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died on September 4, 1912. The Fontanas are careful to point out the sources they used to present the biographical material on McGee and other members of the expedition. The data provided on the other members of the expeditions may be of greatest value because little is known of them or their contributions in most cases. In this volume, the photographs of William Dinwiddie on the first expedition by John Walter Mitchell reflect the great value of this then-new form of scientific recording. Also the linguistic work of Jose Lewis (Papago interpreter) on the first expedition and Hugh Norris as interpreter on the second is discussed. Brief mention is also provided for other members of the expeditions.

The photographs in the volume are carefully selected to supplement the daily entries and often have captions of some length that help clarify and supplement information from the diary text. The photographs by Dinwiddie seem to be the best and the most helpful in supplementing the diary and provide a deeper meaning for the written text. The photographs by John Mitchell are fewer in the book and do not provide as much information. This could be the result of the greater difficulties involved in the 1895 expedition, and quite often the expedition was split into separate groups. There are some line drawings in the volume as well. In general, the photographs well illustrate the geography, the material culture, and the people of the region and, as well, the members of the expedition. The three maps in the volume are of great value, but it is also helpful to have an atlas with maps of the region at hand.

The study of aboriginal languages is not forgotten in the diaries, and there are references made to Papago and Seri words in the diary text. Appendix A is a Papago vocabulary from Jose Lewis, and Appendix B contains a Papago vocabulary and interview notes recorded by McGee from interpreter Hugh Norris.

The actual contents of the diaries are informative scientifically and record the difficulties encountered in carrying out expeditions at the end of the nineteenth century. They also discuss fieldwork activities we would not condone or expect today and at times do not express a respect for the "other." Thus, statements in the diary text must be viewed in historical context. Notwithstanding, there is a great deal of valuable anthropological, geographical, biological, and historical information contained within the pages, and the carefully researched notes by Fontana make the material even more understandable and valuable.

Other features of the work include Appendix C that is an account of marine flooding in the Sonora-Bacuache delta, and a bibliography of almost 300 items coauthored or authored by W J McGee. There is a bibliography of the works cited by the Fontanas in developing the introduction and notes section of the book and an index.

This volume will be read by scholars interested in the American Indian and northern Mexico and the history of science and especially anthropology. As the Fontanas notes, people do not agree with all that is written by W J McGee and at times will not agree with material presented in his diaries. However, I feel that this is a valuable addition to the literature. It will also appeal to individuals interested in travel and exploration in the nineteenth century. ♦

Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil. James N. Green. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999. 408 pp.

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Historian James N. Green has written a superbly researched book about male homosexuality in Brazil that subtly challenges those familiar with this literature and incites them to rethink their most cherished "exceptionalist" assumptions. To a large extent, Green's work is the latest contribution both descending from and challenging a distinguished lineage of scholars of male homosexuality in Brazil.¹ This lineage engages with the early anthropological and historical arguments embedded in the work of Brazil-based British anthropologist Peter Fry. In 1982 Fry posited that male homosexuality in Brazil consisted of two distinct models, an upper-class model and a lower-class model.² Fry believed that the upper-class model in Brazil was a kind of "import" that came from Western Europe and North America and adheres to a conceptualization of homosexuality that connects one's sexual and social identity with one's sexual object choice. The lower-class model recognized the categories of *homens* (men) and *bichas* (meaning "worm," a term used derogatorily to refer to effeminate men and translating as something similar to "faggot" in English) and was a dualistic model of active and passive partners who divided along both sexual and social gender roles. Within this model, *homens* were understood to be the active penetrating men who maintain their masculine identity regardless of whether their sexual object choice is male or female, and *bichas* were understood to be the passive, receiving partners who represent effeminate men and whose masculine identity is ultimately compromised by their social and sexual role. Fry's delineation of these models is based on his ethnographic research among Afro-Brazilian religions in the early 1980s as well as his interpretation of early-twentieth-century medico-legal sources, which in fact scarcely have any information at all about *homens*. But while Fry seems to have accepted this omission as part of their social identity—not leading fully homoerotically identified lives—Green finds their omission problematic. He argues that in the early part of the twentieth century, men who fell out of the active/passive binary—who did not conform to hegemonic gender norms and to ideas of effeminate homoeroticism—were ignored or mystified by the medico-legal and social science discourses of the time. Fry's flaw—and the flaw of those who followed from his assumptions—was to take these incomplete representations produced at that time as an actual reading of what existed in the full gamut of social life. Ultimately, Fry's reading of the early-twentieth-century literature led him to believe that the active/passive binary was the predominant model of the time, and that it was only in the 1930s, with the entrée of medicolegal discourses from Europe, that Brazilians began to categorize and pathologize specific behaviors. Similarly, according to Fry, it was in the 1960s and beyond, with a burgeoning homosexual rights and identity movement in Western Europe and in North America, that Brazilians (of the upper class) were able to imagine themselves in new ways. Green, however, is unsettled by what he perceives as a major possible foundational—and historical—misconception linked

