

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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Unni Wikan, Trans., Anna Paterson, *In Honor of Fadime: Shame and Murder*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008, 305 pages.

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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

dishonour—is characterized by a lack of comprehension of the norms and standards of the communities in which it occurs. The demonization of perpetrators and their culturally driven motives, often said to be conditioned by Islamic doctrine, seems almost inevitable. Seldom is any attempt made to analyze and understand the realities of life in the communities concerned. Unni Wikan provides a much-needed antidote.

Originally published in Norwegian in 2003 and translated into English in 2008, this volume gives a comparative view on the subject of honour killing within a Scandinavian context. More than this, it details the story of the woman to whom it is dedicated, Fadime Sahindal (1976-2002). At first sight, Fadime's sin appeared to have been that of choosing for herself the man in her life, but we learn quickly that this was just the beginning of her problems. Her family, Kurdish immigrants from rural southeastern Turkey, had already selected a man for her to marry. Fadime's insistence on exercising her free will led to the passing of a final ultimatum: exile from the city of Uppsala or death. But she would not go quietly. Following death threats from her father and younger brother, she publicized her ordeals to bring the problem of honour-related crimes to public consciousness. Various engagements, ranging from television interviews to an unprecedented address to the Swedish Parliament (the full text of which is incorporated in chapter 18), catapulted Fadime to celebrity status, but at the same time, exposed the internal counsels of her family to outside scrutiny. The publicity she sought, which she thought would save her life, served, as far as members of her family were concerned, to broadcast the shame of the Sahindal clan far and wide. Her family was pilloried by the media, her father spat upon in the streets. Her unmarried sisters became unmarriageable, at least within the Kurdish community. The strategy employed by Fadime backfired and, coupled with her secret return trips to Uppsala to visit her two sisters and mother, evidenced a total disregard of all rules pertaining to the rectification of dishonourable action, leading ultimately to murder by her father's hand in 2002. The story is deceptively straightforward, but Wikan's telling of it complicates the issues involved and presents the reader with a tour de force that is both moving and enlightening.

Wikan does not want to exculpate Rahmi Sahindal, Fadime's father, from his crime but rather detail for the reader the forces that compelled him to act in order that further tragedies of this kind might be averted. To do this, she charts the history of honour killing in Scandinavia by introducing, in part 1 of the book, the murders of Maisam "Sara" Abed Ali and Pela Atroshi in 1996 and 1999 respectively. Like Fadime, they were killed because they became "too Swedish." These cases receive full treatment in chapters of their own, and provide the necessary background to a particularly detailed exploration, in part 2, of the meanings of honour. The remainder of the book considers the life and death of Fadime Sahindal. This is the most intensely and carefully researched part of the book. It is based on interviews with those close to Fadime, a careful perusal of police interview transcripts and observation of

Rahmi Sahindal's trial in Uppsala District Court and the Swedish High Court which led to a life sentence.

But what exactly is honour? Wikan provides a minimalist definition as "a right to respect" (p. 60). The rules of codes of honour demand fulfillment and as long as individuals conform to these in their actions, they are due respect from society. Failure to adhere to normative standards leads to dishonour, both for the individual as well as for the collective to which they belong. Thus, honour values, where they are found and proliferate, are primarily a characteristic of corporate groups—nuclear families, lineages, clans et cetera—that must possess them in order to survive within contexts of material scarcity and political instability, and, indeed, where the state is widely regarded as a hostile entity. More than this, honour secures the well being of the individual in those societies in which group membership subsumes personal identity and where status is ascribed. Such a system is both sociocentric and patriarchal with women the repositories of collective honour and men their guardians. Female sexuality possesses a kind of exchange value, being a thing that can be controlled, manipulated or bartered. For example, rape might serve as a political tactic that undermines a competitor who suffers ignominy for his inability to protect what is his, whereas a "pure" daughter given in marriage serves as a testament to familial prepotency and alliance-worthiness. Thus, honour rests on "world opinion": reputation and appearances are central. Conversely, gossip and the threat of scandal ensure good behaviour but the slightest inattentiveness to how one's actions may be perceived can lead to rumours that destroy reputations and lives, yet dishonourable acts only become so when they are widely revealed. "Reputation matters more than the truth," Wikan (p. 17) writes. Honour is obviously a very public matter, and a question of group survival.

This definition of honour might seem anachronistic to a citizen of a modern welfare state, who is more likely to think of honour as a quaint notion, something to do with chivalry or ethical goodness. But Wikan's definition of the term, which borrows considerably from Frank Henderson Stewart (1994), clearly distinguishes an older from a newer conception of honour. The latter is essentially internal, pertaining to the sentiments and not subject to public assessment. World opinion is not as evidently a determinant of social esteem in modern industrial society as it is in face-to-face peasant societies where inflexible codes of honour are found.

