



The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2012

A collection of scholarly research by fellows of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Program

Through subtle shades of color, the cover design represents the layers of richness and diversity that flourish within minority communities.

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Preface

It has been my distinct pleasure to assemble this collection of articles by undergraduates in the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (MMUF), for a fifth and final year. The 33 articles presented in the 2012 *MMUF Journal*, selected from a record number of submissions, showcase the intellectual endeavors of current fellows and alumni, many recently minted with their first (of many) degrees.

With more than 3,733 undergraduates, over 645 graduate students in pursuit of PhDs, and more than 400 scholars who have earned their PhDs and are actively teaching—45 tenured—the 27th cohort of Fellows, inducted in 2012, join a select assembly. MMUF Fellows, present at all levels of the academy, bring us closer to the aim of eradicating racial disparities among those pursuing PhDs in the arts and sciences. Through MMUF, the Mellon foundation makes critical inroads to reducing the serious underrepresentation of certain minority groups on faculties across the nation.

The original research and scholarship produced by these budding scholars reveal an amazing breadth of creativity, insight, and social engagement across the 21 fields of designated study represented in the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship.¹ Spanning Farida Begum's exploration of nationalism and empire in the framings of prostitution in Bengal and Torin Jones' inquiry of rural Taiwanese women familial subjugation to provide factories with cheap labor, to Paul Cato's meditation on Dostoevsky's Johannine Christ figures and Alexandria Fernandez's exploration on artists' appeals to the politics of democracy via corporate incorporation, these young scholars exemplify the value of diversifying the homogenized nature of institutions to provide new perspectives in our quest for knowledge.

As they define their own scholarly agendas—highlighting the role of rising militancy in ANC's defeat of apartheid, arguing there's more continuity than change in 21st-century black politicians, and revealing the potential for transformation in the act of translation, or exposing racial underpinnings in both political and literary understandings of *Dominicanidad*, illuminating the implications of gendered performances of nationalism or of performing gender for male audiences on feminism—the historical, conceptual, and global expanse of their work promises to deepen our intellectual, social, and political understanding of underrepresented groups *and* society at large.

On a personal note, it has been an honor to serve as the editor for the *Mellon Journal* over these past five years. Not myself a Mellon fellow, engaging with these young scholars has kept me inspired on the long march to the PhD and made me feel very much a part of the Mellon family—for that I am deeply grateful.

We present students' original research in the *MMUF Journal* in continued support of their aim to obtain doctorates and become exceptional scholars. We hope you will enjoy their articles.

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¹ Designated fields for the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship: Anthropology, Area Studies, Art History, Classics, Computer Science, Demography, Earth Science, Ecology, English, Ethnomusicology, Foreign Languages, Geology, History, Literature, Mathematics, Musicology, Philosophy, Physics, Political Theory, Religion, and Sociology.

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Representational Politics and “First-World” Citizenship in Audre Lorde’s *Zami*

Jennifer Alzate, *Columbia College*

Jennifer Alzate, a senior majoring in English at Columbia College, hails from a working-class, Spanglish-speaking home in the deep Jersey suburbs of Junot Díaz fame. At school, she wears extravagant costumes and makeup to competitions with the Ballroom Dance Club and spends the rest of her time deconstructing these acts of heteronormative femininity in FemSex. Ultimately, she intends to apply to graduate school to pursue a Ph.D. in English specializing in Latina/o and U.S. “ethnic” literatures.

Abstract

This essay analyzes the role of first-world politics in shaping Audre Lorde’s interpretation of Mexican cultures and peoples. It suggests that Lorde fashions Mexico into the idealized paradise of her childhood dreams, problematically flattening Mexico into a quaintly foreign backdrop for her coming of age.

In *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*, Audre Lorde retrospectively carves a *biomythography*, or semi-fictionalized autobiography, from her childhood and early adult struggles for community. Since Lorde’s first-person subjectivity mediates our access to her communities, their independent existences become inseparable from Lorde’s perception of them—we cannot leave Lorde’s perspective and access the “objective truth,” so to speak, of these communities. This inevitable autobiographical reality collides with Lorde’s “first-world” privilege during her life-changing experiences in Mexico. Lorde problematically transforms the real geographical space of Mexico into a one-dimensional, quaintly foreign background for her coming-of-age narrative and new sense of black identity.

Lorde’s dissatisfaction and longing for elsewhere lead her to idealize Mexico as a place of escape and new promise. Amidst her lover’s growing disinterest, her father’s tragic death, and America’s overwhelming racism, sexism, and heterosexism, Lorde begins to wonder “whether there was any place in the world that was different from here, anywhere that could be safe and free” (Lorde, 149). Though this idealistic yearning for a place free of oppression seems abstract, these abstract musings are linked one page prior to

a tangible place: Lorde conceives of “the idea of Mexico” which “shone like a beacon that I could count on, keeping me steady” (148). The proximity of these quotes suggests that Lorde’s desires for a utopic elsewhere and her sudden attraction to Mexico are both simultaneous and related. The beacon simile is telling, too: she transforms Mexico into a faraway but bright light leading Lorde, the weary traveler, to her destination. This understanding of Mexico suggests an idealistic link between the real country and the imagined oppression-free place of her dreams. Thus, a desire to escape her personal problems and political ostracization motivates her sudden fixation on Mexico as a new, promised land.

As Lorde increasingly fixates on Mexico, she idealizes it as a romantic yet accessible place of beauty. Her idea of Mexico is mediated by her childhood “civics and geography” textbooks, which paint the country as an “accessible land of color and fantasy and delight, full of sun, music, and song” (147). Here as elsewhere, Lorde uses the words “color” and “colorful” to connote both a vibrantly colorful culture and a land of people of color. However, adjectives like “color,” “fantasy,” and “delight”—as well as the above quote’s idealistic and poetic register—call to mind the touristic, idealized picture of Mexico painted by travel brochures rather than the more complex and realistic picture created by lived experience. Unlike the rest of Lorde’s poetic prose, which primarily describes lived experience, the poetic prose about Mexico evokes a romanticized, imagined Mexico too perfect to be real.

Lorde also emphasizes Mexico’s geographic accessibility: “I knew it was attached to where I lived . . . that meant, if need be, I could always walk there” (147). Mexico represents the perfect geographical proximity to the United States: close enough to walk to but far enough to feel totally different from the U.S. Mexico’s optimal intermediate location between the totally familiar and the totally remote transforms it into a concretely accessible paradise. Again, we feel Lorde’s unspoken hope that everything will change in a different location—that Mexico will somehow bring her the peace and acceptance that she has not found in the U.S.—but this time with the conviction that such a paradise is real and reachable. Thus, Lorde fantasizes about a strange, familiar, and accessible Mexico.

However, Lorde's idealization necessarily exists within the larger context of America's problematic historical relationship with Mexico—one loaded with bloody territorial conquest and economic exploitation. Her American citizenship positions Lorde amongst the power-wielding and privileged in relation to Mexico, which uses cultural exoticism to bolster its economically vital tourist industry. From as early as the 1940s, Mexican leaders “vigorously” promoted tourism, 80% of which on average was American, by fostering the “tourist gaze,” or “the manipulation of the country's image as a means of attracting foreign visitors as well as domestic travelers.” While this industry generated jobs and economic growth, its “manifest inequities,” bleak environmental consequences, and “lack of concern for the welfare of many tourism workers” (*Encyclopedia of Mexico*) propagate patterns of Mexican labor exploitation. Indeed, a more radical critique might suggest that Lorde's very decision to travel to Mexico problematically buttresses first-world/third-world power structures. However, I engage the comparatively modest premise that the language Lorde uses to describe Mexico is problematically inflected with cultural privilege that results in part in her unconscious participation in a history of Mexican exploitation.

When Lorde arrives in Mexico, she projects her idealization onto her descriptions of Mexico's beauty. While exploring Mexico City, Lorde describes the “sea of strange sounds and smells and experiences” (Lorde, 154)—and the focus here is on *strange*, as in new and exciting. Her fascination with Mexico's color shows three times in a single paragraph, from the “feeling of color and light” to the “colorful murals” and the “mosaic murals in dazzling colors” (154). Earlier, I spotlighted this precise emphasis on color as emblematic of Lorde's idealized vision of Mexico—indeed, these new descriptive details confirm Lorde's dreams of a new, different, and colorful Mexico. While Lorde should not be faulted for describing Mexico from her perspective—biomythography does not purport to describe the world in any “objective” way—I question her peculiarly simplistic vision of Mexico. While it might have been easy to mythologize Mexico before traveling there, it is difficult to understand how Lorde's view of the country—as exemplified by the language she uses to describe it—would not become complicated after living there for several months. At no point does she describe Mexico on a grey, dark day; her two allusions to inner-city poverty and sexism (155) are extremely brief and unaccompanied by social criticism like other moments in *Zami*. Having first imagined a perfect Mexico to which she could escape, Lorde then shapes her

lived experience in Mexico to match her idealistic preconceptions: she actively constructs the Mexico of her fantasies into the Mexico of her reality without complicating this rosy picture.

Experiencing a new space through the lens of one's imagination is not inherently problematic, but becomes so when inflected with the cultural politics of first-world citizenship. Lorde's descriptions of the physical landscape subtly tend towards the anthropological, by which I mean details that depict a quaintly different and foreign culture from the Western colonizer's perspective. Lorde's details constantly allude to the differentness of Mexico: for instance, she wakes up to the “the faint and rhythmical whirr-whoosh of Tomas's scythe as he cut back the wild banana bushes” and Eudora preparing her “scrambled eggs Mexican-style, and real *café con leche*” (168). Here as elsewhere, there is a thin line between merely describing difference and actively exoticizing an Other. One way to understand the descriptions' anthropological elements, though, is by noting their emphasis on authenticity: hence, the “Mexican-style” and “real” foods she eats. “Authenticity connotes traditional culture and origin, a sense of the genuine, the real, or the unique” (Sharpley)—and this sense of the genuine or real is predicated upon the tourist's privilege to travel in the first place. This uniqueness is doubly emphasized with the particular details: hence Tomas cuts “wild banana bushes,” a rich image that evokes Mexico's “exotic” tropical jungle, despite Lorde's location in the urban Cuernavaca. These differences might have been balanced by fruitful parallels between Mexican and American life: attention to the similarities between countries would have complicated the idealized picture of Mexico and ensured that it was not treated as a quaintly foreign place. As the narrative stands, however, its focus on difference creates a false dichotomy which paints Mexico as an idyllic, romantic, and exotic Other. Thus, while the details themselves may be neutral accounts of difference, the asymmetries of power between Lorde and Mexican peoples situate these details in a problematic and exoticizing American discourse on Mexico.

The construction of Mexico's absolute difference fulfills a tangible purpose: by characterizing Mexico as totally different, Lorde unlocks Mexico's transformative potential as a radically color-blind and accepting social space. As Lorde walks through “street after street filled with brown faces” and “people who said *negro* and meant something beautiful,” she feels a “profound and exhilarating effect”

(Lorde 173)—she sees her own color mirrored in others and feels her blackness as a celebrated, rather than stigmatized, identity. This profoundly new feeling culminates in the ultimate statement of transformation and growth: “It was in Mexico that I stopped feeling invisible” (173). Lorde returns again and again to the theme of invisibility—as a black woman, as a college student, and as a lesbian that defies the butch/femme binary—but here feels agentive and visible for the first time. She notes that this acceptance of her blackness does not “alter radically the nature of [her] living,” but it does give her a “possible validation” and seems “part and parcel of the waking that I called *Mexico*” (173). By directly connecting her new positive sense of black identity and the “wakening” she experiences in Mexico—and here, the italics reveal just how mythologized and loaded that word has become—she emphasizes its importance in her recollection and the transformative nature of her time in Mexico.

While Lorde’s descriptions of Mexico give her opportunity to be a welcome outsider, or a cultural tourist put outside her own language and element, they also present a problematically one-dimensional portrait of the country. To be sure, Lorde’s experience of racism, sexism, and heterosexism in the United States informs her utopic vision of Mexico: her idealized vision comes from a vastly different place than the idealized vision of the typical white, middle-class tourist traveling to Mexico for leisure. I do not intend to question the validity of Lorde’s experiences but, rather, to interrogate the lens through which she understands them. When she describes Mexicans’ total and whole-hearted acceptance of dark skin, for instance, she optimistically ignores Mexico’s well-documented problems with colorism, through which lighter-skinned Mexicans reap social advantages routinely denied to darker-skinned Mexicans. Moreover, when Lorde monolithically depicts Mexicans as good-natured and sociable, she flattens them into simple, quaint, and kind peoples. Thus, Mexico and its inhabitants become a static canvas or background for Lorde’s coming of age. Of course, since biomythographies select for the most important moments of one’s coming of age and development, there is a way in which *everything* in this book becomes “background” for her personal growth—and, moreover, it is difficult to know whether Lorde’s narration, and thus this description, comes from the voice of Lorde the mature social critic or Lorde the young, naïve student. Still, when compounded with Lorde’s privilege as an American citizen studying in Mexico, her monolithic portrait of Mexicans problematically replicates patterns of colonizer/

colonized and first-world/third-world interactions which undermine or deny the complexity of colonized peoples.

This problematic simplification of Mexico carries over into Lorde’s relationship with Eudora. Lorde describes Eudora’s “love of Mexico” as “deep and compelling, like an answer to my grade-school fantasies” (169)—and, as I argued earlier, these childhood fantasies are problematically mediated through American textbooks and their quaint descriptions of Mexico’s difference (147). Eudora “open[s] those doors for me leading to the heart of this country and its people . . . to the Mexico I had come looking for” (171). Eudora represents the gateway into the “heart” of Mexico which, not coincidentally, is the same as the “Mexico [Lorde] had come looking for” (171) and the “answer to [her] grade-school fantasies” (169). Here, the real Mexico and Lorde’s idealized Mexico *become the same space*—Lorde does not distinguish between the actual Mexico she visits and the romanticized Mexico she grows up longing to see. Collapsing this crucial distinction, Lorde fails to see or recognize a Mexico beyond that of her grade-school fantasies. While it is certainly not her duty to provide a nuanced account of the land and peoples she visits, one would hope that as a writer and activist conscious of her various marginalized identities, she would be more attentive to the problems with exoticizing and romanticizing marginalized subjects. Moreover, as a person who so often rejects dominant discourses herself—of black racial identity, of the butch/femme binary—one wishes that her narrative would be self-conscious about its engagement with dominant modes of American/Mexican representation.

Despite these problems, Lorde repeats this strategy soon afterwards: she fashions her relationship with Eudora into a symbol of her lesbian coming of age in the same way she fashions Mexico into a symbol of her fulfilled hopes. From the beginning of their relationship, when “desire gave [her] courage, where it had once made [her] speechless” (166), Lorde describes her change throughout and because of her relationship with Eudora. She repeatedly uses the language of childhood and growth, as when she barely recognizes the “half-known self come of age, moving out to meet” (167) Eudora and, later, when Lorde feels herself “pass beyond childhood” (175). All of these self-conscious comments on the growth and self-discovery experienced through Eudora point to the symbolic weight of their relationship: Lorde clearly connects her coming of age to her relationship with Eudora. While Lorde depicts Eudora as a complex character with flaws and ugliness, their transformative

relationship is nevertheless indebted to the imaginative work Lorde has performed on the space of Mexico. Having already imagined Mexico as an alternative, radically accepting and transformative location, it becomes easier to find the same kind of potential in her romantic relationships. Lorde has already come to expect a certain differentness in all of her experiences in Mexico, and therefore it seems natural that her relationships should also have a different, special quality in this foreign location.

Writing an autobiography requires authors to choose how to depict the most important events of their lives. One common organizing strategy, which Audre Lorde employs, involves making symbols of events and places and thereby making sense of one's life's trajectory. This deliberate and generative act is central to Lorde's biomythography. As such, her depiction of Mexico is not a one-to-one representation; rather, Lorde actively constructs and fashions the Mexico of her fantasies into the Mexico of her reality. While this allows Lorde to understand Mexico as a crucial part of her coming-of-age narrative and new, positive sense of black identity, it also uses her first-world cultural capital to problematically flatten Mexico into a quaint and idyllic paradise of acceptance.

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“The Signifier Acts in My Place”: Commodity Fetishism and Money

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Abstract

This article investigates Marx’s definition of the commodity form and its “fetishization” under the capitalist mode of production. She argues here that the structural role of money within capitalist exchange makes it the most fetishized commodity. Looking to the example of the Cauca Valley in Colombia, where the commodity-form of money is “mystified” through religious ritual, she finds that money plays the central ideological and logistical role within the signification of capital exchange.

Introduction

The Marxist theory of commodity fetishism traces the logistical and ideological trajectory of capitalist production by analyzing the relationship between humans and things. Broadly, Marx asserts that under the capitalist mode of production, human relations are “reified” into object-forms, until the experiential reality of the individual is abstracted through the “mystification” of inanimate objects.¹ With regard to this reconstitution of human relations into objects, Slavoj Žižek writes, “In such a substitution resides the basic, constitutive feature of the symbolic order: a signifier is precisely an object-thing which substitutes me, which acts in my place.”² He supports this claim through reference to an Althusserian criticism of the theory of commodity fetishism: the counter-oppositional conceptions of “human persons” and “object things.”³ He extrapolates from this notion that the web of signification between inanimate objects permits the Lacanian hypothesis of *decentrement* (agency through the other) to blur the distinction between the Althusserian humanist ideal. In short, the autonomy of the individual human is posited upon the presumed autonomy of the inanimate object.

As David Harvey observes, the existing academic debate surrounding the importance of commodity fetishism gives rise to the essential question: how does this theory aid our overall understanding of the capitalist system?⁴ Any object that is traded within the market can be analyzed as a commodity-fetish; however, the commodity form of money lies distinct from others in its particular valuations and role within exchange. The abstracted value and mystification of money generates an instance of fetishism that carries more structural significance and phenomenological disruption than any other object-form. In face of the scholarly debate on the subject, an analysis of the theory of fetishism and the unique role of money will reveal how the mystification of objects reconfigures human consciousness and is the foundational element of the capitalist mode of production.

An accurate representation of commodity fetishism necessitates a thorough analysis of both its theoretical foundations and contemporary manifestations. In order to clearly demonstrate the importance of commodity fetishism through the object form of money, I will begin with a discussion of the traditional Marxist definition. Next, I will discuss the theoretical modifications introduced by Jean Baudrillard in *The Ideological Genesis of Needs*. Finally, I will offer an application through Michael Taussig’s case study of “primitive traditionalism” and the fetishism of money in the Cauca Valley, Colombia. I will conclude by suggesting an alternative to the fetishism of money through the notion of *détournement*, which disrupts the logic of exchange that holds money as the superior fetish within the web of signifiers.

Marx’s Commodity-Form

The idea of commodity fetishism arises from a sequence of correlated theories concerning the alienation of labor and primitive accumulation under the capitalist system. Marx asserts that the principal method by which these phenomena take place is through the formation of the working class in England. In *The Secret of Primitive Accumulation*, Marx asserts that the enclosure of the rural commons gives way to the formation of the urban proletariat, as industrial capitalism gives rise to the formation of two distinct social classes: the owners of laborers and the owners of capital.⁵ In his essay, “The Great Towns,” Friedrich Engels also discusses the creation of the urban proletariat in cities such as London.⁶ Laborers are forced into slums through the

¹ Karl Marx, “The Fetishism of the Commodity and its Secret,” *The Consumer Society Reader* (2000). 332.

² Slavoj Žižek, “The Interpassive Subject,” *The European Graduate School*, accessed February 22, 2011. <<http://www.egs.edu/faculty/slavoj-zizek/articles/the-interpassive-subject>>.

³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴ David Harvey, “A Companion to Marx’s Capital.” (London: Verso, 2010). 38.

⁵ Karl Marx. “The Secret of Primitive Accumulation.” In *Capital, Vol. I. Marxists Internet Archive*. February 25, 2011. <<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch26.htm>>.

⁶ Friedrich Engels. “The Great Towns.” In *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1892). 23–74.

enclosure of rural common pasture, the urban proletariat faces disease, overcrowding, and, most of all, the reification of their “labor-time,” the only object they continue to retain ownership of. From this context, the theory of commodity fetishism arises, which explains how the newly formed proletariat sells its own labor in order to create a mystified network of abstracted value and alienated social relations.

Principally, Marx defines the notion of commodity fetishism by examining three steps in its process: the commodity form’s creation, exchange, and, finally, fetishization. He asserts that the commodity form carries a “twofold social character.” First, objects are principally altered by human labor so that they may become objects of utility, and thus carry “use value.”⁷ The second component, entailing the reification of social relations into exchange values, directly correlates with fetishism. The reification of labor is the process by which the social relations between men as laborers and producers are transformed into social relations between things. This is the point at which commodities are given an exchange value; that is, a structural value “owned” by the commodity itself and quantified in terms of labor time.⁸ The commodity then enters a system of exchange, which is the second step in the establishment of a fetish. Essentially, Marx argues that the primary stage of commodity fetishism entails the establishment of a commodity’s both use and exchange value, the latter of which permits it to enter the web of market exchange.

Once the object is assigned an exchange value, it is integrated into the capitalist market; Marx argues that this stage is most closely related to fetishism because it distorts consciousness and human relations. Exchange value is a function of human labor, gauged by the quantity of “labor-time” used in the creation of an object.⁹ The assignment of exchange value based on quantified labor-time is problematic, as Marx argues, for two reasons. First, it is an inaccurate representation of the social relations among laborers because labor-time is a poorly chosen quantifier. Labor-time serves to homogenize labor and divide the aggregate labor of society among different objects: “Men do not therefore bring the products of their labor into relation with each other . . . by equating their different products to each other in exchange as values, they equate their different kinds of labor as human labor.”¹⁰ Labor-time, Marx argues, is perceived as a regulative

law of nature, which distorts our understanding of human skill and capability. Moreover, labor-time distorts human relations because labor is not the only method by which commodities are created: “The whole mystery of commodities . . . that surrounds the products of labor on the basis of commodity production, vanishes therefore as soon as we come to other forms of production.”¹¹ Not only is the individual’s skill and expertise homogenized as part of “aggregate societal labor,” but labor-time is also inaccurately representative of the different modes of production (e.g. capital ownership) that coincide with human labor in the productive process. Thus, the reification of labor into exchange values demoralizes the individual and distorts perception of the productive process until men are completely alienated from the means of their production, ultimately turning to the commodity as a substitute for their own agency.

The final stage of commodification, Marx asserts, is fetishism, which logically arises from the assignment of exchange value. According to Marx, exchange value is the most unnatural of the twofold social character of commodities, because it is owned by the object (as opposed to use-value, which is owned by the subject).¹² Furthermore, Marx compares the fetish of commodities to religion, where men are no longer of “free association” and worship the autonomous character of the commodity form.¹³ One of the essential examples is the commodity form of money: “The adherents of the Monetary System did not see gold and silver as representing money as a social relation of production, but in the form of natural objects with peculiar social properties,”¹⁴ While Marx only makes one explicit reference to money, this comment illustrates his insistence on money being the most fetishized commodity, because it carries virtually no use value yet is assigned more exchange value than any other physical object.

Baudrillard’s Genesis of Need

From the Marxist commodity-form, Jean Baudrillard draws a more detailed analysis of values and their role in an order of symbolic exchanges, further supporting the role of money as the principle fetish within capitalist ideology. Principally, Baudrillard expands the “twofold social character” of Marxist commodities into four distinct realms of value. While exchange remains one of the most important

⁷ Karl Marx, “The Fetishism of the Commodity and its Secret,” *The Consumer Society Reader* (2000): 333.

⁸ Marx, “The Fetishism of the Commodity and its Secret,” 332.

⁹ Marx, “The Fetishism of the Commodity and its Secret,” 332.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 333.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 335.

¹² *Ibid.*, 339.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 332.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 339.

values of fetishism, sign and symbolic value are also ascribed to the autonomous commodity; they serve to mystify both the subject-object and object-object relationship.¹⁵ He further argues that the assignment of such values helps to create a symbolic order (ideology) that frames the primordial logic of exchange. The genesis of need, Baudrillard asserts, is a final ideological phenomenon that stems from the assignment of such values. In essence, he takes Marx's argument one step further to establish value and need as the impetus to the cycle of productivity, where value is the central tenet of commodity formation and within which money plays the most fundamental structural role.

In addition to use and exchange value, Baudrillard describes symbolic value as an indicator of ambivalence, or an establishment of subject-object relations. Symbolic value is assigned to an object when it is logically perceived in conjunction with a subject relationship. Gifts, for instance, are the principle example of symbolic value. Sign value, by contrast, establishes the importance of the object compared to other objects. He calls upon fashion in order to demonstrate this concept: "This is where it triumphs—imposing and legitimizing the irrational according to a logic deeper than that of rationality."¹⁶ The commodity form of money contains tremendous exchange value, as well as sign value. While the symbolic value of money depends on its context, it has been established as a powerful cultural signifier of wealth, prosperity, and happiness. This signifying role comes from its tremendous exchange value, and thus its utility (only) within the framework of the market. Where it is a signifier, money signifies the very act of exchange, and therefore is considered superior over other, less versatile, commodities.

Following the assignment of value, Baudrillard details the logic of symbolic exchange through commodities. He argues that the pressure to establish a logical order of exchange, in which everything exists "for another," is primordial (trading use values for other use values) and pre-exists the assignment of value itself. As soon as commodities are valued beyond utility, the logic of exchange becomes a matter of signifier-differentiation, according to Baudrillard. First, it differentiates the subject, individuated but simultaneously demoralized and bound by the laws of exchange. Second, it differentiates the physical material being exchanged against other materials.¹⁷ Money is a unique commodity within the logic of exchange, because rather than existing for "one other" it exists for "all others." It is the

single commodity that can be structurally and significantly exchanged for anything. The fact that it contains absolutely no intrinsic use value is key in establishing its superiority because it can be used to buy any item of utility. Ultimately, Baudrillard concludes that logical exchange is primordial; yet the structural prerequisite of universally exchangeable currency only follows the assignment of exchange, sign, and symbolic value.

Essentially, Baudrillard finds that fetishism arises from the logic of exchange and the subsequent cycle of productivity. He believes that the genesis of needs is an ideological phenomenon that takes place in conjunction with the establishment of a symbolic order of signifiers, which he calls "functionalist nominalism," a process by which we assign signs to objects based on the symbols we need to make logical sense of the distorted reality generated in the process of commodity formation.¹⁸ Accordingly, because the subject and object are signified into roles ". . . as autonomous and separated entities . . . it then becomes necessary to establish their relations."¹⁹ Because money's significance is structural, its disruption of consciousness is far stronger than that of any other object. It is worth noting that Marx also asserts that the essence of commodity fetishism lies in social relations, and once the subject and object are framed as autonomous actors, they no longer individually matter as much as the logical context of their relationship does.²⁰ The symbolic order of exchange is thus a web of social relations among people and objects. Because it is the basis for structural exchange, money, once again, plays a remarkable and distinct role within this web—commanding and pervasively influencing virtually every social relation with every subject and object within the web. In essence, fetishism arises from naming objects as signifiers within the web of symbolic exchange.

For Baudrillard, the deadly impact of the ideological web of signifiers within capitalism is the cycle of productivity. The genesis of needs, he asserts, comes from signifying and fetishizing particular commodities on the basis of importance within structures of exchange. That is, ultimately, our own perceived needs are, in fact, just needs of the system.²¹ In terms of money, this stage of fetishism is where wage incentives tie into the cycle of productivity; the laborer needs wages in order to properly function within the market of exchange. In sum, the genesis of need in the cycle of productivity is the most crucial stage of commodity fetishism

¹⁵ "The Ideological Genesis of Needs," Jean Baudrillard. (1969): 60.

¹⁶ Ibid., 71.

¹⁷ Ibid., 71.

¹⁸ Ibid., 71.

¹⁹ Baudrillard, "The Ideological Genesis of Needs," 63.

²⁰ Marx, "The Fetishism of the Commodity and its Secret," 334.

²¹ Baudrillard, "The Ideological Genesis of Needs," 71.

according to Jean Baudrillard; it is where the individual fully surrenders autonomy to the autonomy of the object.

Taussig's Case Study and Détournement

Ultimately, Michael Taussig's examination of commodity fetishism among a Colombian peasant community supports the assertions made both by Marx and Baudrillard, reinforcing the spectacular fetishism of money. In correlation with Marx's main argument, as expanding sugar plantations incorporated them into production, the peasants of the Cauca Valley react negatively to the "unnatural laws" governing the reification of relations and the cycle of productivity. Furthermore, as Baudrillard suggests, they view these processes through a strictly religious ideological framework, and thus seek to fill alternate gaps within that symbolic order. Not surprisingly, money is the commodity they fetishize, and based on the religious orientation of the fetish, they grant it a sign value that is completely different from that in a modern Western capitalist framework. Finally, the Max Weber-termed "primitive traditionalism" guiding this transition is, in fact, a form of *détournement*, turning the spectacle of fetishized money on its head in favor of a utility-oriented logic of exchange. It is, therefore, Taussig's case study that brings the theory of commodity fetishism into practical application, proving that it can be reversed on the basis of cultural context.

Initially, Taussig observes that the peasants of the Cauca Valley had a marked aversion towards the transition to the capitalist mode of production. In particular, the negative attitudes he highlights concern reification into use and exchange value, market structures, and wage labor. He notes that the peasant community rejected the assignment of binary use and exchange values, "the opposition of the satisfaction of natural wants, on the one side, to the limitless search for profits and capital accumulation on the other."²² The peasants of the valley also demonstrated a frustration towards wage labor, and rejected both authority and discipline. Furthermore, this resistance on behalf of the peasantry was taken out on mill workers and other representatives of structural authority.²³ These behaviors among the peasantry are consistent with what Marx terms "unnatural laws" governing commodities and the cycle of productivity. In fact, the passive acceptance of Western capitalism in face of this spectacle contradicts the essence of social relations that are divorced from objects. Baudrillard might argue that the ideological framework of these transitions is what prevents the

subjects of modern Western capitalism from having adverse reactions to the same phenomena.

Additionally, Taussig observes that while the ideological framing of capitalism within the Cauca Valley is radically different from that in Western capitalist culture, the outcome of fetishism is almost exactly the same. Consistent with Baudrillard's main argument, the people of the Cauca Valley assign a sign value to money that coincides with an evil and antagonistic ideological framing of capitalism, whereby the capitalist mode of production grounded in devil worship and evil practices is seen in contrast to the "righteous" peasant mode of production.²⁴ By forming "devil contracts," wage laborers made compacts with the enemy in order to increase their labor productivity. Thus, the peasants accept the reification of labor into a commodity with no use value only through evil means. Moreover, the money generated through a devil contract is restricted to luxury items, rather than basic necessities or "good" items that may be obtained through the peasant mode of production.²⁵ Thus, the functional nominalism within the Cauca peasantry labels capital accumulation as decidedly bad.

It is worth noting, however, that the fetishism of money within the Cauca community is analogous to that in Western capitalist cultures, even though the process is guided by an alternate ideological view. In particular, the baptism of money instead of the baptism of the child frames money as an evil signifier in symbolic exchange.²⁶ However, the characteristics of fetishism described in the third stage by Marx are upheld across ideological frameworks. Money is eventually granted autonomy and animated within this Colombian peasant culture in the same way that it is rhetorically animated in the United States. Taussig observes that phrases like "climbing interest rates" and "runaway inflation" indicate the fetishizing money in the West.²⁷ The Cauca peasants value money as an evil commodity; it was an animated, autonomous being nonetheless, which allows for their incorporation into the same genesis of needs and a cycle of productivity, simply through alternate ideological means. In sum, the means by which the peasants of the Cauca Valley reach commodity fetishism are quite different, but from a practical standpoint, they transition through the stages towards fetishizing money in a manner that is repeated across cultures.

Finally, the "primitive traditionalism" exhibited by the Cauca is, in fact, a form of *détournement* that turns the

²² Michael Taussig, "The Genesis of Capitalism Amongst a South American Peasantry: Devil's Labor and the Baptism of Money," *The Society for Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 19. (1977): 130.

²³ Ibid., 135.

²⁴ Ibid., 136.

²⁵ Ibid., 136.

²⁶ Ibid., 137.

²⁷ Ibid., 139.

spectacle of fetishized money on its head, favoring instead a utility oriented logic of exchange. As Baudrillard asserts, the “primordial” logic of exchange pre-exists the assignment of value, yet it is essential to note that this logic is dependent solely on use value. Evidently, the spectacle that is the commodity fetishism of money is the result of structural necessity and the assignment of exchange value. To a certain degree, money serves a sign value beyond signifying “exchange”—that of wealth, happiness, and prosperity. The *détournement* of this spectacle involves re-assigning these abstract concepts to objects of utility. The Cauca Valley culture that existed prior to the establishment of sugar plantations is the *détournement* of the ideological spectacle. The logic of utility exchange is void of any value besides use; therefore, it does not degrade the autonomous subject or create an ideology to justify the inaccurate representation of labor in the capitalist mode of production. Ultimately, this *détournement* is one that can be attributed simply to social isolation and is not likely a replicable phenomenon once exchange value and fetishized money have been introduced into a symbolic order.

Conclusion

Thus, Žižek’s assertion that, through commodity fetishism, the individual’s agency resides with the inanimate object, holds true in the case of money. Marx’s theory of commodity fetishism highlights three central stages of this phenomenon. Baudrillard expands upon that argument by explaining how the ideological framework distorts the misrepresentation of social relations through reification. With regard to commodity fetishism, Žižek writes about the passive subject, overtaken by the spectacle and robbed of her agency. His alternative is to create a symbolic order for “interactivity,” with which Marx would likely agree. To bring individuals back from the mystical realm of fetishism, where they lose free association, is simply a matter of preventing exposure in the first place. These arguments demonstrate that within the framework of capitalist culture, money is indeed the most fetishized commodity. The *détournement* of this spectacle is embedded in a reversal of reification and returning to a system of logical utility exchange. Of course, a use-based logic of exchange necessitates abolishing a primordial structure. Thus, the critique lies in the foundational element of the capitalist system, and commodity fetishism has significance beyond simply being a theoretical tangent to Marx’s conception of capital. As subsequent philosophers have noted, it carries the capacity to reconfigure human consciousness, creating needs that formerly did not exist, and, in

fact, robbing individuals of their agency. Baudrillard challenges the presumption that use-based exchange is truly primordial and that social relations in this system can only exist in a form that is not alienated by structure and misrepresented by interpretation.

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The Subaltern Speaks: The Colonized Voice Found in *The Lying Days*, *Disgrace*, *None to Accompany Me*, and *Coconut*

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Abstract

This paper is on the racial interactions and constructions of black characters in modern (21st-century), post-colonial texts in South Africa.

In Gayatri Spivak's critical work, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," she argues that postcolonial studies, and those who try to give a voice to the subaltern, are only further enforcing the idea that the subaltern is a homogenous body—an extension of Western centralized thought. This leads to the conclusion that the subaltern cannot speak within an imperialist text. Toni Morrison gives further evidence for Spivak's idea in *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*; she argues that the black presence in American texts exists only as a function of literary "blackness [as] the cause—of literary whiteness" (Morrison, 9). In layman's terms, the hero (European ancestry) cannot be heroic without her villain (black ancestry). Morrison's deconstruction and understanding of the ascription of black characters within American texts limits the possibility of the construction of a fully developed black character within a white text; according to Morrison the placement of an Africanist presence in American literature is simply "reflexive." Utilizing the literary works of South Africa, I argue that, although both of these understandings of black or African identities in works produced by the literary majority stand true, there exist exceptions to this rule. In particular, certain late 20th- and early 21st-century South African literary texts deal with race and yet challenge its definition through colonial societal norms.

The Lying Days, Nadine Gordimer's "coming-of-age" story of a white South African woman, Helen, written during apartheid, limits the black characters inside of the text to merely building and constructing European identity. The black characters that are introduced in the story work to give the reader insight into the white narrator, ignoring any of the private thoughts and possible storylines that could exist for characters such as Helen's black classmate, Mary Seswayo. Mary is introduced as an example of Helen's first real interaction with a black character, yet Mary has no narrative space to define her identity in the novel outside of what is described sparingly by Helen. Mary also serves as Helen's "black reflection" in the novel. When they first

meet, Helen sets up Mary as almost a blank canvas, without feelings and only reflective, both literally and figuratively, of Helen's own character: "Yet as she saw me—perhaps it was something in my face, perhaps in my walk—the look changed. And I had the curious certainty, that one sometimes gets from the face of another, that what I saw on her face now was what was on my own. I recognized it; it was the sign I had been watching for, not knowing what it would be" (Gordimer, 90). Mary exists to challenge Helen's understanding of black Africans, but they certainly are not given a voice. Chinua Achebe gives an example of the use of mirroring among characters in "An Image of Africa," where he notes the reflective humanity that the major white character sees in the face of his black counterpart in the novel *Heart of Darkness*. The possibility that there could be similarity, not in personality but in humanness, between a white and black man—or, in Gordimer's novel, between a black female student and white female student—is "fascinating," to use Achebe's terminology in his critique of *Heart of Darkness*. The fact that humanness in a black character is even mentioned, that there are some mirrored similarities between Mary and Helen that the reader should find "fascinating," serves as an example of what most critics believe exemplifies the majority writing the minority in a colonial text. In this way, Gordimer is "playing in the dark," although I do believe she intentionally enters the development of characterizations in order to construct a sympathetic reading of the effects of apartheid on blacks.

The black presence in the novel works "through and within a sometimes allegorical, sometimes metaphorical, but always choked representation," and can be seen in J.M. Coetzee's 1999 post-apartheid novel, *Disgrace* (Morrison, 17). As in Gordimer's *The Lying Days*, and despite its post-apartheid setting, the story limits the value of black characterizations in the text. The story centers around a white male professor who is shunned by his community for the sexual relationship he conducts with one of his students. Rather than allowing the tone of the novel to speak to the heinous act that occurred by the ostracized white professor, the story turns the focus of sexual perversion to the black character, Petrus; the shunned professor's thematic "black reflection" in the novel.

In a post-apartheid text, Coetzee cannot, and does not, ignore the shifts in social status between whites and blacks in the novel. He speaks directly to the differences through a narrator who refers to what could have been done

with Petrus “in the old days,” a reference to times when blacks would have had to yield to white power; however, in this new society, Petrus is a “neighbor,” a common word that the narrator is hard-pressed to utilize when trying to describe Petrus (Coetzee, 116). The tone of the narrator reflects that he is still shell-shocked by the idea of Petrus’ quiet, yet intriguing and undeniable presence in the lives of the professor and his daughter. Petrus’ actions only play to that tone; Petrus is believed to know who has raped the professor’s daughter, and later takes her as his wife in a sort of forced business agreement. Both of these actions, and many in between, go against the strict social order set up by apartheid, but also serve as interesting examples of proof of my belief that Petrus is the “black reflection” of the professor who, too, takes on a younger woman—although for purposes much more relative to a desire for a selfish, sexual pleasure. In placing Petrus in the novel, Coetzee downplays the sexual prowess of the professor and puts the spotlight back on an easier subject to hate, the black “neighbor” who would have once only been “hired help” for the white people who live on the land as well (Coetzee, 116).