to Fry's initial reading, one that has been incredibly influential not only on work related to homoeroticism but on models of sexuality in Brazil more generally:

By operating with this bipolar framework, one can easily create a false "other" and thereby erase the complexities and inconsistencies of an overarching model. . . . In understanding the emergence of a new gay identity among urban middle-class Brazilians in the 1960s, it is also perhaps more accurate to state that there was a gap between representation and social experience. [p. 8]

Contrary to Fry and those who built on Fry's ideas, Green suggests that subcultures of effeminate and noneffeminate men with homoerotic desires existed prior to the introduction of Western European medico-legal ideas. Green thus challenges Fry's suggestion that the appearance of certain sexual systems in Brazil corresponded to Western European fashion. Within the scope of Fry's work, the 1960s time frame is key because it explains why, ultimately, the lower-class model will cede to the upper-class model—it is precisely the European and North American structures of sexuality and of the emergence of homosexual activism around identity issues that ultimately fueled the emergence of the upper-class model in Brazil in the first place.

For Green, same-sex erotic subcultures and identities not quite conforming to Fry's active/passive binary preceded both the medico-legal discourses of the 1930s and the newer representations of male homoerotic subcultures characterizing the late 1960s. What was limited, according to Green, was our knowledge about those subcultures. That is, what Fry and those who followed had to work from was a body of literature—medico-legal documents and social science literature—that already focused more on lower-class men than it did on upper-class men. Subcultures of middle- and upper-class men not conforming to the active/passive binary may have remained out of the spotlight and out of the explanatory powers of the prevailing medico-legal and social science wisdom of the time and, therefore, may have been underrepresented in the literature that became available for historical inspection. Green is interested, for example, in that category of homens, "real" men who were presumed to be active penetrating men—but actually preferred same-sex encounters—who did not conform to the effeminate bicha stereotype, and who are curiously absent from much of the early writings:

Because the criminologists, physicians, psychiatrists, and jurists who investigated and wrote about homosexuality in the 1930s based their thinking on the overarching theory of the immutability of the active/passive, *homen/bicha* model, they usually failed to take notice of men who didn't fit into the mold of the effeminate male. [p. 106]

Green's book provides fascinating evidence of lives that diverge from the active/passive binary from early-twentieth-century sources,³ many of which would be more familiar to historians than to anthropologists. In this innovative blend of historical and anthropological research, Green unearths extraordinary material and persuasively argues against some of our standard perceptions of male same-sex romantic and sexual encounters in the early twentieth century. Using a number of creative archival sources, Green reconstructs, for example, the life history of a figure known as João Francisco, also known as Madame Satã, who embodied the contradictory image of *ad homem* and who was a self-declared bicha. João Francisco/Madame Satã was a

young Afro-Brazilian migrant from northeast Brazil who found his way to Rio in the 1920s, became a *malandro* (rogue), gambled and hustled, maintained an image of masculinity and virility, worked as a female impersonator, killed a cop in self-defense, and spent more than 27 years in prison. Green interprets Madame Satã as a person who "transgressed the assumptions and associations of femininity and passivity that supposedly defined bichas" (pp. 85–92). Green's use of alternative cases is fascinating and well documented but does not entirely convince the reader that subcultures of homoerotic men existed outside of the active/passive binary. Rather, within these cases there seems to be evidence that they are operating within the constraints of the active/passive model; thus his claims may be a bit overstated:

