

such as a young Chamula girl purchasing over three hundred ski masks from a San Cristóbal market vender during the Zapatista preparations for war.

The largest segment of the book, part three, examines Marcos' controversial career as the spokesperson of the EZLN between 1994 and 2005. According to Henck's detailed account, Marcos repeatedly proved instrumental in making the voice of the Zapatistas heard beyond the boundaries of their confinement in Chiapas—during the uprising itself and the crucial initial mobilization of civil society in January 1994, in the contentious negotiations with government from the initial peace talks through and beyond the San Andrés Larráinzar Accords, in two national *consultas*, in mass national and international *encuentros* held in Chiapas, in Zapatista marches to Mexico City, and, to quote John Womack, in the “endless, seductive argumentation” of his writings and interviews.

Despite Henck's devotion to careful reasoning, questions arise about his underlying wish to see Marcos as “the next link in the evolutionary chain” of revolutions. Without an examination of the inner workings of the Zapatista communities in their efforts at indigenous autonomy and without an exploration of the continued violence in parts of Chiapas, the local gains of the revolution remain difficult to measure. His extensive efforts notwithstanding, Henck cannot fully explain what expectations Marcos held for the January 1994 revolt. His account does not sufficiently confront the implications of the inability of the Frente Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (FZLN) and other Zapatista initiatives to build a functional political alliance with allies in the rest of Mexico. Has Marcos' global articulation of indigenous issues ultimately and precariously remained geographically confined?

An admirable achievement, *Subcommander Marcos* suffers from some factual errors concerning the Mexican Revolution and present-day matters. In a volume with an average of 4.5 notes per page of text, Duke University Press should have made the citation system more reader friendly.

**Arthur Schmidt**

*Temple University*

MATTHEW GUTMANN: *Fixing Men: Sex, Birth Control, and AIDS in Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

This book argues that all aspects of reproductive health care could be improved with better information about men's sexual behavior. The background to this project is the increasing migration from Oaxaca, Mexico, to the United States, where men pick up AIDS. According to official statistics, 3,400 individuals were diagnosed with AIDS in the state of Oaxaca in 2006, but medical

personnel estimate the number to be much higher, perhaps as many as 20,000. Moreover, since 1973, the Mexican government has promoted family planning. According to Gutmann, there are erroneous notions circulating among the medical personnel in the Mexican city of Oaxaca about men's sexual behavior, and these erroneous notions are undermining the efforts to control the spread of AIDS and to limit population growth.

Throughout the book, Gutmann is careful to remind his readers that the political economy of the pharmaceutical industry is largely to blame for leaving men out of the picture of reproductive health. The Mexican government made the decision to pay the pharmaceuticals the market price for antiviral medicine, forcing workers in AIDS clinics in Oaxaca to engage in triage because they lack the medicine to give to all those who come in for treatment. So they only treat those who are a good risk for success because they will return to the clinic for all of the antiviral doses. Not surprisingly, some of those who are at highest risk happen to live in more isolated communities that speak indigenous languages. Moreover, the pharmaceuticals also contribute to leaving men out of the discussion of reproductive health care by not developing a male contraceptive.

In general, the healthcare workers in the clinics Gutmann visited believe that men who migrate to the United States and return with AIDS contract the disease while having sex with other men. The workers assert this belief as part of their conviction that men have uncontrollable sexual urges that: (1) drive them to risky behaviors in the United States; (2) make them selfish and have unprotected sex with their wives thereby infecting them; and (3) prevent them from taking responsibility for limiting the number of their children. Gutmann traces the notion that migrant men have sex with other men to the belief in the *muxe'*, a Zapotec word for a man who generally lives in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and who pays teenage boys to have sex with him. Health workers assume that if the *muxe'* exists in the Isthmus, then all Oaxacan men must have sex with other men, particularly in the United States where, as migrants, they do not have much opportunity to have sex with women. The problem is that the *muxe'*, like *La Llorona* and other figures, is probably a product of the Zapotec collective imagination.

To challenge these beliefs and other assumptions, Gutmann carried out interviews in three settings in the city of Oaxaca: AIDS clinics, clinics providing vasectomies, and in the Ethnobotanical Garden where he was an occasional worker. In AIDS clinics, he spoke with a number of migrants who reported that they probably contracted the illness when, out of loneliness, they visited female prostitutes in the United States. They told how some women came to the camps to sell sex, and Gutmann hypothesizes that these men could have contracted the disease by coming into contact with each other's semen. The report of sex

with female prostitutes is a finding that casts considerable doubt on the Oaxcan medical workers' ideas about the transmission of a deadly disease.

Gutmann fires another arrow from his quiver to challenge the assumption that men are unwilling to take any responsibility in reproductive decisions in marriage. He points out that men have used *coitus interruptus* in the past and that some men are willing to get vasectomies. Having gone through the procedure himself, Gutmann was able to comfort 22 men during their vasectomies and talk with them about their motivation. Many reported that it was their turn to suffer after witnessing their wives suffering the pain of childbirth. Gutmann concludes that more effort should be made to promote vasectomies as a safe and comparatively simple procedure.

One irony that emerges in this work is that local healers, such as midwives and herbalists, have more nuanced knowledge of men's sexual behavior than do the academically trained health professionals. Gutmann learned from his fellow workers in the Ethnobotanical Gardens that men present more nuanced pictures of themselves that accord with what he learned from his interviews. Putting all the pieces of the puzzle together, Gutmann concludes that reproductive health care in the City of Oaxaca suffers from two maladies. One is the racial, class, sexist, and culturalist assumptions about men who come to the clinics, sometimes from Zapotec and Mixtec villages far away in the countryside. The other is the global capitalist economy in which migration is a necessary way of life and pharmaceuticals make medicine for profit. Under neoliberalism, governments who buy medicine at the market rate cannot possibly deal with the AIDS epidemic. Moreover, false assumptions about men's sexuality, coupled with market principles, favor the development of hormonally based contraceptives for women but not for men.

*Fixing Men* does not pretend to offer a definitive account of men's sexual behavior in Oaxaca or anywhere else. Gutmann is well aware of the problems entailed in eliciting information about reproductive behavior from interviews. Moreover, the interviews themselves are reported with brevity and a minimum of context. The value in this important book is the way it reviews the literature, defines a problem, presents information that runs counter to the conventional wisdom, and points to a promising direction of future research. I applaud the effort to humanize men and I strongly recommend this book to anyone interested in Latin America, the AIDS epidemic, reproductive health and, of course, masculinity.

**James M. Taggart**

*Franklin and Marshall College*