Despite the white narrative voice of Vera Starke, Gordimer’s 2007 novel, *None to Accompany Me*, builds a narrative for the black characters that allows the Africanist presence to stand on central thematic elements that run through the text and affect the white characters as well: switched gender roles within a husband/wife relationship and exploration of identity. Although an in-depth explanation of Sibongile’s partner, Vera Starke, goes beyond the scope of this essay, I will delve into how Gordimer creates a black female character in the novel that is able to stand on her own two feet, and outside of the restrictions typically placed on black characters by post-colonial literary descriptors.

Besides Gordimer’s use of thematic elements in crafting a black female identity in Sibongile, she also utilizes grammar in the novel in the naming of her characters. In contrast to most of the black characters in *The Lying Days*, Gordimer’s black characters in *None to Accompany Me* are named. Naming adds to the wholeness of their characters. Sibongile and Didymus Maquoma are called Sally and Didy interchangeably throughout the novel—a reference to the names used during apartheid. The simple act of naming in the novel defines black characters in that it sets them apart as identities within the novel whose cultural implications—both within their own communities and within the constrictions apartheid has placed on them—are worth exploring.

Sibongile’s dual naming in the novel parallels the duality of roles she must take within the novel. Sibongile is a devoted wife to a man in exile and becomes an executive of the very board that her husband is pushed out of. She is also mother to a daughter who wants to return back to the township with her “go-go,” or grandmother, a place that Sibongile has left, both physically and mentally. Her initial evaluation of a woman who is cleaning the streets is evidence of the schism that exists between herself and her community as she learns that this woman is her cousin. Sibongile is built as a complex character based on the intimate look at the evolving relationship between herself and her husband, Didymus. Interestingly, her complexity also comes out of the overriding theme that explores the psyche and evolution of women. The change in roles in her relationship with her husband indicates an example of role reversal. In this post-apartheid society, Sibongile not only wins a respected political position but revels in her new position. Symbolically, she buys her husband a cane while on a business trip; he is now the weaker of the two in a relationship that once relied on her as the caregiver of the house. Didymus’ new position leaves him as a relic of the past both within his relationship with Sibongile and among colleagues in the political arena. Parallel to the role that Vera’s husband plays in their relationship, Didymus takes the position of waiting for his woman to return home—an idea that demonstrates the novel’s themes of defining womanhood as well as sexuality. Sibongile is utilized as a function of this motif as well. Sibongile and Didymus’ characterizations are used as expressions of race-neutral motifs that exist within the novel.

In looking at Vera as an example of a white narrator who is able to capture the African voice and, as I argue, in a way that allows the psyche of the “other” to speak, it seems as if questioning whether or not a white author can accurately depict a black character in the novel is a bit more complex than the examples of Gordimer’s earlier novel, *Lying Days*, and Coetzee’s *Disgrace* would have a reader believe. Post-colonial critiques named white authors as unconscious vessels of a post-colonial society. They are so inundated with the unrealistic and stereotypical portrayal of the “other” that they are not able to speak objectively on the second party. Other critiques have explained the placement of characters of races outside of Europe in major anthologized works as novels meant to explain identity; whether to help construct the identity of the white characters, or to explain the identity of the “other” in relation to the occidental society. Gordimer provides an example within the South African

literary anthology of an author who is able to cultivate round characters, to provide a highly developed storyline, and, as demonstrated in *None to Accompany Me*, to not be restricted to working with race as the only component of the narrator's character construction.

If we define minor novels, which in South African literature are also based around the interactions between whites and blacks, by the three characteristics given by Deleuze and Guattari (2007) (the text is written in the colonizer's language, the text is political in nature, and the text speaks in a collective voice), there is an extremely limited place for minor literatures in the overall body of text produced during colonial or post-colonial conditions. Considering more modern texts, as I have done with both *None to Accompany Me* and *Coconut*, demonstrates a shift in audience and, therefore, a shift in responsibility for the writer. African writers are able to construct texts that can breathe outside of political intentions or even providing a "collective" voice. It is these literatures that need to be redefined as literatures affected by, but removed from, colonial discourse.

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Empire, Nationalism, and the Discourse on Prostitution in Colonial Bengal, 1880–1940

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Abstract

This article is a portion of her undergraduate thesis on the discourse on prostitution in late colonial Bengal. Using the writings of imperial feminists, League of Nations documents, and monographs by Indians, it argues that the discourse evolved from a critique of the colonized by the British to that of the British by the colonized. Ultimately, the Indians' argument can be implicated in the nationalist discourse of challenging the colonial modernity of the British and arguing for Indian independence.

"Prostitution, as we have sought to show, has in India as in every other civilized country a distinct history of its own."¹ This statement was written in a book tracing the history of prostitution in India to show that prostitution was not a problem unique to India. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, prostitution became a topic of debate in many regions, particularly in Europe and in their colonies. With this in mind, I began an examination of how prostitution became a marker of a civilized society for Indian reformers, particularly in the interwar period (1918–1940). This paper opens up a space for us to look at Indian nationalism differently, as something that was affected by social reforms and issues, rather than solely by political events. Since the interwar period is usually characterized as political history, this adds to the larger history of India, revealing the importance of societal issues to the nationalist discourse. The British Empire's inability to implement substantial social reforms was very much a part of the Indian critique of the political legitimacy of colonial rule. By focusing on society and criticisms of social issues in India through an analysis of the discourse on prostitution, I question the dominant political framework of the interwar period that has garnered the most interest by scholars.

Prostitution, or the "social evil," has been voluminously written about and discussed throughout history. With the introduction of legislation to regulate prostitutes through the Contagious Diseases Acts (1864–69) in Britain, the issue took center stage in the late 19th century. The debate then ignited in India, Britain's most lucrative colony, once the

same Acts were implemented in the British Empire. The late 19th century in India was a period of reform, especially in Bengal, but also a period during which race relations in the Empire hardened. After the 1857 Rebellion, India came under direct control of the British government, and the East India Company's reliance on natives to govern lost prominence. The fear awakened by the revolt also led the British to begin studying India more carefully. The British perceived India as vastly different from Britain and sought to implement separation between Indians and Europeans. Victorian ideals of morality and immorality were also imposed onto Indian society. The Indian prostitute, which had previously been a heterogeneous category composed of many types of women, was reduced to a homogenous entity that stood for Indian women's immorality. The anxiety of interracial sex between the colonizer and the colonized exacerbated fraught race relations. At the same time, concern over the health of the British army in India led to regulation and medical examinations for prostitutes. The trajectory of the discourse on prostitution in late colonial India (1880–1940) followed a familiar trend. During the late 19th and the early 20th century, the discourse evolved from a critique of the colonized by the Empire to that of the Empire by the colonized.

Once British feminists became involved in trying to save their Indian sisters, particularly prostitutes, the discourse on prostitution in India proliferated. During the late 19th century, Victorian imperial feminists who were involved in the prostitution debates in England began to see the regulation of prostitutes as immoral and degrading to women. These imperial feminists, such as Josephine Butler, then turned to India and believed it was their duty to "help" their "oppressed sisters," who were imagined as victims of Indian men, culture, and traditions. Victorian feminists came in as saviors who saw themselves as superior to Indian women and felt it was the duty of the Empire to help the oppressed Indian women. They were motivated to intervene on behalf of Indian women as a way to fulfill their roles as the "moral conscience" of the Empire. Indian prostitutes were not granted the same status as social victims as were British prostitutes in England; rather, the Indian prostitutes were seen as victims of their cultures and religions. For British colonial officers and Victorian imperial feminists, Indian prostitution was a sign of Indian cultural backwardness.

By the early 20th century, prostitution was debated on the international stage, as the League of Nations passed numerous resolutions and created committees to investigate the problem of prostitution and trafficking. The international concern over trafficking of women raised philanthropic and

¹ S.N. Sinha and N.K. Basu, *History of Prostitution in India* (Calcutta: Bengal Social Hygiene Association, 1933), x. Emphasis mine.

political interest in saving the victims, especially once it was acknowledged that there were “white” women living as prostitutes in the colonies. The international furor over “white slavery” heightened the racial fears of the West and shifted the portrayal of Indian prostitutes, differentiating them from European prostitutes. The League of Nations was relatively unconcerned about native prostitutes in India, as their attention centered on getting rid of “white” prostitutes, even though there were meager numbers of European prostitutes in India. “White” prostitutes were deemed societal victims who needed to be saved, while Indian prostitutes were seen as shameless women whose culture sanctioned prostitution. In these discourses, the League’s documents focused primarily on deporting European prostitutes from the colonies rather than trying to combat all prostitution everywhere, as race became a signifier of which women should engage in prostitution and where. The international discourse also characterized Indian prostitution as a symptom of Indian culture.

Within Bengal, concerns about prostitution spread in the interwar period, as Indians also sought to address international trepidations about trafficking. In the 1920s and 1930s, a series of laws were passed to regulate brothels and trafficking, which mostly served to demarcate separate spaces for the prostitutes from respectable society. The Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act was passed in 1933 with pressure from the All Bengal Women’s Union, following the Calcutta Immoral Traffic Suppression Act of 1923. The regulation of prostitution in Bengal was steeped in a discourse representative of the period, in these two decades that marked the height of anti-colonial nationalism. Indians actively criticized the British Empire for its authoritarian methods of rule, especially in light of the widespread idea of “self-determination” that rose to prominence after the First World War.

A few Indian male writers lent their voices to the debate by arguing that prostitution in India was a societal problem as it was everywhere else—and not unique to Indian culture and traditions. Three monographs, Satyendra Nath Mukherjee’s *Murder of Prostitutes for Gain* (1930), S.N. Sinha and N.K. Basu’s *History of Prostitution in India* (1933), and Santosh Kumar Mukherji’s *Prostitution in India* (1934), while all written during the heyday of Indian nationalism, does not explicitly mention independence or nationalist agitations. Rather, all the authors focused on highlighting a problem that they believed had plagued India for a long time. Like the imperial feminists, Indian reformers stressed men’s complicity in perpetuating prostitution in all societies. They pinpointed prostitutes as victims of male violence and

desire, as well as society in general. Indians emphasized a need for reforming social problems through multiple means, particularly better education for the public. The Indian response to prostitution was in dialogue with the international discourse regarding necessary changes, but was also tied to a distinctive understanding of Indian society more broadly. While these Indian reformers might not have explicitly engaged with nationalist discourse, or even mentioned the political situation in India, their writings on prostitution are implicated in the interwar period in which they were produced and linked to greater political agitations for independence.

Most of the Indian responses in the interwar period and zenith of Indian nationalism under study can be seen as trying to prove India’s ability to lead the nation. Nationalism and social reform went side by side—a nation needed to be socially progressive in order to be recognized as politically capable. Instead of agreeing that prostitution was tied to Indian culture and backwardness, Indian (male) writers stressed the need to recognize it as a social issue apparent in modern nations around the globe. In colonial discourse, women were the index of social backwardness, so social reform legislation was directed toward modernizing their condition, which were deemed the key to “all other social reforms and to real national progress.” Therefore, many of the reforms suggested by Indians were aimed at changing social structures such as marriage, understanding women’s status as victims in institutions such as prostitution, and creating educational reforms in schools.

In their attacks against prostitution as a social evil, the reformers often blamed the British as much as native males. Some writers criticized the corrupting Western influence, which they saw as promoting obscenity and alcohol in Indian society. Rather than accepting the colonial trope of the West as the civilizer, they characterized the West as a corruptive and harmful force that had exacerbated problems like prostitution. Throughout, a conscious effort was made by Indian authors and reformers to highlight their society as undergoing stages of modernity like rapid industrialization and educational reforms. Indian reformers implicitly positioned the problem of prostitution within the discourse of nationalism, making the case that prostitution was a symptom and marker of modernity, rather than cultural backwardness. If the Indian nation could be seen as a modern nation struggling with social problems that plagued even the colonizers, they could claim equality with the British in deserving the right to control their population and prove

² Sita Ram Singh, *Nationalism and Social Reform in India* (Delhi: Ranjit Printers & Publishers, 1968), 124.

they were capable of facilitating much-needed changes within Indian society—without the colonial state.

Nationalism gave Indian reformers a space to contest the colonial characterization of their society and political ability to rule. Historian Mrinalini Sinha argues in her *Specters of Mother India* (2006) that criticisms of social issues in India led to arguments that independence was necessary to bring about changes.³ Indians contested the international and British arguments about the necessity of colonial rule to bring progress and modernity to India, often using that same language. There were significant shifts in how modernity was understood during this time as compared to the 19th century, when the British were seen as harbingers of social reforms. During the interwar period, the colonial state was shown up for its inability to modernize India and bring about social reforms.⁴ The social issue of prostitution exemplifies this matter. The British acknowledged prostitution as a social problem, yet they were unable to abolish or reform it. If the Indians were to be denied political independence as a result of their inability to modernize, the British should also be denied control of India for their failure to modernize India. This recognition led to the “reconsideration of the role of the British as an agent of modernity in India.”⁵ By touting prostitution as an emblem of modernity, Indian reformers were aligned with a nationalist discourse that pushed for Indians to be the sole arbitrators of Indian problems, particularly those related to Indian women.

By implicating the British for India’s so-called “backwardness,” Indians legitimized their call for total independence while delegitimizing British colonialism. The problem of prostitution fits into the paradigm of exposing the limits of the colonial state as an agent of modernity for the reform of social conditions in India. This project contributes to the larger discourse on women in Indian history, nationalist studies, and the social history of India during the early 20th century. I have tried to show how the colonial discourse on prostitution, coming from British officers, Victorian feminists, and the League of Nations, was inverted by Indians, who re-appropriated the problem as an incentive for why Indians deserved independence from the British Empire.

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³ Mrinalini Sinha, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

⁴ Katherine Mayo’s *Mother India* (1927) claimed that India was backward in terms of issues regarding women and needed British rule for it to progress. The outcry united Indians more strongly against colonial rule.

⁵ Sinha, *Specters of Mother India*, 73.

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The Creation and Maintenance of the American Underclass: An analysis of the American underclass through a theoretical application of Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*

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Abstract

Through an in-depth analysis of Foucault's societal prescriptions and theorizations in his pinnacle work, *Discipline and Punish*, the creation and maintenance of the American underclass will be discussed in this essay. To further shed light on the character of the American underclass, the essay engages the thoughts and discussions of Elijah Anderson, W.E.B. DuBois, and Sudhir Venkatesh in order to provide evidence of the existence of this constituency and also, more importantly, to attest to its distinctively black face.

The brutal, unjust, and systematic maltreatment of minority groups, specifically African Americans, finds its roots in American history and tradition. Being that a "tradition" of subverted mindsets and social practices and behaviors which have yet to fundamentally change with respect to African Americans has rendered this racial/ethnic group particularly disenfranchised, it is necessary, if not a moral and social responsibility, to confront the disturbing social development that can be noted in the histories of African Americans, specifically those composing the underclass. It is also necessary to expose the nature of this social development or "blueprint" for social devastation. Thus, I analyze the black underclass and the social development which created this population of disadvantaged Americans in light of the work of Michel Foucault and William Julius Wilson. From Foucault, the transition of punishment from "being an art of unbearable sensations" to "an economy of suspended rights" serves as the underlying theme delineating the development of the underclass, which Wilson proposes developed more from class issues, in line with historical transitions, than from problems related to race (Foucault, 11).

Historical Context and Tapestry

In assessing the creation of the American underclass and noting its disproportionate constituency of African Americans, many scholars liken their placement in the social hierarchy to be one of the main results of American slavery. While such theories may have some element of

truth, scholars positing them may nonetheless be attributing a simple answer to a complex problem. With this, the era of American slavery must be analyzed as deeply as possible to truly understand its systemization and, more importantly, its influence in the creation of the modern day underclass. Michel Foucault, in discussing the "genealogy of power" discourse of 1757–1830s France, provides particular insight into the blueprint of slavery with his groundbreaking and eerily specific thoughts on torture in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), which primarily focuses on how punishment became more rationalized—specifically moving from the torture of prisoner's bodies to the torture of their souls.

In analyzing the brutality of American slavery, it has been noted that, because slaves were already denied their freedom, the fear of losing liberty was already absent by virtue of being enslaved, therefore slaves "had to be made to work for fear of losing their lives" (Morgan, 312). Slaves could be beaten, maimed, and killed—and they commonly were—as laws in the early decades of slavery permitted and encouraged slave owners to be particularly brutal. For example, in 1669, the Virginia Assembly "passed a law which would legally protect the master who in the process of disciplining his slave actually ended up killing him . . . the law further specified that the master would be compensated with public funds for the loss of any slaves killed under these conditions" (Wilson, 29).

Just as Foucault explains that early public torture of prisoners "was a bad economy of power" because it tended to incite unrest among the viewers of the spectacle, punishment slowly began to make its transition from that of corporal punishment to a punishment focused more intently upon the inner workings of the deeper social and emotional body of the victim. Slave owners became more familiar with underlying more fundamental and effective concepts of punishment, which Wilson describes as "paternalism" (Wilson, 33). In essence, slave owners began to understand that, "the teacher 'must avoid, as far as possible, the use of punishment; on the contrary, he must endeavor to make rewards more frequent than penalties'" because in doing so, the lazy would be more "encouraged by the desire to be rewarded in the same way as the diligent than by the fear of punishment" (Foucault, 180).

Beginnings of Disenfranchisement

As slavery became more commonplace in the United States and the effectiveness of public torture began to wane, the ideology of paternalism and notions of unsaid rules,

regulations, and means of race etiquette became more common with the emergence of one of Foucault's most infamous elements of correct training—surveillance. “Accepting” the slave masters’ paternalism for the larger benefit of ensuring their own life, slaves unfortunately and most tragically began to make the tradeoff of physical well-being for psychological well-being. As noted scholar W.E.B. DuBois remarks in his *Black Reconstruction* (1935), “It was in part psychological, the enforced personal feeling of inferiority, the calling of another master, the standing with hat in hand. It was the helplessness. It was the defenselessness of family life,” which as Foucault explains, made physical pain of the body no longer the “constituent element of penalty” (DuBois, 9; Foucault, 11).

In the late antebellum period, it was a constant requirement that slaves show humility in the presence of their master, thereby enforcing the “personal feeling of inferiority.” Foucault’s means of correct training can be noted in the humiliation of floggings from the master’s children or the fear and threat of punishment for learning to read, running away, not completing assigned tasks, etc. Enforced race etiquette ensured ritualistic obedience that rendered the slave “under constant supervision” so that efforts could be “consistently made to generate deferential and submissive behavior” from him or her at all times (Wilson, 32–33). This hierarchized, continuous, and functional surveillance which Foucault describes as the panopticon or panopticism is birthed by these aforementioned eventualities which establish an underclass of dependent and fearful slaves. These elements of race etiquette and the panopticon that they lead to also negatively affects future African Americans who find themselves victims of circumstance in the ghettos and hoods.

Formal slavery ended with the Civil War, yet slaves had already begun to work alongside whites in the fields and the factories, under the unseen and unknown confines of surveillance and panopticism. Due to the appearance of blacks and whites within the labor force, a racialized split labor market based upon black and white labor, with the latter being more expensive, developed. In both the North and the South but most acutely in the South, blacks and lower-class whites “were forced by economic conditions to confront one another, bump shoulders, and compete on a wide scale for the same jobs” (Wilson, 56). Yet because blacks were proving to be more competitive in both regions, desires for Jim Crow legislation, similar to the Black Codes of 1865–66 that attempted to reinstate control over freed blacks with forced labor and police controls, circumscribed

large black populations who would normally render great political control, especially in legislation, virtually powerless and ineffective (Wilson, 56). After all, “the new system of rules [Jim Crow] was more regular, more effective, more constant, and more detailed in its effects. . . . The new system was not designed to be more humane, but to ‘punish better’” (Foucault, 617). Needless to say, as the current circumstances of the American underclass are evident, being manufactured in line with Foucaultian principles of power and control (essentially over the life chances of blacks), it did just that.

The American Underclass: Its Probability, Its Maintenance, and Its Danger

Following the white flight of the mid-20th century, as a result of growing numbers of minority populations in inner-city areas, the black middle class began to grow and benefit from the unanticipated beneficial qualities that were necessary results of separate but equal legislation. Thus, some blacks were educated to become professionals like teachers, doctors, and lawyers, just as in previous years they were permitted to be ironworkers, masons, construction workers, and the like. In enjoying success as the teachers, lawyers, doctors of their communities, middle-class blacks benefitted from anti-discrimination laws. Lower-class blacks, for instance, seeped deeper and deeper into the societal quagmire that is the underclass. As Wilson notes, “from 1970 to 1974, black teenagers’ unemployment has averaged 32 percent, and the 1974 rate of 32.9 percent was close to two and a half times greater than the recorded white teenagers’ unemployment . . . for June of 1976 the unemployment percentage for black teenagers jumped to 40 percent” (Wilson, 89–90).

With deteriorating housing, insufficient schools, and limited markets for high-paying jobs, “the patterns of racial oppression in the past created the huge black underclass, as the accumulation of disadvantages were passed on from generation to generation, and the technological and economic revolution of advanced industrial society combined to insure it a permanent status” (Wilson, 120). Analyzing the theories of Foucault reveals that the main objective of internalized control becomes apparent in the summation of his thoughts on the means of correct training. In addition to their already bleak realities, members of the underclass display a sort of nihilism that stands more threateningly as the most “repressive form of control” (Foucault, 616). For instance, in depicting the underclass as a misunderstood and complex subset of American society, Elijah Anderson, in his poignant

1999 ethnography, *Code of the Streets*, shed light on the large black underclass that Foucault indirectly theorized about, Wilson exhorted and proclaimed existed, and W.E.B. DuBois prophesized would develop to plague the nation.

More recently, Sudhir Venkatesh's monograph, *Gang Leader for a Day* (2008), also attests to the realities of the underclass, its collective thoughts, lifestyles, aspirations, and fears. For instance, relevance of Venkatesh's ethnographic research is apparent with his descriptions of the Robert Taylor homes of the Lake Park projects which housed African American Chicagoans and, more importantly, the deviant societal elements of "extortion, gambling, prostitution, selling stolen property" that would yield poverty, disenfranchisement, and street gangs (Venkatesh, 37). Through his descriptions of the black underclass, Venkatesh demonstrates the modern reality of Foucault's theories. The salience of Venkatesh's study emerges from his descriptions of the black underclass. By noting the phenomenon of poor African American males perceiving drug dealing as the only viable means of making money, teenage mothers exchanging sex for baby supplies due to abject poverty, eight-year-old children being shot and killed in drive-bys, religious leaders and policemen participating in and facilitating criminal activities, payoffs and pacification of landlords, and careless demolitions of the only sources of shelters of low-income families, Venkatesh makes his study of inner-city drug and gang activity valid and demonstrative of Foucault's theories of internalized control. It is through Venkatesh's descriptions of the underclass that the mechanisms of power that subjugate populations, such as that of the American black underclass, is understood to cause said populations to respond negatively and rather destructively.

Proceeding Venkatesh, Anderson painstakingly chronicled how the lives of the inner-city poor black underclass was inevitably related to and influenced by the harsh and devastating environment where "interpersonal violence and aggression" not only characterized the inner-city black community but, more importantly, became a focal point by which the larger community and "prison officials and the police [specifically], judge the normality and morality of the prisoners" (Gallagher, 185, Foucault, 618). The harsh environment of the streets and the hood influences its inhabitants, the black underclass, negatively.

Evidenced in the descriptive works of Venkatesh and Anderson, some members of the underclass, responding to the failures of various social institutions like schools, churches, homes, economy, etc. break norms that might

generally be considered standard or normal. For example, a member of the underclass might physically attack his or her neighbor because of a disagreement that could have been resolved with simple conversation. To save face or promote status, a member of the underclass might react aggressively or violently because behaving in such manners might reflect the only "effective" responses or actions in an environment which supports and/or encourages such behavior. To members of mainstream society, such as the police and court officials like judges, who might not understand the complexities of an underclass community, such behaviors or reactions would be misunderstood and most likely judged negatively.

Whether street families or decent families, those "generally working poor," female-headed households of underclass, disenfranchised blacks have become quite used to the hierarchical observation of the police and their means of panopticism. As Alice Goffman describes, the code of the streets to which they have come to live their lives is a "cultural adaptation to a profound lack of faith in the police and the judicial system" (Gallagher, 185). Even more shocking, this code has become a manifestation of the members of the black underclass's direct rejection and lack of fear of the police and the normalizing judgments of mainstream society.

Aside from the "abilities of officials to oversee all they control with a single gaze," as demonstrated by police surveillance of inner-city neighborhoods as described by Goffman, normalizing judgments and examinations also exist to punish the underclass who have, by being black, poor, and overwhelmingly disenfranchised due to circumstance and withheld opportunity throughout the progression of history, tend to violate societal norms and inadvertently become objectified—a sociological specimen or group of specimens to be studied through examination. Goffman's work demonstrates that some individuals of the black underclass violate mainstream norms consistently and repeatedly, while others of the underclass do not. Nevertheless, the underclass is typically examined and judged as a unit—the "object of knowledge, of scientific discourse" that Foucault noted as the root of modern social sciences (Foucault, 618). For it is not as if the underclass is unaware of their counter-mainstream existence. They understand and comprehend quite well their position in the social strata, but devastating factors in such realizations as noted by Anderson, Goffman, Venkatesh, and several other sociologists demonstrate how some internalize the power dynamics and the overwhelming sense of nihilism that typically accompanies said awareness.

Society, specifically dominant social institutions, such as schools, churches, and prisons, objectify the underclass. In this, the underclass, a group or community whose members have demonstrated an adherence to the mandates of proper means of discipline and punishment, is objectified and judged by large and powerful institutions. These institutions objectify the underclass and simultaneously yield “judgment [which] continues to be passed on the passions, instincts, anomalies, infirmities, maladjustments, effects of environment, or heredity . . .” of the underclass. With this, “the expiation that once rained down upon the body” have successfully been “replaced by a punishment that acts in depth on the heart, the thoughts, the will, the inclinations” of the urban black poor (Foucault, 616, 16).

Perhaps the most devastating fact of this internalization prescribed by Foucault is the subsequent affirmation of nihilism and belief in the futility of life altogether. As validated by Anderson’s research, “This fearlessness has implications for law enforcement. Many street-oriented boys are much more concerned about the threat of “justice” at the hands of a peer than at the hands of the police. Moreover, many feel . . . that they have little to lose by going to prison.” In not fearing prison and actually viewing it as a potential marker of status, some African American males of the underclass, perhaps unknowingly, essentially ascribe to social suicide (Gallagher, 191). For when an individual goes to jail or prison, especially if the individual is African American and has the additional liability of being poor and disenfranchised, the chances of rebounding (e.g., finding a job, finding a place to live, etc.) are severely affected, if not completely demolished.

Besides metaphorical death in terms of societal functionality, in a more specific analysis of Foucault’s theories as they relate to the maintenance of the underclass is the fact that actual, biological death, caused by individuals who succumb to the volatility and dangerousness of the streets and hood, becomes satisfactory and, in some cases, desired. Almost like a case of martyrdom, “a cavalier attitude toward[s] death grows out of a very limited view of life. Many are uncertain about how long they are going to live and believe they could die violently at any time” (Gallagher, 191). Consequently, when young African Americans, especially young black men, begin to embrace death because they are highly aware that the opportunities and life chances allotted them are highly limited and constrained, it can reasonably be believed that Foucault assessed the transition from corporeal punishment to the punishment of the soul and its fatality for underclass African Americans nearly perfectly. As he concluded in his theory with discussions of

biopower, the only escape from this novel form of control and surveillance is death. Thus, it is no surprise that the underclass has not only come to internalize this sense of nihilism but actually live by it, thereby further maintaining the underclass and rendering its members more deeply entrenched in the societal quagmire of this disadvantaged group with every generation, as *Code of the Streets*, *On the Run*, and *Gang Leader for a Day* demonstrate.

Conclusion

As a viable element of society, the American underclass has undeniably been revealed and extensively examined by the various sociologists/ethnographers and authors discussed in this essay. Considering that said revelation has resulted from scholars with the specific goal of learning about this disenfranchised and consistently disadvantaged group of Americans, that Michel Foucault’s keen insight could foreshadow elements in the existence and maintenance of the underclass and express the dismal realities of the human condition of it, is all the more noteworthy. Michel Foucault’s work is, perhaps, among the best in acknowledging the discrepancies of American society and the necessity for the realization of this dismal systemization. His work, accentuated with the descriptions, theories, and statistics of scholars like Wilson, Anderson, and Venkatesh, is invaluable to understanding the American underclass so that the societal conditions that allow for the persistence of an underclass might be further unearthed and destroyed. This work might only contribute to explain Foucault’s theories of the shift of control of the body to control of the soul—through the mechanism of surveillance for the American underclass, but, hopefully, it also serves as an aperture to understanding the systemization of the creation and maintenance of the black underclass so that, one day, the social factors that encourage and fortify the underclass can cease to exist.

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Adolescence in Céline Sciamma's *Waterlilies* and *Tomboy*

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Abstract

This paper discusses how Céline Sciamma's films, *Waterlilies* and *Tomboy*, present the social norms for the construction of femininity and the problems these norms cause for the young female characters.

From losing virginities and experiencing first loves, to pretending to be someone they're not, Céline Sciamma's *Waterlilies* and *Tomboy* capture the innocence of childhood and the journey to self-discovery of four young females. By focusing on young female bodies and the discovery of sexuality, Sciamma raises questions about deviant sexualities and the gender norms—specifically female gender norms, since the protagonists are all females—constructed by our society.

Before analyzing the films and discussing the ways in which the films present certain gender norms, it is important to discuss the difference between gender and sex.

According to Marc-Jean Filaire in his book *L'ado, la folle et le pervers*,

"The human being has three sexes: biological, according to what nature has attributed him/her, psychological, which determines the way in which the subject perceives himself/herself in erotic relationships, and social, which determines the sex that we place on the view of others"¹ (195).

For the purposes of this paper, sex will be defined by the biology of the body; the sexual organs with which a person is born. Gender, on the other hand, will be defined similarly to Filaire's third domain: a concept constructed by

each society. In turn, this term includes all the unspoken laws for a "man" and a "woman," words that are attached to the sexual organs of a body; a man is he who is born with a penis and a woman, she who is born with a vagina. Each gender is expected to follow a certain model created for each of the two categories because in our world, "sex is male or female, and [. . .] gender must follow sex" (Hentges, 142).

In Sciamma's films, the body and clothing play an important role in raising questions about gender norms because both elements are the most visible signs of gender. Following gender norms, a person is recognized as being female at first sight because of long hair, protruding breasts, and the choice of clothing—the most obvious feminine choices of clothing being high-heeled shoes, skirts, and dresses. In *Waterlilies*, Floriane's body is a sign of her femininity and sexuality. Because her body is more developed than those of other girls her age, she is an object of desire and the source of jealousy for other girls her age. She is the one getting all the attention from the male characters that all the girls around her are attracted to, even if she is not interested in them.² However, she has the reputation of a *slut* because her body makes her desirable and she "kisses her admirers for convention"³ (Douin). For example, Floriane has a relationship with François, the guy Anne likes. Every time Anne sees them together, she gets jealous and unhappy. In Floriane and Marie's first conversation, the first sign of a real friendship instead of a rapport based on favors, Floriane tells her, "You know the swim coach, the one who gave me a massage the other day? He won't leave me alone. He follows me in the dressing room . . . he tells me he loves me, but, oh please! [. . .] I kissed him once, so that doesn't help. But since everyone is in love with him, I couldn't help myself, just to fuck with those bitches."⁴

On the contrary, Anne is a little on the heavier side, with short hair, and not an object of desire in the film. In fact, when the girls are at a party, unsurprisingly, Floriane is the one always surrounded by boys while Anne attracts no male attention and can be seen either alone or with Marie.⁵ The differences in Floriane's and Anne's bodies may partially

¹ Own translation. Original: "[...] l'être humain a trois sexes: biologique, selon ce que la nature lui a attribué, psychologique, qui détermine la manière dont le sujet se perçoit dans ses relations érotiques, et social, qui détermine le sexe que l'on affiche au regard des autres" (Filaire, 195).

² Own translation. Original: "Tu vois le maître nageur, celui qui m'a fait les massages l'autre jour? Il ne me lâche pas. C'est dingue. Il me course dans les vestiaires. Il me dit qu'il m'aime mais tu parles! [...] Je l'ai embrassé aussi une fois alors ça n'arrange pas les choses. Mais comme tout le monde le kiffe, je n'ai pas pu m'empêcher de le faire, pour leur foutre le mou à ces connasses." (Naissance des Pieuvres)

³ Own translation. Original: "embrasse ses courtisanes par convention" (Douin).

⁴ We learn from what Floriane shares with Marie that the swim coach and François are two male characters desired by other girls but who have their eyes set on Floriane.

explain why one is at the center of male attention and the other is practically nonexistent. The two different bodies are juxtaposed in the film to emphasize the laws of a femininity that dictates what is considered beautiful and attractive and what is not. Anne's female body is not attractive like Floriane's is because her "body is too heavy"⁶ (Tourret, 132) and her short hair gives her a more masculine image. Floriane, on the other hand, represents the image of ideal feminine beauty with her developed breasts, thin figure, and long hair.

In *Tomboy*, Laure has short hair, unlike her sister, Jeanne, and her friend, Lisa, the two other girls that are most present in the film, whose hair goes beyond their shoulders. This physical characteristic is important because Laure doesn't cut her hair short to appear more like a boy; her hair is already short from the very beginning of the movie. However, when she asks her sister to cut it, but "not too much so that Mom doesn't notice," she is making an effort to keep her hair short in order to maintain her androgynous appearance, which helps her pass for a boy. It is this trait especially that leads Lisa to think Laure is a boy when they first meet, since there are no remarkable big differences in the way they are dressed or in the development of their bodies at that point.

The age of the characters in *Tomboy* makes it easy for Laure to pass for a boy since they are still too young to have developed bodies. At her age, she still does not have the biological marker of protruding breasts to make her femininity visible. Although gender norms dictate that a woman must cover her breasts, even young girls without fully developed breasts wear bras and bathing suits to cover them. In every shot of Sciamma's two films where people are wearing bathing suits, the females wear a one-piece—whether to get together with friends at the lake or in the pool for a synchronized swimming competition or practice. Males, on the other hand, all wear bathing suits that only cover their bottom. However, Laure cuts her one-piece feminine bathing suit to look like that of a boy's. By doing so, she rejects feminine gender norms in order to present herself as a boy. However, when she plays soccer with the other boys, she plays shirtless and spits on the ground like they do. She completely takes on the male role and studies their masculine behavior to then imitate them. Therefore,

Laure plays the role of a male and follows what the gender norms would be for him.

In *Tomboy*, differences between genders are emphasized even more in the clothes characters wear. While Laure never dresses herself in clothing that would be considered feminine such as skirts and dresses, Jeanne and Lisa do. Laure's choice to wear shorts and t-shirts that look more like boys' clothing than girls' is important because "fashion is [a] space of negotiation where girls in film develop a sense of self, a power over themselves and others, and even a means of expression and subversion" (Hentges, 116). Laure utilizes her clothing to express her sense of self: she does not identify with the feminine social construction for women. Like her short hair, she dresses in a more masculine manner from the very beginning of the film, *before* she presents herself as a boy. Therefore, her choice not to dress in a typically feminine way like Jeanne and Lisa is not simply about her choice to present herself as Michael. Nonetheless, when her mother finds out she has been pretending to be a boy, she forces Laure to wear a dress even though she had never had a problem with how she dressed before. In this case, dresses act as more than just simple articles of clothing; they become markers of femininity, meant to reassure the world that Laure is, in fact, a girl. While in some films the presence of the opposite sex is often used to affirm a character's heterosexuality, in *Tomboy* it is the dress that is used to affirm Laure's sex, since gender norms dictate that only females wear dresses.

The physical activities in the films also contribute to the presentation of gender norms. In *Tomboy*, the two sisters engage themselves in very different activities. Jeanne, who is a complete opposite of her sister, dances ballet. In her pink tutu, she shows Laure her ballet formation, a graceful dance that is strongly female dominated. Laure, however, plays soccer, a male-dominated sport, emphasized in the movie by the absence of other female players when the children play. Lisa even says, "I do not have a choice. They say I am bad at it,"⁷ explaining why she doesn't play; the boys do not want her to play with them because it is not a *sport for girls*. However, Laure is allowed to play with them because they think she is a boy.

In *Waterlilies*, synchronized swimming is another feminine domain where females perform movements with

⁵ Anne is not an object of desire until her body is used to satisfy a sexual need. From that point forward, François acknowledges her presence during the last party shown in the film only to signal her to follow him so that they could have sex. It is only at the end of the movie that François finally pays attention to Anne because, unlike Floriane, she accepts to have sex with him.

⁶ Own translation. Original: "[...] un corps trop pesant [...]" (Tourret, 132).

⁷ Own translation. Original: "Je n'ai pas le choix. Ils disent que je suis nulle."

their bodies to show their grace, elegance, and beauty. The first scenes of the film focus on this world of Floriane and Anne. The girls are getting ready for a competition; that is, getting ready to be looked at and the center of attention, with all focus on their bodies. They are aware of their objectification—a typically feminine role as it is passive—and thus must be perfect for the show in every way, preparing for it by fixing their hair and putting on makeup. The synchronized swimmers are objects, pleasant for spectators to look at. However, the synchronized swimmers are reminded that they will later become objects of desire, as one scene demonstrates when a coach sees that one of the girls had not shaved her underarm.

“What is this job, Natasha?”

“I did not have time.”

“Is that what you are going to tell your husband, ‘I did not have time’?”⁸

The dialogue between the coach and the young swimmer emphasize society’s expectations of a woman. Consequently, “synchronized swimming represents [. . .] a certain feminine ideal” (Tourret, 130) as a female space that reinforces gender norms, teaching girls how to be feminine. For example, while taking a shower, Jeanne sings: “a girl falls in love, with a guy who plays rock and roll, at the high school exit, all the girls put their makeup on . . .”¹⁰ This song, like synchronized swimming, enforces gender norms. According to it, society considers girls falling in love with boys and then making themselves pretty to become objects of desire to be the norm.

More than merely presenting gender constructions, the films also dive into the first love experiences of the female protagonists. These experiences are directly linked to the discovery of their sexuality because, in Filaire’s words, “becoming an adolescent means accessing a conscious age of desire” (38),¹¹ love is a subject that is not easy to ignore. In fact, *Waterlilies* opens with Marie bored during the first competition of synchronized swimming. It seems as though she is ready to leave, yet the second team of swimmers stops her. She sees Floriane for the first time, and it is at that moment that Marie begins to desire her. Marie, who begins to do everything Floriane says just to spend time with her, represents the typical adolescent in love. She falls in love with Floriane and so is sad when she sees her kiss François.

Marie breathes heavily when Floriane holds her hand for the first time and is disappointed when Floriane gets close as if to kiss her but doesn’t. Marie is completely conscious of her emotions towards Floriane, yet never once does she question that she desires someone of the same sex or her sexuality. Similarly, Laure never poses herself any questions about her relationship with Lisa. The same could have been said for Lisa had she initially known that Michael was, in fact, Laure, a girl.

Even though the characters in these films are emotionally involved and have their first sexual experiences with someone of the same sex, they never question their sexuality. Marie and Floriane’s first sexual encounters are with each other, even if it is not an act of love because Marie is doing Floriane a favor. She asks Marie to please take her virginity, because she does not want anyone to know she lies about her sexual partners and that she is a virgin, in order to keep her reputation of a “slut,” since it attracts the boys. Thus Floriane says, “If he knows that I’m not a real slut, it’s done.”¹² Therefore, according to Sciamma,

“I wanted that moment to be raw and clinical. The two characters don’t want the same thing. On one side, there’s love, on the other, there’s a favor”¹³ (Jousse).

