

usage féminin de la force soit attestée ». De plus, l'effet de « tokenism » se constate également, surtout chez les nouvelles recrues. Un bon coup est perçu comme exceptionnel pour une femme, et une erreur vient confirmer les problèmes d'adaptation des femmes à la profession.

Dans le quotidien, lors de moments plus sociaux, comme le montrent également de nombreuses études, les femmes paient encore leur droit d'intégration par l'obligation d'accepter un harcèlement sexiste qui passe principalement par la voie de l'humour. Ce dénigrement en continu des femmes par l'humour est, en fait, pour la majorité de ces policières, considéré comme faisant partie intégrante des rapports sociaux et comme résultant de leur choix de travailler dans un milieu masculin. C'est ce qui amène les policières à rarement considérer cet humour à répétition sur le peu de compétences des femmes ou encore les commentaires à connotation sexuelle comme du harcèlement. Est en jeu l'acceptation par leurs collègues masculins : « L'adaptation des femmes à la sociabilité proprement policière constitue de fait un test aussi important que la capacité réelle à exercer l'ensemble des missions de la profession ». Et il est difficile de se défendre contre cet humour masculin par une solidarité féminine, la solidarité entre policières étant mal perçue.

Ce peu d'alliances entre les policières fait d'ailleurs en sorte que les avantages sociaux liés à la maternité sont encore très peu développés et que la policière doit toujours prouver que la grossesse et la maternité ne perturbent pas sa carrière, la carrière idéale étant calquée sur un profil masculin, une carrière ininterrompue jointe à une grande disponibilité horaire au travail. C'est pourquoi les femmes utilisent très peu le travail à temps partiel dans la police; ce serait montrer que la famille perturbe leur engagement dans la profession. Toutefois, souligne l'auteure, il existe une différence entre les récits des nouvelles dans la profession au regard des plus anciennes : il semble que ce harcèlement sexiste tend à diminuer au fur et à mesure que les femmes entrent dans la profession, mais également que les nouvelles recrues masculines s'identifient davantage à la réalité travail/famille, étant moins attachées à une virilité traditionnelle et au caractère « cowboy » de la profession.

Quant au harcèlement sexuel, même lors d'agressions, il est difficile pour les femmes de se plaindre car la culture qui domine encore est « que ce sont les femmes qui sont coupables de ne pas avoir su déjouer les pièges de la sociabilité virile ».

En somme, cette arrivée des femmes dans la profession, contrairement à certaines attentes, n'a pas profondément changé la culture masculine valorisée par les tâches de répression. Ces tâches demeurent les plus valorisées dans l'identification professionnelle au regard des tâches jugées plus féminines comme la prévention et les services à la communauté. Les femmes qui entrent dans la profession doivent ainsi s'inscrire dans cette culture traditionnelle masculine qui a façonné l'image du policier.

Ce livre, émaillé d'extraits d'entrevues, communique avec beaucoup de vie, de clarté et de finesse, la réalité des poli-

cières. Il permet presque de vivre au quotidien plusieurs réalités des femmes dans cette profession. À lire.

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**Niels Teunis and Gilbert Herdt**, eds., *Sexual Inequalities and Social Justice*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007, 264 pages.

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This volume is the somewhat belated result of a session organized by Gilbert Herdt for the 2001 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. The contributors include sociologists, psychologists and gerontologists along with teachers in interdisciplinary fields such as human sexuality studies and ethnic studies. Only three of fifteen contributors are listed as anthropologists. However, some of the essays are ethnographically rich, particularly the contributions of Shuttleworth, Fields, Carrington and Soh.

In their introduction the editors argue that the academic study of sexual inequalities is somewhat belated compared with studies of other forms of social inequality such as class, race and ethnicity. The pioneers in this field were activists rather than academics, and included such exemplars as the leaders of the women's health movements of the 1970s. There is a rather tiresome gibe (p. 14) about the disembodied, romantic and incomprehensible writings of postmodernists and queer theorists in the 1980s and 1990s. Clearer, more partisan studies are preferred. Teunis and Herdt believe that the AIDS epidemic provided activist academics with the moral stimulus they needed to partake in the creation of scholarship about sexual inequalities. They note that practices of systemic structural violence are involved in the production of different kinds of inequality which often intersect to produce complex forms of oppression. Thus in this collection, Sonya Grant Arreola and Rafael Diaz describe gay Latinos in Los Angeles who are at one and the same time oppressed because they are gay members of a heterosexist culture, because they are poor, because some of them have histories as victims of sexual abuse and because they are immigrants in the U.S. Inasmuch as Teunis and Herdt feel that the engaged participant rather than the distanced observer is often better placed to understand both systemic oppression and the actors who resist it, positivist research models are rejected in favour of advocacy for positionality.