Significantly, and as we have seen throughout this study, a same-sex erotic subculture existed in Rio de Janeiro prior to the invention of the term homosexual and the importation of European medical models that cataloged sexual "pathologies" and "deviant" behaviors. For much of the twentieth century, the dominant gender paradigm that shaped this subculture organized itself along traditional notions of appropriate masculine and feminine comportment. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the fluidity of sexual desires, identity, and erotic practices transgressed the norms that divided same-gender sexuality along active/passive lines and that is commonly ascribed, incorrectly, to same-sex behavior prior to the 1960s and gay liberation. Multiple sexual systems have coexisted and interacted throughout much of the century, and historians should beware of identifying the allegedly more egalitarian model of same-sex activity with progress. [p. 281]

His findings certainly problematize Fry's time frame, but Green's reinterpretation at times feels less satisfying in the sense that it appears to be structured out of the sensibilities of a late-twentieth-century author. On the other hand, while his findings may not completely overturn Fry's early claims, they do problematize them in important ways.

It does seem, for example, that Brazilian medico-legal professionals from the upper classes reworked their own internal theories in order to suit their own internal lower-class models of sexuality. Green reverses Fry's notion that European theories—in a kind of one-way causality—informed Brazilian local understandings of same-sex eroticism. Building on the work of historian Talisman Ford,⁴ and very much in line with a long list of postcolonial writers across a number of disciplines, Green argues, "Brazilian physicians and other observers reframed European theories of homosexuality along lines that conformed to popular assumptions that associated male homosexuality with effeminacy and passive anal sexuality" (p. 144). Thus Green supplies Brazilian medico-legal professionals with a kind of agency missing from Fry's depiction of neocolonial domination. Fry argued that eventually the lower-class model would give way to the upper-class model, not only because of its popularity among the dominant classes but also because of the ways in which power/knowledge systems—in this case the medical, scientific, psychological, and legal regimes—work their effects. In this scenario the active/passive binary would wither away, being replaced by a system of gays and *entendidos* (the word means "one in the know" in Portuguese and is the word most closely associated with "gay" in English) who themselves have a more politicized homosexual identity. This would, in many significant ways, be a more egalitarian system in which

one's masculinity is neither preserved nor threatened by one's actions in a sexual encounter. Nevertheless, in Foucauldian undertones, Fry somewhat laments the recategorization of the duality of homens and bichas into homosexuals and heterosexuals and, in the spirit of the times (anti-imperialist and anti-North American), bemoans the fact that both the medico-legal discourses and those of the social movements organizing around homosexual identity have their origins in the exterior. Besides being concerned about Western cultural models colonizing Brazil, Fry was also aware of the class factors in Brazil that would ultimately lead to one group's model—that of the dominant classes—phasing out another group's model—that of the subordinate classes. But in Green's version, not only did Brazilians rework European theories of homosexuality to suit their own internal theories, but the extreme gap between the classes that characterizes Brazil could ultimately lead to a lesser effect of medico-legal discourses on subordinated classes:

Although the stated goal of many writers on the subject was to educate society about this social disease, much of their material was written in professional journals directed to the police, criminologists, and physicians. Their ideas about homosexuality certainly influenced the medical and legal professions, as well as criminologists, and thus had an impact on patterns of "treatment." But, there is no indication that these publications reached broad audiences. Thus, the effect of their writings on most homosexuals was indirect at best. [p. 145]

I suspect, however, that while Green's emphasis on the separate effects on specific classes may be reasonable, he may be underestimating the long-term effects of dominating discourses. Perhaps here, too, these authors are staking out dissimilar claims about Foucault's notion of distinct class sexualities.