Marie does what Floriane asks because she loves her, but Floriane only asks because she feels she *must*. The characters do not speak during the act. Floriane gets under her covers so that Marie doesn’t see her intimate parts, and she cries without looking at Marie during the sexual act. When Anne loses her virginity to François, he takes advantage of her sentiments for sexual satisfaction since Floriane refused to sleep with him. These two representations of the characters’ first sexual encounters clearly reflect how “Teenage sex is not often romantic [. . .] it is more often painful, disappointing, embarrassing, or frightening” (Hentges, 43), whether it is an act of two people of the same or different sex.

In conclusion, Sciamma portrays the problems with gender norms and the conflicts they cause for Laure, who must identify herself first and foremost as a girl since she was born with a vagina, and for Floriane, who, despite being the most desired girl in her school, goes through experiences that many would not envy. Although society would like to

⁸ Own translation. Original: “C’est quoi ce travail, Natasha?” “Je n’ai pas eu le temps.” “Tu le diras ça à ton mari, ‘je n’ai pas eu le temps’?”

⁹ Own translation. Original: “la natation synchronisée incarne [. . .] un certain idéal de la féminité” (Tourret, 130).

¹⁰ Own translation. Original: “une fille tombe amoureuse, d’un garçon qui fait du rock n roll . . . a la sortie du lycée, toutes les filles se sont maquillées . . .”

¹¹ Own translation. Original: “devenir adolescent, c’est accéder à l’âge de la conscience du désir” (38).

¹² Own translation. Original: “Si jamais il sait que je ne suis pas un vrai salope, c’est fini,” talking about François and why she must lose her virginity. By saying that, it can be concluded that her reputation as a slut is attractive for François.

¹³ Own translation. Original: “Je voulais que ce soit un moment cru, clinique. Les deux personnages ne veulent absolument pas la même chose. D’un côté, il y a de l’amour et de l’autre, il y a un service.” (Jousse)

categorize and define each person since “the ambiguous makes the society who does not find its models and its marks uncomfortable”¹⁴ (Filaire, 30), Sciamma demonstrates through her two coming-of-age films that humans are too complex to fit into an overly simplistic term.

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¹⁴ Own translation. Original: “l’ambigu met mal à l’aise la société qui ne retrouve pas ses modèles et ses repères” (Filaire, 30).

What's in a Word?: Defining Bilingualism

Sophie Bonifaz, *Rice University*

Sophie Bonifaz is from southwest Houston, TX, where her exposure to countless languages instilled a deep interest in how language can reflect identity. Having graduated from Rice University with a BA in Linguistics and Anthropology, she continues to work for her alma mater while eagerly waiting for the fall of 2013, when she will be moving to York, England, to pursue a MSc in Forensic Speech Science at the University of York.

Abstract

This paper is a short summary of Sophie's Anthropology capstone and Linguistics honors senior thesis, based on a year and a half of research she conducted concerning the perception of bilingualism. The paper's ultimate goal is to see if there is a common definition and set of assumptions tied to the term "bilingual" and finds that there isn't. It touches briefly on how people deemed to be bilingual are perceived in the United States and summarizes two personal investigations that inspired this project before then going over both the methodology and conclusions drawn from interviews and a focus group designed to glean personal and practical definitions of the term.

The vast majority of words in a language are used by speakers without consulting each other because it is not necessary to do so. Dictionaries provide literal definitions and experience with the words in conversation and text demonstrate common connotations; there is no discussion because, within a speaking community, definitions do not shift much from person to person. Humans, as a whole, tend to take this for granted, which can cause some problems in certain situations, especially when one's future may be on the line.

The Random House Dictionary defines the quality of being bilingual as being "able to speak two languages with the facility of a native speaker" (Dictionary.com 2012). "Fluent" is defined as "spoken or written with ease" (Dictionary.com 2012). These definitions are fairly basic and leave much open for interpretation: for instance, how well does a native speaker have to speak a language to qualify as bilingual? How much ease does one require to be fluent? Are the two related? While a specific definition might not be important in casual dialogue, there are many instances in which such qualifications are vital.

The United States Context

The United States reported over 300 languages spoken on the 2000 U.S. census, more than many other countries

in the world (MLA 2011, Lewis 2009); this means that, with a population of over 300 million, almost a sixth of the country speaks a language other than English (MLA 2011). Despite the clear presence of bilingualism in the country, the United States, as a primarily monolingual country, has grappled with it for centuries. The English-only movement finds its roots in Benjamin Franklin, who warned colonists of the danger German posed to English. Since then, English has been made the official language of over half (27) of the states in the country (Crawford 2008), subsequently reducing funding for bilingual education in these states. Countless indigenous languages have died since the beginnings of Manifest Destiny. Spanish speakers in the 1960s had to face corporal punishment when caught speaking a language other than English and, in more modern times, have been fired from their jobs for accidentally slipping into Spanish in an English-only space (Del Valle, 2009: 91, Stern, 2009). They have also been removed from jury duty "for fear that they would use their bilingualism to second-guess a court interpreter's translation" (Del Valle 2009: 89).

There are many racial and religious issues revolving around illegal immigration and the War on Terror, causing friction between monolingual Americans and speakers of either Spanish or Arabic (Stern 2009, S'hiri). Polyglots in general can be stigmatized for being able to speak multiple languages, though this depends in part on how the group associated with the language is perceived. For example, negative judgments in regards to one's "suitability for high-status jobs" and "attractiveness" can be partially attributed to accent; Indians are seen to be less attractive than Eastern Asians in the United States due to this (Lindemann, 2003: 348). As a result, it is not uncommon for a young ethnic minority to drop their heritage language in an attempt to feel less inferior when comparing themselves to white Americans (Tse, 2000: 187–8). This is all happening despite the foreign language requirement present at many high schools and universities in the country, as well as the clear advantage of multilingualism in business.

These issues form a complicated situation that stems from a complex concept: bilingualism, which is inescapably tied to fluency and proficiency. The country seems to fluctuate between valuing and abhorring bilinguals, but is everyone working from the same standpoint? If not, this might be affecting how people react to the phenomena, which in turn affects everything from education to job opportunities to how the government communicates with its citizens.

Previous Personal Investigations

I accidentally stumbled upon my research topic in the spring of 2011 after conducting a survey on language pet peeves for a sociology course at Rice University. Twenty participants either read or heard ten sentences that ended in prepositions and answered questions asking for their assumptions about the potential speaker. The survey itself was not testing for any particular assumption; many topics were covered, including education level, potential GPA, and age. In the end, there was only one major trend: out of 200 responses, a little more than half (105) indicated a belief that both a monolingual and a bilingual would be likely to say the sentence, but over a quarter of the answers (65) were simply “monolingual.” This finding was very unexpected, particularly as I consider myself bilingual and felt I would be likely to say every example used. Why did a quarter of the responses assume otherwise?

Inspired by these results, I conducted a second survey aiming to see if there was a correlation between the level of speech formality and an assumption of monolingualism. The survey was posted online and consisted of eight written sentences. Participants were to answer 1) whether they considered it formal or casual speech; 2) if they deemed it proper Standard American English; 3) if it were likely that they would say the sentence provided the right context; and, finally, 4) if they thought a monolingual or a bilingual speaker would be more likely to say it. Nearly 300 self-selected volunteers participated, though due to time constraints and incomplete surveys only 100 were processed and analyzed. The final results suggested a faint connection between the level of formality and assumptions of multilingualism: the more casual the phrase, the more it was perceived to be spoken by at least a monolingual, if not both. Bilingual speakers were more strongly associated with the kind of formal language that sounds unnatural when spoken and would rarely be said by a monolingual speaker.

These surveys spawned multiple questions: how do people envision a bilingual speaker? What other assumptions are people making about bilingual people in regards to their linguistic capabilities? Is it assumed that bilinguals learned English as a second language and are, thus, consequently weaker in it? Are certain kinds of people thought more likely to be bilinguals than others? What do these assumptions affect? What are the expectations a bilingual speaker must be able to meet in order to claim the label in this country? And how is the term defined in the first place? Recognizing that to best understand a response it is imperative that working

definitions of key terms are known, this investigation attempted to delve further into the last question through a series of interviews with people from all kinds of linguistic backgrounds.

Interviews

Eleven people were interviewed through November 2011 and March 2012. A basic script was followed during the interviews asking about personal experiences with language as well as for definitions and responses to situational questions. Three identified as male, and eight identified as female. Three were monolingual Americans from monolingual families, one was a Dominican monolingual with bilingual parents, and seven considered themselves bilingual or fluent in another language. All were between the ages of 19 and 30 and reside in either Houston or College Station, TX.

The interviews revealed two ways of conceptualizing order in the process of learning a language: four people said that fluency is a step on the way to becoming bilingual, and four others said bilingualism is a step on the way to becoming fluent. A peculiar aspect of these groups is who they consisted of: each had at least one international student, one monolingual speaker, and one person who moved to the United States from Pakistan at a very young age. The only distinguishing attribute between the groups is gender: one group was entirely comprised of females, and the other contained the only three males. Only two considered the term bilingual to be a count for the number of languages a person spoke.

Each group's members agreed with each other for the most part in regards to literacy and register, which refers to a form of language used in a particular social setting. Those who thought fluency is achieved on the path to bilingualism also tended to believe that it is not necessary to be literate nor to have mastered the use of both casual and formal registers in order to claim fluency; conversely, literacy and register do matter when determining bilingualism. One person partially agreed with this in that she felt that literacy is a factor in determining what kind of bilingual one is.

The second group, who thought that one becomes bilingual on the path to fluency, also shared similar ideas that were in direct contrast to those of the first group. They did not deem literacy and register to be important factors in claiming bilingualism. Two felt that one must have mastered both casual and formal registers in order to claim fluency. Only one person divided fluency up into three categories

(reading/writing/speaking), while another was the only one who divided bilingualism up into two categories (casual/formal). One white female was alone in placing importance on pronunciation and accent, though only in the context of a white American learning another language. No one else thought a person's accent mattered; all that mattered was intelligibility.

The same white female as above was unique in saying that not just anyone could become bilingual. However, she was not the only one to assume, when thinking of friends that spoke different languages within the American context, that bilingual speakers learned their non-English language at home or in their native land. Six others brought this up as well, be it explicitly or subconsciously. One international student, unlike the rest, divided her friends up into two groups: her international and Azerbaijani friends all learned their second languages at school (English), whereas her American friends all learned their non-dominant languages at home (Spanish).

Everyone who answered the question believed that immigrants are the most likely to be bilingual within the American context. Two specifically mentioned Asian people—both taking care to include both east and southeast Asia—and another two brought up Europe. Latin America was referred to loosely by four when discussing language application, courses, and personal relationships. Another two mentioned residents of countries that had multiple official languages, though they did not reference any particular regions. Four said that American, British, and white people were the least likely to be bilingual; another two suggested people who came from mixed backgrounds. No one brought up Africa or the Pacific islands.

Focus Group

The focus group was made up of four of the 11 interviewees. The focus group began with a linguistics introduction, in which each person introduced his or herself to his/her personal language background. Three activities followed: in the first, they were to study three fake resumés and write down the linguistic assumptions they made based on the information provided. In the second, they were to work together to determine who they would want to hire for a receptionist position at a government building in Houston, TX, based solely on the applicants' linguistic capabilities. In the third, they were given copies of a job application and asked to design another section inquiring about an applicant's

language skills. At the end, they were asked to briefly describe their definitions of the words "bilingual" and "fluent."

In regards to the linguistic assumptions based solely on the resumés, ultimately, it was a no-win situation; if a person stated they were fluent, the participants would doubt the claim, and if they said nothing, they would assume that their language level was unimpressive. Ethnic backgrounds were emphasized and, in some cases, given even more weight than schoolwork. Work experience, however, was viewed with more respect.

When it came time to hire a person, the first thing brought up was a claim of fluency. They questioned the resumé's definition of fluent as well as wondered why none of the other applicants indicated their level of proficiency, and, as a result, they resorted to comparing experiences both abroad and professionally. Both translation and research were looked upon favorably. Studying abroad was seen as an imprecise way of gauging abilities, and the group as a whole was largely unimpressed with the presence of a minor; since it was not a major, they felt it did not focus as much on language skills as it could have. Although aware that this position would not require overly complicated language, they decided that interviews would be needed in order to get a better idea as to what applicants' linguistic backgrounds and individual levels of proficiency were. The two finalists were chosen mostly due to the languages they spoke rather than for their skill levels.

The creation of the job application was designed to pit everyone's definitions against each other and see how they would negotiate these differences while creating a way of measuring a stranger's linguistic competence. The group decided to ask the applicant for both native and "other known" languages, with space to rate their proficiency in all of their languages, including the native ones. They also wanted to know how well an applicant could speak, read, and write in a language and divided them up into "speaking and comprehension skills" and "reading and writing skills." When it came to evaluating the spoken language, they agreed to put options based on examples, such as "able to speak short and simple sentences" and "comfortable in informal settings," as they felt this would better reflect a person's possible skill levels. When it came to reading and writing, they used school levels such as "elementary" with a section that would allow applicants to explain or elaborate to make up for the ambiguity in each answer choice.

At the end of the focus group, participants were asked to redefine these terms individually to see how they compared to their past definitions and share their thoughts with the others. One participant's most recent definition was, by her own admission, a bit confused. She added proficient to her list of terms and considered it lesser than both fluency and bilingualism. She was also unsure of whether or not she still believes there is a level of "nativism" in bilingualism. Despite this uncertainty, her definitions did not change too much overall. Another's definitions altered drastically. Originally, the term bilingual was simply used to enumerate number of languages spoken, but changed to refer to a person who speaks two native languages. Fluency, by contrast, was something achieved on the way to bilingualism; however, she also stated that fluency is inherent to acquired languages and bilingualism is tied to native languages, contradicting the previous statement as well as her original statements. Proficiency means one can get by in a language, and she noted that there are different levels of proficiency one can attain before achieving fluency. A third person referred to proficiency in both interviews and considered it a level of language less advanced than both fluent and bilingual. Bilingualism's definition changed from a counter to a level of language below fluency that includes a dominant and non-dominant language that are at unequal levels. The fourth member flipped his definitions. At first, one became bilingual before becoming fluent; the new definition, however, stated that when one is bilingual, it is implied that a person is fluent in more than one language. He also noted this time around that proficiency level is something that is based more on practicality and is what most employers actually want to know, not bilingualism or fluency.

Conclusion

It appears as though people are not only working with different definitions from one another, but a person's own definition can change drastically over time. Whether this is due to another's influence or further retrospection after the initial interview, what is important is that it shows how fluid definitions can be. The difficulty with which many participants defined and repeatedly redefined these terms only emphasizes how ambiguous the terms are. It also reveals how incredibly difficult it is to use these words in professional contexts, as each party may be working with a unique set of constructs.

This study has also raised several new questions: Where do these definitions come from? Can they be specified even further? How easily can a definition change, and

does the likelihood of change depend on whether or not the person is monolingual or multilingual? Additionally, the term "native" came up multiple times: what does that mean, and in what contexts can one claim this label? How should one express their language proficiency on professional documents? Why were there no references to Africa or the Pacific islands? And how exactly does literacy play into all of this?

These words are not easy to define, and this investigation makes no attempt to create one universal definition. Instead, it simply shows the diverse points of view that exist and urges everyone to consider and discuss the meaning of these words we so carelessly toss around. These terms are more significant than most expect, and have the potential to impact lives depending on they are used.

Curing the Native: On Translation and Transformation in Richard Philcox's *The Wretched of the Earth*

Brandon Callender, CUNY, Hunter College

Brandon Callender recently graduated from Hunter College with a degree in English Literature and will be applying to doctoral programs this fall. In the past, his work has engaged the role of the anthology in black nation building. Currently, he is interning at YP4, working to create a blueprint for an adolescent education reading group. Brandon continues to study black masculinity and narratives of uplift in 19th- and 20th-century literature, in preparation for applying to PhD programs in English, studying constructions of masculinity in 20th-century African American Literature.

Abstract

In an effort to modernize Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, Richard Philcox sought, among numerous other changes made in the 2004 translation, to eradicate the primitivizing term "native" from the text and to replace it with the word "colonized." However, what first appears as an unbiased and systematic instance of modernization, upon closer examination, reveals that the term "native" is selectively applied in order to sediment new meanings within the text. By examining isolated moments within the original French edition of *Wretched*, the 1968 translation by Constance Farrington, and the most recent version by Philcox, this study investigates the ways in which this new grammar and terminology implemented by Philcox better captures the agency of the colonized in an atmosphere of growing nationalism. Indeed, it is under the aegis of curing, or preserving the text, that Philcox seeks to heal the natives of a grammar of passivity.

Richard Philcox, referring to his translation of Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, claims to have "had a choice of keeping the rather heavy, pompous style and language of the 1950s, or deciding to update and modernize it without losing Fanon's voice" (Philcox, 246). Indeed, the Philcox edition printed in 2004 uses new phraseology to create a heightened atmosphere of confrontation and agency not to be seen in the 1968 edition translated by Constance Farrington. One need not read all too much of the latter, or Fanon's original French, for that matter, to see the amendments that Philcox has made, most notably the substitution of Fanon's indiscriminately used "*indigène*" and "*le colonisé*" for the now more acceptable term "colonized." I do not mean to suggest in this essay that Philcox undergoes a radical departure from the original translation, but only to highlight the subtle transformations that do occur within the text that allow him not only to stage more vividly the colonial drama, but also to largely

reconstruct the subjectivity of the colonized. By merely shifting the terminology, the grammar, and the subject focuses of certain phrases, I show how Philcox is able to enhance Fanon's documentation of a nascent national consciousness emerging among the colonized, and so, too, the violent atmosphere in which it is born.

However, I want to suggest a second translation also highlighted by my title: in his dual effort to both eliminate inconsistencies and to modernize the text, Philcox is also trying to cure more than the textual body; he is also attempting to cure the grammar of passivity that at times characterizes Fanon's portrait of the colonized. I will utilize the term "cure" in two different senses of the word: to relieve or eliminate something harmful, such as sickness or a bad habit; and, secondly, to prepare an item for preservation as one does a meat by salting, drying, or, as I will imagine in the case of a text, modernizing its language. Thus, by curing Fanon's original text of the term "native," Philcox attempts to adopt a language suitable to the contemporary palette of the progressive, who wouldn't receive the term "native" without a certain sourness, given its current primitivizing connotations.

Lastly, I wish to emphasize the theatricality of Fanon's narration. According to Fanon, decolonization "transforms the spectator crushed to a nonessential state into a privileged actor in a virtually grandiose fashion by the spotlight of History" (3). And who is controlling that spotlight in this case, if not the narrator/scriptwriter Fanon himself? He is not only responsible for capturing the spectacle, but also for angling the camera in such a way as to enhance its drama by further flattering the heroes and emphasizing the baseness of the villains. However, as I have hinted at earlier, it would be wrong to neglect a second pair of hands navigating this spotlight, for they are half hidden in the shadows, but I hope to show how Philcox himself has a role in intensifying the drama of the colonial situation. Together, both will have a fundamental role in how "the epic is played out" and how it is received (90).

Before theorizing about the way in which these terms are incorporated into the text, it is necessary to first investigate the differences inherent in the terms "colonist" and "colonized," which the settler and native binary that Farrington was working in would not have evoked. Indeed, Philcox does not seek a neutral, more accurate translation of "*indigène*" as "the indigenous," but adopts the more assertive term "colonized." In some ways, the native/settler pairing is nowhere near as polarizing as the latter, but risks giving the

impression that the two groups remain in separate, non-interacting spheres. Instead, the disappearance of the original French “*indigène*” or “native” in the new translation fulfills “the arrival of the colonist [who] signified syncretically the death of the indigenous society” (50). In other words, once the settler has settled, the native becomes physically and psychologically unsettled; in fact, he has become colonized. V.Y. Mudimbe’s diagnosis of “to colonize” from the original Latin “*colere*,” meaning “to cultivate or to design,” regards colonization as “the domination of physical space, the reformation of natives’ minds, and the integration of local economic histories into a Western perspective” (1–2). To adopt the term “colonized,” then, is to constantly reify Fanon’s thesis that the native, his dances abandoned, becomes transformed and now ceases to exist as we knew him.

I would also assert that, due to its dialectical nature, one cannot speak of the colonized without being aware of a colonial subtext, which is to say a colonizing force, in a way that is not possible with the term “native.” I therefore suggest that we should regard the word “colonized” in a way similar to historian Deborah White’s use of the word “enslaved.” White uses the verb “enslaved” rather than the noun “slave” to implicate the inhumane actions of white people: “‘Enslaved’ forces us to remember that black men and women were Africans and African Americans before they were forced into slavery” (8). Compared to the original (“*le colonisé est un persecuté*”) the respective insertion of “subject” and “man” after the term “colonized” intensifies the transaction by highlighting his lost autonomy (54). Consider the Philcox edition, that, unlike the Farrington, does not use the word “man” but consistently refers only to a “colonized subject.” Not only does the word “subject” eclipse the personhood of the colonized, but it emboldens his subjugation. Therefore when Farrington proclaims in this moment that “the native is an oppressed person,” it does not have the same force as the dramatic revelation in the Philcox edition that “the colonized subject is a persecuted man,” for only now, once the signifier of “subject” is climactically stripped away, does the personhood and, perhaps more importantly, the masculinity of the colonized reappear (Farrington, 53; Philcox, 16). However, in order to deliver this neat sense of epiphany, Philcox must smooth away the inconsistencies from the original French.

Similarly, we might also examine the systematic application of the word “petrified,” as it is both a departure from the Farrington interpretation and a consolidation of the original French variety. Philcox speaks neither of an “inorganic background” which the colonized inhabits nor a

“motionless” world but one that is constantly being acted upon, and so the adjective he chooses must reflect this external causation (Farrington, 52). Indeed, the camera must always pan out to the colonist subject framing the drama, so that it becomes a “petrified background” held beneath the colonist’s gaze (Philcox, 15). Here is an instance in which Philcox forces the original French into coherence, for although Fanon originally mentions that the indigenous are condemned to immobility, his phrasing does not uphold the atmosphere of accusation, reformation, and integration of which Mudimbe speaks.

So far I have spoken of “native” only as a historical or temporal malady which, if true, would mean that Philcox uprooted all such terms in his new translation. Since that is not the case, it is necessary to uncover the term’s strategic applications in its dual desire to both purge and to incriminate. After all, Philcox is not simply modernizing a text but selectivity doing so; not curing the whole textual body, but only isolated moments. To illustrate, compare the Farrington formula: “To the saying ‘All natives are the same,’ the colonized person replies, ‘All settlers are the same’ to the Philcox: “To the expression ‘All natives are the same,’ the colonized reply: ‘All colonists are the same’” (92; 49). Philcox does not this time swap “*indigène*” for “colonized subject” but is content to further criminalize the colonist and so leaves the “native” intact, which, of course, requires that he rely on the term’s modern connotation. There is thus a further insistence on the known psychology of the colonist, who is made to insist on savagery and racialized sameness of those he oppresses in the same iteration. Unlike the original meaning, which meets homogenizing expression with homogenizing retaliation, the Philcox translation adds a primitivizing dimension. This, of course, is not to say that such a reading is at all inconsistent with Fanon’s portrait of the colonized in *Wretched*, but that Philcox freshly coats the colonist with a second layer of guilt—which will become more important in our second example.

The second instance from the Philcox that I wish to examine is the phrase “[t]he good ‘natives’ become scarce,” meant to document the sense of unruliness growing among the indigenous (Philcox, 31). A shift occurs and must occur in the Farrington, who, having yet to politicize the term, therefore settles on: “the ‘good’ natives become scarce” (71). Wondering how one can mistranslate quotation marks, the original French version is consulted where there are found no quotation marks at all, just “*les bons indigènes*” standing confidently in its sarcasm (70). What might occur as a second instance of criminalization thus becomes, reciprocally, a

moment of purification. Philcox uses the quotation marks, much like pinchers, to wrench the sinful word “native” from Fanon’s mouth and cure him of this slippage. Unlike the first example, which was a moment of ventriloquism between colonist and colonized, Philcox thus adds meaning to Fanon himself. In fact, his insecurity over the word leads him to ignore the more frightfully and blatantly offensive “good,” Fanon’s original target, which is left entirely out of the quotation marks.

Therefore, an absolution occurs through the absolute abjection of the term from the once-native and his sympathetic narrator. The unruly “native” cannot mingle freely amongst colonist and colonized alike and must, in the case of narration, be corralled into single term of “colonized subject” or otherwise abjected onto the once-settler. We might also consider this abjection as an instance in which the colonist is kept rigidly fixed within his time whereas the colonized are granted a modern knowledge of semantics, which is to say, ethics. After all, whereas Farrington at least consistently balances out the native’s presence with the “settler” as her chosen complement, Philcox strategically problematizes this equilibrium. By erecting this new binary, knowledge is added to the system. The colonized knows that the settler is not merely settling and so he does not refer to him as such. He calls him “colonist” and, in doing so, asserts the reality of his domination.

Arriving at the final area of analysis, then, we find that Philcox attempts to dramatize the colonized restoration to agency beneath the banner of national culture. Curing the native of his passivity, we witness the (re)emergence of a colonized subject who is arguably more aware or deliberate in his conduct—one whose subjectivity has, in fact, been inflated. The first example I wish to look at in the Philcox discusses outlets of aggression to be found among the colonized and is further from the original French than the Farrington (“*le colonisé va manifester d’abord contre les siens*”) (54). There is certainly a sense of narrative passivity in the literally translated phrase “the colonized will manifest,” since the colonized themselves are not acting so much as unconsciously and symptomatically being acted upon. Contrary to this passivity, the translation that Philcox settles upon envisions a “colonized subject [who] will first *train* this aggressiveness . . . against his own people [italics mine]” (15). Most strikingly, the word “train” denotes an atmosphere of insight and deliberation. By militarizing the language, Philcox effectively embodies the observation that the “vocabulary [the colonized subject] uses is that of a chief of staff,” and one need only glimpse through the phrases that

follow the quote to see how “train” would evoke an atmosphere of revolutionary violence more than “manifest” would (52).

Fanon’s account would certainly embrace this choice of language, for he never talks of a colonized simply reciting slogans but uses such words as “brandish,” “wields,” and “armed” when talking of their intellectual equipment (Philcox, 103, 109, 115). Philcox maintains the variety of the original French for all the aggressive words that ornament Fanon’s prose, for they depict the atmosphere of violent possibility. Indeed, Fanon hopes to instill this tension in his readers, either to incite or unnerve them, depending on which side they are on. Philcox helps intensify the revolutionary atmosphere that Fanon created, and by using the word “train,” he is not merely forcing the textual body to cohere with this impulse, he is doing so based on a value judgment precisely because the word assigns a vastly different meaning than “manifest.” Translation here serves as a moment of transformation or what I would argue to be a sly angling of the camera. On a purely etymological level, Philcox has the subject recommit himself to the verb. Indeed, there is nothing passive about his actions, and one almost feels that there is an unconscious awareness of a larger struggle when the word “train” makes its debut. As a result of this new angling, the colonized, their consciousness seemingly expanded, now appear more aware of themselves as standing before “the spotlight of history” (3).

If we view the curative effect of the previous passage as a transformation of the original meaning, then we can see a curative instance of translation in the following passage that refers to the myths and magic of the colonized and its subsequent perpetuation of a worldview. The Farrington says, “By entangling myself . . . I find the everlasting world which belongs to me . . . to us” (55–6). However, translating closer to the original French, Philcox follows the formula: “By entangling me . . . my very own world, our very own world perpetuates itself” (19). One wonders if Philcox were consulted with an original closer to the Farrington, whether or not he would have arrived at this translation anyhow. For what appears a loss of agency on the part of the colonized, who is entangled rather than self-entangling, upon closer inspection is actually granted greater knowledge of a collective, national consciousness which must necessarily usurp the centrality of the “I.” Here, the language of survival or perpetuation is used to describe the new subject of the collective community, and, as a result, we are no longer witnessing a moment of delusion. To entangle oneself is the equivalent of losing oneself and is, therefore, fundamentally

different from inhabiting a system that knowingly entangles its constituents in order to survive. The emphasis is angled away from individual delusion to mutual awareness between a conscious surveyor and a deliberate system. The community itself is invested with that same unconscious awareness of an impending revolution, which asks that we contextualize inter-group violence as a form of training. In this sense, one does not merely “find” an everlasting world; one discovers and is acutely aware of both that world’s revolutionary function and one’s role within it—a feat that would not be possible unless the subject-focus was dramatically repositioned.

However subtle, then, these technical shifts may be, they are, in fact, the installment of a revolutionary grammar and phraseology which, when taken seriously, yields a completely different portrait of the agency of the colonized and their awareness of a national culture. Meaning is thus not simply preserved in this new translation but, like the native, is enhanced to the point of an almost heroic separation from maladies. While Philcox has thus openly acknowledged his choice to modernize or “cure” the text for its newest generation of readers, I have sought in this essay to example some of the other passivities of which the native has been cured in order to cultivate a more revolutionary specimen.

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White Racial Identity Development

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Abstract

This work is an excerpt from the second chapter of her senior thesis, “‘Founding Mothers’: White Mothers of Biracial Children in the Multiracial Movement (1979–2000),” which examines and critiques the role of white mothers of black-white biracial children in the Multiracial Movement. The Multiracial Movement is the only American racial or ethnic movement to have been started for a racial group by non-group members. The thesis examines the “external” socio-historic and “internal” emotional and psychological pressures that led to white women’s foray into multiracial politics. In this article, she addresses “internal” factors such as the shifting social and racial reality caused by white women’s involvement in interracial relationships.

Because her experience of race and racism is rooted in her relational connection, as well as in the skin color she embodies, she is partially exempt from the oppression faced by those she loves. At the same time, because she sees how racism hurts the people she loves, racism becomes consciously relevant in her life.—Terri Ann Karis¹

White racial identity can be greatly challenged by involvement in interracial relationships and families. White women in interracial relationships do not have a normative white identity. Their non-privileged experiences and familial connections give them an outlook uncommon among white people: “I’m not typical white,” says Karis’ interviewee, “Annie.”² Another of Karis’ interviewees suggested that being part of an interracial family completely transformed her racial identity from white to black.³ White women who feel similarly changed by their families seek to reconcile

their external whiteness with their internal feelings of otherness in a variety of ways.

Essentialized notions of race and the paucity of ways to articulate racial identities outside of a black-white dichotomy make it difficult for white women in interracial black-white relationships to describe themselves. In spite of this difficulty, interracially married white women generally adhere to specific trends of racial self-identification. Both broadly and in the context of interracial organizations, women may self-identify as raceless, define themselves by ethnic background instead of race, think of themselves as women of color, or claim to be racial liaisons—as Karis calls them, “outsiders within.” Many of these white women’s articulations of non-normative identities, however, remain inherently and unwittingly tied to white privilege. These ties to privilege remained intact as interracially married white women became involved in multiracial politics.

Understanding Whiteness and Racial Exceptionalism

White women in interracial relationships often experience racial exceptionalism: much of their racial experience no longer aligns with the greater characteristics of whiteness. For example, Katz and Ivey interviewed white subjects—either single or in monoracial pairings—about how they racially identified and received answers such as “Italian,” “English,” “Catholic,” and “Jewish.” They concluded, “White people do not see themselves as White.”⁴ This conclusion is supported by the work of Robert Terry, one of the first scholars to investigate the negative effects of racism on white people. Terry asserts, “Except for hardcore white supremacists, the meaning of being White is having the choice of attending to or ignoring one’s own Whiteness.”⁵ White women in interracial relationships, however, are made excruciatingly aware of their whiteness. This increased awareness distances interracially involved white women from a “typical” white racial experience and from their racial community.

Due to their experiences of exclusion from white kinship and community, however, many white women in interracial relationships feel either that they are no longer fully white, or that they are raceless. Dalmage asserts that some women believe that they no longer benefit from whiteness

¹ Terri Ann Karis, “‘I Prefer to Speak of Culture’: White Mothers of Multiracial Children,” *The Politics of Multiracialism: Challenging Racial Thinking*, ed. Heather Dalmage (Albany: SUNY Press, 2004), 163.

² Terri Ann Karis, “Racial Identity Constructions of White Women in Heterosexual Black-White Interracial Relationships,” *The Politics of Multiracialism: Challenging Racial Thinking*, ed. Heather Dalmage (Albany: SUNY Press, 2004), 134.

³ Margaret O’Donoghue, “Racial and Ethnic Identity Development in White Mothers of Biracial, Black-White Children,” *Affilia* 19.1 (2004), 77.

⁴ Judy Katz and Allen Ivey, “White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training,” *Personnel and Guidance Journal* 55.8 (1977), 486.

⁵ Robert W. Terry, “The Negative Impact on White Values,” *Impacts of Racism on White Americans*, ed. Benjamin P. Bowser and Raymond G. Hunt (Beverly Hills: Sage Press, 1981), 120.

and its symbolic advantage, while others may view their decision to enter an interracial relationship as a renunciation of whiteness and white privilege.⁶ One of Dalmage's interviewees conveys this latter sentiment: "I was proud that I could be the first in the group that I hung out with in college to be in an interracial marriage . . . I was progressive enough to have a black boyfriend."⁷ Since white women in interracial relationships gain intimate access to communities of color and can be greatly affected by racial discrimination, they lose some of the comfort and racial naïveté whiteness can provide. White privilege is directly linked to feeling entitled to safety and comfort.⁸ It is thus understandable that a loss of racial privilege could seem like a loss of white racial identity. However, this is not necessarily the case. George Lipsitz argues:

Whiteness is invested in, like property, but it is also a means of accumulating property and keeping it from others. While one can *possess* one's investments, one can also *be possessed* by them . . . the artificial construction of whiteness almost always comes to possess white people themselves unless they develop antiracist identities, unless they disinvest and divest themselves of their investments in white supremacy.⁹

Lipsitz's assertion that white people must come to develop antiracist identities parallels the ultimate stage of development in many psychological models of white racial identity development. Conversely, Cross's 1987 *Black Racial Identity Development* (BRID) theory involves different stages of coming to terms with racial and ethnic identity, particularly emphasizing self-esteem and reference-group (racial group) orientation.¹⁰ Phinney (1996) and Sue and Sue (1990) created other BRID models that emphasize a progression from conformity to integrative awareness and racial pride.

In contrast to white racial identity development (WRID) models that call for a rejection of both racism and affiliation with the dominant group, BRID models promote self-esteem and racial group belonging. Most WRID models assert that no positive white racial identity exists outside of recognizing how white privilege informs white social reality. According to WRID theorists, racial group belonging is unimportant for white people, though BRID theorists claim it is essential to forming a healthy *black* identity. Yet evidence from interviews with white women in interracial relationships conveys the degree to which white racial group belonging affects the women's racial identities. Women reported that they were ostracized not only by their immediate families for their interracial involvement¹¹ but also publicly criticized by and excluded from the white community.¹² Part of this hostility may be due to the historically based fears and stereotypes of black men "making off with" white women.¹³ The loss of racial community produces varied responses in interracial married white women; the most extreme response, perhaps, is claiming a black identity.¹⁴

The power to choose a racial identity, however, is afforded only to those in the positions of highest racial power. Claiming a black identity is not the same as asserting an antiracist identity by disinvesting in white supremacy and its benefits. The very ability to engage in racial choice relies upon and perpetuates white privilege. Asserting a black identity is thus an expression of such privilege. Being racially aware does not unmake whiteness, although it does alter a white person's racial experience. Regardless of their relations' racial background, white people receive tangible benefits from the symbolic advantage of their race.¹⁵ When a white woman is not accompanied by her interracial family, she continues to receive benefits of white privilege. Moreover, experiencing "rebound racism"—the indirect effects of

⁶ Dalmage, *Tripping on the Color Line: Black-White Multiracial Families in a Racially Divided World*, 66.

⁷ Heather Dalmage, "Protecting Racial Comfort, Protecting White Privilege," *The Politics of Multiracialism: Challenging Racial Thinking*, ed. H. Dalmage (Albany: SUNY Press, 2004), 212.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁹ George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple UP, 2006), viii.

¹⁰ Dalmage, *Tripping on the Color Line: Black-White Multiracial Families in a Racially Divided World*, 71.

¹¹ O'Donoghue, "Racial and Ethnic Identity Development in White Mothers of Biracial, Black-White Children," 76.

¹² Karis, "Racial Identity Constructions of White Women in Heterosexual Black-White Interracial Relationships," 195.

¹³ White men jealously guarded whiteness and white "purity" by policing white women's sexuality. Black men were viewed as sexual threats to white women, partially because they were assumed to be more animalistic and sexually driven than white men. Many lynchings and other violent hate crimes directed against black men had to do with their presumed attention towards a white woman. The case of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old black boy tortured and murdered in Mississippi after supposedly whistling at or inappropriately approaching a white woman, keenly illustrates this painful legacy.

¹⁴ Heather Dalmage, *Tripping on the Color Line: Black-White Multiracial Families in a Racially Divided World*, 67.

¹⁵ Dalton Conley, "Universal Freckle, or How I Learned to Be White," *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*, ed. B. Brander Rasmussen et al. (Durham: Duke UP, 2001), 27.

¹⁶ Heather Dalmage, *Tripping on the Color Line: Black-White Multiracial Families in a Racially Divided World*, 66.

racism directed toward a non-white partner¹⁶—and stereotyping as a “white woman who dates black men” is not the same as experiencing direct racism. The damage racism inflicts on white people is not the same damage that racism inflicts on people of color. As Mab Segrest states in her essay, “The Souls of White Folks,”

White allies of people of color have been targets of racism—of physical attacks, social ostracism, economic deprivation. But whites as whites have not been lynched, enslaved, had lands stolen, suffered forced relocation onto reservations, had reserved for us the most difficult labor at the lowest wage, been bombarded by dehumanizing messages and ideologies, and so on, ad nauseum.¹⁷

Non-white racial identities are fundamentally connected to histories of racial oppression and exploitation for the sake of maintaining white dominance, just as white identities are fundamentally tied to the histories and practices that maintain[ed] this imbalance of power. Self-assigning a non-white racial identity without continuously experiencing the associated and sometimes painful legacy of non-white peoples in the U.S. is an act of white privilege.

In responding to the experiences associated with participating in an interracial relationship, some white mothers choose to foreground a European ethnic identity. Bailey names this phenomenon “unreflective detours to white ethnicity.”¹⁸ This trend illustrates two specific ways in which white women may cope with being in an interracial relationship. One way is to remain largely unchanged in the way they perceive race but seek to assert racial exceptionalism by claiming an ethnic label. The other is to attempt to escape white guilt after experiencing the negative effects of white supremacy on their families. Margaret O’Donoghue’s 2005 study of the ethnic identity of white mothers of biracial children demonstrates such unreflective ethnic “detours.”¹⁹

Karis also found that white women in interracial relationships would instinctively answer with an ethnicity when asked, “How do you *racially* self-identify?”²⁰ (my emphasis). Her interviewees’ responses actually echo those of the single or monoracially partnered white subjects interviewed by

Katz and Ivey in 1977. By opting to identify with a European identity, some white women reveal that they continue to view whiteness as normative, raceless, and cultureless, even after marrying interracially and having biracial children. O’Donoghue’s 2004 study clearly illustrates this point. Her research reveals that her interracially married interviewees (some of whom were involved in interracial family groups, though not the specific ones discussed in this thesis) commonly raise their children to identify as black, because they view whiteness as cultureless.²¹ According to O’Donoghue, the women have “a somewhat unconscious understanding that the traditions that they, the mothers, could provide were either “just American,” or not something their children needed to incorporate into their identities.”²² O’Donoghue’s commentary and her interviewees’ childrearing choices exemplify the fact that some white women conceive of whiteness as normative, “just American.”