The problems posed by positionality are not interrogated by the editors but they are intelligently considered by some of the contributors. Jessica Fields who investigated sex education in North Carolina middle schools decided to mask her lesbian identity so that she could interact with conservative parents, teachers and homophobic students. Doubtless, her identity informed her cogent critique of educational practices. Russell Shuttleworth is not himself disabled, but lived near a

disabled cousin when he was growing up and therefore understood the forms of discrimination the disabled face. When one of his disabled friends asked for his company on a visit to a strip club where the researcher would have to negotiate with a sex worker on "Josh's" behalf, Shuttleworth agreed despite his qualms. Christopher Carrington was/is a participant in the subculture of the gay dance "Circuit" (events that take place in many Western countries throughout the year), and draws on a quarter-century of experience to explain the hedonistic, liminal abandon of three-day parties which involve uninhibited dancing, muscular sexuality and consumption of a plethora of psychotropic drugs, while also raising substantial funds for gay charities. Carrington's functionalist conclusions would not be startling to most anthropologists, namely that the Circuit is a response to pervasive homophobia, prudery and the climate of fear caused by AIDS. However, they contradict the opinions of some AIDS activists and conservative gays such as Andrew Sullivan who view the Circuit as reprehensible, irresponsible and defying all logic. One could say that the partygoers on the circuit follow a cultural script which resists the "rationality" of health workers and many other gay activists.

Hector Carrillo describes cultural scripts followed by both men and women in Guadalajara which run counter to the intentions of AIDS workers. It has been a commonplace assumption since the 1980s that sexual liberation and sexual/gender equality are the worst enemies of the practices which propagate STIs like AIDS. However, in Mexico romantic scripts invoking spontaneity, seduction and submission are abundant in both opposite-sex and gay encounters (they are consistent with the common notion of the virgin who will only say "Yes" after a confession of love by her partner). Carrillo concludes that one must acknowledge and engage with such representations of difference.

Some other writers in this volume have been involved in AIDS research. Arreola claims that gay Latino males in Los Angeles are more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour leading to AIDS if they were victims of sexual abuse when they were older children or adolescents. She distinguishes between those who by their own accounts consented to sexual activity with older males from those who did not. The former have the same rates of AIDS infection as Latino gays reporting no adolescent sex with males five or more years older than themselves, whereas there is a much higher rate of AIDS among those who consider themselves victims and consequently have lower self-esteem. Rafael Diaz is puzzled by the number of young gay males in the USA who do not know their own serostatus. Among Latinos that proportion is 70%. Diaz attributes this willed ignorance to stereotypes within the gay community. The blame for AIDS which the straight community directs towards all gay men is redirected within the gay community to those who are HIV positive. If one is not identified as HIV positive, then one need not be shunned. Following Stallybrass and White, Diaz calls this process *displaced abjection*.

Sexual stereotypes are generated by the symbolic and structural violence which pervades most classrooms where adolescents are educated in North America and Europe. As Herdt, Russell, Sweat and Marzullo remark (p. 235), "since the time of G. Stanley Hall at the close of the nineteenth century, the invention of adolescence as a sexual period has gone hand in hand with the emergence of public schools as an arena for social control of adolescent sexuality." Some symbolic violence is directly perpetrated by the educational system itself, but a large part of it results from the representations and practices which adolescents learn from their peers and their parents. Both the assumption that girls who discuss sexuality in a knowledgeable way in sex education classes are "sluts," and the labelling of fellow-students as "fags" and "lezzies" are products of the sexualized universe which students transport to the classroom, and may have little to do with the lessons which are being taught. Unfortunately parents, school board members, designers of curricula and teachers routinely fail to recognize that the sexuality of students is a matter which must be addressed in the present but not the future tense. These were some of the issues addressed in Fields' description of a sex education class in a North Carolina high school.

North Carolina has introduced a program called TAUM (Teach Abstinence until Marriage). Public school boards which obtain the requisite majority can teach an alternative curriculum called "Abstinence Plus" which permits discussion of contraception and abortion. Fields attended classes in a North Carolina school where descriptions of women's genitalia and role in the reproductive process were greeted by moans and attitudes of contempt, and descriptions of male genitalia and sexuality evoked laughter. Homophobia was prevalent. The teacher did not squarely address these issues but rather talked clinically about sexuality as though she were addressing a class on the reproduction of an amoeba. She did not encourage students to address their problems in the first person. Fields noted the discomfort of many of the young women in the class. Whereas many conservatives would blame this discomfort on a betrayal of Christian female modesty, she argues that a candid confrontation with the problems of gender inequality and gender stereotypes would have been more appropriate.

Bullying of gays, boys who are judged "effeminate," lesbians and "tomboys" is endemic in many North American schools. In the late 1980s gay-straight alliances (GSAs) and the "safe space" movement spread to high schools in New England as the result of efforts of predominantly heterosexual teachers and administrators. Now they are to be found in schools all over North America. Herdt, Russell, Seat and Marzullo investigated this movement in schools in North California. Most of the findings in this chapter emanate from three focus groups they held. It is notable that two out of the three leaders of high school GSAs whom they discuss were straight students who were labelled as gay and lesbian, respectively, because of failure to match heterosexist gender stereotypes. Herdt et al. believe that GSAs are achieving some modest suc-

cess in improving the climate for LGBT people in high schools.