In another register, Green is historicizing male homoeroticism in Brazilian culture and ultimately using this information to analyze and reflect on Brazil's, and specifically Rio's, emblematic Carnival celebration. Green rightly notes that the images of cross-dressing men during Rio's Carnival celebration, for example, have bolstered Brazil's image as a haven of sexual permissiveness. Yet these public manifestations of gender-role reversals have always been temporary and confined to the four days of Carnival, and for men engaged in homosociality, Carnival is not simply an act of inversion but, rather, an *intensification* (p. 203) of their own experiences as gender benders and sexual transgressors. Rather than breaking down traditional gendered stereotypes, Green sees the possibility that Carnival may actually reinforce stereotypes with its trademark camp imitations of women, of the Brazilian actress discovered by Hollywood, Carmen Miranda, and of exaggerated femininity and masculinity. Group solidarity in the form of homosexual men parading together with their friends in outrageous costumes may be a segregating process rather than an experience of communitas, the latter a well-accepted argument offered by anthropologist Roberto Da Matta with regard to Rio's Carnival.⁵ Together, Da Matta's widely accepted vision of Carnival as *communitas* and Fry's version of active/passive dualism have inspired a number of scholarly and popular portrayals of Brazil as a kind of homoerotic paradise of sexual permissiveness. But here again Green throws into question some widely accepted beliefs regarding Carnival and challenges the reader to rethink this vision from one particular subculture's subject position. In doing so, Green

challenges the idea that Brazil is an unparalleled sexual paradise, instead refocusing attention on the ways in which same-sex interactions were prohibited within the close-knit Brazilian family and men with homoerotic desires were forced outward into the dangerous public space as well as into the limelight of this national ritual in order to live out these desires. Green's work, therefore, serves as a coherent corrective to our skewed imaginaries of Carnival in this complex society and is an important contribution to this literature.

This extraordinarily well researched book challenges and informs the reader on a number of levels. Green reminds us that standard anthropological discourses—such as Fry's on the active/passive binary and Da Matta's on Carnival—may require rethinking over time. This tremendously thought-provoking book offers a fresh perspective on male homoeroticism, on Brazil, and on the possibilities for anthropology's relationship with history.

Notes

1. Other anthropologist scholars built on Fry's work throughout the 1980s and 1990s and conceptualized their writings about homoerotic sexuality within Fry's scheme. Nestor Perlongher wrote about male prostitution, and Edward MacRae wrote about homosexual identity formation and political organization; Richard Parker wrote about the ways in which the active/passive binary is used to genderize, eroticize, and categorize the broader Brazilian sexual universe. All of this work extended Fry's early findings in important ways. See Perlongher's *O negócio do michê: Prostituição viril em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Editor Brasiliense, 1987), and MacRae's "Homosexual Identities in Transitional Brazilian Politics" (in *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*, Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds., Boulder: Westview Press, 1992, pp. 185–203). See also Richard Parker's *Bodies, Pleasures and Passions: Sexual Culture in Contemporary Brazil*, (Boston: Beacon, 1991).

2. Beginning with extended research of the role of homosexual men within Afro-Brazilian religious groups, Fry began to construct a picture of Brazilian sexuality. See his "Homossexualidade masculina e cultos afro-brasileiros" and "Da hierarquia à igualdade: A construção histórica da homossexualidade no Brasil" (in *Para Inglês Ver*, Peter Fry, ed., Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1982).

3. Green does a fine job of scouring the archival materials from the early twentieth century published by the medical profession, the state, and mainstream media in Brazil; he also conducted 70 interviews with men between the ages of 35 and 85 from distinct class, racial, and political backgrounds from the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo and gather material from journals produced in the 1970s directed at homosexual men.

4. Green relies on Ford's work about sexologists in the early part of the twentieth century in Brazil. See Talisman Ford's "Passion in the Eye of the Beholder: Sexuality as Seen by Brazilian Sexologists, 1900–1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1995).

5. See, for example, Roberto Da Matta's *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991). ♦♦