For these women, belatedly identifying with a European ethnic identity allows them to sidestep this normativity by conflating race and culture. Some white women—both those involved in interracial family organizations and those uninvolved—feel unable to contribute cultural knowledge to their children if they claim a white racial identity. By labeling whiteness as normal, “just American,” however, these white mothers also perpetuate white normativity and the racist structures that support it.

Other white mothers of biracial children view themselves as “less white” or raceless due to their racial exceptionalism and lessened privilege. Though privilege is a defining characteristic of normative whiteness, a decrease in privilege does not necessarily translate into a decrease in whiteness, for race is not the only factor that contributes to privilege. A perceived loss of class privilege or being stereotyped as lower class based on their interracial relationships also contributed to white mothers’ shifting identities. Many white women in interracial relationships experience racial exceptionalism when they lose some of their racial privilege. However, a shift from normative to non-normative whiteness is simply that: a shift, not a loss. To assert a raceless or “less white” identity again ignores the reality of white privilege

¹⁷ Mab Segrest, “The Souls of White Folks,” *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*, ed. B. Brander Rasmussen, et al. (Durham: Duke UP, 2001), 44.

¹⁸ Alison Bailey, “Despising an Identity They Taught Me to Claim,” *Whiteness: Feminist Philosophical Reflections*, ed. Chris Cuomo and Kim Hall (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 89.

¹⁹ Margaret O’Donoghue, “White Mothers Negotiating Race and Ethnicity in the Mothering of Biracial Black-White Adolescents,” *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work* 14, no. 3 (2005): 125–56.

²⁰ Karis, “Racial Identity Constructions of White Women in Heterosexual Black-White Interracial Relationships,” 3.

²¹ O’Donoghue, “Racial and Ethnic Identity Development in White Mothers of Biracial, Black-White Children,” 74.

²² *Ibid.*, 75.

and the fact that the ability to deny a racial status or identity is a privilege exclusive to whiteness.

The fundamental commonality between these different constructions of identity by white women in interracial relationships has been a disavowal of a (wholly) white racial identity. Whether white mothers of biracial children identify themselves as persons of color, emphasize their European ethnic identities, or claim to be “less white,” these women are operating from a position of privilege—a privilege only granted those of highest racial status. Extending the general trends from white mothers of biracial children (some of whom were involved in interracial family organizations and some who were not) interviewed by Karis, Dalmage, and O’Donoghue to white mothers of biracial children explicitly involved in multiracial politics, I infer that white mothers’ participation in multiracial politics was often connected to their personal identity and the lens of white privilege through which they viewed their biracial children’s reality.

Dostoevsky's Johannine Christ: Sonya Marmeladova in *Crime and Punishment*

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A resident of Silver Spring, MD, Paul Cato is a junior at Swarthmore College. Currently studying Religion and Black Studies, Paul is interested in the conflicts that emerge between rational and faith-based discourses. He hopes to pursue a PhD in Philosophy of Religion or Religious Ethics, focusing his research on religious interpretations of topics traditionally restricted to secular inquiry.

Abstract

The following paper considers the Christ-like nature of *Crime and Punishment's* Sonya Marmeladova, drawing parallels between the character and biblical portrayals of Jesus Christ. I argue that Dostoevsky's portrayal of Sonya as a Christ figure is distinctly Johannine (influenced by the theology, contents, and prose of the Gospel of John and 1, 2, and 3 John) and is possibly indicative of the author's personal religious beliefs. It is the beginning of a larger projected study of Dostoevsky's literary Christology.

All writers . . . who have ever attempted to portray the positively beautiful have always given up There is only one positively beautiful figure in the world—Christ—so that the phenomenon of that boundlessly infinitely good figure is already in itself an infinite miracle. (The whole of the Gospel of St. John is a statement to that effect; he finds the whole miracle in the Incarnation alone, in the manifestation of the beautiful alone.)—Fyodor Dostoevsky to Sofya Ivanovna, October 1868¹

Introduction

During the second half of his life, Russian author Fyodor Dostoevsky spent much time toying with the idea of portraying a “positively beautiful” individual, a figure who might serve as a model of moral excellence and, what he termed, the “infinitely good” (Frank 2010, 562). A devout follower of Christ (Frank 2010, 408), Dostoevsky believed Jesus of Nazareth was the only human being to have showcased such sublimity, and he noted authors' numerous attempts at creating literary Christ-figures (Frank 2010, 562). Though cognizant of the difficulty of developing such a character, Dostoevsky undertook the project as well and filled his later works with Christ-like characters. Though all were modeled after Jesus, each of these Christ-figures uniquely contributed to what one might describe as a “Dostoevskian Christology.” There is considerable scholarship regarding Dostoevsky's use of Christ-figures, and though many scholars such as Frances Hernández (Hernández, 1972) choose to focus their studies

on the Christ-like nature of *The Idiot's* Prince Myshkin, I believe the parallels between Jesus and *Crime and Punishment's* Sonya Marmeladova deserve equal consideration. I suggest that Sonya is in many ways a Johannine Christ-figure; that is, her nature mirrors the portrayal of Jesus found in the Gospel of John. The following investigation of Sonya's character will highlight distinct parallels between her and the Jesus of the fourth gospel—in particular those that emerge from their roles as sufferers, persons of faith, redeemers, and human examples of God's love.

Divine Sufferers

The embodiment of suffering is fundamental to the experiences of both the Dostoevskian and Johannine Christs. Just as suffering defines Jesus' life, as symbolized by the Passion and Resurrection, so, too, does suffering define the experiences of Dostoevsky's Christ-figures. While one may argue that suffering pervades all of Dostoevsky's novels, Christ-like suffering is best exemplified by those characters who experience pain due to “their involvement in the torments and sufferings of others” (Chapple, 1983, 94). Such vicarious agony mirrors the sort of struggle that Jesus endures in the Gospel of John—in his case, a torment brought on by his attempts to rid the world of sin (John 3:16, New Revised Standard Version). Sonya experiences pain all throughout *Crime and Punishment*, a significant parallel between her and the Johannine Christ. All other parallels between the two figures stem from their roles as fellow sufferers. Suffering defines the manner in which Sonya and John's Jesus exude faith, take on sin, spread God's word, and provide for the salvation of others.

By prostituting herself, Sonya ruins her reputation and sets herself up to be exploited, all in an effort to keep her family from starving. She gives all of her earnings to her family, and, though her contributions remain unacknowledged, Sonya is content to go on suffering so as to ensure her family's survival. However, after considering Sonya's situation, Raskolnikov comes to admit his sins and eventually seeks redemption in Christ. As such, Sonya's pain serves two purposes: it both provides her family's material needs and facilitates the spiritual redemption of others. In this way, she has satisfied both the earthly and heavenly needs of those around her just as the Johannine Christ does when he gives loaves to the 5,000 in Galilee (John 6: 1–14, NSRV) or when he offers the heavenly “bread of life” to the faithful (John 6: 35, NRSV).

¹ Joseph Frank, *Dostoevsky: A Writer in His Time*, ed. Mary Petrusiewicz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 562.

There is no “suffering for suffering’s sake” within John or *Crime and Punishment*: just as Christ was born, died, and raised so that the world might come to know God, so, too, do Dostoevsky’s characters suffer because “suffering . . . [is] instrumental in God’s revelation of truth to man” (Chapple 1983, 94). Elizabeth Blake describes Sonya’s experiences as “redemptive suffering” and argues that, through encounters with her father and Raskolnikov, she is turned into a symbol of “universal anguish” (Blake, 2006, 559). Just as Jesus’ passion brought about his embodiment of all of humankind’s suffering, so, too, does Sonya’s self-sacrifice embody the pain of many of the characters in *Crime and Punishment*. As has been shown, individuals who embody such pain sustain life—both physical and spiritual—and provide redemption for those who need to be saved. Thus it is the *redemptive* nature of the Christ-figure’s suffering that makes their turmoil so important. John and Dostoevsky are most concerned with the new life brought about by their Christ-figures’ sufferings; Jesus’ and Sonya’s pain and turmoil is secondary to the new life they have brought about. It is important to note that Dostoevsky provides no stories of Sonya’s experiences as a prostitute and chooses not to write about her poverty and destitution. Instead, her encounters are almost always accompanied by some act of redemption or salvation—such as her father’s deathbed absolution that came only with Sonya’s entrance into the house. In a similar vein, John chooses not to focus on Jesus’ suffering during the passion: only six verses describe his death and the piercing of his side (John 19: 31–37, NRSV), whereas more than 50 are dedicated to his resurrection and the events thereafter (John 20: 1–21: 24, NRSV). By providing life and salvation, Sonya’s suffering mirrors that of the Johannine Christ.

The Wholly Faithful

Both Sonya and the Johannine Christ possess a level of faith much greater than those around them. So sure are they in the glory of God that they disregard their earthly interests, choosing instead to focus on matters of the spirit and heaven. Though Sonya does exhibit concern over practical matters at some points during the novel, her worries stem only from her deep love of others. She does not cry over her fate or the fate of her soul—she frets only after thinking of her sisters’ futures (Dostoevsky, 1993, 322) and Raskolnikov’s predicament (Dostoevsky, 1993, 412–22). Her poverty, social position, and exploitation hardly seem to faze her, and whenever strains of self-concern begin to emerge, she invokes her faith and turns to God. At one point, Raskolnikov makes an effort to challenge her faith, asking her practical questions about her family’s living conditions and the “lack” of God’s

presence in their lives. Rather than argue with Raskolnikov’s claims in an attempt to prove him wrong, Sonya responds by showing faith, repeating to herself, “God won’t let . . . God won’t allow . . . God will protect . . .” (Dostoevsky, 1993, 320–21). Sure in her Christian convictions, Sonya does not find it necessary to argue with Raskolnikov—her belief transcends earthly quarrels about God’s presence and existence. Her utterances resemble Jesus’ frequent reassurances of God’s benevolence and willingness to protect humanity. As the time for his crucifixion draws near, Jesus is quick to tell his disciples, “let not your hearts be troubled; believe in God, believe also in me” (John 14: 1, NRSV), and when speaking to the 5,000 after providing them with bread, he assures all who are listening that God’s bread and gifts bring “life to the world” (John 6: 33, NRSV). Endowed with great faith, both Sonya and the Johannine Christ are sure that God will protect and sustain human life, and often make this conviction known to those around them.

Both Jesus’ and Sonya’s faith is further strengthened by their deep humility. Whereas the vanity of almost every other character in *Crime and Punishment* leads them to question, doubt, or reject that which they do not understand, Sonya’s modesty provides her with the sureness to reside securely in her faith, free from the burdensome skepticism that plagues the book’s other characters. Sonya remains convinced “that God’s active participation in human affairs will ensure fairness” (Blake 2006, 559), even despite the injustice that surrounds her. While characters such as Raskolnikov turn to reason when faced with questions of the unknown, Sonya falls back upon her faith and never makes the mistake of trying to rationalize God or the nature of the world. In fact, it is precisely Raskolnikov’s arrogance and unsaturated belief in reason that cause him to murder the pawnbroker and her sister, Lizaveta. When he resolves to commit the murder early within the novel, Raskolnikov makes logic his ally, deciding that “reason and will [will] remain with him inalienably throughout the fulfillment of what he [has] plotted” (Dostoevsky, 1993, 71). So sure is he in humankind’s ability to reason that he at one point justifies the crimes of wholly rational individuals, arguing that their ideas grant them “the right . . . to allow [their] conscience to . . . step over certain obstacles” (Dostoevsky, 1993, 259). Raskolnikov’s arrogance stands in stark contrast with the humility of Johannine Christ. John’s Jesus is an entirely humble individual, and all that he says and does is done in deference to his Father and according to His will. As he tells his disciples, “I can do nothing on my own authority . . . I seek not my own will but the will of he who sent me” (John 5: 30, NRSV).

Both he and Sonya share a sense of humility far greater than those around them, a humility no doubt born of their endless love of God.

Sonya puts her faith to use during her first meeting with Raskolnikov (Dostoevsky 1993, 320–31) in a scene that shares many similarities with Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman (John 4: 1–26, NRSV). Through sustained engagement with each individual, both Sonya and the Johannine Christ help Raskolnikov and the woman accept God's truth. The encounters appear to mirror one another, as both Raskolnikov and the Samaritan woman have the same series of reactions to the claims made by their respective Christ figures. Both begin their response with initial shock—Raskolnikov responding aggressively to Sonya, in the case of the novel, and the Samaritan showing surprise after being addressed by a Jew, in the case of the gospel. As both Sonya and Christ go on to explain the dynamics of faith—Sonya making exclamations about God's role as provider and savior (Dostoevsky 1993, 320–21), and Jesus using water as a metaphor to discuss new life in God (John 4: 10–15, NRSV)—Raskolnikov and the woman replace their shock with skepticism and begin to question their interlocutors. Soon afterwards, the two are touched by sudden moments of grace—for whatever reason, they come to realize that the words of their respective Christ-figures hold truth, and both the woman and Raskolnikov see fit to show their realizations in some way. Whereas Raskolnikov does this by kissing Sonya's feet (Dostoevsky, 1993, 321), the Samaritan woman takes to announcing Jesus as prophet (John 4: 28–29, NRSV). The encounters conclude with an ultimate acceptance of God's truth—Raskolnikov goes on to adopt a Christian lifestyle, and the woman departs, having learned that Jesus is the Messiah. This story of conversion is unique to the Gospel of John, and its use in *Crime and Punishment* serves only to reinforce the claim that Sonya is a distinctly Johannine Christ-figure. Not only do her actions mirror the acts of the Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, but her effects on those around her reflect events in the Gospel as well.

Bearers of the Cross

A symbol of Jesus' sacrifice and his adoption of humanity's sins, the image of the cross holds a central place within the Christian tradition. Dostoevsky invokes this image when developing Sonya, who engages with the cross in a manner quite similar to the Johannine Christ. While the Jesus of the synoptic gospels carries his cross to the mountaintop with the help of Simon of Cyrene, the Johannine Christ carries it to the mountaintop by himself—bearing his

cross alone (John 19: 17, NRSV). In *Crime and Punishment*, Sonya bears the novel's cross by herself, as well, doing so both literally and figuratively. Though not crucified, she has gone through an assortment of experiences that mirror those in John's passion story. Like Jesus (John 18: 28–19: 16, NRSV), she is falsely accused of a crime and given a trial of sorts, when Luzhin interrupts her father's funeral and accuses her of stealing a banknote (Dostoevsky, 1993, 392). Shortly thereafter, Sonya experiences great spiritual pains while listening to Raskolnikov confess to killing Lizaveta (Dostoevsky, 1993, 409). Having sustained no injuries nor committed any bad acts since her father's death, Sonya's pain can only stem from one source: Raskolnikov's sin. Just as the Johannine Christ took upon the world's sins and bore his cross up until his crucifixion, so, too, does Sonya adopt another's sins, bearing Raskolnikov's burdens as though they were her own. A symbolic exchange at the end of the Raskolnikov's confession illustrates Sonya's role as cross bearer all the more. As Raskolnikov leaves her apartment, Sonya hands him a little cypress cross and promises that they will “go suffer together, and . . . bear the cross together” (Dostoevsky, 1993, 422). Refusing to accept it, Raskolnikov hands the cross back to her, and with it come his sins. Sonya is not relieved of Raskolnikov's burdens until he comes to take responsibility for his wrongdoings and bears his cross himself. Before turning himself in to the authorities at the end of the book, Raskolnikov stops by Sonya's apartment and asks for the wooden crosses he previously turned away (Dostoevsky, 1993, 522). Thus his confession serves as more than just an admission of guilt, as he now shoulders the weight of his own crimes and sins. Just as Jesus' followers eventually come to honor his willingness to sacrifice on their behalf, so, too, does Raskolnikov show eventual appreciation for all that Sonya has done for him.

Bringers of New Life

One of the most striking parallels between the Johannine Christ and Sonya Marmeladova involves the resurrection of Lazarus (John 11: 1–44, NRSV). The story is unique to the Gospel of John, thus making the behavior and mannerisms of the Jesus who resurrects Lazarus distinctly Johannine. Sonya uses the story while facilitating Raskolnikov's “rebirth” in Christ, reading it to him during their first meeting (Dostoevsky, 1993, 325–28). There are numerous parallels between the Lazarus narrative and Raskolnikov's own “resurrection.” The sentiments of the biblical Martha and Mary, Lazarus' loving sisters who first urge Jesus to come and save their brother (John 11: 3, NRSV), resemble the concerns that Raskolnikov's sister, Dunya, and his mother,

Pulcheria Alexandrovna, have regarding his wellbeing. What is more, both Sonya and the Johannine Christ show pain at some point leading up to the resurrection: Jesus by weeping shortly after hearing of Lazarus' death (John 11: 35, NRSV) and Sonya through her visible fear (Dostoevsky, 1993, 325). Yet perhaps the most important dynamic in this scene is the role death plays in bringing about rebirth and redemption. As Lazarus and Raskolnikov both show, there must be death in order for new life to come about. Without Lazarus' death, Jesus is unable to showcase his ability to reinstate life. Although physically alive, Raskolnikov's soul has been crushed, and he is spiritually dead, for, as he tells Sonya, "I killed myself" (Dostoevsky 1993, 420). Yet, in his death, Raskolnikov has provided himself with an opportunity to be reborn in Christ. Raskolnikov clearly realizes this and thus demands that Sonya read him the story. Just as Lazarus can start life anew, so, too, can Raskolnikov. Sonya's Christ-like nature makes such redemption possible and allows figures such as Raskolnikov to partake in new life.

The Embodiment of Love

By the novel's end, Dostoevsky has replicated much of the beauty that he ascribes to Jesus Christ. Using the self-sacrifice, sincere faith, and redemptive tendencies that define the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel, Dostoevsky is able to develop a "positively beautiful" (Frank, 2010, 562) figure in *Crime and Punishment*. Yet just as suffering is fundamental to all the other experiences Sonya and Christ have in common, love is the ideal to which both figures seem to strive. A centerpiece of Johannine theology, love is Jesus' foremost commandment in the Gospel (John 13: 34, NRSV) and the author of 1 John equates God with love, arguing that one must love others in order to know Him (1 John 4: 7–8, NRSV). Within the Johannine tradition, Jesus serves as an embodiment of divine love, a role Sonya fulfills in *Crime and Punishment* by devoting her life to caring for those around her. In the words of Frank Seeley, "the essence of Sonya is love . . . in the Christian sense. Christian love . . . [is a] triad of disinterested humility, insight that plumbs the depths beyond consciousness, and identification or compassion [fused] in the acceptance of another human being" (Seeley, 1961, 309). Ultimately, the suffering, faith, and life renewals which mark Sonya as a Johannine figure allow her to showcase this Christian love. Her willingness to suffer for the sake of others is surely an example of an individual loving one's neighbors, and her faith and willingness to spread the Gospel are indicative of a great love of God.

Conclusion

Two excerpts from Dostoevsky's writings towards the latter end of his life summarize his thoughts on Christ and shed light on the intentions behind his development of Sonya as a Christ figure. In the first, a journal entry written upon his wife's death in 1864, Dostoevsky describes the human condition as a lifelong struggle to love others more than oneself. Though he claims that only Jesus has been capable of loving to such an extent, Dostoevsky insists that Christ has set an ideal that must be sought by all. In his words, "since the appearance of Christ as *the ideal man in the flesh*, it has become as clear as day that the . . . highest use a man can make of his personality, of the full development of his *Ego*—is . . . to annihilate that *Ego*, to give it totally and to everyone undecidedly and unselfishly" (Frank, 2010, 407). In the second, taken from a letter to his niece four years later, Dostoevsky would reflect again on Christ's nature, this time in light of John's Gospel. He describes "the whole of the Gospel of St. John" as a "statement to" Christ's beauty, and he applauds the evangelist for finding "the whole miracle . . . in the manifestation of [Christ's beauty] alone" (Frank 2010, 562). In Dostoevsky's mind, Christ, through his "ideal" beauty, established the ethic of reciprocity as the benchmark of human morality; and in his reading of scripture, this beauty was best reflected in the Gospel of John. It is for this reason that Sonya is crafted in a Johannine light: John's gospel best conveys the sort of beauty which defines Jesus as Dostoevsky's "ideal man in the flesh," and John's Christ is the best embodiment of love. Sonya's Johannine nature allows her to replicate Christ's sublimity and, in doing so, exhibit the sort of love Dostoevsky considers fundamental to the human experience. Though she, like all of humankind, is incapable of loving to the extent that Jesus could, Sonya's efforts to replicate Christ's beauty and to love as he did make hers the sort of life that Dostoevsky believes everyone must live. Whereas John's Jesus serves as "the ideal toward which [humankind] . . . must strive," (Frank, 2010, 407) Sonya is a model to which readers of *Crime and Punishment* can look when attempting to lead their own lives of love. For perhaps if readers were to follow in Sonya's footsteps—bearing the cross, suffering for others, and sustaining new life—then they, too, might embody the sort of Christian love which both Dostoevsky and the Johannine community hold so dear.

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Poet of the People: The Reception, Relevance, and Recollection of Carl Sandburg

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Abstract

This paper, which is composed of connected excerpts from his longer Mellon-Mays undergraduate paper, intends to discuss how the diverse critical reception of Carl Sandburg as an American poet through the 20th century has affected the way in which the poet has been received and remembered in the cultural memory of contemporary American readers. Among other issues addressed, it primarily explores why Sandburg was once such a prominent figure in literary/popular culture, what critics have understood Sandburg's intentions to be with his poetry, and, despite a transformation in cultural atmosphere, whether or not the poet is relevant to a contemporary audience.

A strong example of how literary culture may be heavily influenced by an author's audience and reception is the way in which the once celebrated "Poet of the People," Carl Sandburg, has become relatively unknown today. There are several crucial questions for those readers and academics interested in discovering what happened to Carl Sandburg in the American literary tradition. First, why was Sandburg once such an icon in popular culture? Second, what were Sandburg's intentions with his poetry? Third, what do these two aspects of this poet's representation ultimately reveal about American literary culture at large? During his career, Carl Sandburg was a journalist, a news editor, a soldier, a biographer, an historian, a novelist, an essayist, a lyricist, a children's book author, and, most famously, an American poet and literary celebrity. During his lifetime, he was the recipient of three Pulitzer prizes (two of which were in poetry) as well as a Grammy award for "Best Spoken Word Album." There was a period when Sandburg's poetry was so well known and respected in the U.S. that it appeared as a part of the taught curriculum in high schools and universities. Despite a literary career that spanned nearly six decades, however, the current recollection of Carl Sandburg seems nearly nonexistent. The question remains today, who was Carl Sandburg, and what happened to his legacy? Who was this figure, this poet of the Midwest once known for his vivid and brutal imagery, as

well as his use of slang and freeform poetry that, for a portion of the American public, represented their hopes and fears for the future? Much more fascinating than when a poet with a poor reception disappears into obscurity is when a poet who was once such a vital figure in literary and mainstream culture is slowly forgotten by his readers. Because Sandburg rose to acclaim to become a prominent literary figure in the U.S., widely read by both scholars and non-academics alike, it is vital to understand the conditions that contributed to his decline in popularity because it can assist in explaining why the relevance of authors fluctuates in the public's eye. Ultimately the intention of this essay is to appreciate what influences scholars and critics to consider the significance of an author's work, as well as how that criticism affects the reception and relevance of the author's legacy in the memories of his/her culture.

The Chicago Poet

Before entering into a deeper discussion of *Chicago Poems*, it is particularly difficult to ignore the strong influence of Walt Whitman on Sandburg's treatment of the subject of the American people and, at times, the idea of "America" itself, found in nearly all of Sandburg's poetry. The two poets share a similar democratic style and enthusiasm in the expression of America in their writing. Coming as no surprise, Whitman's heavy influence on Sandburg is rarely unnoticed in critique of Sandburg, and, in fact, is perhaps one of the few aspects that remains constantly agreed upon in discussions of Sandburg's poetry. Sandburg himself even proudly admits his admiration for Walt early in his career, even mentioning the American poet in several poems. There are similarities between the writing of these two poets not only in subject and style but also in their poetic integrity. While these features have been compared and analyzed rigorously, especially by early critics, what is significant is that Sandburg's admiration for Whitman translates specifically into a belief in social equality that played a major role in Sandburg's public image. In the introduction of the republished volume of *Chicago Poems* by the University of Illinois Press in 1992, John E. Hallwas details not only the biographical details of Sandburg's life, he explains why this belief was paramount to Sandburg's success. According to Hallwas:

Deeply influenced by Whitman, Sandburg rejected the concept of the isolated poet who creates art out of unique consciousness; instead, he viewed himself as a modern bard whose art was an extension of his culture . . . Sandburg wanted to help create a new cultural consciousness by reflecting and synthesizing facets of the American experience in his time, especially the spiritual condition of the people . . .

For Sandburg, as for Whitman, the people themselves were a kind of collective hero, and he celebrated them directly (Hallwas, xiv).

Hallwas is on target with his insight that Whitman's influence produced in Sandburg a sense that a poet's job is to reflect the American experience, including the "spiritual condition of the people." Additionally, Hallwas makes sure to highlight that Sandburg intended to help "create a new cultural consciousness." Sandburg's initial reception was based very much on the poet's accessibility and democratic quality which did not presume that he stood alone as a figure. Sandburg fulfilled, and maybe still does, a certain type of celebrity and "American bard" status that Whitman also held, although nowhere near as legendary. This brief examination of the Whitman/Sandburg connection is noteworthy in assessing Sandburg's relevance, if for no other reason than it illuminates the fact that when Sandburg's first collections were being published in the latter half of the 1910s, the minds of American readers were primed to receive Sandburg as a poet in the Whitmanian tradition; Whitman, having only died a couple decades before *Chicago Poems*' publication, was still in the memory of American readers.

Chicago Poems is arguably Sandburg's most discussed and perhaps affective volume of poetry, perhaps because it best reflects the raw imagery, social commentary, and free verse style displayed for which he first became so well known. *Chicago Poems* communicates a distinct theme concerning the destiny of Americans at the beginning of the 20th-century that is fortified by the "common" language and the working-class portraits the poet uses to give personality and reverence to the city. Moreover, Sandburg has a direct and yet subtle tone in this collection that is anything but casual or delicate. It is this signature style, tone, and subject matter initiated in *Chicago Poems* that served as the foundation for critical discussions in the decades following the collection's publication.

An examination of the first poem in the collection and subsequently Sandburg's first major published poem, "Chicago" may offer a better understanding of *Chicago Poems*, as it serves as introduction and exemplification of the collection as a whole. Describing Sandburg's initial portrayal of the city, "Chicago" is both graphic as well as stylistically innovative. The unmetred verse and calculated line breaks only complement the narrative of Sandburg's Chicago when he writes:

" . . . so I turn once more to those who sneer at this my city and I give them back the sneer and say to them:
Come and show me another city with lifted head singing
so proud to be alive and coarse and strong and cunning.
Flinging magnetic curses amid the toil of piling job on
job, here is a tall bold slugger set vivid against the little
soft cities;
Fierce as a dog with tongue lapping for action, cunning as
a savage pitted against the wilderness" (Lines 8–15).

It is clear that Sandburg features powerful imagery of industry, urbanization, and perhaps the beginnings of a narrative concerning the "working class." The imagery of "Chicago" in particular promotes the poem's intentions by utilizing brutal (at times) and terribly vivid images in the poem. For instance, the city is portrayed as a frenzied dog "lapping for action," not only because it is uncontained and wild but also because it is in conflict with its own chaos. Although the city is severe, this depiction of the city is not negative. Rather, it's an unapologetic image of the Chicago Sandburg encountered in 1914 when the poem was first published as the city was industrializing exponentially. At times glorious and other times ugly, Sandburg remained the city's witness and, through the poem's speaker, its defender. This is why when the speaker of "Chicago" defends the city and its citizens in this passage; he is not merely defending the city of Chicago separate from its inhabitants. In fact, it is very possible that the speaker is likening the two as one and the same presence: the city is the people, and the people are the city.

The suggestion that a city's people are as much its material as the city's buildings is a concept that Sandburg repeatedly conveys in his poetry and later extends to the figurative language he utilizes when describing the entire country. Within *Chicago Poems*, Sandburg demonstrates this argument by featuring a number of working-class portraits of Chicagoans by vocation; for example, there are "The Shovel Man," "Fish Crier," "Muckers," "Dynamiter," and "Ice Handler." In particular, all of these poems detail the physical appearance, and possibly the general outlook, of each worker. What is noteworthy about these poems is that Sandburg does not glorify these "everyday" citizens but instead offers a highly imagistic and objective portrait that gives the reader the impression of familiarity.

Although not all of the poems that appear in *Chicago Poems* are explicitly concerned with the working class, they are all connected to one another through a consistent narrator and thematic thread. Furthermore, this volume of 147

poems is itself a larger narrative of poems in conversation with one another. One of the foremost reasons *Chicago Poems* found such popularity early on, and staying power thereafter, is the collection's consistency in voice and declaration of themes. Generally, critics agree that major thematic thread is about a witnessing and acknowledgement of the everyday existence of "modern" America in the early 20th century: i.e., the development of a major industrial city amid the prairies of the American Midwest. More critically, the collection is given legitimacy by its vocational portraits of Chicagoans in conflict with the consequences of industry, the brutality of war, and, especially, the prevalence of poverty. Ultimately, what is at stake here in Sandburg's first collection as it relates to the poet's reception is that Sandburg's audience was his subject, and it was never his intention to condemn this subject but instead exalt it.

Carl Sandburg did not receive literary success overnight, despite his connection to Whitman, but instead developed his voice over the course of writing and publishing *Chicago Poems*, *Cornhuskers* (1918), and *Smoke and Steel* (1920). It was not until he had begun to publish this larger body of work that he started to become recognized and then praised for his writing. For instance, Paul L. Benjamin's essay, "A Poet of the Common Place" (1920) is an unabashedly positive criticism of Carl Sandburg's poetic style and themes. More specifically, Benjamin is focused on examining key poems from the first two volumes of poetry that represent Sandburg's importance by explaining that "... it is this poetry of the commonplace, this abhorrence of book-language, this reliance on folk idiom, this picturing of the simple, homely things that interests us now" (Benjamin, 14). In other words, Benjamin not only argues that the "simplicity" of Sandburg's poetry makes it valuable, but that these specific themes are what make the poetry relevant to the cultural moment. Benjamin's celebration of Sandburg's poetry seems to truly be rooted in his belief that Sandburg should be widely read because he writes in the voice of "the singing heart of America." Benjamin defines this patriotic sensibility found in Sandburg's poetry essentially as an acknowledgement of Sandburg's sympathy and portrayal of working-class Americans.

Benjamin's position is especially interesting because of what it inadvertently conveys about American culture's relation to Sandburg's literature and poetry. Simply put, this essay serves as a historical document written during a period in U.S. history when a romanticized portrayal of the working class was seen as patriotic and socialism was not yet a dirty word. Keeping this in mind, it is clear that critics who share Benjamin's advocacy of Sandburg's poetic style played

a part in popularizing the poet. A potential problem with Sandburg's recollection, however, is that this near fanaticism about Sandburg's poetry has harmed the poet's reputation in the long run by contributing to the creation of the mythos of Carl Sandburg as "Poet of the People." If Sandburg is cemented as representing poetry only in this cultural or social moment in American consciousness, then the potential for his poetry to be interpreted as antiquated by a contemporary audience increases, affecting his reception. More to the point, when Sandburg is anthologized in collections of American poetry, it is always the adored Sandburg of the early criticism that appears. This version of Sandburg is also, however, the one that receives more derisive criticism during the latter part of the 20th century when contemporary critics do re-readings of this "Poet of the People."

In order to understand the relevance of Sandburg as poet and as an eventual literary celebrity, it is necessary to also consider at least once-contemporary criticism of Sandburg that came about in the second half of the 20th century. Mark Van Wienen's "Taming the Socialist: Carl Sandburg's *Chicago Poems* and Its Critics" (1991) offers a more direct commentary on the subject of earlier Sandburg reception. The essay begins with Van Wienen's examination of the political content of Sandburg's early poetry, particularly in *Chicago Poems*, and how his early critics played a larger part in the poet's initial reception, and later his "folk hero" status in American culture, than was previously considered. Van Wienen argues that the early critics and book reviews very deliberately chose how to portray Sandburg, which, in turn, determined how he would be read. So when Van Wienen states that "what [he] [is] suggesting is that Sandburg was a far more political poet at least in his early work than we have thought and that one function of criticism has been to 'sanitize,' to de-politicize him both by encouraging him in his non-political pursuits and by valuing his imagist work more highly than his political" (Van Wienen, 100), he is arguing not against the political nature of Sandburg's poems but against the editing of their political nature. While the aesthetics of Sandburg's imagistic poems are important, Van Wienen believes these early critics were, as the title suggests, "taming" the socialism of Sandburg's early poems. For example, Van Wienen's article references the bias of Benjamin's "A Poet of the Common-Place", particularly highlighting how the cultural moment of the article influenced its bias. As a result, if Sandburg's literary reputation is built upon this early reception and interpretation of *Chicago Poems*, then the way his poetry is read might become increasingly more biased the more removed the

reader is from the social and cultural moment of *Chicago Poems*' publication. In addition, it helps to strengthen the argument that Sandburg's poetry can still be culturally and aesthetically relevant to a contemporary audience by understanding that the varied ambiguity of Sandburg in the American literary canon does not necessarily reflect the effectiveness of his poetry.

The Anthologized Sandburg(s)

Sandburg's legacy, and what it indicates about American culture, is what is at stake when it comes to the criticism of his poetry. The socialism of Sandburg may and probably does affect how literary scholars, historians, and perhaps culturists read Sandburg, just as the criticism of his Whitmanian style affects it. The contemporary active reader, on the other hand, may only read the occasional book review or article concerned with the effect of Sandburg's politics on his poetry. Obviously, this is true of non-academic readers of any piece of literature, but it is important even more so with Sandburg's contemporary audience because it reflects where readers are encountering American poetry most frequently today: in book stores and in classrooms by way of anthologies. The authority an anthology can possess makes it, in particular, a vital tool in Sandburg's relevance and recollection to a contemporary audience.

The anthology, or the collections of works that are recognized as influential and indicative to the culture at large, is one of the most effective means of preserving the influence of authors and poets and, by effect, including them in the literary canon. The role anthologies have played within the recollection of authors in the last 50 years is substantial. In the decade following Carl Sandburg's death (1968), there was a rise in the number of anthologies of literature being published, making the 1970s crucial in the discussion of Sandburg's representation because it was a decade in which "American" literature anthologies specifically began to multiply exponentially. Examining the *Norton Anthologies* in particular, given their dominance of publication and prominent use within higher education, Sandburg first becomes anthologized by W.W. Norton & Company in 1970 in *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*. His appearance is brief and only includes two poems: "Chicago" from *Chicago Poems* and "Grass" from *Cornhuskers*. Because this anthology features both British and American poetry, the inclusion of only two poems by Sandburg may initially seem impressive to some readers, although disappointing to others. Yet it is exceptional when compared to the representation of

Sandburg in the publication of the 1975 *Norton Anthology of Poetry* (Revised Shorter Edition). As is the case with many anthologies, in this more concise version of its predecessor, in order to include "new" poets, "older" sometimes had to be removed. This was the case with Carl Sandburg. With no poetry appearing in this version of the anthology, Sandburg's representation and presence within American literature was affected. It is worth acknowledging, for instance, that Robert Frost has been represented by the same untouched 19 poems in every version and edition of *The Norton Anthology of Poetry* to date.

While Carl Sandburg's poetry also failed to appear in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* in 1979, it does, however, appear in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (4th ed.), published in 1994. In fact, Sandburg was well represented with four entire pages in this anthology, including a brief biography and six poems: "Chicago," "Halsted Street Car," "Child of the Romans," "Fog," "Prairie Waters by Night," "Cool Tombs," and "Grass," all first appearing in either *Chicago Poems* or *Cornhuskers*. Even the current *Norton Anthology of American Literature* (8th ed.) features the poems "Chicago," "Fog," "Cool Tombs," and "Grass"; and *The Norton Anthology of Modern and Contemporary Poetry* (3rd ed.) features "Chicago," "The Harbor," "Subway," "Cool Tombs," "Grass," and "Gargoyle"; again, all of which appear in either *Chicago Poems* or *Cornhuskers*. Which makes it apparent that over the course of time (and numerous editions), Sandburg is being represented in some form or another within anthologies and, therefore, arguably the literary canon. This suggests Sandburg was not excluded from literary representation entirely but instead is represented in a particular *way* that conditions readers to remember the poet a certain *way*. The manner in which a poet is represented can also be just as detrimental to that poet's voice and poetic themes as the elimination of that poet's presence within the literary canon. Anthologies have the ability to affect the way readers remember an author, therefore it is crucial to understand the way in which the editors of an anthology frame a poet and their work affects the way the reader receives and understands that poet.

It is difficult to say whether the anthologized "Carl Sandburg" is the greatest factor in the poet's relevance. Part of the issue is indeed the structure of anthologies in general, but there are also other factors; for instance, poetic themes, literary movements, and changes in scholarship. Certainly the way Sandburg is introduced and annotated, or where Sandburg is situated in relation to other writers, or how the editors have visually represented the poems on the page, are

all significant, because these choices not only change readers' associations with Sandburg's poetry but also how Sandburg as poet and American will be represented in subsequent editions of an anthology. The extent to which these formal characteristics inform Sandburg's reception are important because many of these anthologies are developed and legitimized by surveys and questionnaires from professors in higher learning institutions: i.e., the way in which Sandburg is taught is affected by how he is anthologized, and because many survey-courses in colleges and universities feature only poets from these anthologies (which, like the *Norton Anthologies*, are at times quite canonical), Sandburg may only exist today in American literature in a very limited capacity.

The investigation into the transition of Sandburg's relevance during the 20th century indicates a simple but crucial aspect of literary culture: readers play a pivotal role in literary reception; however, just as important is understanding that how the reader interprets a work is in turn influenced by how the work is framed and/or presented to the reader. Despite varied presentations of Sandburg in criticisms and anthologies, in the end, if contemporary readers can understand Sandburg's poetic subjects as correlating to their own society and lives, then Sandburg for the time being may not actually be an anachronism in the 21st century. This being said, the crux of why Sandburg can still be read today and why he is anthologized is beyond the social commentary of his dark Chicago and his illuminated prairies. Sandburg is read today because, as a poet and as an American, he sincerely believes without sentimentality or even irony that the struggle of all men and women is also his struggle.