Wikan does not address questions of how and why such norms and values come into being or persist through time, an issue comprehensively addressed long ago by Jane Schneider (1971) and Sherry Ortner (1978). We are left instead with an atemporal impression of communities that stifle the individual and where rigid expectations have a force of their own. However, religion is thankfully not given pride of place in the analysis. Wikan usefully argues that honour killings, where they occur, have little or nothing to do with religion. They have been recorded in Sikh, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, and Jewish communities throughout the Middle East, Central, South, and

East Asia and beyond. Also, honour killings are not a manifestation of the universal oppression of women but rather a form of violence which appears in specific contexts, particularly in situations “defined by a patriarchal social system and a tribal structure in which women are seen as the property of men” (p. 100).

The book concludes with a thought-provoking excursus on the issue of cultural accommodation and the integration of minorities in Western society. We learn that it is possible for collectivities to perpetuate structures that stifle individual rights, and that this is an unfortunate thing. Therefore, change is needed, and immigrant organizations must “enter into dialogues with men” who wield the power to which women must submit (p. 242). Far from dispassionate, the author steadfastly champions the values of individual freedom. Her views are situated and her claims normative. She states “there is no view from nowhere” (p. 183). Thus, we learn that people are “sacrificed on the altar of the collective” (p. 17), that killers and killed are both “victims of inhuman traditions” (p. 275), and that Fadime’s murder followed a “perverted and terrible” rationality (p. 159). Oblique statements aside, the argument is also full of “oughts.” For instance, a higher value ought to be placed on individual happiness and fulfillment than loyalty to one’s family, lineage, or clan and the values of immigrant communities in the West ought to more closely coincide with liberal values. Perhaps most disconcertingly, we are told that “respect for a culture must always be secondary to respect for every human being’s integrity and welfare” (p. 249), and that “culture per se cannot claim respect” (p. 250).

Readers who are broadly in agreement with the main thrust of Wikan’s arguments might nonetheless feel uncomfortable with such pronouncements. There are two sides to every story, this one included. Many members of Fadime’s immediate and extended family, men as well as women, saw Fadime as a conniving and manipulative tormentor who subjected them to severe hardship. They are consequently given a less than fair hearing, being regarded instead as prisoners of dominant honour discourses.

These objections may not be germane; *In Honor of Fadime* is not a standard scholarly monograph, but an example of an engaged anthropology driven by humanitarian concerns. As such, this work should be of interest to the specialist as well as engaged lay readers everywhere and would also serve as an indispensable teaching resource within upper division anthropology and women’s studies courses. In sum, this work is eye-opening for its careful examination of the struggles of Fadime Sahindal and as a commemoration of a courageous woman who stood for inclusive values and a universal view of individual freedom and sexual equality. In this, it succeeds splendidly.

References

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Benoît Gaumer, *L'Organisation sanitaire en Tunisie sous le Protectorat français (1881-1956). Un bilan ambigu et contrasté*, Sainte-Foy : Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006, 276 pages.

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Benoît Gaumer est professeur associé au Département d'administration de la santé de la Faculté de médecine de l'Université de Montréal, où il a obtenu un doctorat en sciences humaines appliquées (histoire). Il a travaillé en Tunisie à titre de coopérant français comme médecin hygiéniste épidémiologiste (1970-1972) et comme enseignant (1978-1984). Si l'idée lui vint lors de son premier séjour, c'est pendant le second qu'il entreprend de faire l'histoire de l'organisation sanitaire en Tunisie sous le Protectorat français.

L'ouvrage se veut un bilan des politiques et institutions d'assistance et de santé publiques mises en place lors de cette période, en même temps qu'un bilan « sans complaisance, mais aussi réaliste de [la colonisation] dans le domaine socio-sanitaire » (p. 6).

L'ouvrage est divisé en trois parties. La première, *Populations et états de santé*, dresse un portrait de la situation démographique et sanitaire du pays sous le régime français, notant les lacunes des méthodes d'enquête et le peu de fiabilité des chiffres obtenus lors des recensements. Il ressort de ce chapitre que si la croissance démographique peut être versée au bilan positif du Protectorat, la persistance des inégalités quant à l'état de santé des diverses communautés qui formaient la société tunisienne d'alors (Tunisiens musulmans et juifs, Français, Italiens, Anglo-Maltaïes et autres) en est un aspect négatif.

La deuxième partie, *Épidémies et endémies*, traite des principaux fléaux qui affligèrent le pays à cette époque (peste, choléra, variole, typhus, tuberculose, trachome, paludisme) et des mesures mises en place afin de les enrayer. L'auteur dresse également un portrait des figures qui ont marqué la lutte à ces maladies, parmi lesquelles le Dr Charles Nicolle (Nobel de médecine, 1928). Une place spéciale est réservée à l'institut Pasteur et, dans une moindre mesure, à l'Office d'hygiène sociale et de médecine préventive. Un chapitre est consacré à la consommation alimentaire et au rôle joué par les D^{rs} Étienne Burnet et Ernest Gobert dans l'étude des habitudes alimentaires des populations tunisiennes.

Dans cette deuxième partie de l'ouvrage, Gaumer rapporte que l'état sanitaire du pays, au moment de l'instaura-