

Mothers and Others: The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding

Sarah Blaffer Hrdy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. 432 pp.

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Almost 40 years ago, playwright-anthropologist Robert Ardrey (1962) popularized Raymond Dart's the "killer ape" hypothesis to account for human divergence from other primates. Hunting, including the drive to vanquish members of one's own and related species, and the development of lethal weapons were seen as the driving engine of human evolution. We seem to have come full circle as it is Sarah Blaffer Hrdy's contention that what sets *Homo sapiens* apart is our profound sociality. To dramatically illustrate this point, the book opens with the reader asked to imagine a full airplane on a long journey with the human occupants peacefully ignoring the numerous total strangers in close proximity. Now consider . . .

traveling with a plane-load of chimpanzees. . . . Any one of us would be lucky to disembark with all ten fingers and toes still attached. . . . Bloody earlobes and other appendages would litter the aisles. Compressing so many highly impulsive strangers into a tight space would be a recipe for mayhem. [p. 5]

Not only is concivality and mutual support distinctly human in Hrdy's view but also the fact that these traits "emerged in African [hominins] hundreds of thousands of years before inventive, symbol-generating, and talkative humans did" (p. 66).

In spite of the book's subtitle—*The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding*—Hrdy does not spend a great deal of time discussing relevant psychological principles such as *intersubjectivity* and *theory of mind*; the reader whose interest is piqued might find Phillippe Rochat's (2009) *Others as Minds: Social Origins of Self-Consciousness* more fruitful. What Hrdy does focus on is a subject she "owns"—namely, allomaternal care or cooperative breeding. In *Mothers and Others*, Hrdy extends many of the key ideas and issues introduced in her landmark *Mother Nature* (1999). The argument begins with the long period of dependency by human juveniles, which, unlike the chimpanzee case, does not act as a brake on fertility. On the contrary, fitness is enhanced as mothers are relieved by others of the burden of child care, enabling shorter IBI and higher fertility.

Hrdy here advances beyond earlier discussions of this phenomenon to posit that distributed care of infants and toddlers may have selected for greater cooperation and altruism among humans. She cites numerous examples of food sharing, for example, as a hallmark of cooperative breeding species. Further, "among the higher primates, humans stand out for their chronic readiness to exchange small favors and give gifts" (p. 25). The killer ape is not entirely absent

from this narrative, as the author acknowledges widespread evidence of internecine conflict but sees these cases as exceptions rather than the norm. To this end, Hrdy gives far more attention to relatively egalitarian, nonaggressive African foraging societies. Unfortunately, however, this relative neglect of other social systems undermines her argument regarding the ubiquity of cooperative breeding. That is, I took away the message that we should not necessarily expect to see a heavy reliance on allomaternal care outside the aboriginal model. My reading of the literature, however, suggests that the distributed care of the young is very nearly universal. To mention just one recent study of Pashtun nomadic pastoralists, the author describes routine care by nonmothers, including (paternal) grandmothers and fathers (Casimir 2010).

Anthropologists have attempted to construct a *dramatic persona* of alloparents beginning with Herbert Barry and Leonora Paxson's (1971) survey, which found that infants and toddlers were highly likely to be in the care of alloparents, especially older siblings. This is a prominent theme in *Mothers and Others*; while sibcare is relatively neglected, grandmothers and fathers each get a chapter of their own. Hrdy reviews the work of Kristen Hawkes and colleagues (Hawkes et al. 2000) and others on postmenopausal women as critical caretakers of the young, but I found particularly novel and interesting the discussion of fathers. Although acknowledging the potential for fathers to function as caretakers of the young, most of her arguments suggest that males are often, if not mostly, a liability. She debunks the theory of the father as great hunter-provider engaged in a "sex contract" with the child's mother, trading sexual access for high-quality protein. Men are not consistently successful as hunters; they do not exclusively provision their own mates and offspring; and whether off hunting or herding or going walk about, men are often or usually absent from the domestic scene. Even among tamarins (Hrdy's discussion of other cooperative breeders is one of the book's distinct strengths), fathers scale back their involvement in child care if other alloparents are available (p. 172).

According to Hrdy, "What mothers and infants most urgently needed a male for was to protect them—not just from predators but from conspecific males" (p. 148). This assertion draws on extensive research, including Hrdy's early work with Hanuman Langurs, showing how vulnerable youngsters are to the attacks of ambitious males. Similarly, among chronically aggressive communities such as the Ache, fathers may play a protective role. Ultimately, however, Hrdy concludes that "human males may nurture young a little, a lot or not at all" (p. 162). Of course this high variability

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