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Duality in Psychosis: Psychological Enslavement as the Core of Slavery Imagery in Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*

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Abstract

"Hadst thou sought the whole earth over," said he, looking darkly at the clergyman, "there was no one place so secret,—no high place nor lowly place, where thou couldst have escaped me,—save on this very scaffold."—Roger Chillingsworth to Arthur Dimmesdale (160)

The above quote is from a conversation between two nemeses in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850): colonial clergyman Arthur Dimmesdale and Hester's husband, Roger Chillingsworth. As the quote implies, Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* can be understood as a novel about captivity, guilt, and public admonishment. Indeed, for critics Leland Person and Jean Fagan Yellin, slavery as a racialized institution is *The Scarlet Letter's* central tenet. In her 1989 essay, "*The Scarlet Letter* and the Antislavery Feminists," Yellin argues that the novel is about slavery and feminism. She suggests that it combines these two themes not only in relation to the "discourse of antislavery women," but also that the novel's "central concerns" reveal Hawthorne's personal response to that contemporary feminist discourse (642). In the 2001 essay, "The Dark Labyrinth of Mind: Hawthorne, Hester, and the Ironies of Racial Mothering,"¹ Person's Hawthorne shows sympathy to the African American slave mother's condition through his representation of "other, if not monstrous" motherhood in Hester's character (656). While they do recognize her complexities, neither critic seems to notice that, despite Hester's centrality, the most deeply enslaved character in the novel is not Hester but Arthur Dimmesdale. These critics see blackness as "colored" in Hawthorne's representation of slavery. In this paper, I argue that through his construction, representation, and deconstruction of the minister's character, Hawthorne moves the idea of enslavement from the image of

physical bondage in his opening sketch of the village scaffold to the inside of Dimmesdale's psyche through his narrative progression. Thus, "blackness" in *The Scarlet Letter* is less about race and more about the blackness of a life without honesty and sanctified love. I also argue that a mental enslavement such as the one Hawthorne portrays can be more devastating than physical captivity, even the one Hester endures.

Dimmesdale's Self-Despotism and Dualities

It is hard to have a Southern overseer; it is worse to have a Northern one; but worst of all when you are the slave-driver of yourself.—Thoreau (*Walden*, Norton 8)

They say you can own a man's body but never his soul—what if you could ensure that a man's soul was mired in captivity for all time? Hawthorne did. As Thoreau suggests in *Walden's* transcendentalist philosophy, a man's psyche can be his own worst enemy. Rather than use his characters to represent the stereotypical physical blackness of African-American slaves, Hawthorne's Dimmesdale and Hester are characters whose story illustrates the psychological intersections of the negative effects of slavery for *both* master and slave. Hawthorne wrote to create a world wherein his characters were mentally entrapped rather than physically bound, because it is this kind of captivity that is most utterly terrifying to the human psyche.

Within himself, Arthur Dimmesdale is enslaved to his guilt, his societal position, and his forbidden love affair. The reader does not find this out all at once but rather gradually. Dimmesdale's guilt and self-contained punishment become more and more evident through each scene; towards the middle of the novel, at its climax, the reader finds that in his private study, Dimmesdale physically ritualizes the act of slave whipping:

In Mr. Dimmesdale's secret closet, under lock and key, there was a bloody scourge. Oftentimes, this Protestant and Puritan divine had plied it on his own shoulders; laughing bitterly at himself the while, and smiting so much more the pitilessly because of that bitter laugh (96).

Dimmesdale's self-flagellation is represented in respectable, religious terms, but it also illustrates the manic extremes of self-enslavement. To reach this image, Hawthorne uses Hester, Pearl, and the repeated visits to the

village scaffold to slowly unfold the context behind Dimmesdale's enslavement to the reader. The scaffolding builds to where he is alone in his study—both slavemaster of and slave to *himself*. As their relationship unfolds, Hester and Dimmesdale role-switch as master and slave. The fluctuating power dynamics between them are key to understanding how Dimmesdale damns himself. In the first scaffold scene, Hester holds Dimmesdale within her power, and then he holds himself responsible for her exile in his silence. Thus we see that Hawthorne's version of enslavement is simultaneously theoretical, metaphysical, and physical entrapment motivated by misguided religiosity and self-denial. In the first scene of the novel, Dimmesdale is charged with decrying Hester's crime while she stands on the scaffold. His perceived goal: finding out who fathered her child by chastising her publicly. In this moment, his gaze is directed downward towards her guilt:

“... this scaffold constituted a portion of a penal machine It was, in short, the platform of the pillory; and it rose above the framework of that instrument of discipline, so fashioned as to confine the human head in its tight grasp, and thus hold it up to the public gaze. The very ideal of ignominy was embodied and made manifest in this contrivance of wood and iron. There can be no outrage, methinks, against our common nature,—whatever be the delinquencies of the individual,—no outrage more flagrant than to forbid the culprit hide his face for shame; as it was the essence of this punishment to do” (Hawthorne, 42).

Hester and Dimmesdale's relationship to the guilt that this scaffold makes public is complex. The scaffold is designed as an instrument that brings personal guilt into the public eye. The narrator goes so far as to highlight that no “outrage” is more “flagrant” than a culprit unable to “hide his face for shame.” Here, the narrator is referring to the effectiveness of the scaffold in centralizing Hester's guilt.

Ironically, the characters most deeply guilty of the sin that the scaffold is supposed to highlight have found ways to evade the scaffold's effectiveness as a publicly punitive focal device. In the opening scene, the scaffold serves as a lens through which the whole town sees Hester, yet Hawthorne wants us to see beyond this lens and puts us directly into the minds of his characters because it is there that he finds the psychological repercussions of adultery and guilt. In this focal shift, despite the physically disparate level of power where Dimmesdale is above the scaffold looking down at her, Hester's guilt also holds Dimmesdale captive in his role. It is

his duty as the town minister to extract her confession, yet she has the power to reveal him as the father. Paradoxically, her failure to do so at this moment forever deepens his enslavement. Hester's relationship to Dimmesdale is one that leads the reader to understand that the person who ultimately holds the most power over Dimmesdale is himself.

Dimmesdale's Public Image and His Inner Life

The narrator tells us that Dimmesdale is convincing as a minister mainly because he can empathize with the sinfulness of townspeople by drawing on the guilty emotions created by his own secret indiscretion: “the young pastor's voice was tremulously sweet, rich, deep, and broken. The feeling that it so evidently manifested, rather than the direct purport of the words, caused it to vibrate within all hearts” (49). Initially, this might simply be read as an indication that Dimmesdale is a gifted pastor. Indeed, that is what the scene itself suggests. However, Dimmesdale's performance as a spiritual leader is both misleading and sinister for the reader. The narrator obscures the truth of Dimmesdale's adulterous liaison with Hester by explaining his odd behavior thus: “The trying nature of his position drove blood from his cheek, and made his lips tremulous” (49). From this angle, Dimmesdale seems to be a paragon of virtue. It is implied that it is Hester's sin that adversely affects him and makes him grow pale—not his own. However, it soon becomes clear that Dimmesdale's moral and emotional appeal comes from his *own* secret sins and that they—he, Hester, and Pearl—are *all* bound there together on the scaffold. Thus, the first scaffold scene serves as an introductory look into the guilt relations between Dimmesdale, Hester, and the public gaze.

Slavery as represented by the scaffold and the power dynamics at play in this scene is not about the physical chains or symbols that denote oppression but rather the invisible bonds of sin that bring the Dimmesdale-Hester-Pearl family together on the scaffold. Since Hawthorne pairs physical images of bondage for Hester with the mental anguish that Dimmesdale feels in hiding, the scaffold becomes a centrifugal force of guilt that draws Dimmesdale closer and closer to facing his pain. When Dimmesdale exhorts Hester to give up the other perpetrator in the act of adultery, “If thou feelest it to be for thy soul's peace, and that thy earthly punishment will thereby be made more effectual to salvation, I charge thee to speak out the name of thy fellow-sinner and fellow-sufferer” (49), he is also speaking to himself. The language that Dimmesdale uses here is crucial. He exhorts Hester to reveal her “fellow” “sinner and sufferer” (49), meaning that it

is assumed that whoever the father is, he is psychologically dealing with guilt even if he is not stepping forward and it would be in his best interest to publicly confess. The twist here, of course, is that Dimmesdale is the father. However, even within this request, he gives her a choice. He says, "If thou feelest it be for thy soul's peace," meaning that she has the choice to reveal him or not. He silently compels her to set him free. Only he and she can know the hidden meaning behind the standard exhortation to confess. He knows it is in her power to make their adultery a publicly joint affair, he also knows it's within his own power to confess. Why doesn't he? In this scene, Hawthorne sets up a complicated web of enslavement and shows how each character contributes to the psychological entrapment of the other.

In the second scaffold scene, located in Chapter XII titled "The Minister's Vigil," the reader encounters Dimmesdale "walking in the shadow of a dream" as he mounts the scaffold where "Hester Prynne had lived through her first hours of public ignominy" and hopes to be discovered by the town (97). It has been seven years since the first scaffold scene, and Dimmesdale is desperately searching for a way to release himself from his self-made prison. By ascending the scaffold, he places himself in Hester's shoes and physically performs the action he should have been performing with her years before. Dimmesdale exacts punishment on himself. It is evident that Dimmesdale feels unresolved regarding his self-imposed guilt. By doing violence to himself, he is enacting the punitive role of slave master to slave. Thus, Hawthorne represents Dimmesdale as simultaneously the oppressor and the oppressed. On that scaffold in the dark, yet still with the possibility of catching the public gaze, the oppressor has overpowered the oppressed; and there in the dark of night, Dimmesdale, the oppressed, searches for escape from his psychological incarceration.

Even though the father's identity has not been revealed to the reader yet, Dimmesdale's exhortation assumes that the unnamed father is suffering. The implied suffering and mental anguish is evidenced in his word choice. Dimmesdale speaks of the guilt of "earthly punishment" with the eventuality of salvation. As a minister in a Puritan community, salvation and God are the cornerstones of his existence and identity. Thus, when Dimmesdale tells Hester that heaven has granted her an "open ignominy," that is, undergone a public disgrace or dishonor, he wishes for her "open triumph" over the "evil within" which he personally cannot have. Dimmesdale desperately needs release from the prison that has formed around his sanctity and standing as pastor and decent human being. The idea of "earthly punishment"

is one that the reader later finds out Dimmesdale enacts on himself. Since he cannot openly triumph over his own internal demons, his exhortations to others are tinged with a hint of plea that make his words powerful and make him surprisingly successful as a minister.

At the second scaffold scene, Dimmesdale's secret bastard daughter, Pearl, functions as a conscience personified. She unabashedly asks repeatedly for her father's recognition within the community: "Wilt thou stand here with mother and me, to-morrow noontide? . . . But, wilt thou promise," asked Pearl, "to take my hand, and mother's hand to-morrow at noontide?" (101). She knows what she deserves as his child and demands nothing less than full confession on the scaffold to the entire town in the middle of the day. However, as evidenced by how well he publicly masked his sin thus far, Dimmesdale is not ready to confess. In response to Pearl, "At the great judgment day," whispered the minister—and, strangely enough, the sense that he was a professional teacher of truth compelled him to answer the child so. "Then, and there, before the judgment-seat, thy mother, and thou, and I, must stand together. But the daylight of this world shall not see our meeting!" (101). Dimmesdale's slavery is one of self-representation. His public persona is one that signifies to the town the unblemished life and spiritual walk of a pious minister, but to himself he represents a hopeless sinner. He whips himself in private and presents himself as holy in public: "While thus suffering under bodily disease, and gnawed and tortured by some black trouble of the soul, and given over to the machinations of his deadliest enemy, the Reverend Mr. Dimmesdale had achieved a brilliant popularity in his sacred office. He won it, indeed, in great part, by his sorrows" (94). Here we see an instance where Dimmesdale is better able to perform his outwardly duties because he compartmentalizes the pain of his guilt in his private world. His guilt inspires his ministry. His primary audience adores him.

However, the twist is that he has an informed audience of one: Chillingsworth. Chillingsworth, the betrayed husband of Hester, spends years lying in wait for Dimmesdale's demise. His public audience perceives him very differently from the one that is awaiting his downfall: "They fancied him the mouth-piece of Heaven's messages of wisdom, and rebuke, and love. In their eyes, the very ground on which he trod was sanctified" (95). Referring back to the opening quote, Chillingsworth bides his time until he can help Dimmesdale destroy himself. As readers, we are placed at an excellent vantage point when it comes to viewing Dimmesdale's downfall. Only we, the narrator, and Chillingsworth see what "no eye

could see”: Dimmesdale “in his closet, wielding the bloody scourge” (97). *The Scarlet Letter* is structured to give us a view of the intellectual and theological reasons that Dimmesdale chooses to stay silent until his confession. Dimmesdale’s inner closet whippings show us that, as Thoreau said: “What a man thinks of himself, that it is which determines, or rather indicates, his fate. Self-emancipation even in the West Indian provinces of the fancy and imagination—what Wilberforce is there to bring that about?” (Thoreau, 8)

Hawthorne’s Dimmesdale shows the peril of self-enslavement and its relationship to religious guilt, a topic Hawthorne thoroughly explores in *The Scarlet Letter*. The novel illustrates self-enslavement as compounded by the centrifugal force of the scaffold, the public view, and the third scaffold scene marks the culmination of all his self-torture and guilt. In the third scaffold scene, after giving his career-making sermon to mark the new Governor’s election, Dimmesdale is emotionally drained and can no longer hide his secret. In the end, Dimmesdale dramatically assumes his identity as a sinner: “He threw off all assistance, and stepped passionately forward a pace before the woman and the childWith a convulsive motion, he tore away the ministerial band from before his breast. It was revealed!” (161). The “Wilberforce” that brought about Dimmesdale’s freedom was so strong that it also brought him to the grave. Dimmesdale was such a harsh slavemaster to himself that emancipation meant paying the ultimate sacrifice.

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Christo and Jeanne-Claude's Running Fence Corporation: How Land Artists Maneuver through the Politics of Democracy

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Abstract

In a creative environment critics deem too embedded in a narrative of possession, land artists Christo and Jeanne-Claude effectively maneuver through the intersecting spaces of art, law, and policy by maintaining their artistic vision above the political system in which they publicly engage—and, consequently, work as freely as they possibly can. This work is a short introduction into a larger interdisciplinary project in which she aims to unpack the ways art, land, politics, and identity can intersect.

Known for their larger-than-life “wrappings” and “cloth installations,” artists Christo and Jeanne-Claude have garnered an almost pop-star reputation both inside and outside of the art world for their ambitious and highly publicized work process, which reveals the economic, social, and political structures that govern American land use and, therefore, land art. Each of their huge multi-million environmental works takes years to come into fruition—ranging from two to 26 years and counting.¹ They are epic in scale and cannot be completed without the help of hundreds of paid workers, engineers, public relation representatives, lawyers, and other documentary artists. Unlike painters or photographers, who can choose to what degree they wish to protect their work legally with copyrighting, etc., land artists, like Christo and Jeanne-Claude, vitally depend on their ability to work with or around the legal parameters placed on the land they wish to use.

The nature of land art renders them subject to multiple forms of approval both by private individuals and the public government—one cannot simply build whatever they want on a piece of land, even if it is privately owned. These parameters are instituted by the political processes and legal systems that define our democratic infrastructure—that allow Christo and Jeanne-Claude to create work—which ultimately traces the people, processes, legal rights, and needs of the American communities in which they choose to operate. In one sense, Christo and Jeanne-Claude view their work as an embodiment of the American Dream. With the

right skills, workers, money, and connections, the team can use their “inalienable right of imagination to conceive of whatever [they desire] and realize it unconstrained by any authority than [their] own.”² “We have the power if not to move mountains then to block valleys and cover rivers,”³ Christo asserts strongly.

But to logistically fund, build, and legally protect their project, *The Running Fence*, the couple felt pushed to become incorporated in 1969—becoming the first team of artists to do so in America. Explaining their business structure as an essential element of their artistic approach, Christo and Jeanne-Claude imply that they can only actualize a kind of democracy through their art with the aid of capitalistic principles and tools. I ask, however, if they can really call their work “a scream of freedom” if they feel compelled to embrace a highly corporate and political work process.

The expansiveness of a Christo and Jeanne-Claude project is hard to grasp. For their *Running Fence*, 1972–76, a 12-day installation in the Sonoma and Marin Counties of the state of California, the couple relied on their usual team of lawyers and assistants, plus 65 professional workers and 360 paid students. The art structure, a beautiful white line of draped fabric, when completed on Sept. 10th, 1976, crossed 14 roads and could be seen by 65 miles of public roads. It was built with 2,222,222 square yards of woven white nylon fabric, split into 2,050 panels, and suspended with 2,080 steel poles, 14,000 earth anchors, 350,000 hooks, and 90 miles of steel cables. It reached 18 feet tall and extended along the private property of 59 ranchers and a part of the government-owned shore of the Bodega Bay. For the necessary permits, 42 months of collaboration between the ranchers, county, state, and federal representatives, 12 public hearings, three sessions at the Superior Courts of California, a 450-page Environmental Impact Report,⁴ and \$3.2 million were required.⁵

The Running Fence became one of the first big art projects in the U.S. to gain large media coverage due to its huge breadth into the political and economic foundations of the country. A spectator, Wayne Clough, reflects, “After years of announcements in the press, the project went up quickly . . . as if it were an apparition. One day it was there, running across flanks and tops of the windblown fills and into the valleys between them, and then it was gone. I found it to be a statement of man’s intent and at the same time to evoke an

¹ Their longest project, the *Mastaba*, is still being worked on since its start in 1977.

² *Remembering the Running Fence*, 61.

³ *Remembering the Running Fence*, 61.

⁴ This was the first Environmental Impact Report written for a work of art.

⁵ *Remembering the Running Fence*, 60.

ethereal sensation.”⁶ But how did Christo and Jeanne-Claude’s ethereal work evolve into a statement on the relationship between artistic freedom and democracy in land use? Before 1969, there was no federal regulation on the leasing land, despite the government’s numerous land negotiations with farmers, oil companies, and coal corporations. Under Richard M. Nixon’s presidency, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) were founded, and the federal government began to actively manage how land could be used in the United States. This development, Christo acknowledges, helped to shape his work process into a dialogue of how art, law, and society can intersect effectively.⁷

When Christo and Jeanne-Claude first moved to the United States from Paris, France in the early 1970s, they knew they were destined as artists and citizens to function within a regulatory space. They were in a land where policy-makers would predetermine what they could or could not use land for. As tax-paying citizens, Christo and Jeanne-Claude accepted the often-bureaucratic land use zones as a way to actualize a type of democracy built off of the shared rights of landowners. If they could meet the requirements necessary to gain the right permits and lease land with the support of the communities they wished to work in, Christo and Jeanne-Claude could manipulate the wheels of democracy to make something beautiful. Christo states, “[T]he American system, society, the way the whole big machine works—I find perfect to use for my projects. To grab American social structure and make it work, this is what I learn in America. I think all the power and force of art comes from real life, that the work must be so much part of everyday life that it gains so much force.”⁸ But to celebrate any kind of landscape outside the realm of a traditional art space—like a museum—without the limiting oversight of a commercial sponsorship,⁹ Christo and Jeanne-Claude needed a deep working understanding of a democratic process built for businessmen, not artists.

In 1969, Christo and Jeanne-Claude founded the Christo Vladimirov Javacheff Corporation (CVJ) because they felt it was necessary for their *Running Fence* project. Christo explains, “[Our lawyer] said we should create a

corporation, not a non-profit, to build our project, to sell our original works of art and to buy back our original works of art,”¹⁰ which will fund each project. For each work, their corporation creates a subsidiary, which, they believe, can better maneuver through financial and political channels involved in renting land.¹¹ The artists often discuss how important it is to have good relations with banks and those they have to do business with. Especially for the *Running Fence*, for which permits depended on the votes and land of simple blue-collared farming communities, the couple’s corporation status gave them a legality and respect that their reputations as artists could not supply. Jeanne-Claude reflects on how they needed to become a corporation to gain a legal corporate “personhood,” which would allow them to participate in the business and art world seamlessly. As a business, the law would treat CVJ Corporation as an artificial person, allowing the organization some of the protected constitutional rights of a real human being. This way, they could fight in the county courts for permits just like a normal citizen but still be able to easily make the legal transactions with the farmers they rented land from and with the skilled workers and engineers they had to pay. Jeanne-Claude believes that their name as a business gave them a reputation for being reliable and that more Americans were apt to do business with them as a corporation than when they were just artists. The corporate structure gave them a way as artists to traverse through a society that depended daily on legal and political definitions but had no written policies for artists who wished to use land.

But, critics could argue, by transforming themselves into a corporate entity, Christo and Jeanne-Claude become the antithesis of the liberated artists they sought to become. Their acceptance of the commerce world “seems to clash with the modernist expectation of artistic authenticity, of the artist’s making something original that is true with respect to the artist’s own experience or vision.”¹² For members of the art world, a publicized acceptance of a capitalist business model fights against the “standard” belief that true art works should be removed from big business dealings. Art critic Julian Stallabrass remarks, “Art appears to stand outside this realm of rigid instrumentality, bureaucratized life, and its complementary mass culture,”¹³ but in reality, it doesn’t

⁶ *Remembering the Running Fence*, 24.

⁷ Christo lecturing about *Over the River* and the *Mastaba*. Video from website.

⁸ *Christo and Jeanne-Claude: A Biography*, 237

⁹ The system of patronage/grants/formal sponsorship has a long history of documented tension between the artist and patron; artists often felt that they had to cater to wealthy patrons’ demands while keeping “true” to their artistic visions, and some ultimately felt forced to choose between financial success and authenticity.

¹⁰ *The Art Economist*.

¹¹ Because they use land they do not own, they must contract leases with private land owners or municipalities in charge of public plots of land.

¹² *Art In The Public*, 251.

¹³ *Art Incorporated*, 49.

always conform to such expectations. Jeanne-Claude agrees, “The only way to work in total freedom is to pay for it. When you accept outside money, someone wants to tell you what to do. So we fund each of our projects with our own money—through the sales of Christo’s preparatory drawings, collages, and early works [as a corporation].”¹⁴ The art team argues that unbound energy of their art “can’t be bought or commercialized,” despite their location within a dialogue of corporate possession.¹⁵ Jeanne-Claude maintains that “the reason for founding the corporation was mainly practical. For us it is very important to have a cash flow.”¹⁶ She justifies their corporation and adoption of a particular business model by framing it as a way to maneuver freely around a legal and political space most suited for businesses.

Still today, artists are often identified and judged by their acceptance or refusal of commercial dealings. Some artists’ tragic lives and lack of economic stability have helped to sustain certain expectations for artists today—that the most genuine of artists are those who struggle emotionally and financially for their craft. Many land artists succeed in downplaying their necessary business ventures by avoiding publicized accounts of their participation in the art world industry. Some artists choose to accept sponsorships, commissions, or grants from third parties to fund their public works as well. When they do this, they are often able to pass over the lengthy business and legal aspects of their craft to their higher-ups—allowing them to keep tarnish-free reputations. Though their works require many hands, Christo and Jeanne-Claude refuse any volunteers and insist that they fund each project entirely on their own, and end up risking their status as “authentic” artists to those who believe art and commerce don’t mix well.

Because their large works are usually situated outside the museum, on public or rented private property, their costs always include “the preparation, realization and removal of the projects,” such as “materials, labor, shipping, insurance, engineering, staff, rentals, legal”¹⁷ fees. To pay for the *Running Fence*, Jeanne-Claude actively contacted 100 collectors and museums to sell \$33,500 worth of these preparatory drawings for \$20,000, with the 40% discount as their main selling point. Acting as his own art dealer and gallery by selling his early works and preparatory drawings of his unrealized projects, Christo also serves as the biggest collector of his works and fights against the accepted passive business role of the artist by manipulating the supply and

demand of his own market. Jeanne-Claude explains that they not only sell his drawings but “sometimes buy them back . . . [we have] a concern if the price goes too high—we don’t want a flood of Christos on the secondary market because it will affect prices on the primary market.”¹⁸ Christo’s preliminary drawings, although compositionally strong and sought after, are in reality a means to a higher artistic end—he wants to not only imagine installations of cloth and land, but to build them as well. Christo maintains that each drawing is an “original work,” but strongly emphasizes the importance of their sales—which enable him to work in the truest kind of artistic freedom in a capitalist culture.

Christo and Jeanne-Claude’s deep desire to be the sole possessors of their works (somewhat of an irony considering that they sell their sketches), to manipulate the market of the drawings, and to control what their project ultimately looks like, speaks to the artists’ paradoxical desire to both protect their work legally and to be free of the law’s limitations. Unable to create land art without accepting a corporate standing and the lengthy political processes involved in land use, the couple still successfully pushes back against the very constructions placed on them. In order for the democratic system to do its job, they had to embrace a public persona and, ultimately, “sell” their art ideas to the public. To get the votes and support necessary to lease land and gain building permits, Christo and Jeanne-Claude have to justify their right to make art and argue why their work will not infringe on the rights of those who oppose them. They make transparent the foundations the American nation is built on—how a democracy can, and should, involve as many citizens as possible. Thousands of workers, citizens, politicians, etc. are involved in the process of creating art even when they argue against it, Christo believes. Discussing his project, the *Running Fence*, in a California County public hearing, he tells all that, “the work is not only the fabric, the steel poles, and the [*Running*] Fence. The art project is right now here. Everybody here is part of my work if they want it or don’t want it. I believe very strongly that 20th-century art is not a single, individualistic experience. It is a very deep political, social, economic experience I live right now with everybody here.”¹⁹

Christo and Jeanne-Claude ultimately choose to put their creation of the art above the political system they publicly engage in—and consequently, work as freely as they possibly can. They can still push back against the bureaucracy

¹⁴ Christo and Jeanne-Claude interview.

¹⁵ Christo lecturing about *Over the River* and the *Mastaba*. Video.

¹⁶ Christo and Jeanne-Claude interview.

¹⁷ Though one exception was made for Jeanne-Claude’s mother, who liked to volunteer.

¹⁸ Christo and Jeanne-Claude interview.

¹⁹ *Remembering the Running Fence*, 63.

of land regulation by challenging it through their right to appeal against legal dismissals—though it often provokes naysayers of their work to dislike them even more. Christo and Jeanne-Claude validate the presence art can have in America’s political and corporate world but decisively refuse to risk their art’s concept, as seen in the *Running Fence*. Feeling forced to ignore a court injunction to stop the final stretch of the construction—which they felt was essential to the piece—the couple choose to ignore the laws they tried so hard to follow and ended up putting the last part of the fence in without a permit. “We could attribute this ever-increasing scale to personal ego, but everything in the artists’ career history suggests instead a growing understanding of what individuals can accomplish when seized by an idea”²⁰ they truly believe in, explains Elizabeth Broun, director at the Smithsonian American Art Museum. Christo and Jeanne-Claude seem to desire their works to happen in social contexts where opposition can be democratically overcome and in doing so comment, perhaps unwillingly, on the nature of democracy in the United States.²¹ “For a brief time . . . America and its corporate culture, its capitalists practice, its transformative social energies, are reflected. A diverse community, from executive teams to relatively unlettered local inhabitants, are summoned to a common cause in a version of social engineering. Work is done, money is spent, [and] attitudes are changed,”²² to create something of real beauty and importance.

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²⁰ *Remembering the Running Fence*, 128.

²¹ *Remembering the Running Fence*, 63.

²² *Remembering the Running Fence*, 63.

Tools of Resistance: The Involvement of the Militant Wing of the African National Congress in the Dismantling of Apartheid

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Abstract

This research looks at how the African National Congress shifted from its nonviolent policies to a militant approach to combat the notorious segregation system known as apartheid. This oppressive system has plagued South Africa since 1948.

For blacks in South Africa, the issue of white minority rule has always been a battle. This has been particularly apparent in the struggles against racism. White racism has certainly not been confined to South Africa. However, this nation—nestled between the Atlantic Ocean to the west and the Indian Ocean to the east—has an unforgettably grim past in this respect. For 45 years of the past century, there existed one of the world's most volatile forms of institutionalized racial segregation called apartheid. Derived from an Afrikaans word meaning “apartness” or “separation,” apartheid prohibited interracial sex and marriage and strictly segregated residential areas, schools, trains, buses, beaches, toilets, parks, stadiums, ambulances, hospitals, and cemeteries. While racial segregation and white supremacy had traditionally been accepted in South Africa, following the general election of 1948, the National Party government sanctioned the development of government-demarcated racial groups, leading to increased violence and state terrorism against blacks and other minority populations in South Africa.

Contrary to popular belief, I argue that throughout the movement, various prominent figures supported a militant approach to combating apartheid, including former ANC head Nelson Mandela. Indeed, even before the pivotal Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, there were some links to left-wing militancy within the ranks of the African National Congress (ANC). My assertion, then, is that violence became the new strategy against apartheid after 1961, which had repercussions that influenced its ultimate demise. In this study, I am concerned with a number of important questions: Who were the pioneers that spearheaded defiance campaigns within the ANC prior to the emergence of the militant wing? In what ways did *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), the militant wing of the ANC, carry out its

violent attacks? And how did this new organization affect the ANC's core principles on passive resistance?

Before apartheid came into existence, European intruders colonized what today has become one of Africa's most diverse countries and an emerging strong economy. During the 19th century, the “Scramble for Africa” was a period known for territorial conquest and black enslavement. As whites aggressively expanded throughout continental Africa, they assumed the status of the superior race, while subordinating native blacks. Beginning in 1948, the Nationalist Government in South Africa enacted laws to define and enforce segregation. Probably the most significant were the Natives Land Act of 1913 and The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which made it illegal for blacks to purchase or lease land from whites. Although apartheid was abolished by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa in 1993, these blatant forms of discrimination still prevail in South Africa in *de facto* rather than *de jure* form. More specifically, apartheid illuminates the modern history of South Africa.

Nelson Mandela, who served as president of South Africa from 1994 to 1999, was the first president ever to be elected in a fully representative democratic election. As an activist, he initially promoted nonviolent measures. He believed that passive resistance and reasonable talks with leaders could lead to a solution for Africans. Civil disobedience or nonviolent actions were used to refuse and disobey unjust laws in an effort to change government policy or legislation without resorting to violence. Mandela was influenced by Garveyism, a form of Black Nationalism inspired by the political philosophy of Jamaican-born activist Marcus Garvey. It called for “Africa for the Africans, at home and abroad” and inspired racial pride and Pan-Africanist consciousness in both Africa and the American Diaspora. During the volatile 1960s, black consciousness ideology—which sought to liberate black people psychologically through the realization of black self-worth and positive action, including economic self-reliance and rejection of dominant “white” values.

People in South Africa (particularly blacks) were becoming impatient with passive forms of struggle. By the early '50s, Mandela was one of the first ANC leaders to argue for changing the tactics from peaceful civil disobedience to armed insurrection—that is, revolt with weapons. In fact, he believed that nonviolence was a tactic that should be abandoned when it no longer worked. He even argued that violence would begin whether [blacks] initiated it or not.

This view is apparent in Mandela's 1994 autobiography, where he stated: "If the government reaction is to crush by naked force our nonviolent struggle, we will have to reconsider our tactics. In my mind, we are closing on this question of nonviolent policy."¹

Mandela argued that nonviolence had failed them, for it had done nothing to stem the violence of the state or change the heart of their oppressors. He contended that since violence in South Africa was inevitable, it would be wrong and unrealistic for African leaders to continue preaching peace and nonviolence at a time when the government met their peaceful demands with force, ultimately persuading ANC leadership to endorse armed struggle. He was named the first commander-in-chief in 1961 of the new rebel army, Spear of Nation.

As with any transition, there was some opposition. Some of Mandela's colleagues strenuously opposed the move towards violence. In 1959, a group of ANC members, split under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe, formed a separate armed body with an agenda to take direct action against the leaders of the National Party. The Pan-African Congress's origins came about as result of the lack of consensus on the Africanist debate within the African National Congress.

The Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 played a pivotal role in galvanizing other ANC members in the direction of violent resistance. Mass rallies had been banned, but when the ANC convened in East London, the military moved violently, killing eight Africans and injuring dozens. In return, protestors sought revenge, killing two white people. The riots quickly spread into northern South Africa following the PAC's emergence a year earlier. Following the revolts, the PAC began a nationwide campaign to protest against pass laws. On March 21, 1961, a nonviolent protest of a large gathering of blacks who refused to carry their passes was attacked by police in Sharpeville, a town near Johannesburg. The government declared a state of emergency and responded with fines, imprisonment, and whippings. This resulted in the deaths of 70 black Africans and 187 people injured.

Following this event, the National Party government banned the ANC and other organizations, while declaring a state of emergency. Decades of nonviolent appeal and protest had fallen on deaf ears. The PAC rejected the ANC's nonviolent policies and promoted African Nationalism and more mass action in the movement against the evils of racism and segregation. In 1960, it formed a militant wing, called *Pogo*, which worked both underground within South

Africa and in exile. At the same time, there were increasingly those within the ANC who believed that no long-term solution could be achieved without the use of arms.

In the aftermath of the Sharpeville tragedy, some ANC leaders (including Mandela, Sisulu, and other ex-Youth League organizers) were determined that direct action should begin. When South Africa was declared a republic by the government in May 1961, Mandela organized a nationwide strike in protest of the declaration. After retaliation by government armed forces, Mandela became even more convinced that the war against apartheid could never be nonviolent. While the ANC had treated nonviolence as a core principle beyond question or debate for 50 years, from that point, the ANC became a different organization, embarking on a path of organized violence. It was during this volatile period that Mandela and other ANC leaders founded *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), or MK, for short. The symbol of the spear was chosen because, with this simple weapon, Africans had resisted the incursions of whites for centuries. MK's mandate was to wage acts of violence against the state—precisely what forms those acts would take was yet to be decided. Their intention was to begin with what was least violent to individuals but most damaging to the state. Its aim was either to overthrow the government of South Africa through armed struggle or to bring it to the negotiating table through this added pressure.

In November of 1961, Mandela led members of MK and launched a planned campaign to disrupt and damage government premises. This campaign continued for two years and was responsible for more violent resistance, including acts of sabotage, guerilla warfare, bombings, and outright uprisings. The impact of Steve Biko (another anti-apartheid militant) demonstrates the key role of the Black Consciousness Movement in filling the gap left by the imprisonment of Mandela and Sobukwe and in fueling the shift to violence. Prior to his death by police brutality in 1977, Biko wrote: "We have set out on a quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize."² While he himself did not advocate violence, other black South Africans who were incensed by his violent death turned to violence.

Along the Western Cape, the Pan-African Congress had strong supporters with indiscriminate plans to provoke a general uprising by killing suspected black police informers and government agents as well as South African whites. Protestors burnt down police stations and other government buildings, along with the homes of black policemen and

1 Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1994.

2 Biko, Steve. "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity" in *Black Theology: The South African Voice*, Basil Moore, ed. London: C. Hurst & Co., 1973.

town councilors. During this period, the militant arm of the ANC also shifted towards a more violent response. During the first year of their existence, members of MK confined their operations to nearly 200 acts of sabotage: forays against military installations, power plants, transportation links, and telephone lines. A number of sabotage attacks on power stations and government installations were made over the next three years.³ Sabotage was chosen because initially MK was not equipped to engage in other forms of violence and because these activities did not involve loss of life. Mandela himself studied guerilla activities because he wanted “to stand—with my people and share with them the hazards of warfare.”⁴ Guerillas, however, would only be trained in case they were necessary. Thus, strict instructions were given that on no account were people to be killed or injured. Its military forces consisted of blowing up electrical stations and water mains, planting explosives under police cars, and giving hand grenades to township youngsters. A mixed-race saboteur named Robert McBride wrapped bullets and metal scraps around 100 pounds of explosives and hid bombs in parked cars, killing three women and injuring 69 people.⁵

Several reasons initially led to the end of apartheid along with the violent response by black South Africans. The turn to constitutionalism and rapid growth and increasing power of black labor unions and the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s weakened the apartheid state and made white supremacy impossible to maintain. The acts of violence inflicted on the system of apartheid brought about a change within the nonviolent core of the ANC. Instead of taking passive approaches to combating the system of racial segregation, they decided to tackle the issue with a more violent approach and making sporadic attacks on the South African government. Added pressure on the government came from the international community, prompting former South African President de Klerk to announce plans to repeal laws that guaranteed white ownership of 87% of the land and entrenched rigid racial segregation, while calling for the drafting of a new constitution. These were some of the things that led to the end of apartheid; the more militant approach, including the use of violence against the oppressive white minority regime, was more effective than has traditionally been acknowledged.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu began hearings on human rights crimes committed by former government and liberation

movements during the Apartheid Era. In August 1996, South Africa's last apartheid president, F.W. de Klerk, apologized to the nation's Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the “pain and suffering” caused by the disgraced system of racial separation. In view of the critical role played by the shift to violence in the latter decades of the movement, it is not surprising that the ruling African National Congress admitted to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission that it tortured and executed renegade militants in its war on apartheid.

In 1990, President F.W. de Klerk removed the ban on the ANC, and leaders engaged in negotiations with white leaders that led to the 1994 democratic elections. Election results enabled the ANC to become the dominant political party in South Africa, having won more than two-thirds of the vote in the 2004 national elections. The ANC's recourse to violence—despite its sacrifices—ultimately proved to be more effective than the initial nonviolent approach.

³ O'Malley, Pádraig. *Shades of Difference: Mac Maharaj and the Struggle for South Africa*. New York: Viking, 2007.

⁴ “Fruits of Apartheid,” *The New Republic*, May 1964: 1–4. <http://rfksa.film.org/html/doc_pdfs/NewRepublicMay1964.pdf>.

⁵ Ibid.

Futurist Recycled Icon: *Zang Tumb Tuuum* in Circulation

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Abstract

This MMUF project attends to the works on paper of the Futurists, part of the early 20th-century Italian avant-garde. The Futurists concerned themselves with an all-encompassing range of social activity, including painting, sculpture, architecture, applied design, and literature. This essay is an excerpt from a more extensive work on a variety of print media forms: collage, visual poetry, books, postcards, mass-produced periodicals, and architectural drawings. It highlights the methodological premise and some of the conclusions I draw in my overall project—largely in conversation with anthropological literature—regarding the “social life” of paper artifacts and how meanings shift as material things circulate.¹ Building on Fredric Jameson’s observation that in capitalist culture, “repetition effectively volatilizes the original object—the ‘text,’ the ‘work of art’—so that the student of mass culture has no primary object of study,”² this essay traces the collapse of distinctions between originals and copies of the phrase “*Zang Tumb Tuuum*.”

In what at first seems antithetical to the Futurists’ progressive attitude, the front page of the December 1932 issue of the Futurist journal, *Futurismo*, romanticizes the bombardment of Adrianopolis (Edirne), an event that occurred 20 years prior in 1912. According to Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, founder of the Futurist movement, the Futurists would engage with the masses and intervene in daily affairs and political matters, unlike their renowned predecessors, who lay buried in libraries and museums. On the other hand, the *Futurismo* spread references Marinetti’s firsthand experience of the bombardment as a reporter during the Balkan War. Excerpts of his journalistic account from two decades earlier fill the bottom half of the *Futurismo* page. Arranged in the form of black bold letters, passages bereft of a speaking subject recount the sounds, smells, and speed of machine guns

and howitzers. Onomatopoeic words that attempt to simulate the sensory experience of the frontline—*traak-traak*, *taratatata*, and *pic-pac-pum-tumb-pic-pac-pum-tumb-tumb*—figure throughout the clip.³ Behind this layer of black text is a red, translucent background that includes *Zang Tumb Tuuum*, an expression that seeks to replicate canon explosions. Furthermore, an image of *Zang Tumb Tuuum* similar to this red frame also appears in a page of *Futurist Words-in-freedom*, *tactile-thermal-olfactory*, an anthology of Futurist poetry constructed out of tin metal, also published in 1932. Both variations feature the same graphic composition and typographical layout of *Zang Tumb Tuuum*; only the difference in color setting separates the page of the tin book from being an exact copy of the image included in the *Futurismo* article. These examples are not isolated cases of Futurist repetition and reference to the past. And as I suggest throughout this essay, the media technique of recycling images and text coincided with Futurist artistic practice.

