that women vote their own interests as voters, that more women must be elected to office and that organized interest groups representing women's interests be highly mobilized. Kendrigan concludes that the number of women necessary in public office equals the number necessary to ensure that some, if not all feminist policy goals

are achieved, and all of their demands receive a fair hearing. Here one must note Kendrigan's easy equation of "women" with "feminist". It hardly needs emphasis that there is a substantial gap between the two. Moreover, this is more a measure of political success than a formula for that success.

Finally, Kendrigan suggests that feminist theory has contributed to democratic theory by revealing the inadequacies of procedural definitions of democracy and raising the importance of process and results. In fact, such criticisms have been staple elements of participatory democratic theory for almost two decades. However, women have been ignored in both classical and participatory democratic theory and there is certainly room for important contributions here. This may require distinctive lines of analysis. Given that most American women, who form a political majority, do not share feminists' policy goals, how are feminists to square this with democracy? Ultimately, there is little attention to these and other issues related to democratic theory perhaps because, as Kendrigan admits, feminist views on democracy are implicit rather than explicit.

In the final analysis, Kendrigan presents a good overview of the inequalities American women experience and offers the outlines of an approach to redress these inequalities. She fails, however, to make a compelling case for the "equality of results" approach she recommends.

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Women, The Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents, Vol. 1, 1750-1880, and Vol. 2, 1880-1950. edited by Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen. *Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983.*

In two substantial volumes, Susan G. Bell and Karen M. Offen present 263 excerpts from a wide variety of documents in an ongoing debate about women, their demands for freedom, and their relation to the family in Europe and the United States from the Enlightenment to the Atomic Age. In the General Introduction, the editors identify two conflicting themes: women's realization that men's struggles for liberty could be relevant to their subordinate position in the patriarchal family and men's defense of patriarchal authority in opposition to, and in conjunction with, challenges to the church and state. Excerpts are arranged topically and chronologically to illustrate the tension between women's desire for freedom and their prescribed role in the family and to reveal "the double standard of individual freedom", whereby men sought autonomy while denying — or "postponing" — it for women.

The editors have surveyed, selected from and, when necessary, translated portions of educational and other prescriptive literature, legal codes and commentaries, scholarly and popular essays, political tracts and programs, religious and anticlerical statements, fiction and diaries. While the famous philosophers (e.g., Rousseau, Kant, Marx, Mill and Nietzsche) and feminists (e.g., Wollstonecroft, Stanton, the Pankhursts, and Kollontai) are properly represented, their less reknowned opponents and other forgotten participants in the debates are revived. Students who can not comprehend the depth of opposition to feminism may find readings from de Maistre, Comte, *The Lancet*, Pope Leo XIII (1880) or Pope Pius XII (1945) instructive. Students will learn about the early (pre-Marxist) socialists, such as Fourier, Enfantin, or Deroin, and their advocacy of women's economic and sexual emancipation, in addition to the First International's hostility toward women's work and late nineteenth-century Marxists' acceptance of the traditional sexual division of labour.

Instructors and students alike should benefit from an introduction to women and their allies in countries other than the United States, Eng-