Whereas one may easily see that gays are the victims of systemic sexual inequality, one does not tend to think of disabled people in the same way. Shuttleworth worked with 14 victims of cerebral palsy in the San Francisco area. In addition to their physical traumata they also suffered from a lack of "sexual access." This is because perceived dysfunctions in some parts of the body are universalized and because there is a tendency to view the disabled as asexual and childlike. In other words the physical illness is exaggerated and multiplied as it is constructed by collective representations. This is a point made a century ago by Robert Hertz (1960) in his essay on "The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand."

It is a little unfortunate that North America (including Mexico) is the only region discussed in the papers in this collection. The single exception is Chunghee Sarah Soh's paper on former South Korean comfort women, with whom she has done extensive fieldwork. It is a curious fact that women who survived periods of sexual servitude at the hands of Japanese invaders in the Second World War only began legal action for restitution in the 1990s. In the intervening period, 40% of them did not marry, and a large proportion of those who did marry did not have children. Many of them endured the sentiment of *han*, a word which connotes regret, anger, sorrow, shame, longing and resignation. Soh interviewed Kim Hak-Sun who began the movement, and discusses her life and the narratives of other survivors. She notes a relationship between the duration and severity of sexual servitude and the likelihood of marriage and socially valued success in the reproductive role. The failure to achieve success by traditional standards could be the result of STIs and psychological traumata suffered during the period of servitude. It could also be the product of the shame caused by internalized, patriarchal sentiments of honour. Soh observes that it is all too easy for Koreans to displace all the blame on to the Japanese. Koreans also had military comfort stations, though they may have been less exploitative of their comfort women. Furthermore, Korean values had a lot to do with the *han* of the World War II sex slaves in the long decades since the war ended.

The editors are to be congratulated for assembling an interesting collection of papers which should be read not only by front line workers in the battle against sexual injustices, including health care professionals, but also by anthropologists, sociologists, scholars of human sexuality and both undergraduate and graduate students.

## Reference

- Hertz, Robert  
1960 [1909] *The Pre-Eminence of the Right Hand. In Death and the Right Hand.* Translated by Rodney and Claudia Needham. Pp. 89-113. Aberdeen: Cohen and West.

**Emmanuel Désveaux**, *Spectres de l'anthropologie. Suite nord-américaine*, Montreuil : Aux lieux d'être, 2007, 335 pages.

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Le livre recensé ici est agréable à lire, ancré dans une solide réalité ethnographique et rarement abscons. Son propos est, à mon avis, original et important, quoiqu'il s'agisse à maints égards d'une œuvre en développement plutôt que d'une démarche achevée.

L'ouvrage comprend onze chapitres, précédés d'une courte introduction et suivis d'une conclusion et d'un « bonus » (la recension de *My Cocaine Museum*, de Michael Taussig). La plupart des chapitres ont déjà été publiés sous forme d'articles, mais l'auteur les a retravaillés de façon à ce que son livre constitue un ensemble continu et harmonieusement intégré. L'idée directrice d'Emmanuel Désveaux, qui dit vouloir ainsi apporter un complément à sa *Quadratura Americana, Essai d'anthropologie lévi-straussienne* (2001, Genève, Georg), est que dans l'analyse de la diversité des cultures, l'anthropologue devrait prendre en considération ce que l'auteur appelle des « méga-aires culturelles », c'est-à-dire « de larges zones géographiques ayant formé depuis des époques reculées des creusets séparés de développement culturel, à l'instar par exemple de l'Amérique » (p. 10). C'est à ce niveau seulement – plutôt qu'à celui du genre humain dans son ensemble – que la comparaison, principe méthodologique majeur de l'anthropologie, peut jouir d'une présomption de pertinence.

L'ouvrage se divise en deux grandes parties (l'une de six, l'autre de cinq chapitres) qui visent à illustrer la thèse de l'auteur. Elles traitent, respectivement, de l'histoire de l'anthropologie américaniste – Désveaux y réhabilite une certaine forme de diffusionnisme et y souligne l'importance théorique des textes et des œuvres d'art produits par des Amérindiens – et de thèmes classiques de l'anthropologie amérindienne (parenté, chamanisme, totémisme, organisation sociale) compris sous un angle nouveau.

Pour l'auteur – et c'est là l'originalité de son propos – à l'intérieur de la méga-aire nord-américaine (et sans doute aussi d'autres méga-aires culturelles qui restent à définir), les sociétés, les cultures et, peut-être aussi, les langues en présence ne constituent pas des ensembles fermés les uns aux autres, explicables en fonction de leur origine historique (familles linguistiques) ou de leur milieu (aires culturelles nord-américaines classiques). Il s'agit plutôt de faisceaux de « socièmes » (unités sociales fonctionnelles de base) qui se distinguent les uns des autres par transformations réciproques. Désveaux applique ainsi à l'ensemble des phénomènes sociaux la méthode structuraliste utilisée par Lévi-Strauss dans son étude comparative des mythologies des Amériques (*Les Mythologiques*). Pour comprendre une culture ou une société, il faut retrouver ses socièmes élémentaires et voir comment ceux-ci se structurent en quadrants – de type a:a' / b:b' – dont la nature et l'agencement définissent un rapport avec les autres sociétés et cultures faisant partie de la même méga-aire culturelle.