Zang Tumb Tuuum appeared in a number of *Futurist* publications and artworks, including a tin book, book-pamphlet, and collage. The phrase would have been recognizable to an audience familiar with Futurist works. Nonetheless, in the discipline of art history, repetition and originality have often been perceived as being in tension with one another. An original version of an artwork is generally prized because it is an authentic, singular, and unique version that bears traces of the “hand” of the artist. The painting is the most representative example of this case. In the essay “The Originality of the Avant-Garde” (1981), Rosalind Krauss makes a commentary on the unparalleled nature of the concept of originality. She contends that although originality and repetition are “bound together in a kind of aesthetic economy, interdependent and mutually sustaining, [. . .] originality is the valorized term and the other—repetition or copy or reduplication—is discredited.”⁴ The Futurists’ engagement with the recycling of text and image supports Krauss’s suggestion that, in some cases, one cannot dispense with the concept of repetition when reflecting upon originality. To wit, the Futurists manipulated and reconciled with their own history and practice through the technique of repetition.

Zang Tumb Tuuum was delivered aloud before appearing in visual form. The phrase was a synthesis of various media and genres, first circulating as performance, then a poem in a book-pamphlet, a component of collage, and finally as a page in a tin book. Immediately following

¹ Appadurai, 1986: 5; Kopytoff, 1986.

² Jameson, 1979: 137.

³ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Throughout the essay, I have used published English translations of Futurist manifestos whenever possible.

⁴ Krauss, 1981: 56.

Marinetti's return from duty in the Balkan area in 1912, *Zang Tumb Tuuum* was recited in *serate*, or night performances, in cities like London, Paris, Berlin, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, in at least 20 separate occasions between February 1913 and January 1914.⁵ Performances of *Zang Tumb Tuuum* made the reportage of the contemporary Balkan War—from the Futurists' perspective—immediately accessible and relevant to the public. The incorporation of such political events established the Futurists as a legitimate body that, like news broadcasts, could report, respond, and comment on political and diplomatic matters. Soon the verbal renderings of *Zang Tumb Tuuum* would translate into a textual form of expression that was in conversation with Futurist literary innovations contemporaneously gaining momentum through the publication of manifestos.

The *Manifesto of Futurist Literature*, released in May 1912, enumerated tenets for breaking with traditional literary form and reworking words to function as images.⁶ In this literature, Marinetti introduced the concept of *parole in libertà*, or words-in-freedom, the Futurists' version of free-word poetry. Verbs were set free from conjugation, and action words were conveyed with the absence of the "I," the author, and any sort of subject more generally. As Marinetti explained, free-word poetry sought to abolish syntax, so that words, arranged in non-linear forms, could function as ornaments on a page:

Just as aerial speed has multiplied our experience of the world, perception by analogy is becoming more natural for man. It is imperative [. . .] to merge the object directly into the image which it evokes, foreshortening the image to a single essential word.⁷

Zang Tumb Tuuum, then, was supposed to operate as both word and image that together encapsulate a lived experience. And as a "foreshortened" version of a particular event, the phrase easily does duty as a repeated icon.

Tidbits of *Zang Tumb Tuuum* first appeared in print in the journal *Lacerba* between 15 March 1913 and 1 January 1914.⁸ Short excerpts of the poem were refashioned, published in the literary journal *Poesia* in 1914, and then reproduced in the same year in a book-pamphlet format.⁹ In the book cover of *Zang Tumb Tuuum*, Marinetti adds pictorial depth and density to verbal modes of expression, a technique he had already developed in his 1912 Manifesto.¹⁰ He portrays some words in bold, alternating the sizes of letters to depict movement and using the space of the page to interrupt the traditional linear fashion of arranging words.

As the free-word poem traversed different mediums and numerous reproductions, we can begin to see how reinvented objects featuring *Zang Tumb Tuuum* came to be autonomous from their original maker. According to Jeffrey Schnapp, "the technique of 'Words in Freedom' was at its origin an extension of the concept of 'reportage' and must be viewed as essentially 'mimetic' in character." That said, the authoritative and immediate nature of the free-word poem as a factual account, related to journalistic reportage, was subsumed as the poems began to circulate on paper in multiple copies. The book-pamphlet version of *Zang Tumb Tuuum* was published in 1914, years after Marinetti's firsthand experience in the Balkan War and the poem's recitations following Marinetti's return from military duty. Thus, the reproduction of *Zang Tumb Tuuum* ultimately reinforced the phrase, enabling it to become a repeated icon, regardless of its intended function to simulate war-time reportage.

⁵ The performances were held in 1913 in: Berlin (16 Feb.), Rome (21 Feb.), Rotterdam (20 May), Delft (22 May), Paris (22 June, 8 Nov.), Brussels (11, 13, 14 Nov.), London (16–20 Nov.), Rome (5 Dec.), Pisa (10 Dec.), Florence (11 Dec.); and 1914 in Bologna (19–21 Jun.). Parts of the text that were typographically less developed previously appeared in *Lacerba in Adrianopoli Assedio Orchestra* (I, n. 6, 15 Mar. 1913); *Contrabbando di guerra. Parole in libertà* (I, n. 13, 1 Jul. 1913); *Battaglia sotto vetro-vento. Parole in libertà* (I, n. 18, 15 Sep. 1913); *Correzione di bozze + desideri in velocità* (I, n. 23, 1 Dec. 1913); and *Ponte* (II, n. 1, 1 Jun. 1914). I refer to the version reproduced in Marinetti 1968: 599–779. See Marinetti 1968: CXVI–CXVIII and Schnapp 1985: 78.

⁶ The text was first published as an independent flyer in 11 May 1912 and then as an introduction to the anthology *I poeti futuristi* (Milan: Edizioni di Poesia, 1912) (Marinetti, 1968: LXXXVIII). According to Rainey et al., the volume sold more than 20,000 copies, and reviews of the manifesto were published in contemporary publications: *L'intransigeant*, Paris, 7 July 1912; *Dernière Heure*, Paris, 18 July; *Paris-Journal*, 18 July; *Le Temps*, Paris, 24 July. A German translation was also released in *Der Sturm*, no. 133, Oct. 1912 (Rainey et al., 2009: 538). Marinetti published *A Response to Objections* in 11 Aug. 1912, in response to critics of *The Manifesto of Futurist Literature*.

⁷ Rainey et al., 2009: 120.

⁸ Poggi, 2009a: 322. In October 1912, Marinetti worked as a journalist for the Parisian daily *Gil Blas* and covered the Balkan War. Jeffrey Schnapp's analysis, "Politics and Poetics of Marinetti's *Zang Tumb Tuuum*" (1985) remains the standard point of departure for studies of this centerpiece of Futurist free-word poetry. He suggests that the original text was written in French, and then translated into Italian, although the French version was not published (Schnapp 1985: 78). The bases for his observations are the manuscripts in the Yale-Beinecke Marinetti archive. Additionally, Schnapp discusses the literary provenance of the poem further in his essay, in particular its French Symbolist precedents.

⁹ Schnapp, 1985: 81, citing Cesare G. De Michelis, 1973. *Il futurismo italiano in Russia: 1909–1929*. Bari: De Donato. 175.

¹⁰ There are variations of the title, including *Zang Tumb Tumb*, *Zang-Tumb-Tumb*, *Zam-Tumb-Tumb*, and *Zzang-Tumb-Tumb*.

Zang Tumb Tuuum continued to be republished across different mediums, even appearing in one-of-a-kind works like collage. It seems that the Futurists did not demonstrate anxieties about exhausting the authenticity of the phrase or the singularity of the author across multimedia forms partly because they were reusing and recycling recent Futurist history. For instance, *Atmospheric Swirls—Blast of a Howitzer* (1914), a collage by Carlo Carrà, explicitly spells out the phrase *Zang Tumb Tuuum*. But on the handwritten signature, “C. Carrà 1914,” situated on the bottom right-hand side of the work, only his name is mentioned. The stenciled letters spread across at least three layers: the paper that serves as a background, enclosed in a rectangular border; an irregularly shaped longitudinal page in a slightly darker tone; and triangular cut-outs of the letter “Z.” Carrà’s signature is noticeable, especially given the minimal number of words in the collage. Carrà was not known to have witnessed the Balkan War Marinetti referred to; nevertheless, he references speed, in a manner that parallels Marinetti’s interpretation of movement in his free-word poetry. The marks on the canvas are patchy and irregular, while the brushstrokes are overt, abstract, and with no clear reference to either a tangible moment or Marinetti’s poem. This differs from the book-pamphlet version, which, unlike other collage forms produced during the same year, alludes to “Adrianopolis Ottobre 1912” and acknowledges Marinetti’s role as a reporter in the Balkan War.

Meanwhile, *Free-Word Painting—Patriotic Festival* (1914) is a collage of newspaper and magazine excerpts, including a legible printed strip on the upper left that reads *Zang Tumb Tuuum*. Every clipping included in the paper composition was mechanically reproduced and previously published as critical commentaries on contemporary political events. The arrangement of the scraps of printed words resembles a rotating dart wheel. Although the presence of text prompts viewers to engage in the act of reading, the circular arrangement of words does not indicate a method of relating words to each other. The layers of words and the presence of other onomatopoeic expressions elicit a sensory overload, rather than reference specific occurrences of the time. Furthermore, although there is one hint of the Futurist journal *Lacerba*, the individual names and sources of the publications from which images and text were taken are omitted and excluded in the recycled components of the collage. The version of *Zang Tumb Tuuum* in Carrà’s collage obfuscates the firsthand experience of Marinetti, particularly his live, direct, and irreplaceable proximity to the sounds of canons. In other words, Carrà’s quotation of Marinetti

establishes the former’s ties to the Futurist movement, but at the expense of the original author and context. The Futurists explicitly used the repetition of *Zang Tumb Tuuum*, above all, to establish a general vocabulary they could stake claim to.

Nonetheless, within the Futurist lexicon, the significance of an individual phrase perpetually shifts, such that only the act of repetition remains stable. As Johanna Drucker argues in *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909–1923* (1997), “referential forms of printing on the page,” in this case *Zang Tumb Tuuum*, can paradoxically be present in both fleeting and lasting ways. The phrases contained in visual poetry are used to “invoke the immediacy and temporally ephemeral staging of phenomenal experience.”¹¹ Yet these very same phrases, or “materially present signifiers,” can retroactively bring to mind past events while simultaneously remaking the “long-absent immediacy of sensation.”¹² The Futurists complicated the terms of repetition: within similar versions of *Zang Tumb Tuuum*, one copy continuously invited conversation about meaning, and then gestured audiences to other related representations of the same image. Various instances of recycling engendered polysemy, that is, multiple meanings for the phrase, and in so doing, undermined the message attached to primary, performed versions of *Zang Tumb Tuuum*.

Zang Tumb Tuuum did not hold esteem as a one-of-a-kind work that occupied one specific moment of creation. Once the phrase came to be disseminated as performance, printed text, and components of collage, Marinetti’s original reportage became exempt from singularity. As in the 1932 examples of repetition which opened the paper, the original concept of reportage in free-word poetry passed, and the sense of immediacy the literary form once generated became irrelevant. By the time the *Futurismo* page and tin book were created, the reporter had disappeared; *Zang Tumb Tuuum* no longer functioned as anything but a reinvented image. Ultimately, the fact that repetition took precedence over unique creation reveals how circulation calls forth recognition, giving nuance to the notion that to find authentic and original meaning, one must look to a discrete, singular object.

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¹¹ Drucker, 1994: 105.

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Juan Antonio Alix, *Dominicanidad*, and Afro-Acceptance

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Abstract

This essay is a condensed form of Marla's senior paper, which concerns Dominican racial identity, the socio-historical tendency to deny black ancestry, and Juan Antonio Alix's endeavor to challenge that practice. The essay theorizes that Alix's work, which was present before the coercive rule of Dictator Rafael Trujillo, who implemented coercive racist policies within the country, intended to offer Dominican people an alternative form of identity which does not negate African heritage and which refuses the idea of white superiority and calls for the creation of an authentic identity.

Juan Antonio Alix's Imagined Community

Throughout the 19th century in the Dominican Republic, *décimas* (ten-line poems) were widely used as political propaganda. Poetry was provided to the public in newspapers and self-printings or pamphlets to highlight national issues. *Decimeros* (poets) recited to reach a vast array of people across proximal, social, and racial borders to spread emerging political beliefs. Lauren Derby notes that "*décimas* were 'popular' insofar as they were memorized, repeated, and adapted by the public at large; yet particular poets did achieve fame for their lyricism, trenchant political satire, or unabashed adulation of politicians, generals, or strongmen" (307). Juan Antonio Alix was at the forefront of this literary movement. Currently, his *décimas* receive general acclaim as historically revolutionary literature. As Derby also states, Alix was a particular *decimero* whose works were acknowledged not only because of their ability to be comfortably memorized as songs or hymns but also because of their groundbreaking political content concerning *dominicanidad* ("Dominicanness"). His poetry created an imagined community, a connection of people through literature to unify citizens. One specific aspect of Dominican identity to which the poet asserted keen attention through his *décimas* has thrived as socio-historically ambiguous and critical: race. The theme of race within his literature seeks to encourage an all-accepting future against the denial of African ancestry.

Literary Silencing during "El Trujillato"

When infamous dictator Raphael Trujillo held office in the Dominican Republic for an extensive 30-year period referred to as "*el trujillato*," he implemented policies within the nation to eliminate blackness, reiterate whiteness, and establish it as the opposite of its counterpart, Haiti, through brutality, coercion, and censorship (Stinchcomb, 11–13, and Candelario, 9). Literature which was not acquiescent to those policies was banned. His tyranny affected Dominican society so tremendously that contemporary forms of national *dominicanidad* are perceived as results of his reign (Torres-Saillant 1086). Many scholars hold *el trujillato* responsible for the solidifying of black negation, white reverence, and anti-Haitianism—three interdependent socio-historical elements of Dominican society. Writers, possessing potential influence over the general public, were restricted to ideas that concurred with Trujillo, as he ". . . was such a demagogue that he expected his dictatorship to be immortalized in literature, especially in poetry" (Stinchcomb, 11). The distribution of Juan Antonio Alix's works that challenge *el trujillato* would therefore have been forbidden.

Writing which sought to reevaluate the social and political beliefs maintained throughout *el trujillato* would not publicly re-emerge until after Trujillo's assassination in 1961 due to writers' fear of punishment in the form of exile, beating, or even death. Dawn F. Stinchcomb credits Blas Jimenez and Aída Cartagena with embarking on the journey to establish the Dominican Republic as an Afro-Caribbean society (16). Yet the stain of the dictatorship has lingered within the racial identities of many Dominicans and the social existence of Dominican/Haitian relations. Dictator Joaquin Balaguer, who served as vice president under Trujillo, maintained high political offices, including presidency, until 1966. Balaguer, although perhaps less ferocious than Trujillo, preserved his predecessor's beliefs concerning blackness and anti-Haitianism. A writer himself, he wrote *La isla al revés: Haití y el destino dominicano* (The Island Upside Down: Haiti and the Dominican Destiny) (1983) to ensure Dominicans of their racial superiority over Haitians as a collective non-black people of a non-black nation (Stinchcomb, 13).

While *el trujillato* was fundamental in molding contemporary Dominican societal customs, the investigation of alternative discourses before the Trujillo era is necessary. This encourages the understanding that *dominicanidad* has developed and redeveloped, and the widespread African

negating identity which is regarded as a product of *el trujillato* is not representative of the entire history of the country. Before this period, Dominicans were freer to assert and embody varying opinions. Within the literature of this period in which Juan Antonio Alix prevailed, ideas that were not synonymous with elite visions of a white, anti-Haiti Dominican Republic were more widely present. Writers (if they pleased), free from censorship, encouraged Dominicans to acknowledge black heritage within the country instead of denying it. The pre-Trujillo literary communities, in which Alix participated, were important to the possibility of a widespread acceptance within the Dominican Republic of heritage and international relationships uninfluenced by racism.

Historical Background

Historically, Dominican identities developed in counterpoint to Spain [and] Haiti (Candelario, 257).

In French Hispaniola, a successful slave revolt resulted in the establishment of Haiti as the first free black republic. In effort to prevent re-invasion by Europe, Haiti conquered Santo Domingo for a period known as the Haitian Occupation (1822–1844). Many remaining white Dominicans fled from the island in fear. Hispaniola was then not only the residence of Afro-descendants but the property of blacks as well. It was during the middle of this period, in 1833, in which Juan Antonio Alix was born in the politically rooted city of Moca.

Haiti and Spain both were threats to Dominican independence, which had only experienced one year of freedom before the occupation. Many Dominicans did not condone Haiti's interference within their society—it caused skepticism and hostility, and “. . . when the Dominican Republic achieved its independence in 1844, the racial issue played an important role in the elite-led development of feelings and concepts of nationhood” (Sagas, 21). Haitians were comprised of more homogenous African ancestry compared to the mulatto appearance of much of the Dominican population. Haiti emerged as a political enemy to the Dominican Republic, and racism intensified the political contradiction. Of contemporary sentiment toward the occupation, Dawn F. Stinchcomb relates that “the vilification of Haitians in general does not allow room for Dominicans to recognize that it was the black leader Toussaint-L'Ouverture who gave independence to Afro-Dominican slaves in 1801 and that in 1822 Jean-Pierre Boyer restored the freedom of those who had been returned to slavery during the French

occupation of the island (1802–9)” (14). While Juan Antonio Alix strongly disagreed with the occupation, his perceptions of the issue were not dependent on race and white reverence but on political disagreement.

Imagined Communities

Ultimately, it is the fraternity that makes it possible (Anderson, 7).

Benedict Anderson's “Imagined Communities” states that social media is the root of the spreading of nationalism. Nations are established, as Anderson argues, through agreed-upon beliefs that are propagated by the massification of ideologies which represent a nation. He explains that the nation “. . . is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (6). Anderson notes that “it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (7). Media influences people to believe that they share a common experience and resultantly identify with each other and, ultimately, with the nation. During the early years of the establishment of the Dominican Republic as a country, Alix's *décimas* created an imagined community in this manner to influence how Dominicans identified themselves racially, socially, and politically.

Anti-Haitianism and Afro-Acceptance

While Alix's ideas offer a different sense of national identity than that which was solidified in the Trujillo era and present during Alix's life as well, his work was not deplete of negative sentiment toward Haitian government. An example of anti-Haitian sentiment is displayed in the *décima* “*El 27 de febrero*.” In this *décima*, Alix declares to the Dominican people that they should fight to prevent another invasion, and that death should precede the Haitians' return to the land: “. . . today, Dominicans, /We should all say: /Die, a hundred times die! /Before being Haitians!” His views are intended for all Dominicans to unify toward the political cause of preserving independence. Dominicans were not Haitians, and they needed to establish themselves accordingly.

In “Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops,” Ginetta B. Candelario attributes the views expressed by Alix to experiences which would have influenced his opposition towards Haitian society: “. . . Alix was born and experienced his childhood

under the Haitian Unification government Perhaps that is why simultaneous to his recognition and affirmation of African ancestry among Dominicans, several of Alix's *décimas* reflect the anti-Haitianist foundations of Dominican identity" (2). However strong Alix's disapproval was of the Haitian occupation, his belief in the acceptance of black heritage and rejection of the idea of white superiority is evident within his works. The *décima* "*El negro tras de la oreja* (black behind the ear)" demonstrates this:

Since nowadays there are so many
Whom this dismays
I will employ my weak pen
To offer all a lesson;
For in our Nation
This will not do,
That was then in old Spain
Or so I heard as a youngster
But nowadays what abounds
Is "Black behind the ears."

The poem satirizes the desire of many Dominicans during Alix's era to 'hide' their African heritage, an attempt hindered by even the lightest Dominican's "black behind the ears." A more sophisticated function of the poem is to argue against that tendency. He states that Dominicans' negation of African origin is a characteristic that may have braced their ancestral Spain but that should not constitute a habit within theirs: "For in our Nation/ This will not do/ That was then in Old Spain" (6–8). Alix seeks to liberate the nation's identity from Spanish ascendancy, in order to be a society of peoples proud of themselves, all of their backgrounds, not just the European—a liberation to prevent the nation from continuing a forever faltering quest to maintain an overall false racial identity through the reverence of whiteness and absence of an authentic Dominican identity. Stinchcomb relates that Alix "was one of the Creole poets who disagreed with the Dominicans' preoccupation with social superiority through racial categorizations. His didactic poetry attacks the Dominican rhetoric that feigns a racial democracy" (Stinchcomb, 15). Alix's imagination of Dominican identity is a unique perception which seeks to offer citizens an alternative form of *dominicanidad*, in which race should be detached from political views.

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From Puerto Rico to the Peabody: A Portrait of Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, His Harvard Puerto Rican Collection, and the History of Early Archaeological Studies on the Island

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Abstract

This essay is an excerpt from the introduction of Amanda's undergraduate thesis in which she establishes the context of the Puerto Rican Collection at Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology and asserts the extraordinary research potential of this forgotten museum collection. Consisting of over 1,000 artifacts, the majority of the collection was brought to the museum by the well-known New World archaeologist Samuel Kirkland Lothrop (1892–1965). Lothrop served as a transitional figure in the early trajectory of the field of Puerto Rican archaeology and its understandings of past cultural dynamics. Despite his brief time in Puerto Rico (1915–1917), Lothrop is notable in the discipline for creating the first comprehensive list of archaeological sites on the island. Comprehensive archival study at both American and Puerto Rican research institutions allowed the author to re-trace Lothrop's expedition within the larger frameworks of the development of anthropological methodology on the island, the historical backdrop of global collecting in the lens of 20th-century American imperialism, and potential future engagement with contemporary scholarship.

Introduction

This thesis will discuss the Puerto Rican archaeological collection at Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PMAE). Consisting of over 1,000 objects ranging from ground tools to ceramic potsherds and various organic materials, the majority of these artifacts were the result of an archaeological survey overseen by Samuel Kirkland Lothrop (1892–1965). A recent graduate from Harvard with a bachelor's degree in anthropology, Lothrop had just completed his first archaeological fieldwork project under Alfred V. Kidder for the Andover Museum in Pecos, NM, when he was hired by the Peabody Museum as an Unofficial Correspondent. From 1915–1917, Lothrop was commissioned to travel throughout the island

conducting small-scale excavations, collecting materials from site surfaces, and purchasing artifacts from local collectors. A great amount of the PMAE's collection originates from the eight sites at which he excavated—Ensenada, Piñas, Minillas, Palmurejo, Florida, Esperanza, Joyuda, and south of Sabana Grande—which are located on the western and southern coasts of the island.

Samuel Kirkland Lothrop's expedition in Puerto Rico may have been brief, but it signified an enormous contribution to the field of archaeology. Although he is only known to have personally excavated eight sites, he successfully located 138 archaeological sites on the island. Lothrop built upon the earlier culturally descriptive work of anthropologist Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850–1930), whose findings from the first formal archaeological excavations in Puerto Rico in 1902 were published in the 1907 U.S. Bureau of Ethnology report entitled "The Aborigines of Puerto Rico and Neighboring Islands." Lothrop's site list described archaeological site locations, layouts, and potential for future investigation. His research helped to provide the groundwork for the development of the well-known Caribbean Anthropological Program at Yale University which today houses the largest and most comprehensive Caribbean artifact collection in the world. Spearheaded by the foundational research of the late Dr. Irving Rouse (1913–2006), it was primarily aimed at providing an understanding of the distribution of Puerto Rican culture through the analysis of ceramic artifact types.

Rouse's work of the 1930s, published by The New York Academy of Sciences as a monograph entitled *Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands*, made considerable use of Lothrop's research and the resulting Harvard Peabody collection. Rouse considered the majority of Lothrop's sites in his research, and in cases when it was not possible to conduct further excavations at those sites, he included the PMAE's collection from those sites in his analysis. Rouse also incorporated Lothrop's early perspectives on how to classify distinct pottery styles in his discussions of the nature of cultural change in Puerto Rico (1952: 317–318, 322). Hence, Lothrop's research helped to facilitate Rouse's pioneering launch of the Caribbean—a region previously considered peripheral—into mainstream New World archaeology. To this day, many archaeologists continue to consult Lothrop's list of sites and to refine Rouse's cultural historical method of artifact analysis as part of their approach to understanding the past cultural dynamics of Puerto Rico.

Unfortunately, the Harvard Peabody Puerto Rican collection has remained relatively understudied since the time of Lothrop for a number of reasons. First, there is very little actually known about the nature of his investigation in terms of research goals or any fieldwork information on specific archaeological sites. With the exception of Lothrop's two unpublished manuscripts describing the ethnology of early Puerto Ricans and detailing a list of archaeological sites and several published artifact study articles written nearly a decade following his survey work, I uncovered no archival materials that directly link Lothrop to his archaeological project in Puerto Rico. According to Rouse, Lothrop's Puerto Rican archaeological report was somehow lost in the historical record (1952: 373). Moreover, Lothrop never taught formally nor had any students to carry on the legacy of his notable work in various areas of the New World. Known as a rigorous documentary scholar, however, he crafted a body of literature that signifies one of the most substantive contributions to the development of New World archaeology (Willey, 1976: 260–262). Indeed, directly following his work in Puerto Rico, he joined the World War I war effort and served as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Military Intelligence for a year (Willey, 1976: 254). He then returned to Harvard and conducted his graduate work analyzing the ceramics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica from 1919–1921 (Willey, 1976: 254). This research set him on the course of a long and well-established career in the regions of Central and South American archaeology, during which time he held academic posts at both the Harvard Peabody Museum and the Heye Foundation, the Museum of the American Indian in New York City (Willey, 1976: 255).

Lothrop's PMAE Puerto Rican artifact collection is the product of a two-year archaeological survey mainly throughout the west and south coasts of the island. While a great portion of the collection lack any indication of geographic provenience, the remaining artifacts are attributed to eight sites—presumably at which Lothrop excavated. Indeed, Lothrop recorded the names and locations of these particular sites onto a map—housed at Harvard's Peabody Museum Archives—which depicts the routes of telegraph and telephone lines in Puerto Rico from 1918 to 1919. All of the known information about these eight sites, including method of artifact acquisition, type of site, and nature of artifact findings, originates from their individual site descriptions in Lothrop's list of archaeological sites.

According to Lothrop's notes, his field sites can be classified as shell-heap or midden sites—of varied sizes and layouts—located primarily on privately owned agricultural

fields near the coasts where ceramic findings during plowing were abundant and owners were willing to permit his excavations on their properties. As discussed in Rouse's later analyses in the 1930s, within the *Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands*, the incised and molded potsherds uncovered at these sites represent a plethora of different chronologically prescribed regional cultural styles. With the exception of the site of Esperanza, there seems to be no associated PMAE photographic or osteological collection related to any of Lothrop's sites of excavation. It should be further noted that there are no Peabody Museum accession files which describe the museum's treatment of Lothrop's Puerto Rican collection. Apparent exhibit signage found among the artifacts, though, does suggest that the collection was publicly exhibited at some point following its acquisition.

All of the archaeological sites where Lothrop excavated are still today located on private lands, both residential areas and agricultural fields, and thus are relatively inaccessible for excavation. During Lothrop's time, he apparently had the advantage of personal connections with the original owners of the *haciendas* on which his archaeological sites were located. Lothrop's father, William Sturgis Hooper Lothrop, was one of the founders of the Aguirre Sugar Company, which was one of the most powerful American sugar corporations in early 20th-century Puerto Rico. Though his father died in the city of Ponce in 1905 after an appendectomy, Lothrop had grown up traveling between Boston and Puerto Rico because of his father's business. This certainly would have provided him with the Spanish language skills, practical experience with the land, and personal links to the island's landed elite of his father's generation. As such, Lothrop's archaeological site descriptions seem to indicate he had developed a social network of communication with local agricultural communities. In the notes included in his list of archaeological sites, he often remarks that many sites were initially uncovered during the course of plowing. Indeed, two of the sites at which he excavated—Esperanza and Florida—were direct properties of the Aguirre Sugar Company. Personal connections were seemingly very important in the course of archaeological investigations during this period, and Lothrop's own connections were a crucial factor in his success. Rouse reports that during quite a few of his attempts to re-examine various Lothrop's sites, he was unable to gain the owners' permission to excavate their properties due to their expressed concern that he might damage the crop yield (1952: 541–543).

With this in mind, the goal of my thesis research project has been twofold: to provide the first detailed

discussion of the Puerto Rican archaeological collection at Harvard's Peabody Museum and to link this collection with known archaeological sites through comprehensive archival research. To meet these ends of trying to contextualize the material collection, I began my research with the *Samuel K. Lothrop Papers*, dated from 1915–1962, currently housed at Harvard's Peabody Museum Archives. Aiming to better frame Lothrop's research in the scope of his contemporary Caribbean archaeologists, I continued my research at the Division of Anthropology Archives at the American Museum of Natural History. Following the course of Lothrop's change of career post from the Harvard Peabody Museum to the Museum of the American Indian, I conducted further archival study at the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution. Considering the significant impact of Lothrop's research on Rouse's work, I also reviewed the archives at Yale University in the Division of Anthropology. Lastly, to gain a better sense of the history of research at Lothrop's excavated sites, I traveled to Puerto Rico. I visited the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, the State Historic Preservation Office, and the Office for Advanced Research in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean to meet with local archaeologists and review reports for each site.

The general obstacles I faced during this process were due to the fragmentary, limited nature of the archival materials related to Lothrop's archaeological work in Puerto Rico on behalf of the PMAE. Like Lothrop's written material at Harvard's Peabody Museum Archives, the archival sources at other academic institutions were difficult to systematically locate and sort through, as they came in the form of unpublished reports or notes. In some cases, the materials were marred by personal individual biases and often lacked any academic references. Additionally, it was challenging to organize the information into an orderly historical framework because they ranged widely in subject and material type. With relatively few exceptions, I discovered that Lothrop's archaeological sites have remained understudied since the time of his own investigations. In fact, a few of the sites were completely unknown to the local archaeologists with whom I spoke in Puerto Rico. These rather problematic aspects of the historical record presented me with an opportunity to attempt to fill the gap in the scholarly knowledge of Lothrop's archaeological survey and the PMAE's collection.

Archaeology can be considered a democratizing field of study, as it often allows for the unearthing of a more representative vision of the past. Material culture presents

archaeologists with the unique opportunity to thread together narratives that might otherwise not be visible in the historical record. What I discovered during the course of my research project was that a largely forgotten museum collection had the capacity to offer us unprecedented glimpses into the formerly under-recognized role of Samuel Kirkland Lothrop in the development of Puerto Rican archaeology, the nature of 20th-century museum acquisition practices, and the value of coastal archaeological sites now threatened by modern development. Lothrop's expedition to Puerto Rico and his continuing influence on the field of Caribbean anthropology underscores the nature of archaeology as an ongoing process of research, discovery, and interpretation.

Revolving Door: Assessing the Relationship between Recidivism, Environmental Factors, and Parental Incarceration among Minority Female Youth

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Abstract

Many inner-city neighborhoods grapple with disparities such as high levels of community turmoil and parental imprisonment that often lead to increased violence. The purpose of this paper is to address the problems such as indirect and direct exposure to violence and maternal incarceration as possible attributes to behavioral outcomes among young urban females. The research questions analyzed are: What is the relationship between indirect victimization, direct victimization, and adolescent behavioral outcomes among a sample of minority female youth? What is the relationship between maternal incarceration and adolescent behavioral outcomes among a sample of minority female youth? The current study will expand the social control theory and social learning theory to address the connection between the aforementioned variables.

Introduction

According to the Virginia Uniform Crime Reporting Program (2008), African American female youth between the ages of 10 and 17 committed more than 5% of all murders in the year of 2008, with a steady increase each year. It was reported that 40,696 arrests were comprised of youth 17 years old or younger. More than 25% of arrests were female, and about 40% were African American (Virginia State Police, 2008). Moreover, surveying all of Virginia's female youth offenders in 2008 reveals that 33% of offenders were African American and 58% were Caucasian (Virginia State Police, 2008).

Juveniles' exposure to violence is more likely to occur than youth who are not engaged in delinquency (Kimonis et al., 2011). Scholars have argued that characteristics of a disadvantaged environment are vital toward explaining the sudden appearance of crime within communities (Patchin et al., 2006). Colder and colleagues (2000) found that if a person was aware of and exposed to continual danger within the community, it was greatly associated with the positive belief of aggression. Other studies have examined youth specifically. For example, Durant and colleagues (1994) hypothesized from a sample of African American youth that there was a positive and strong relationship between exposure to environmental violence and the usage of interpersonal violence.

It can be hypothesized that youth residing in violent neighborhoods are more likely to offend than offenders who do not reside in violent neighborhoods.

Research has also shown that increasing populations of offenders are parents to young children, placing them at a greater risk of committing delinquency and subsequently engaging in adult criminality. The Virginia Commission of Youth reported 69% of the imprisoned population are mothers and 54% of the incarcerated population are fathers (2002). It also indicated that there were more than 13,000 youth who possessed at least one incarcerated parent, and nearly 60% of those were between the age of 7 and 12. In general, some studies have discovered there are unique detrimental effects on child development associated with having incarcerated parents. Poehlmann (2009) found children of incarcerated parents are more likely to offend than children of non-incarcerated parents.

While studies have shown a connection between youth antisocial behavior and parental incarceration, less is known specifically about female minority youth with incarcerated parents. Studies have shown for example, that an estimated 44% to 64% of young girls in detention have had a mother either arrested or incarcerated (Poehlmann, 2009). Furthermore, this research argues that there is an association between minority female youth offending, community exposure to violence such as direct exposure as in being assaulted, or indirect violence as in witness witnessing violence, and the child having a parent in jail. Hence the project will explore the relationship between exposure to violence, maternal criminality and delinquency among minority female youth using a sample of urban adolescents drawn from a stratified sample within the Hampton Roads area.

Review of the Literature

A review of criminology literature has shown that an increased amount of females are involved in robbery, gang activity, drug trafficking, burglary, weapon possession, aggravated assault, and prostitution (Mullis et al., 2004). However, as the numbers continue to increase, the offenses are still seen as less violent and serious than those associated with male crimes. Current data analyzing the characteristics reveal that running away and curfew violations comprise a substantial portion of female offending. According to Acoca (1999), once females are placed on probation, subsequent charges dictate the increased involvement in the criminal justice system (Mullis et al., 2004). A more descriptive analysis of young offenders between the age of 14 and 16 years

old found that those who grew up in a poor and in a high-crime neighborhood are more likely to belong to a ethnic group, have a low academic history, been victims of abuse or exploitation, abuse drugs and alcohol, have had basic necessities that are unmet, and have low confidence about the future (Mullis et al., 2004).

At the same time, over eight million children in the United States are dealing with parental incarceration. Contemporary studies indicate there is a high level of vulnerability to violence for a significant proportion of minority females. Murray and Farrington (2005) stated the risks for minority females consist of mental health problems, substance abuse, delinquency, school problems, and continual criminality (see also Kjellstrand and Eddy, 2011). Other analyses have revealed that minority children of an incarcerated parent are two times more likely to exhibit negative behavioral outcomes. It can be inferred that female minority youth with an incarcerated parent possess a higher tendency to engage in criminal behavior. It must be noted, however, that parental incarceration is not the sole contributor to future criminality, but risk factors like limited finances, severe poverty, or residential instability due to incarceration are also significant. Poehlmann (2005) found that the majority of female children of incarcerated parents were exposed to more than four critical risk factors; for example, abuse or neglect, poverty and unstable housing arrangement (Kjellstrand & Eddy, 2011). Children exposed to one or more of these factors are more likely to develop problems such as delinquency, violence, mental health problems, and other antisocial behaviors. Generally, characteristics more prevalent among those in lower social classes, like parental antisocial behavior, poor parental mental health, and poor child and parent relationship, were associated with children's increased externalizing behavior and severe delinquency, particularly among females.

A comparison of male and female juveniles revealed that although males offend more frequently, female youth are offending at a higher rate in all major categories of crime (Martin et al., 2008). For instance, Snyder & Sickmund (2006) found that between 1994 and 2002 juvenile male homicides decreased while female homicide rates stayed at extremely high levels (Martin et al., 2008). Thus, female youth delinquency has demonstrated a significant increase even as male delinquency has either declined or stagnated. This trend suggests there are pressing reasons for more gender-specific empirical studies, with an emphasis on female youth criminality.

In an attempt to explain the relationship between environmental characteristics, parental incarceration, and at-risk behavioral outcomes among youth, existing research has utilized both Hirschi's social control theory and Akers's social learning theory. I offer a brief overview of these frameworks below.

Theoretical Frameworks

Social Control Theory

Travis Hirschi (1969) suggests control theory as a prevention mechanism (i.e., bond) that restrains adolescence from committing crimes. He asserts that an individual's adherence, or bond, to traditional norms insulates that person from criminal activity (Kierkus and Baer, 2002). This bond includes four main attributes: parental attachment, commitment, beliefs, and involvement in conventional activities. Hirschi suggests that the weakening or strengthening of an attribute may dictate the behavioral outcomes of youth (Kierkus and Baer, 2002).

Hirschi has asserted that attachment is positively associated with law-abiding behavior. In addition, some researchers focused on family structure argue that youth who are attached to their parents spend more time with them, which undermines and prevents criminal tendencies. Moreover, Shoemaker (2010) hypothesizes that the more time spent under the supervision of the parent decreases the likelihood of the child engaging in delinquent acts. Because an imprisoned parent necessarily spends more time away from a child, thereby hindering attachment and relationship bonds, a child may react in a negative manner as a coping mechanism. Therefore, youth with an incarcerated parent may demonstrate more delinquent behavior due to these weakened bonds.

Children also tend to experience extensive difficulties and negative behavioral outcomes when there is a sudden absence of a parent caused by a drastic circumstance such as parental incarceration (Boutwell and Beaver, 2010). Walsh (2002) discovered a general trend of increased criminality among children raised exclusively by one parent or a caregiver. Hence, youth residing in single-parent homes due to a sudden absence, like incarceration, have a greater likelihood of developing delinquent patterns. Applying this perspective to behavioral trends in the population under study, research has shown that this group is less likely to commit delinquency compared to minority males, but only when they are supervised more closely by their mothers, with whom they

share stronger emotional bonds, and are thus less free to break the law (Boutwell and Beaver, 2010). The incarceration of the mother, however, can propel her daughter into delinquency in the absence of another capable guardian.

Social Learning Theory

Burguess' and Akers' (1966) social learning theory suggests that a similar process guides both conformity and deviant behavior—which differ mainly in the direction in which the process operates (Akers and Lee, 1996). Both conformity and deviant behavior are learned from the environment through direct and indirect interaction between others, instrumental learning through rewards and punishment, learning through observation, and favorable or unfavorable attitudes (Akers and Lee, 1996).

According to social learning theory, children learn aggression from aggressive models in their environment. Victimization may hinder a child's ability to regulate their aggression. Margolin and Gordis (2004) assert children exposed to violence learn from their environment as a form of coping and protection. These behaviors are even more severe for youth from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Poor urban youth are at higher risk of simultaneous occurring emotional and behavioral symptoms and poor maladjustment, often resulting in disruptive behavior and aggression (Cooley-Strickland et al., 2009). These studies demonstrate that exposure to violence plays a significant role when considering learned behaviors and negative outcomes. Thus, continual victimization and exposure to violence in the community predicts at-risk outcomes and future aggression. Other literature has demonstrated that minority female delinquency is often an adaptive response to personal problems within the home. The misbehavior of such youth can stem from the youth learning and imitating non-conventional behaviors from parents, which supports the social learning perspective. Hence, youth are able to learn delinquent behavior from people outside the home as well as people inside the home.

