

I get to know three or four more poor people with AIDS and I am only one" (p. 146). On a return visit to an AIDS home—Caasah—the anthropologist and photographer ask after several residents and are told, "Nerivaldo went back to the street and died soon after you left. He and Maria Madalena were last seen at Mae Preta's shelter [for the homeless]. Jorge Leal died in the old Caasah, all of a sudden. Lazaro and Marilda too. Medication did no good for them. Nobody from their families showed up to their funerals, that's the reality" (p. 340).

One is riveted by these stories of suffering, but not in a "nameless masses" sort of way. Nor are the individuals cast in the light of heroism. Rather, one is riveted, just as Beihl was, by the stories of individuals "who, like everyone, have a will to live." His work gives the reader the opportunity to understand the subtleties of such will in the most brutal of circumstances. The effect is not just emotional, but intellectual because of the author's rich engagement of this Brazilian data with the "global assemblages" of power. Beihl shows the convergence of state policy-making, international funding, NGO activism, multinational pharmaceutical companies, and international trade treaties in the story of bringing treatment to the front lines of the AIDS crisis in Brazil. But there are no easy answers, and the paradoxes abound. For example, even as Beihl observes and critically analyses the "pharmaceuticalization of public health" in Brazil, he concludes that it is not just a necessary evil, but a human right.

An important feature of this book is the series of evocative black and white portraits of many of the people Biehl got to know, over the course of his multiple fieldwork trips to Brazil taken by Danish photographer Torben Eskerod. Sontag wrote that "to photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge—and, therefore, like power." Eskerod's portrait work here is not an appropriation and packaging of "the pain of others" in an uncritical way for the Western viewer, in part because of the rich ethnographic and analytical context that Beihl provides (cf. Sontag 1977 and 2003). The visual and textual in combination work to "unpack" the idea of HIV/AIDS and poverty in Brazil as a place of pure suffering and violence. At the same time they unpack the simple "success" story of Brazil's AIDS policy.

The absence of portraits in some sections of the book, however, leaves a few lingering questions. There are no photographs of the middle class AIDS sufferers, or AIDS anxiety sufferers or their health care providers—not to mention the politicians, policy makers, and NGO executives Beihl also writes about. The names of high level politicians and activists are used, but the pseudonyms (like "Eyeglasses" and "Dog") employed for middle class individuals intensify the uneasy contrast with the first names and faces of the poor and the full names and titles of the elites. These aspects of his study are not footnotes; Biehl spends entire chapters on them. I cannot imagine the author was unaware of the effect. Towards the end of the book the author writes, "the ethnographer upholds the rights of micro-analysis and thus brings into view the

immanent fields people invent to live in and by" (p. 378). *Will to Live* does this beautifully and profoundly well. The unevenness of Beihl's representational strategy—intentional or not—and the uneasy feeling it inspires is nevertheless important to mention because it is part and parcel of the anthropologist's (and his reader's) lot. We grapple with the persistent paradox of the anthropologist's disproportionate access to the private lives (and images) of the poor, which sits uneasily with the tension between the power of knowledge and the potential for vulnerability in telling and showing the stories of others.

References

- Sontag, Susan.
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Mark Padilla, *Caribbean Pleasure Industry: Tourism, Sexuality and AIDS in the Dominican Republic*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007, 294 pages.

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In their introduction to the ground-breaking volume *The Gender/Sexuality Reader* (1997), editors Roger Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo argued for the importance of the "political economy of sexuality," an approach which, simply put, examines how sexual desires, practices, and identities are shaped by political and economic processes. Ten years later, Mark Padilla has produced one of the best examples of this approach in his research on male sex workers who have sex with foreign gay tourists in the Dominican Republic. Padilla's examination of a group of men who work in what he calls "the pleasure industry" (the diverse informal sector of the Dominican economy devoted to providing myriad pleasure-related services to more than two million foreign guests who visit annually) succeeds where many other political economy analyses fail: whereas I often find that the complexity and richness of individual lives are lost in lengthy descriptions of macro-structural trends and transformations that work to privilege a few and marginalize many, Padilla works very hard to illustrate the linkages between global processes and local cultural contexts and how a particular group of marginalized men negotiate the pressures and opportunities created through these multi-scalar processes. The goal of foregrounding these linkages requires a constant shifting of analytical lenses from individual narratives to economic and political transformations at local, national and global levels, and there are times in this ethnography when this continuous movement runs the risk of repeating certain themes or curtailing in-depth analysis or thick description in order to foreground connectivity. Nevertheless, *Caribbean Pleasure Industry* makes significant

advances in the areas of gender, sexuality, tourism and HIV/AIDS research.