In addition, some studies suggest minority females are negatively affected by parental abandonment. Cooley-Strickland et al. study's self-reported surveys exhibited minority females with an incarcerated mother reported more delinquency outcomes than minority males (Cooley-Strickland et al., 2009), suggesting that patterns of learned behavior and negative socialization may be more prevalent among minority females with an incarcerated mother.

Research Methodology

Data for this study were derived from the Mental Health, Violence, and Risk among Female Adolescents Project. Information was collected by Dr. Zina McGee as part of a federally funded NIH project housed at Hampton University. Instruments were completed by low-income African American females in the State of Virginia. Census tract data were utilized to obtain a sample of minority female youth from various school, church, and community organizations that service youth in urban areas in Hampton Roads. Participation was voluntary and anonymous, and the youth were given incentives in the form of gift cards for their participation. We obtained permission from their guardians and directors of the programs. A mental health counselor was available to conduct a debriefing after surveys were completed.

Variables were derived from a series of survey items that addressed indirect exposure to violence (e.g., witnessing), direct exposure to violence (e.g., attack), family criminal history, parental incarceration or arrest, and scaled items that measured the female youth's delinquent behavior. For this study, emphasis is placed on the contribution of a negative environment and parental offending on the behavior of minority female youth. The characteristics of negative coping were explored among the sample, which consisted of 200 female minority youth.

Questions exploring environmental characteristics consisted of first examining direct exposure to violence (i.e., Have you ever been attacked or beaten? Have you been threatened with a gun?). Direct exposure to violence questions consisted of items that involved witnessing violence events. (Have you seen someone killed or hurt badly? Have you seen a dead body after a shooting or stabbing?)

Familial characteristics of criminality or indicators of possible criminality were also explored. Some sample questions were: Do you have a mother currently in jail or previously arrested? Does your family have problems with the police? Delinquency consisted of various behavioral outcome variables derived from questions such as: Did you get caught breaking rules? Have you been suspended? Have you fought someone in the past year? Have you ever smoked cigarettes or marijuana? Have you ever used alcohol? The aforementioned items were scaled to create a delinquency index whereby a higher score denotes increased criminality.

Data Analysis and Findings

Descriptive Statistics

Results of frequencies show that 62.5% of the female youth sampled were 16 years of age, and 70% of them were living with either a single parent or guardian. Sixty-four percent of them had a mother with either less than high school or a high school diploma. Sixty-eight percent of the youth reported that their mother had either been arrested or was incarcerated at the time of the survey (68.1%). Regarding exposure to violence, at 54.4% of the youth reported overall exposure to violence through witnessing or hearing about violent events, while 48.1% of the youth reported some involvement in delinquent behavior within the past six months.

Pearson's Correlations

Results from a correlational design shows that those who witnessed someone fighting in their home were more likely to have fought others in the past year themselves ($r=.378^{**}$). The relationship is moderate and positive. If the youth had been threatened with a gun, she was also more likely to have used drugs ($r=.377^{**}$) and to have used alcohol ($r=.401^{**}$). The relationships are also moderate and positive. If she has a mother currently in jail or if her mother has been arrested, she is also more likely to have been suspended ($r=.354^{**}$), again yielding a relationship that is moderate and positive. These selected correlations show an association with maternal criminality, violence exposure, and delinquency among the African American youth sampled.

Multiple Linear Regression

Results from regression tests show that 81% of the variation in minority female delinquency is explained by exposure to violence and maternal criminality. The overall (multiple) model derived from ANOVA suggests that when exposure to violence and maternal criminality are examined together, both factors have a significant impact on the respondent's behavior. The partial model derived from the T tests also suggests that maternal criminality is the best predictor of delinquency, controlling for exposure to violence ($\beta=.13$, $\text{sig}=.01$), followed by exposure to violence as a partial predictor, controlling for maternal criminality ($\beta=.01$, $\text{sig}=.05$). Hence, the statistical models suggest that a mother's imprisonment makes the strongest unique contribution when examining female youth delinquency.

Discussion and Conclusion

Results of the research show that a substantial portion of delinquency among minority females in this sample is associated with exposure to violence and the criminal history of her mother. The analyses reveal that minority female youth who were exposed to violence were more likely to engage in delinquent behavior. The study also demonstrated patterns among parental incarceration and youth delinquency. Both social learning and lack of social control shed light on these findings, indicating that their behaviors may be derived from the manner in which these youth negatively cope with adversity relating to adaptation to violence and maternal incarceration.

Limitations of the project include lack of generalizability to the full population of youth with the tested characteristics. Future research should explore testing a larger, more diverse population and additional social process theories such as control theory and social learning theory as they pertain to parental incarceration and other environmental characteristics.

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New Generation or Dissemination of the Same?: An Examination of 21st-Century Black Mayors

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Introduction

The goal of this project is to offer a scholarly analysis on the rise of 21st-century black mayors in urban cities. Starting with the election of Carl Stokes (1967) in Cleveland as the first black mayor of a major American city, black mayors have held a noteworthy position in urban political research. They often play unique and, at times, contradictory roles as cultural delegates, political incorporators, policy makers, and biracial coalition builders (albeit with political ambition). Recently elected mayors, such as Cory Booker (Newark), Adrian Fenty (Washington, DC), and Ray Nagin (New Orleans), are of particular interest because of their social and political portrayal by scholars and journalists as the post-Civil Rights “new generation.” They define these mayors as “post-racial” because of their middle-class background, elite education, technocratic political style, and easy appeal to white voters. In the often-described “age of Obama,” where the president’s rise has cast light on conversations surrounding race and politics in our society, these emerging young black mayors are seen as having the potential to initiate a major shift—from racialized, machine-driven politics to “post-racial” rainbow coalitions—in black politics (Gillespie, 1).

Case Study 1: Ray Nagin and Politics in the Big Easy

Nagin’s initial rise is strikingly similar to both previous mayors in New Orleans and members of the current generation. As in Newark’s election in 2002 (Cory Booker vs. Sharpe James), two major black candidates faced each other. In the end, Ray Nagin, a political newcomer from the business sector who was the local vice president of Cox Communications, defeated Richard Pennington, the popular black police superintendent who was credited with reducing New Orleans’ historically high crime levels. Nagin’s victory, based on a racially neutral campaign strategy, was due to overwhelming white support. He received 50% of the white vote in the primary and 86% in the runoff, with less than 40% of the black vote (Bullard, 2007). My attempt to incorporate Ray Nagin in the current cohort of black mayors, thus comparing him with

more recognized new-generation mayors like Cory Booker and Adrian Fenty, may appear to be a bit of a stretch. The differences between Nagin and other mayors of his cohort are obvious. He is older, from the business sector, and faced a major white candidate in his re-election bid. Moreover, he is nationally known not because of his intelligence or political appeal but rather due to political blunders during and after Hurricane Katrina. Nagin is also infamous for his declaration that post-Katrina New Orleans would be a “Chocolate City.” However, it is important to highlight Nagin was a reform candidate in 2002 as opposed to the incumbent mayor who used a race-based campaign to win re-election.

Although scholars do not typically include Nagin in the new “post-racial” wave of black mayors, many of his initial political traits resemble theirs. He was a newcomer to politics, well educated, avoided a focus on race in his initial campaign, and became the “good government” corruption-fighting challenger. Political scientist Andra Gillespie groups Nagin into what she refers to as “Phase 2.5.” For her, Nagin does not fit within the third phase of black leadership because of his age. Nagin, born in 1956, is older than the 1960 cutoff that Gillespie establishes for Phase III candidates (Gillespie, 25). The age parameter set by Gillespie (and others) includes mayors Booker and Fenty and other non-mayoral politicians like Deval Patrick, Artur Davis, and Jesse Jackson, Jr., but not mayors with a similar age and class status, like Nagin and Byron Brown (Buffalo, NY).

Nagin’s rise as a racially passive, reform-centered challenger is in no way unique to the political history of New Orleans. In particular, Nagin’s 2002 election closely resembles the 1986 campaign of Sidney Barthelemy, a light-skinned Creole who grew up in New Orleans’ Seventh Ward. In both cases, the candidates tended to avoid race and attempted to build a biracial coalition, eventually garnering majority white support. They also both pledged to clean up alleged corruption from a Morial-controlled administration. Like the 2002 election in both New Orleans and Newark, the 1986 election represented an ideological divergence among low- and middle-class black voters as two major black candidates faced each other. Sidney Barthelemy had greater appeal among white and middle-class black voters than the “racially confrontational” although Harvard-educated William Jefferson (Hirsch, 2007). Like Nagin, Barthelemy’s racial authenticity was often challenged. Jefferson’s campaign commercials accused Barthelemy of “passing for white” (Perkins, 2002). Nagin would later be accused of “acting like a

¹ Special thanks to Professors Richard Keiser, William North, and Terrance Wiley for their continuous support and guidance throughout my research and writing process. Also thanks are due to my Mellon cohort and Joy Kluttz for being my source of inspiration and for keeping me levelheaded over the past year. I am a better man and student today because of your constant love and support.

Republican” (Firestone, 2002). Barthelemy was propelled into office with 57.7% of the total vote—88.2% among whites and 28.9% among blacks (Liu and Vanderleeuw, 62).

Though Barthelemy and Nagin would win re-election, they experienced short-lived biracial coalitions (Liu and Vanderleeuw, 74). Barthelemy failed to improve the financial footing of the city and saw his white base flee when given the opportunity to support a major white candidate (Donald Mintz) in 1989. Nagin’s short-lived electoral, biracial coalition is mainly due to political blunders and demographic shifts after Hurricane Katrina. Given a major white candidate (Mitch Landrieu), white voters abandoned Nagin (Hirsch, 752–61). In a complete reversal from 2002, when Nagin was the best opportunity for white conservatives to regain political influence, in 2006 the black community, fearing a possible racial loss of mayoral control, now overwhelmingly supported Nagin’s reelection (Lay, 645–62). Nagin’s campaign slogan of “Re-Elect Our Mayor” strategically fed into the racial fire.

Some scholars have argued that politicians in New Orleans are “chameleon-like”; their racial position, significance, and sympathy all change with the moment (Hirsch, 760). The case of Ray Nagin serves as an example of the importance of examining the political history of a city when attempting to cast mayors into cohorts, and overlooked similarities between past and present generations of black mayoral leadership.

Case Study 2: The Rise and Fall of Adrian Fenty

Whereas Nagin won over a black base that was fearful of a decrease of political power after Hurricane Katrina, budget cuts and clashes with public employees caused Adrian Fenty (Washington, DC) to lose his black constituency (Tumulty and Bacon, 2010). In the end, the once-touted “post-racial” reformer was criticized for awarding lucrative city contracts to close friends and was defeated by a 4-to-1 ratio in majority black wards (Townes, 2010). To fully understand Fenty’s case, we first have to begin with the Anthony Williams administration.

Although seldom included, Anthony Williams fits in the framework of a third-generation mayor. Elected in 1998, he is highly educated (BA from Yale and law degree and master’s in public policy from Harvard), was a newcomer to elected office in the District, faced charges of being racially inauthentic (i.e., not being “black enough”), and his management style tended to de-emphasize race (Jenkins,

1999). True to his centrist form, Williams focused on economic development and revitalization, and his technocratic style as chief financial officer and mayor caused his relationship with the black community to waver. He closed the only public hospital in DC, decreased public housing, and lobbied to use public financing to build a new stadium for the Washington Nationals (Neibauer, 2006). During his first term, Williams’ approval ratings among black voters fell from 72% to 54%, 24% *strongly disapproved* of his job performance, and 60% said he was not doing enough to assist low-income residents (Timberly and Deane, 2002). Black newspapers often accused Mayor Williams of neglecting the black community and questioned his commitment to black issues (Walters, 2007). Although his appeal within the black community wavered, Williams is widely credited for leading the District out of a financial crisis and revitalizing downtown (Montgomery and Weiss, 2005). The political career of Anthony Williams closely follows what scholars prematurely expected in the “post-racial” rise of Fenty (Yon, 2010). This begs the question: Does Fenty’s political ascension also warrant acceptance into the celebrated “new generation” perceived as a new breed of black political leadership, or was he simply following in the footsteps of Anthony Williams?

The success of Williams’ administration created a political environment where electing a de-racialized, technocratic mayor was not out of the ordinary. Perhaps as a consequence, Fenty was elected with a majority white council in a contest where racial authenticity did not become an issue, a sharp contrast from other elections in this generation. Fenty was also able to avoid the charge that he was not “black enough” because he was a locally grown talent with ties to several organizations that legitimated his racial ties (Yon, 210). A lifelong resident of the District, he grew up in the middle-class neighborhood of Mount Pleasant, left to attend Oberlin College, and returned to earn his law degree at Howard Law School. He is also a member of the black Greek fraternity Kappa Alpha Psi. The decreased role of race was also made easier because Fenty’s main challenger, Linda Cropp, was an African American from the business community. An attempt to somehow cast Fenty as a racial outsider would have also jeopardized her position among the District’s elites. Instead, Cropp opted to attack Fenty’s youth. Fenty ultimately won with 57% of the vote and swept every district to become the youngest mayor in the District’s history (Sowell, 2010).

As mayor, Fenty’s political style arguably became an example of what Bearfield refers to as *reform patronage* (Bearfield, 2008). Bearfield contends that reform mayors

who promised to rid their city of a patronage system often “faced the prospect of expeditiously replacing their recently disposed political enemies with political friends and allies, thereby feeding the patronage desires of their own parties or organizations” (Bearfield, 73). He goes on to argue that shifting the basis of “kinship” from political party or ethnicity to educational attainment or examination proficiency is not the same as the elimination of patronage, it only alters the common factor linking patron and recipient. Bearfield writes, “[i]t is quite ironic that the implementation of merit requires a strong patronage effort” (Bearfield, 73).

Following this argument, during his first months in office, Fenty attempted to replace officials that were beholden to the previous administrations. Fenty hired many non-blacks to major cabinet positions, including his police chief, fire chief, and attorney general (Townes, 2010). Additionally, in what can be described as *pinstripe patronage*,² Fenty sidestepped the city council to award parks and recreation contracts, totaling \$86 million, to companies founded by his fraternity brothers or close personal friends (Stewart and Schwartzman, 2010). He also faced criticism for acts of cronyism, which is more akin to governing practices of the first or second generation.

Fenty’s technocratic style and lack of *racially* driven patronage alienated black residents.³ While race could have been less of an issue during his 2006 election, it was clearly present during his failed reelection attempt. Vincent Gray, a black Democrat and Fenty’s major opponent, attacked the mayor for his hiring scandal, abrasive personality, high unemployment rate, and for disproportionately closing public schools in majority black districts. In 2010, Fenty won 53 of majority white wards but only ten majority black wards. Conversely, Gray won 108 majority black wards but only five white wards. Fenty lost the Democratic primary with 46% of the vote compared to Gary’s 53% (Schwartzman and Jenkins, 2010).

In short, mayoral elections in DC exemplify how the developmental stages of black mayors can vary by city. In many ways, the District had already experienced the start of its third generation eight years before Fenty took office, with the rise of the Williams’ administration. Thus, Fenty

came into office as a continuation of technocratic mayors in the District, representing a second iteration that built on the political struggles and accomplishments of Anthony Williams. His rise may be more an indicator of the District’s recent tendency to elect de-racialized candidates, not the start of a new generation.

Conclusion

I contend that the rise of the recent crop of mayors in urban cities does not necessarily reflect a shift from race-based politics. Certainly, the development of racial politics and the typology of black mayors have evolved since the time of Kenneth Gibson, Ernest Morial, and Marion Barry. It is well known that recently elected mayors have been beneficiaries of the Civil Rights Movement, have greater access to Ivy League universities, and espouse more moderate politics. They also have a higher probability of attaining higher office and are able to achieve crossover appeal more easily than their predecessors. But to argue that black politics are moving away from a race-based framework to a new “prophetic one of moral reasoning with its fundamental ideas of a mature black identity, coalition strategy, and black cultural democracy” or to declare that these mayors are “poised to bring sweeping changes to both black politics and national politics” ignores varying developmental stages of racial politics and differences in the political history of big cities (West, 176; Gillespie, 1).

This research on mayors Ray Nagin and Adrian Fenty challenges the existing race-blind and reform-centered paradigms established to define 21st-century black leaders. Scholars have been quick to group the new generation of young black mayors with President Obama and his historic rise. Unlike Obama, these mayors often face other major black candidates and must undergo the challenges of local politics, where blacks and whites at times remain bitterly divided in their political beliefs. Thus, I contend there are considerable similarities between the new crop of mayors and their predecessors. Racial-based politics and group interest voting remains the norm for local politics. These prescribed “post-racial” mayors are not yet a transformation from this norm.

² Pinstripe patronage, which is brought on by the move toward privatization and thus an increase in public contracts, refers to jobs, appointments, or contracts given as political favors in exchange for political or financial support (Bearfield, 2009; Freedman, 1994; Hamilton, 1999; Schwartzman and Wiggins, 2003).

³ Perhaps most notably, he hired education reform leader Michelle Rhee as his school chancellor. Rhee fired 241 teachers, nearly 100 administrators, and one-third of the District’s principals. These moves disproportionately affected the District’s black middle class. (See Turque, “Rhee Dismisses 241 D.C. Teachers . . .”).

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Identity, Role, and Self-Representation: The Spelman Experience and Performing for a Gender-Specific Audience

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Abstract

Performances for men by Spelman women in extracurricular activities at neighboring all-male Morehouse College and in popular music videos seem to contradict aspects of Spelman College's feminist curriculum. Using the Morehouse College cheerleading squad as a case study, this research seeks to understand how Spelman women negotiate their role as students in feminist curricular spaces with a sexually provocative role in extracurricular sport. Individual interviews with Morehouse cheerleaders and ethnographic participant observation on the cheerleading squad reveals the complexity in simultaneously operating in disparate social spaces.

Introduction

The neighboring Spelman and Morehouse Colleges in Atlanta, GA, are unique and informative environments within which to study gender roles and the interactions between black men and black women, as they are intertwined more than academically and superficially. Spelman and Morehouse are the only two neighboring historically black single-sex institutions for higher education. Both are members of the Atlanta University Center (AUC), the biggest contiguous consortium of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Morehouse College is the only historically black college for men and one of only three surviving non-religious single-sex colleges for men in the United States (College Board, 2010). Founded in 1867, Morehouse College strives "to produce academically superior, morally conscious leaders for the conditions and issues of today" (Morehouse, 2010: n.p.). Spelman College, a historically black college for women, resides literally next door and was founded 14 years later in 1881. Historically, the institution has endeavored to develop the minds of black women and to end the racial and sexual oppression that they face. It is also the first HBCU to house a Comparative Women's Studies major. All Spelmanites, or Spelman women, are surrounded by discourse that encourages them to be empowered and civically active by making "a choice to change the world" (www.spelman.edu: 2008).

Spelmanites are encouraged to think critically, especially concerning existing and historic forms of racial and gender oppression. This is evidenced by the mandatory African Diaspora and the World (ADW) class where black feminism and intersectionality are thoroughly discussed in readings by thinkers like Ruth Hubbard (1988), Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Johnetta B. Cole (2004), the Combahee River Collective (1977), and Patricia Hill Collins (2004). However, many performances for men by Spelman women in extracurricular activities at neighboring all-male Morehouse College and in popular music videos seem to contradict Spelman's brand and feminist rhetoric by sexualizing them. For example, Morehouse cheerleaders are explicitly instructed to get "low," spread their legs, as well as "pop" and "roll" their bodies in dance routines to entertain audiences of primarily male students at Morehouse. Given the feminist curriculum which supports women's empowerment, in this essay I problematize why Spelman women are frequently seen as objects of what Laura Mulvey (1975) coins the "male gaze"; that is, objects for the heterosexual man's viewing pleasure, in dance teams, cheerleading squads, pageants, and fashion shows at Morehouse College.

Using my own experience on the Morehouse cheerleading squad as a case study, this ethnography aims to gauge whether and how black women utilize, apply, and internalize feminism from their curriculum by discovering how some Spelmanites view and interpret their performances for the male gaze in extracurricular spaces. In light of Morehouse cheerleaders' nuanced and delicate negotiation between studying in a women-centered environment while still fulfilling their team's obligation to entertain a majority-male audience in a 21st-century HBCU setting, I investigate the internal processes and opinions of the cheerleaders. How do Morehouse cheerleaders balance the ideals of what it means to be a "free-thinking Spelman woman" with the social norm of entertaining a primarily male audience as a Morehouse cheerleader, often using their sexuality (Spelman College 2009)? In a broader sense, this research aims to inform whether college-aged black women in HBCUs identify, interpret, and utilize feminism in extracurricular spaces as they negotiate the heterosexual male gaze.

Literature Review

Existing research has discussed the thought processes of women who perform for men. In her research on exotic dancers, Wesley (2003) explains that some women in her study felt empowered through their sexual performances. However, Wesley's participants dance for extrinsically

supplied financial empowerment, often to the detriment of their self-esteem. Another study on exotic dancers suggests when women perform as a sexual outlet, they will not feel any shame or guilt but instead feel empowered by their sexuality (Peretti and O'Connor, 1989). Still others disagree that one's sexuality has the capability to empower. Journalist Kira Cochrane (2005) references scholarship by Ariel Levy (2005) to refute the idea that feminism has won young women the right to participate in sexually exploitive activities.

Additionally, literature on hip-hop, such as Rana Emerson's (2002) study, "Where My Girls At?": Negotiating Black Womanhood in Music Videos" is relevant to this research. Like HBCU cheerleading, hip-hop music videos are often criticized for portraying a "hypersexual" image of black women. Emerson's scholarship suggests that female performers combat their hypersexual image by simultaneously displaying their strength, toughness, and independence. In this way, they avoid being victims and assigned value by men (Emerson, 2002). Like Emerson, Henry's (2010) and Keyes' (2000) studies suggest that hip-hop and feminism can coexist. In fact, Henry (2010) argues that feminism in hip-hop can have a positive effect on college-aged women. Keyes points out that women have been involved in hip-hop throughout its history, and that women in hip-hop create a space to redefine themselves, become empowered, and make their own decisions (Keyes, 2000: 265). In light of Nicki Minaj's prevalence on the hip-hop scene and the Morehouse cheerleaders' use of her music, hypersexual displays by women might be interpreted by the performer as empowering and not solely intended for the male gaze. Accordingly, if Morehouse cheerleaders do not feel objectified, it is possible that the feminist ideology taught at Spelman may be able to coexist with their performance style.

Scholars on cheerleading further conclude that cheerleading itself changes the mentality and thought processes of the women who participate in the activity (Eder and Parker, 1987). The activity's stress on physical appearance and sexuality can cause cheerleaders to alter their values (Eder and Parker, 1987). Furthermore, cheerleading emphasizes hegemonic feminine sexuality and objectifies women by assuming an audience of heterosexual male viewers (Davis, 1990). Laura Grindstaff and Emily West's (2006) article, "Cheerleading and the Gender Politics of Sport," suggests that through playing a supportive performer role, cheerleaders apologize for their athleticism and deviation from femininity (2006: 508). On the other hand, the increasing athleticism in cheerleading that necessitates training and skill and high social status that is often associated with the

sport may be empowering by confidence in individual cheerleaders ("Femininity, Cheerleading, and Sport," 2007).

Former Spelman sociology student Keia Martin's senior thesis (2008) focuses on the black patriarchy and hierarchy that exists in the relationship between Spelman College and Morehouse College. Martin states, "Although some feminist views of womanhood, such as independence, empowerment, and equity, are still present within the student body at Spelman, the focus of becoming the ultimate [feminist, independent, and empowered] young woman gradually fades from existence at certain social events and promptly reappears afterwards" (2008: 1). Martin argues that although discourse at Spelman supports feminist ideals, the institutional policies and relationship with Morehouse men are heavily rooted in patriarchal ideologies. Morehouse cheerleading can be seen as an example of this phenomenon.

Methodology

I interviewed a convenience sample of six current members of the Morehouse College Maroon Tigers Cheerleading Squad. These participants will be referred to in this article using pseudonyms. Morehouse College cheerleaders have all experienced what it is like to perform for Morehouse men, and all attend Spelman. Thus, they are well positioned to explore the negotiation of role, self-representation, and identity construction present in performing for a gender-specific audience. I recruited participants by contacting them individually in order to maintain confidentiality and to prevent other team members from being aware of each cheerleader's choice to participate or not in this study. Interviews were tape-recorded and lasted between 20 and 35 minutes. I employed a method of reflexive dyadic interviewing (Berg, 2001), which allows the researcher to also disclose personal experiences.

Additionally, I used data gathered as a participant observer on the team during the 2009–2010 cheerleading season. Participant observation provided me the opportunity to experience the gender roles and identity negotiation firsthand and record my own thoughts and perception as a performer. I was able to make note of team conversations and group actions related to balancing one's membership in both the Spelman College and Morehouse College communities.

Data Analysis

My interview and ethnographic analyses are informed by the sociological theories of Leon Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance and Erving Goffman's (1955)

theories on dramaturgy and face work. Festinger's idea of "cognitive dissonance" signifies the tension and discomfort people feel when they simultaneously hold conflicting beliefs. I am interested in whether Morehouse cheerleaders recognize any conflicting values and behaviors between the Spelman College and Morehouse cheerleading communities. To do so, I first asked my participants how they felt about feminism as presented by Spelman.

Interestingly, none of the young women interviewed self-identified as a feminist. Danielle felt that "sometimes feminism degrades the power of men, and I don't think that it should in a sense." Similarly, Tiara stated that feminism, as presented by Spelman, is "more on women power and lesbian power and that's kind of irritating to me. There's other concepts besides lesbian and heterosexual." Ashley identified herself as a "womanist" as opposed to a feminist. As a group, those interviewed seem to place a high value on relationships and partnerships between men and women, coinciding with a womanist worldview. For another example, when asked if she was a feminist, Katie replied, "Like, being at this school, they're like 'Be a free thinking woman! *Do* this! You can do everything by yourself!' I'm like, no. Actually, eventually, I'm going to need a man in my life." On the other hand, there seemed to be a consensus that female empowerment and equal opportunities regardless of sex were important. Tiara expressed that she was "all for girl power." Similarly, Danielle stated, "Where people would say women can't do this or can't do that because they're women, I would definitely stand up for that type of issue." Although the interviewees would not label themselves feminists, there are feminist ideals to which they subscribe.

While feminist research on cheerleading asserts that women's emotional support of men's physical labor through the activity perpetuates hegemonic gender roles to women's disadvantage (Davis, 1990), from a womanist perspective, cheerleading can be viewed as empowering and uplifting by valuing women's participation despite gender-segregated roles. Similarly, Spelman can be viewed as a womanist project, as it engages in formal institutional collaboration with Morehouse while retaining separate spaces for its women students. Like cheerleading, Spelman also often perpetuates hegemonic gender roles. For example, Spelman mandates that students own a "respectable and conservative" white dress or skirt for special occasions (Spelman, 2012). Instead of challenging the white dress tradition as limiting gender expression, it is largely valued and cherished in much the same way as hegemonic gender roles are valued by Morehouse cheerleaders.

The aesthetic that Morehouse cheerleading performances employ is in line with many contemporary hip-hop and other HBCU cheerleading dance teams. For example, entertainment by the cheerleaders has included giving lap dances, crawling on the ground, and spreading their legs while dancing. I asked participants how they felt about the Morehouse cheerleading performance style. All of the cheerleaders interviewed took note of the suggestive and sexual nature of the routines they perform, using sexual words with negative connotations in interview responses like "skankily," "ho," "degrading," and "vulgar." Likewise, as a member of the team, I initially felt uncomfortable with the choreography because I considered it a sexually objectifying mode of entertainment. All of the participants in this study expressed similar dissonance. This dissonance seems to stem from a fear of being thought of as promiscuous due to their self-representations via team performances. For example, Serena states, "I know that just because I dance like a ho, I'm not a ho . . . Just because I do something does not make me something. Unless I act upon it, which I don't."

Festinger (1957) asserts that people make an effort to reduce dissonance by rationalizing, changing behavior, or changing beliefs. Spelman women negotiate their identities with their self-representation as performers for Morehouse men in various ways. The first way my participants reduce cognitive dissonance is by asserting that their true identities rest outside of their performances as Morehouse cheerleaders. This supports Goffman's (1955) theory of dramaturgy, which asserts that life is a stage and that people play various roles. Morehouse cheerleading performances are acts of a front-stage role, while the back-stage roles that cheerleaders employ are different. Ashley compares her front-stage role as a cheerleader with her back-stage and off-stage roles when she states, "I feel like my own image is so clean that I can't get a reputation for it . . . even though I know I can . . . it just bounces off me because I know what I do when I go home. I don't do anything!"

My observations as a member of the team further illustrate how salient it is to the group to ensure that cheerleaders' backstage roles are inconsistent with their sexualized performances on the team. The Morehouse cheerleading coach stresses the importance of staying away from football players in order to guard against negative reputation routinely at practices and at the cheerleading tryout informational. Morehouse cheerleading authorities encourage actively guarding our personal reputations outside of cheerleading. Heather mentioned this in her interview: "I remember a comment that the captain made in the beginning of the

year like, now you're a Morehouse cheerleader, so people will notice you [. . .] So now that we're in the public eye, we have to be careful with our actions [. . .] Don't be seen with a bunch of different guys at different times on different days." Ashley expressed the same idea, stating, "I think . . . we place a lot of importance on . . . this may seem kind of shallow . . . but our relationship with boys, particularly boys on the team that we cheer for. Because cheerleaders and cheerleaders always have the stigma of [being sexually active] with the quarterback and the star player on the basketball team. We also have to remember that we are people's role models." While I was a member of the team, this idea was so heavily stressed that I can count only three Morehouse football players that I know by name, and I knew all three before I became a Morehouse cheerleader.

Although the cheerleaders I interviewed adopted feminist views in support of gender equality and employ womanism to advocate for partnerships between men and women, neither theoretical perspective helps them to make sense of the sexualized component of their cheerleading work. Those interviewed do not experience their performances as empowering feminist acts; instead, they view Morehouse cheerleading as laden with reputational risk. Elite black women in the United States have a long history of adopting a politic of respectability, adhering to hegemonic Victorian gender roles in an effort to resist stereotypes of black women as sexually and morally deviant (Gaines, 1996). Cheerleaders are made aware of this history through the African Diaspora and the World course by discussing how Sarah Baartman was sexually objectified and exploited in freak shows as the Hottentot Venus in 19th-century Europe. Further, Spelman's policing of student's interactions with men by monitoring and limiting men's presence on campus might be viewed as the politics of respectability at work. My participants' investment in presenting a sexually "pure" public image suggests that politics of respectability are internalized and adhered to by Spelman students through face work. While both cheerleading and hip-hop cultural norms shape what my participants do *as cheerleaders*, the politics of respectability informs how they feel about their performance style and constrains the choices they make off of the court as individuals and as Spelman students.

Conclusion

I realize that cheerleading's specific athletic demands and the unique culture of the team limits my ability to generalize for all types of performances by women for male audiences. In addition, the unique environment of

Spelman College constrains my generalizations to Spelman women, but my conclusions may be useful for interpreting the experiences of black college students more broadly. The information I gather from this research cannot be universally applied, but it could inform researchers theorizing about black women, performance, the body, and HBCU culture.

Existing feminist literature on cheerleading and exotic dance argues that performers can see their work as either empowering or objectifying depending on their motivations; however, this scholarship largely ignores race. While literature on women artists in hip-hop introduces an intersectional race and gender perspective, it fails to explain black women's experiences in a college context. This research shows that race, gender, ideology, and place intersect to inform how people make sense of sexualized performances.

The cheerleaders in this study selectively align themselves with the theoretical perspectives they receive as Spelman students. Although none of the participants self-identified as feminist, they follow Spelman's institutional womanist example. Morehouse cheerleaders fail to challenge gender roles and norms, participating in a sexualized performance style that they find objectifying. As future elite black women, Morehouse cheerleaders find it important to resist hypersexual stigma, strategically engaging the politics of respectability to manage their reputations. At the same time, these Spelman students challenge gender hierarchies by finding partnerships with men mutually empowering. As a result, Morehouse cheerleaders find their involvement on the team simultaneously objectifying and empowering, using what they learn as Spelman students to negotiate dissonance.

In this study, the worlds of hip-hop, single-sex education, and cheerleading performances collide to reveal how some young women apply what they learn about women's studies outside of the classroom. I encourage future Spelman College researchers to expand this study to include other types of performances in both spaces affiliated with Morehouse and spaces outside of the Atlanta University Center. This research could be invaluable to Spelman College and women's educational institutions at large which seek to empower and inspire women in the face of social realities, societal pressures, and interlocking oppression.

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The Family Business: Gendered Subjugation in Rural Taiwanese Factories

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Abstract

In the 1970s and 1980s, female labor in Taiwanese factories was subjugated to economic demands for cut-rate production and the paternalistic and patriarchal constraints of a Confucian society. As the New International Division of Labor (NIDL) exposed Taiwanese laborers to economic competition from China and countries across the globe, Taiwanese policymakers and factory owners manipulated traditional gender roles to extract low-wage labor from women to maintain global competitiveness. The location of factories in homes and the employment of wives and daughters created an intriguing milieu in which kinship relations melded into work obligations. As a result, female factory work in Taiwan provides a valuable case study through which to examine the complex interactions among gender, kinship, and transnational economics.

Introduction

The experiences of female factory workers in Taiwan elucidate the manner in which gender denotes transnational systems of control and subjugation. In post-WWII rural Taiwan, factories became spaces in which national development policy, transnational capital flows, kinship ties, and Confucianism collided to produce new forms of female subjugation. Female employees in rural factories experienced a redefinition of their gender roles in the 1970s and 1980s as the Taiwanese government instituted female-specific development policies to maintain linkages with global capital flows and the New International Division of Labor (NIDL).

Globalization and gender interact through constant and mutual refashioning. Experienced emotionally and personally, globalization encompasses “not just events on the large scale but the tissue of our everyday lives” (Giddens, 1994, 18). The articulation of gender identities in Taiwanese factories, occurring largely in response to transnational capital flows, presents globalization as an intimate and lived experience. In

post-WWII rural Taiwan, women experienced a reordering of their gender roles as capital flows interacted with religion, geography, and development policy. This reordering highlights the machination of globalization within, across, and among societies (local, national, international) and institutions (families, governments, corporations).

As demonstrated in Wilson's (2004) investigation of Thailand's “intimate economies,” gender roles help forge specific linkages between transnational economic systems and social lives. Because gender represents “a historical phenomenon, produced, reproduced, and transformed in different situations and over time,” this essay explores the dynamism of gender ideologies as a mechanism for labor extraction situated within an ongoing struggle for economic development in Taiwan (Scott, 1988, 6). Building upon Nagar (2010), who examines gender in Sitapur, India, as inextricable from class, caste, NGOization, and resource allocation, gender in rural Taiwan is analytically situated as a dynamic and social construct derived through relationships with global capital flows, national development policy, Confucianism, and kinship.

An overview of the late 20th-century Taiwanese political economy reveals the instrumentality of transnational business competition in redefining Taiwanese gender roles. Emphasizing the creation of Export Processing Zones (EPZs) underscores the NIDL and the organization of labor around highly gendered production practices. China's claim of sovereignty over Taiwan handicapped Taiwan's engagement with global politics. As a result, Taiwan relied on international economic relationships as a source of political legitimacy. This profound reliance exposed Taiwan's economy to the NIDL's downward pressure on wages. Chinese labor in Free Trade Zones (FTZs) intensified this pressure. In 1978, the third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China culminated in the establishment of EPZs. Diverting investment away from Taiwan, Chinese EPZs menaced the Taiwanese government and threatened Taiwan's incorporation into international politics and economics. Steinfield (2005) notes that Chinese economic development “appears to directly challenge Taiwan's core area of specialization, its fundamental source of competitiveness” (229). The opening of Chinese EPZs underscored a global process of competitive EPZ establishment in countries from Indonesia to Mexico that increased the pressure on Taiwan for low-wage workers. Taiwan partially responded to this pressure through expanding export-oriented factory production into rural areas with large populations.

The transformation of gendered production practices in rural Taiwanese factories, occurring largely in response to multinational corporation (MNC) investment, demonstrates that transnational capital flows are lived by people and alter local practices. Ong (1990) exemplifies this argument by demonstrating that Asian governments increasingly permit corporations, especially MNCs, to perform the “cultural regulation of society” (21). The interaction of foreign investment and the domestic realm manifested in Taiwan as the government encouraged a metamorphosis of rural women into low-wage laborers. The government expected the use of low-wage female laborers to attract international investment and secure Taiwan’s integration into global economics and politics.

State Policy

Perceiving rural women as an untapped labor force with the potential to bolster production capacity for the export economy, the Taiwanese government and factory owners (often the husbands, fathers, and uncles of employees) actively constructed the concept of female laborer submissiveness. Through deliberate policy action that ultimately guided MNC investment to homes and female bodies, the government aided transnational capital flows in producing new female gender roles. The creation of these subservient laboring women in Taiwanese factories began in the 1970s when the government’s Mother’s Workshop policy colluded with the Living Rooms as Factories initiative to facilitate the extraction of cheap labor from rural women within the context of the family business. The government purposefully injected both policies with Confucian gender roles and values to ensure social stability and political docility. These family-oriented values emphasized female obedience to men through patriarchy and paternalism (Chen, 2000, 69). Peaking in the mid-1980s, the Mother’s Workshop program called upon women to confront social unrest through cooking, sewing, and other “feminine” tasks that supported the reproduction and maintenance of a predominantly male factory labor force. The policy framed the dutiful and qualified woman as a domestic entity rather than a laborer.

The Living Rooms as Factories initiative built upon the Mother’s Workshop program to define women as submissive and domestic while paradoxically incorporating them into waged labor. Grounding transnational capital flows in the homes of rural women, this initiative provided loans for women to purchase machinery and to conduct factory work in their homes and at local community centers. The Mother’s Workshop and Living Rooms as Factories policies interacted

to perpetrate female laborer subjugation. Gallin (1996) describes the situation well in discussing gender relations in a rural factory in Hsinhsing, Taiwan, where “managers were . . . able to hire women at low wages because they played upon women’s own consciousness as wives and mothers” (237). Government rhetoric and factory owners described female labor contributions as subsidiary to domestic duties to justify low (or no) wages. The Taiwanese government used the Mother’s Workshop policy to establish gender-specific identities and then used these identities to justify lower wages for women seeking to avail themselves of the Living Rooms as Factories program.

Linking women to global production chains, the Living Rooms as Factories policy intensified subcontracted labor organization in rural Taiwan. This subcontracting guided transnational capital flows to rural female bodies and encouraged the establishment of factory production within homes. From the late 1970s until the late 1990s, a unique and extensive system of subcontracting comprised Taiwan’s labor-intensive light manufacturing export industry. Larger companies filled orders (usually from MNCs) by subcontracting components of a product to rural, geographically dispersed (satellite) factories. Discussing Taiwanese shoe manufacturing, Hsing (1998) delineates three general benefits of subcontracting in Taiwan: expedient production of high-quality products, short production cycles, and flexible production. Significantly, this structure disseminated cost and risk among large numbers of small, and often rural, entrepreneurs. In this manner, the NIDL and the global race to the bottom translated into fierce competition among local producers seeking to reduce production costs to attract continued and increased orders from larger companies. Broadly stated, this subcontracting structure exerted downward pressure on female wages. Specifically, Taiwanese factory owners, in competition with each other and increasingly with factories around the world, decreased or eliminated wages for female employees to reduce production costs and remain competitive.