After briefly introducing us to some of the strengths and weaknesses of previous research on sex tourism in the Caribbean (most notably the absence of research on male sex workers who have sex with men) and methods used to gather data, Padilla describes the two primary groups he worked with, “sanky pankies” and “bugarrones.” While there are important distinctions between these two groups, they are similar in that they are both highly masculine in their gendered performances; they exchange sex for something of material or symbolic value with foreign male tourists; and they emphatically do not identify as “gay” (most continue to have relationships with wives or girlfriends) (pp. 14-20).

Chapter 1 outlines the basic contours of gay social and sexual spaces in the two primary research sites, the capital city of Santo Domingo, and the nearby beach resort of Boca Chica. Through the illustration of an incident in which a local gay tourist bar unsuccessfully attempted to ban bugarrones, Padilla shows how Dominican sexual spaces and identities are embedded in multiple social hierarchies (at both local and global levels) which do not always share the same values and interests. Chapter 2 reviews the Dominican Republic’s political regimes and the economic policies that have created a service economy and forced millions to move from rural to urban areas in search of work in the informal sectors of the pleasure industry. Chapter 3 elaborates on how local “gay” identity and activism in the Dominican Republic is impacted by the growth of the pleasure industry through the fascinating story of the first Dominican “gay pride” march in 1999, which arose out of the gay community’s frustration with increasing police harassment in an area with a number of gay bars that was being transformed into a historic touristic zone by the government. Interestingly, we learn that the police were also harassing groups of young men dressing up in “b-boy” (rap music) styles and groups of “metal-heads” who dressed in heavy metal garb, indicating that the problem was more with non-normative gender roles than with sexuality. Padilla’s analysis of how a gay pride parade formed and left out other groups who were experiencing similar forms of discrimination is a superb illustration of the complex effects of internationally circulating gay symbols and discourses of political activism which may work to foreground the interests and rights of some while marginalizing others in local contexts.

Chapters 4 and 5 provide insight into the personal lives of sanky-pankies and bugarrones, discussing how these men come to be sex workers, how many of them maintain close contact with their families and how they often continue to live in family households which requires them to become experts in “stigma management”—trying to keep their sex worker status a secret—through the strategy of “sexual silence” in relation to their engagements with other men. Padilla also shows some of the emotional and psycho-social nuances of these men through his analysis of their relationships with foreign gay tourists—particularly interesting here is the discussion of

“performing love” for what Padilla calls the “Western Union Daddies”—the foreign gay tourists who maintain long-term relationships with these men and send them regular remittances.

Chapter 6 is an attempt to combine the political economy of sexuality presented throughout the rest of the book with Critical Medical Anthropology (CMA), a perspective which sees health and disease as embedded within local and global structures of power and inequality. In the Caribbean, where the rate of HIV/AIDS infection is second only to Africa, there is an urgent need to better understand the linkages between local health issues and other political and economic structures which render certain groups more vulnerable to infection. Padilla pays particular attention to the problematic HIV epidemiological model of the “bisexual bridge,” in which a small “bisexual” male population is assumed to be the “bridge” that moves HIV from homosexual to heterosexual communities. Padilla notes numerous problems with this model in relation to his research findings, notably how this model falsely essentializes groups through its assumption that the virus is predominantly located within a distinct “homosexual/gay” community, and its stigmatization of bisexuals as “dangerous carriers” of the virus to the heterosexual community. While the shift to the CMA perspective in the final ethnographic chapter begins to integrate the arguments and observations from previous chapters in order to provide a better understanding of risk-related behaviours (i.e. condom use), we get only a cursory analysis of how these men’s understandings of health, well-being, bodies and risk are organized. For example, I would have liked to see how (or if) religion operates as a moral and political force in these men’s perceptions of mental and physical health, not to mention masculinity and femininity. Apart from this relatively minor quibble, I thoroughly recommend *Caribbean Pleasure Industry*: it is a well written and important addition to the growing literature on sex tourism, the globalization of queer identity, and research on HIV, gender and sexuality in the Caribbean.

Reference

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Public discourse in the West on honour killing—specifically, the murder of a daughter by a male member of her immediate family in response to behaviour which results in collective