Gendered Labor

Factory practices in Hsinhsing, Taiwan, emphasized the idea that the construction of gender-specific labor identities operated intimately with, not separately from, kinship relations. Discussing the role of kinship, folk, and moral economies in Thailand, Wilson highlights a similar phenomenon, “an economy may rely on markets and money but . . . is governed or at least constrained by local community values and expectations” (Wilson, 2004, 12). Indeed, the

location of factory spaces within homes facilitated the permeation of gendered domestic relations into production and management practices. Moore (1996) explains that the production of space occurs through cultural codes and meanings, practical activities, and functional requirements. Similarly, gender and kinship politics collided with production practices and national development policy in the creation of rural factory spaces. Factory owners invoked the spatial politics of home-factories to impute the ideology and materiality of kinship relations into production and management practices.

The location of factories within homes and the employment of females within the immediate family resulted in the reproduction of patriarchal family relations in Taiwanese factories. Factory owners manipulated these relationships by withholding wages as a cost-cutting response to competition for international investment. Husband-employers described their working female family members as fulfilling familial duty through work. When the factories existed within homes, male family members indicated that female employees should incorporate the factory work into their daily routines. A 1989 study of female rural employment in Hsinhsing Village in southern Taiwan found that married women were four times more likely than men to be workers in a family business and to report that they were working without wages (Gallin, 1996, 227). In 1993, 20% of married female workers in Taiwan received no pay (Lu, 2001, 264). This figure fell to 16% in 1994 (Chen, 2000, 77). Significantly, even rural working daughters who received wages forfeited 50% to 80% of their wages on average to their families (Pearson, 1996, 173). One 34-year-old Hsinhsing villager stated that, “when a woman has private money, she can have her own opinion . . . I would rather work for others than work for my husband. If I worked for others, I would get paid” (Gallin, 1996, 229). Women constantly expressed dissatisfaction with the burdensome patriarchal family business in which women continued to manage domestic duties while contributing unpaid labor to the family firm.

The Confucian and paternalistic undercurrents in the Mother’s Workshop policy further contributed to the cultural regulation of female labor. The Ta-you wooden jewelry box factory and the Wei-Der factory in central Taiwan exemplify paternalistic factory relationships. When an employee of the Ta-you company failed to attend work because she took a day off to relax, the owner of the factory told her that “this also affects the factory’s productivity . . . Ta-you can’t survive without you. Considering your age, you

can call me father . . . As long as you work hard, I will give you permission to take time off” (Hsiung, 1996, 125). The owner deployed overtly paternalistic rhetoric to ensure faithful employee attendance. Referring to himself as a “father,” the employer highlighted his gender and generational dominance over the younger female employee. Importantly, Confucianism, in many ways, discounts leisure as frivolous and undesirable (Tsai, 2006, 470). The employer’s paternalistic demands and the Confucian condemnation of her personal leisure doubly ensured the availability of female labor.

Conversely, female laborers invoked kinship relations and economic contributions to augment their agency within their factories and families. Ngan-ling and Hsung (2002) refer to the male dominance over female laborers in export factories as “hegemonic masculinity” (84). Discussing “hegemony,” Gramsci (1971) argues that hegemony is never consummate. Rather, hegemony is riddled with breakages and slippages that facilitate opportunities for alternative hegemonies. Gender relationships within Taiwanese small export factories exemplify Gramsci’s conceptualization of hegemony. Although hegemonic masculinity resulted in low or no compensation for female labor, women manipulated hegemonic masculinity to demand certain levels of working conditions. For example, in the Wei-Der factory, when factory workers felt that the temperature was too warm within the factory and wanted a break, one employee (the niece of the owner) told her daughter, “go get your uncle” (Hsiung, 1996, 127). Employing kinship ties to gain agency, the employee transformed the factory problem into an issue of familial wellbeing for which the shop owner (the employee’s uncle) was held responsible. This slippage in hegemonic masculinity provided a mechanism for more female agency within the factory. Moreover, many daughters, aware of the value of their factory work, demanded (and received) larger dowries upon marriage. Larger dowries ensured more rights and freedom upon entering their husband’s family (Marvin, Davison, Reed, 1998, 185). Therefore, global capital flows, while helping to construct disempowered female roles in factories, simultaneously presented mechanisms for increased, albeit limited, female agency within factories and families.

Conclusion

The subjugation of rural female laborers, in part, represented Taiwan’s response to a crisis of international legitimacy and struggle to maintain international economic relations despite the allure of EPZs around the world. A relational understanding of gender demonstrates that the national

desire for low wages defined and produced a subjugated gender identity for rural women as a method of inexpensive labor extraction. Religion, policy, kinship, geography, and economics all contributed to the definition and control of female factory labor. Ong (1987) generalizes this point, “working women confront industrial discipline as a manifold and wide-ranging network of overt and covert power relations” (xiv). Despite the specificity of gendered production practices in Taiwanese factories, competition, MNCs, and investment have created new modes of production and new strategies of gendered dominance in factories across the globe. These practices have reconfigured, while operating within, culturally specific relationships of exchange and production.

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The Portrayal of the Poor in the CELAM Documents of Medellín, 1968

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Abstract

Liberation theology known as “the preferential option for the poor” was an aggregation of the 1960s to Christian theology. Influenced by Vatican II, Latin American clergy began to conceive of God from the perspective of the poor. Liberation theology became a cohesive movement in Latin America at the Latin American Episcopal Conference in 1968. At this conference, priests from all over the region gathered to discuss the economic conditions and social circumstances of the poor and oppressed of Latin America. This paper examines the portrayal of the poor in the CELAM documents of 1968 and assesses whether these documents capture the historical complexities of the poor, as well as the social factors that may have contributed to poverty at this time.

Liberation theology first emerged as a cohesive movement in Latin America in the 1960s out of a need to re-interpret God from the perspective of the poor. Christian theology before the mid-20th century had predominantly been conceived from a perspective of privilege.¹ European and European-American theologians dealt with existential and hermeneutical questions of theology that tended not to engage with the social location and economic circumstances of human beings, especially of those who were disenfranchised and previously at the margins of the theological discourse. The Western theological tradition had not focused on God's concern for people's oppression, pain, and suffering.² Liberation theology views God as a liberator who is interested in people's present life as well as their afterlife; it understands the divine as a liberator of bodies as well as souls. The locus of this theology, Jesus Christ, is pivotal as a resister of oppression.³ Since the 1960s, some theologians have articulated liberationist critiques from new contexts and perspectives, as a way to include voices that had previously been silenced. It is important to note that liberation

theology in Latin America did not emerge as a monolithic movement with consistent methods and aims but rather was an aggregation of theological voices which sought to include the perspectives of the poor.

The historical roots of liberation theology have been present in the young subcontinent since the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese. Priests and missionaries like Bartolomé de las Casas, Antonio de Montesinos, and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz questioned the position of the Catholic Church in the treatment of indigenous people, blacks, women and peasants. They spoke out against the Catholic Church's authority and sided with the marginalized. They were pioneers of social consciousness within the Catholic Church.⁴ The mid-20th century brought winds of change, a time when the church was taking its social mission seriously. Middle-class laypersons and priests were working to alleviate the rural marginalization and urban sprawl of shantytowns produced by import substitution of populist governments like those of Perón, Vargas, and Cárdenas.⁵ Catholic Action Groups sought to bridge the gap between the traditional Catholic Church and the secular world. Catholic Action Groups were consolidated in the 1930s and 1940s; they were seen as ways to combat liberalism, communism, and Protestantism. In the early 1960s, a notable organization was the National Union of Catholic Students (UNEC), a student group that supported leftist politics in the wake of the Cuban Revolution. This move to the left was informed by the Catholic Church's own social teachings, not by their reading of Marx.⁶

Although traces of liberation theology appeared in Latin America prior to the 1960s, it was in August and September of 1968 that the theology was first articulated at the second *Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano* or the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM). CELAM took place in Medellín, Colombia, with an agenda oriented toward applying the Second Vatican Council teachings to Latin America. Vatican II produced a document of reform that advocated for universal changes within the Catholic Church, among them a more contextual experience of Catholics in their communities. Vatican II grew out of a perceived need to be a “world-church” that would cater to the needs of Christians in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The aim of Vatican II was to create a church open to renewal and

¹ Manuel J. Mejido, “Beyond the Postmodern Condition, or the Turn toward Psychoanalysis,” in *Latin American Liberation Theology: The Next Generation*, by Ivan Petrella (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005), 134.

² James H. Cone, “Theology, the Bible, and the Poor,” in *Standing with the Poor: Theological Reflections on Economic Reality*, by David Buttrick and Paul Plenge Parker (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1992), 82.

³ Ricardo Urioste in *The Murder of Monseñor*, directed by Daniel Freed, 2010.

⁴ Clodovis Boff and Boff Leonardo, *Introducing Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), 5.

⁵ Boff and Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, 5.

⁶ Jeffrey L. Klaiber, “Prophets and Populists: Liberation Theology, 1968–1988,” vol. 46, no. 1 (Jul. 1989), pp. 1–15. *Academy of American Franciscan History* <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1007391>>.

change, a clear bid to keep up with modernity. Vatican II functioned as a catalyst for the articulation of liberation theology in Latin America.⁷

CELAM of 1968 produced a collection of 16 documents, the titles of which include: “Peace,” “Family and Demography,” “Popular Religion,” and “Poverty.”⁸ These documents discuss the historical causes of poverty, political trends, and social situations in Latin America. They also offer a critique of capitalism and advocate for an economic system that would be indigenous to Latin America rather than importing economic systems from the developed world. Together, they present some of the founding principles of liberation theology. In the words of one of its foremost articulators, Gustavo Gutiérrez, liberation theology “begin[s] with the persons—their historical situation of oppression and poverty, the second act of theology becomes the critical reflection of praxis.”⁹ However, those who were relating the stories of oppression and poverty were not laypeople. At CELAM of 1968, those who met and wrote the documents were priests, who spoke for the oppressed majority. Thus, it is imperative to determine to what extent the depiction of the Latin American poor in the documents of CELAM 1968 reflect the entangled circumstances of this group.

I will explore the portrayal of the poor in CELAM and assess whether these documents capture the historical complexities of poverty, as well as the social factors that may have contributed to poverty at this time. Gutiérrez paints a one-dimensional picture of the poor as it relates to their social circumstances and identities. It is important to understand the theological reflections produced by Gutiérrez and his contemporaries in light of their social locations and against the actual conditions of the poor in Latin America.

Writers of the CELAM documents called on a new era for Latin America. They saw the 1960s as a watershed, a time of renewal and action. Sociologist Christian Smith outlines the historical circumstances for the emergence of liberation theology. These include: dependency on other countries, susceptibility to boom-and-bust cycles, urbanization (caused by growing economic opportunities in the cities and insufficient land), and a growing gap between the rich and poor.¹⁰ In the years prior to 1968, research by

the United Nations, the Economic Commission on Latin America, and Catholic research centers found that in Peru the richest 10% of the population held more than 50% of the wealth, while the poorest 10% had only 2% of the wealth.¹¹ Other Latin American countries displayed similar ratios of inequality. Liberation carried a sense of urgency due to the context of military governments and countless human rights violations in Latin America at the time. The writers of the CELAM documents hoped to create a banner uniting all Christians in a common struggle for human rights.¹² It was a time when people were encouraged to control their destinies and rid themselves of oppressive systems. In the CELAM documents, the poor of Latin America were characterized as people seeking justice, who suffer, and who deserve solidarity. The authors contended that the Latin American episcopate could not be indifferent to the social injustices that kept the majority of the populace under painful oppression. This view resonates with the song of Colombian composer Pablus Gallinazo. These were the conditions of the poor to which the CELAM writers were referring and reacting. He wrote a song in 1962 called “*Una Flor Para Mascar*,” a poignant piece that speaks of a man who is hungry, who looks for a job to no avail, and who identifies with a beggar and a milkman who come to his door. They all have incredible needs and cannot supply them. Gallinazo also offers a critique of the Church, a Church that gives them empty hope and encourages them to have patience because God will provide. This is a stark contrast to the desperation of the people’s conditions described in the song.

Gutiérrez and others used the term oppressed and poor interchangeably. However, someone can be oppressed as a result of his/her socially constructed identities, not necessarily because of his/her economic circumstances. People who were oppressed could have been poor but were not necessarily so. Oppression could have been a result of one’s sexual orientation, ethnic identity, racial classification, or gender. To be true to the context of the 1960s, oppression due to gender and sexuality were not commonplace in the consciousness of the CELAM authors or other liberation theologians. However, racism was and still is interwoven with economic injustice, especially in countries like Peru,

⁷ Klaiber, “Prophets and Populists: Liberation Theology, 1968–1988,” *Academy of American Franciscan History*, 5.

⁸ Michael R. Candelaria, *Popular Religion and Liberation: The Dilemma of Liberation Theology* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 20.

⁹ Gustavo Gutiérrez, in *Third World Liberation Theologies: An Introductory Survey*, by Deane William Fenn (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2004), 18.

¹⁰ Christian Smith, *Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 35.

¹¹ Henry A. Dietz, *Urban Poverty, Political Participation, and the State: Lima, 1970–1990* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 47.

¹² Klaiber, “Prophets and Populists: Liberation Theology, 1968–1988,” *Academy of American Franciscan History*, 7.

Ecuador, Bolivia, and Guatemala, where indigenous minorities have been marginalized and are excluded from power and opportunities. Racist and ethnocentric systems of oppression cannot be separated from economic injustice. Gutiérrez and other early liberation theologians do not address race, and this is a blind spot that makes the construction of the poor in the CELAM documents incomplete.

Gutiérrez's omission of racial oppression in the CELAM documents is intriguing given that he is of Quechua descent himself.¹³ Like most other priests, Gutiérrez was born into a middle-class family. He studied medicine as a young man and later decided to become a priest. In the 1950s, he traveled to Europe to study under the guidance of some of the most influential Catholic reformers of the time.¹⁴ His privileged background possibly kept him from noticing oppression and poverty along racial lines. However, the pressing economic circumstances of the 1960s may have led him to focus solely on economic injustice, disconnected from people's identities such as race or gender. He chose to focus on the evils of capitalism in Latin America and insisted on the "inherent weakness of any capitalist system to liberate the oppressed."¹⁵ Gutiérrez possibly ignored economic injustice along racial lines because he saw the unjust economic system as a more important project at the time. In the CELAM documents, Gutiérrez spends a great deal of time voicing a socialist or Marxist model for Latin American societies. Religious historian Jeffrey Klaiber notes that poor people were perhaps not interested in this type of social change and instead used the very symbols of Christianity like the Virgin Mary to inspire change in society.¹⁶ Undertones of class struggle are present in the CELAM documents, and this aspect appears to instigate class antagonisms. The Vatican posited that this was not a way to bring about change. Instead, social change requires the poor to reconcile themselves with others. As Pope John Paul II wrote in 1987 [if I interpret the citation correctly]:¹⁷

"Justice" is woefully inadequate as a guide for social action, especially since the liberationists understand this word in primarily economic terms. For a society plagued by wide gaps of power, wealth, and status, the development of a more harmonious society is going to require both forgiveness from the poor,

for past exploitation, and sacrifice from the rich, from their abundance. "Justice" must give way to charity, a far more challenging goal.¹⁸

Gutiérrez goes on to argue that the message of salvation must extend to all humans; thus, being a Christian was seen as a prerequisite for earthly liberation. However, some of the poorest people in Brazil and Cuba, for example, were not Christian at all. They might have practiced *Umbanda* or *Santería*. These religions incorporate elements of African religions, Catholicism, French spiritism, and a number of other influences.¹⁹ Although *Umbandistas* and *Santeros* were probably among the oppressed majority during this time, they were not included in CELAM's liberation plan. Instead, the language from CELAM is not inclusive of other faiths or other religious cultures; this reflects the difficulty of appropriating a Christian theology of liberation as a universal for everyone.

The CELAM documents blur the lines between the worldly and heavenly realms. There is urgency in the social and economic circumstances, but there is also a call for evangelization, and Christianity is still seen as the absolute religion. The urgency of poverty and injustice do not take precedence over the question of afterlife and salvation. Regardless of the emphasis that is placed on spiritual salvation, absolutism of Christianity, exclusion of non-Christian religious cultures, and emphasis on Eurocentric frameworks for theology, liberation theology's merit is praxis. Theology is active. Liberation theology has real implications. Given the diverse circumstances that foster poverty, different religious affiliations, and changing economic dynamics, it is important to re-think this social justice manifesto that speaks to all Latin Americans without exclusion and without fomenting antagonisms between groups. This theology continues to have clear implications in Latin America today.

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¹³ Ian Linden, *Global Catholicism: Diversity and Change since Vatican II*. (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2009), 117.

¹⁴ Klaiber, "Prophets and Populists: Liberation Theology, 1968–1988," *Academy of American Franciscan History*, 3.

¹⁵ Deane William Ferm, *Third World Liberation Theologies*. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2004), 19.

¹⁶ Klaiber, "Prophets and Populists: Liberation Theology, 1968–1988," *Academy of American Franciscan History*, 7.

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¹⁹ Lindsay Hale, "Umbanda" in *Religion and Society in Latin America*, by Lee M. Penyak and Walter J. Petry (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), 225.

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The Mule of the World: Unpacking Patriarchy within the Slave Family in Richard Ligon's *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*

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Elise Mitchell, a junior majoring in History at the University of Pennsylvania College of Arts and Sciences, has academic interests that concern the influence of European cultural and gender ideals on the development of stereotypes concerning black women. To explore this, her work focuses on European representations of black women's bodies in travel narratives and accompanying iconography from the 17th and 18th centuries. After graduation, she hopes to pursue a PhD in History or American Studies.

Abstract

Richard Ligon's 1657 travel narrative, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, provides numerous accounts of enslaved women on plantations in Barbados, with particular concern to their role within the slave family. This paper explores the absence of enslaved women's agency and deconstructs the patriarchal social structure presented in Ligon's narrative.

The plight of the black female slave in the Americas from the 17th through the 19th century has attracted the attention of numerous scholars over the last 30 years. These scholars have revisited the archive to create and revise the historical narrative of enslaved women in the Caribbean. This work has yielded a wide range of scholarship concerning gender roles, with particular concern to slave women's fertility and role in the slave family. One of the most cited works of English travel literature in this field is the work of the English gentleman Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*.

Richard Ligon left England for Barbados in 1647 with a group of Royalist exiles who, like him, lost their fortunes and influence as the parliament gained the upper hand in the English Civil War (1642–1651).¹ After migrating to Barbados, Ligon worked as a plantation manager.² Historian

Karen Ordahl Kupperman writes that Ligon's social status in Barbados was similar to his position in London, "a balancing act among the roles of friend, gentleman, and salaried employee."³ Ligon's emigration to Barbados also coincided with increased sugar production and slave presence in the colony. Historians attribute the rise in sugar production to conflicts that erupted in Brazil between Portuguese and Dutch occupying forces in the 1640s, which precluded Brazil from continuing its formerly avid participation in the sugar industry and encouraged Dutch slave trade with the British.⁴ These changes are evident in Ligon's narrative, as he pays particular attention to the inner workings of sugar plantations. After returning to England, Ligon completed his narrative in debtor's prison.⁵ Once he was released from prison, he resumed his life as a gentleman in London and published his narrative, which went on to become popular among the European elite.⁶

A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados, though designed to encourage colonization and provide information to potential investors, emigrants, and aspiring plantation owners, also paid particular attention to gender and social dynamics between slaves and their masters. Through a close reading of Ligon's narrative, one can gain an understanding of the social hierarchy that existed in plantation society during the mid-17th century in Barbados. One of the clearest examples of this social hierarchy is Ligon's discussion of the slave family (46–48), highlighting the relationship of the slave woman to her master, her "husband," and her child.⁷ He positions the slave woman as property of both her slave master and her "husband" and suggests she is the happy servant of her master, "husband," and child. Some scholarship has posited that the social structure on plantations was confined to the dichotomy of slave and master; however, Ligon's narrative employs a more complex hierarchical structure. Other scholarship, such as the work of Barbara Bush, sheds light on the matriarchal or "matrifocal"

¹ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Introduction," in *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman et al. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 2011), 1–4.

² Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, 1657, Early English Books Online, accessed February 27, 2012, eebo.chadwyck.com, 49.

³ Kupperman, "Introduction," 6.

⁴ Hilary McD Beckles, *History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Nation-State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 20.

⁵ Kupperman, "Introduction," 33.

⁶ Kupperman, "Introduction," 33.

⁷ Hilary McD Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Women in Barbados* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 118. The terms "husband" and "wife" are written in quotes because between the years of 1649 and 1824 no laws were passed concerning slave marriage because slaves were not allowed to enter into contracts. Thus, the term "husband" does not refer to legal contract but rather a social contract between a slave woman and slave man.

nature of the family unit in slave society.⁸ The focus of this paper is not to disprove these notions of female agency within slave societies. Rather, it seeks to reveal the absence of enslaved women's agency in Ligon's narrative and deconstruct the patriarchal social hierarchy by which Ligon defines the black female slave as a beast of burden allotted the lowest status in plantation society.

To unpack the hierarchy presented by Ligon, it is necessary to first understand Ligon's articulation of the relationship between the slave master and the slave, more specifically the slave woman. The psychology behind the institution of chattel slavery is made evident in Ligon's repeated conflation of cattle and slaves as similar commodities. For example, when Ligon compares how slaves line up to cattle, he explicitly states that they are beasts: "as Cowes do one another, in passing through a narrow gate; for, the most of them are as neer beasts as may be."⁹ He associates the two again when describing a trading venture en route to Barbados: "to lay all trade open, for Negroes, Horses, and Cattle, which were there Contrabanded goods."¹⁰ This passage conflates slaves with animals and also explicitly states the slaves' status as property, as a "good" for trade.

The monetary value of slaves based on gender and age is also demonstrated in his text. Male slaves during this period were more expensive than female slaves and children: "Thirty pound sterling is a price for the best man Negre; and twenty five, twenty six, or twenty seven pound for a Woman; the Children are at easier rates."¹¹ The lower value placed on the female slave can be attributed to the preoccupation with the labor capacity of slaves and nature of slavery during the 17th century. In the 17th century, slaveholders were apt to purchase African slaves from the continent and thus were not concerned with reproduction, and they therefore had little use for female slaves.¹² The only justification for buying female slaves that Ligon provides is that men request them as "wives."

And we buy them so, as the sexes may be equall; for, if they have more men then women, the men who are unmarried will come to their Masters, and complain, that they cannot live without Wives, and desire him, they may have Wives. And he tells them, that the next ship that comes, he will buy them Wives, which satisfies them for the present.¹³

This passage explains the seemingly commonplace practice of slave masters gifting male slaves with female slaves as "wives." It implies that though male slaves were subordinate to their masters, they were still given a higher status than their female counterparts. Furthermore, even though male slaves were commodities, they, unlike their female counterparts, had opportunities for ownership—ownership of a female slave.

Given that the female slave was essentially her "husband's" property, slave men often exercised their authority over slave women. This authority is particularly apparent in Ligon's discussion of the abuses slave women endured at the hands of their "husbands" if they were suspicious of infidelity.

Jealous they are of their Wives, and hold it for a great injury and scorn, if another man make the least courtship to his Wife. And if any of their Wives have two Children at a birth, they conclude her false to his Bed, and so no more adoe but hang her.¹⁴

According to Ligon, it was common practice for male slaves whose "wives" birthed twins to be considered guilty of infidelity, which was punishable by death. This practice is further elaborated in the story of Macaw, the slave musician who had to be convinced by an overseer not to hang his "wife."¹⁵ The only way that the overseer was able to convince Macaw not to hang his "wife" was to threaten to hang Macaw himself.¹⁶ In this instance, the authority to kill reveals the racial and patriarchal power dynamic that supports male slave domination over female slaves and white male domination over male slaves.

The story of Macaw ends with Macaw deciding not to hang his "wife," but rather to find a new one.

. . . so [Macaw] let her alone; but he never car'd much for her afterward, but chose another which he lik'd better. For the Planters there deny not a slave, that is a brave fellow, and one that has extraordinary qualities, two or three Wives, and above that number they seldome go: But no woman is allowed above one Husband.¹⁷

In this passage, Ligon hints at polygamy and divorce amongst slaves; however, he does not provide detail about these practices. Barbara Bush, a contemporary historian,

⁸ Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society: 1650–1838*. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 93.

⁹ Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, 47.

¹⁰ Ibid., 7.

¹¹ Ibid., 46.

¹² Beckles, *Natural Rebels*, 117.

¹³ Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, 47.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

attributes these practices to preexisting African traditions in which marriage was not a permanent endeavor and polygamy was commonplace.¹⁸ Ligon, like many other authors at the time, was not versed in African culture and had no means of providing a cultural explanation for polygamy. However, the evidence that he provides places men in the position of power. Macaw, the “husband,” gets to choose to take an additional “wife” and essentially desert his previous “wife.” In Ligon’s narrative, all of the agency in the divorce is given to the “husband,” contrary to Bush’s description of the slave society’s West African-influenced divorce practices in which both partners are granted equal rights in the divorce.¹⁹

Ligon’s narrative also sheds light on childbirth and slave women’s roles as mothers. He writes that women are given “little help [with their] deliverie” and are back to work in the fields with their babies on their backs in a “fortnight.”²⁰ This perceived ease of childbirth for slave women perpetuated notions that these women were fit for the grueling labor of the slave plantation.²¹ However, Bush and other historians note that the fertility rates of slave women, and all women in the Caribbean, were extremely low during this period due to hard labor, poor nutrition, and possibly abortion.²²

Despite the low fertility rate and forced labor shortly after childbirth, Ligon describes the slave woman as a happy servant to both her child and her master. He describes women suckling their children whilst working in the fields and entertaining their toddlers by letting them ride on their backs.²³

Some women, whose Pickaninnies are three yeers old, will, as they worke at weeding, which is a stooping worke, suffer thee Pickaninnie, to sit astride upon their backs, like St. George a horse back; and there spurre his mother with his heeles, and sings and crows on her backe, clapping his hands, as if he meant to flye; which the mother is so pleas’d with, as shee continues her painfull stooping posture, longer then she would doe, rather than discompose her Joviall Pickaninnie of his pleasure, so glad she is to see him merry.²⁴

The language that Ligon uses in this passage invokes the notion that the mother is subservient to her child. The toddler here is likened to a saint riding his mother, who is

likened to a horse. This simile is emblematic of Ligon’s association of the slave body to the body of animal, particularly beasts of burden. The child, unlike the mother, is given agency because he is represented as master of the horse, rather than the powerless horse. Ligon also explains that the woman endures a painful stooping posture for the entertainment of her toddler.²⁵ Thus, the woman is simultaneously laboring for the master in the field and serving her child, both to her detriment and discomfort, demonstrating her status below that of the child and master.

In a later passage, Ligon provides a monstrous description of slave women’s bodies after childbirth.

But when they come to be old, and have had five or six Children, their breasts hang down below their navells, so that when they stoop at their common work of weeding, they hang almost down to the ground, that at a distance, you would think they had six legs.²⁶

Ligon’s imagery further reinforces the idea that slave women were designed for grueling labor because of their resemblance to animals. The “six legs” imagery likens the slave woman to four-legged beasts of burden such as cattle, horses, and mules. The use of the slave woman for harsh labor is also reflected in her “double shift,” which required onerous labor in the fields and domestic service to her “husband” and child.²⁷

The publication of Ligon’s narrative exported the animalistic notions of slave womanhood throughout Europe and the Americas. This narrative, among others, has contributed to the lasting historical trope of black women as beasts of burden—the lowest form of humanity. Over 100 years after the publication of Ligon’s narrative, in 1937, author Zora Neale Hurston coined the phrase, “De nigger woman is de mule uh de world.”²⁸ Hurston’s phrase enunciated the perennial patriarchal and racial oppression of black women. This oppression has a historical legacy that can be traced back to 17th-century slavery and travel literature in which black women slaves are largely represented as “mules of the world” in service of everyone from their infant children, “husbands,” and slave masters, to the globalizing European imperial economies and governments.

¹⁸ Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society*, 83–119.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 101.

²⁰ Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, 48.

²¹ Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 36.

²² Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society*, 120–150.

²³ Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, 48.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁷ Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society*, 98.

²⁸ Zora Neale Hurston, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006), 14.

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“How great and poetic we are in our cravats and our patent-leather boots”: Outward Shows of Fashion and Inner Turmoil in James Joyce’s “The Dead”

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Bretney Moore, a senior in English Literature and Criticism and Special Honors at CUNY, Hunter College, plans to apply to law school after graduation. She hopes to practice within the realm of human rights law, immigration law, and/or public interest law. Ultimately, Bretney longs to use her humanities background “for good” within the field of law by focusing her efforts on ameliorating some of the gross human rights violations that occur both domestically and abroad with regard to military campaigns and policy issues.

Abstract

This literary critical essay focuses on Gabriel of James Joyce’s short story, “The Dead” (1914). It explores the way that main character Gabriel’s aesthetic trappings (his array of cuffs and bows, overcoats, and galoshes) are reflective of his modern sensibilities, anchored as they are by his particular social and historical location. Joyce’s unassuming hero cannot stop fussing with his trappings, nor can he stop obsessing about the nuances of his comportment while in attendance at the annual Misses Morkans’ dinner and dance. Drawing on Marshall Berman’s treatment of Charles Baudelaire in *All That Is Solid Melts into Air* (1988), this essay considers Gabriel’s ordinary heroism as manifest in and through his attire and his acute attention to said attire.

Gabriel is a modern man. He is a galoshes-wearing, Robert-Browning-quoting, literary-column-penning modern-man in all of his modern glory. James Joyce depicts his Gabriel as a kind of Irish dandy: plump in stature, an array of cuffs and bows, and quick to voice his preference for vacations “on the continent.” His arrival at the locally renowned Misses Morkan’s annual dance sets “The Dead” in motion, and Joyce quickly establishes this central character through his attire:

A light fringe of snow lay like a cape on the shoulders of his overcoat and like toecaps on the toes of his galoshes; and, as the buttons of his overcoat slipped with a squeaking noise through the snow-stiffened frieze, a cold, fragrant air from out-of-doors escaped from crevices and folds (Joyce, 120).

After hours of waiting on their beloved nephew, the Misses Morkans are rewarded when Gabriel and his wife make their grand entrance. Gabriel wears the Irish snowfall as though it were some kind of accessory, bringing the frigid night air into the warmth and comfort of the gathering as the cold air escapes the folds of his overcoat. Modern man that he is, Gabriel wears galoshes, which his wife declares “everyone wears . . . on the continent” (Joyce, 123). While

being helped off with his overcoat, he finds himself quite pleased when Lily, the young maid, gives his surname the three-syllable treatment. Gabriel asks this “slim, growing girl” if he will soon be attending her wedding, and when met by her discomfort and slight reproach, offers her a coin and begins to fuss with his stylish trappings while ruminating upon the contents of a speech he is about to deliver. Browning or Shakespeare? Decisions, decisions.

Gabriel, this highly educated and no doubt cosmopolitan gentleman, comes across as quite the fool upon his entrance at the dance. He is be-speckled, red-faced, and puffy. He is immediately awkward with women, as evidenced by Lily’s reaction to his invasive line of questioning. He is accused of being a West Briton, an accusation which aligns him with British politics and policy and both riles and secretly satisfies him. However, within the context of a discourse about modernity and modern man’s place within a socially evolving landscape, Gabriel is not to be so easily dismissed. Joyce’s candidly human characterization of this pivotal character betrays the character’s weaknesses as he attempts to navigate innovations in technology and changing social and political alliances in an interregnum temporality. Gabriel forces a consideration of the ambivalence of modern man, drawing attention to the discomforts of leaving the nostalgia of the past behind for some kind of uncertain and, in some cases, terrifying future.

One finds in Gabriel the embodiment of Baudelaire’s desired contemporary man. “The heroism of modern life surrounds and presses in on us,” Baudelaire declares in his critique of the visual artists of the Parisian Salon of 1845 (qtd. in Berman, 143). In celebration of the “epic quality” and genuine heroism of the modern subject, he argues: “There is no lack of subjects or of colors, to make epics. The true painter we’re looking for will be one who can snatch from the life of today its epic quality, and make us feel how great and poetic we are in our cravats and our patent-leather boots” (qtd. in Berman, 143). As is often the case in Shakespeare’s oeuvre, readers find that the fool is really quite wise, or, at the very least, possesses the heroic quality of truthfully reflecting his age—in Gabriel’s case, his modernity. The rather ordinary hero of Joyce’s “The Dead” reflects and embodies his rather ordinary heroism through the uniform of a man of his station. Voyeuristic readers, who are invited to eavesdrop on this familial fete, find Gabriel awkwardly “arranging the cuffs and bows of his tie” while “pulling his waistcoat down more tightly over his plump body” (Joyce, 121). These seemingly banal and fussy maneuvers and costume choices are far more than stage directions

and vacant aesthetics; Joyce's depiction of Gabriel carefully and critically reflects not only Gabriel's inner terror but also the inner terror of modern man as he confronts his own modernity.

In his 1859–60 essay, "The Painter of Modern Life," Baudelaire writes in praise of what Marshall Berman refers to as "a very different mode of pastoral" (Berman, 136). Baudelaire champions a modernity that "appears as a great fashion show," reflecting a dizzying display of "dazzling appearances, brilliant facades" and the "glittering triumphs of decoration and design" (qtd. in Berman, 136). "The kind of subject preferred by our artist," argues Baudelaire, "is the pageantry of military life, of fashion, and of love" (qtd. in Berman, 136). While Berman remains critical of this period of Baudelaire's writing and even accuses this particular essay of sounding startlingly like advertising copy, Baudelaire seems to have far more at stake than modern fashion and vanity. He suggests that fashion, in and of itself the fragile and fickle fascination of modern man, may be a self-conscious visual display of modern man's insecurities and inner fears. Banville argues that urban pastoral, with its seeming emphasis on superficiality and public displays of finery, instead showcases "modern man in his entirety, with his weaknesses, his aspirations, and his despair" (qtd. in Berman, 137).

Gabriel, a modern man who appears to be a slave to the stylish trappings of a man of his station, reflects a kind of inner turmoil—manifest in and through both his attire and his mannerisms. Every social faux pas that he initiates, and there are more than a few, is quickly followed by his concerted attention to some aspect of his dress. He has barely had his overcoat removed before successfully alienating and upsetting Lily. When his invasive line of questioning regarding her love life fails to elicit the flirtation he hopes for, he turns to his muffler and patent-leather shoes for answers after he colours the deep red of the socially improper. While Gabriel explores the various manifestations of his social awkwardness, Joyce's third-person narrator explores Gabriel's physicality:

He was a stout, tallish young man. The high colour of his cheeks pushed upwards even to his forehead, where it scattered itself in a few formless patches of pale red; and on his hairless face there scintillated restlessly the polished lenses and the bright gilt rims of the glasses which screened his delicate and restless eyes. His glossy black hair was parted in the middle and brushed in a long curve behind his ears where it curled slightly beneath the groove left by his hat (Joyce, 121).

After this brief interlude, or close-up of Gabriel, the literary lens pans back out and readers find that the ordinary hero of this ordinary epic is single-mindedly given to shining his shoes and pulling his waistcoat down over his rotund body. As if this scene is not awkward enough, Gabriel takes this chance to attempt to rectify the situation by condescending to Lily and offering her a shiny coin, because, after all, "it's Christmas-time, isn't it?" (Joyce, 121). When his act of charity fails to change the nature of a situation that is quickly progressing from bad to worse, Gabriel flees the scene. The entire ordeal "had cast a gloom over him which he tried to dispel by arranging his cuffs and the bows of his tie" (121). When faced with an uncomfortable social situation, in this case failing to navigate the social chasm that separates himself from his aunt's maid, Gabriel turns to his clothing and accessories, seeking momentary comfort in the distraction of frippery.

Feeling rather dejected, Gabriel considers yet another social gulf in the life and times of a certain class of modern man—the gulf dividing the self-proclaimed bourgeois intelligentsia from the middle-class person of average intelligence and education. Browning or Shakespeare? Decisions, decisions. Gabriel explores his oratorical options while having a kind of existential crisis that leads, inevitably, to a consideration of shoes:

He was undecided about the lines from Robert Browning, for he feared they would be above the heads of his hearers. Some quotation from Shakespeare or from the *Melodies* would be better. The indelicate clacking of the men's heels and the shuffling of their soles reminded him that their grade of culture differed from his. He would only make himself ridiculous by quoting poetry to them which they could not understand. They would think that he was airing his superior education. He would fail with them just as he had failed with the girl in the pantry. He had taken the wrong tone. His whole speech was a mistake from first to last, an utter failure (Joyce, 122).

Gabriel conflates his earlier interaction with Lily in the pantry with the alienation that he predicts will be the result of his "utter failure" of an after-dinner speech. He assumes that he is the only person in attendance who is familiar with the work of British poet Robert Browning. After all, did he not just publish a column for *The Daily Express* extolling the literary virtues of this very poet? As he stares into the social gulf that he continues to create between himself and the seemingly carefree party attendees, he takes

in what ought to be the joyful sound of dancing, which is instead an aural reminder of his perceived elevated class status compared to those in his company. All of this may be gleaned, readers are to suppose, from the sound of cheap shoes and uncultivated dancing. These observations, surprisingly, do not serve to bolster the ego of Joyce's modern hero but instead make him exponentially more self-conscious. Instead of experiencing the smug satisfaction of feeling oneself to be the most important and intelligent person in the crowd, Gabriel feels more and more acutely aware of himself, his inner turmoil, and his own physicality.

Toward the end of the evening's festivities, Gabriel finds himself more and more attendant to the presence of his wife, Gretta, who had previously occupied a peripheral place in the wings of Joyce's tale. His awareness of her is suddenly peaked by his singular attention to her, standing atop the stairs, completely engrossed in the pianist and his performance. From his particular vantage point, Gabriel manages to gaze upon the form of his wife seemingly without her awareness: "He could not see her face but he could see the terracotta and salmon-pink panels of her skirt which the shadow made appear black and white" (Joyce, 143). He becomes acutely aware of the "grace and mystery in her attitude," viewing her "as if she were a symbol of something," and longing to "paint her in that attitude" (Joyce, 143). Gabriel finds that he desires Gretta, and not for the contours of her body or the familiar terrain of her profile, but rather for the particulars of her costume and her holistic appeal as the "symbol" of his desire. Gabriel imagines himself a painter and Gretta his muse. It is in this moment that Gabriel begins making preparations to leave the party, in order to share an intimate moment with his Gretta, a moment that will cause her to "forget the years of their dull existence together" and bring to mind only their "moments of ecstasy" (Joyce, 145).

After a rather painful (even voyeuristically speaking) evening of self-conscious fussing and focused attention on various outerwear decisions and accessory choices, Gabriel and his wife arrive at an inn to stay the night. The charmingly rustic inn, not a space given to embracing modern infrastructure, is lit within by candles and without by streetlamps. Gabriel refuses the candle that the porter offers, believing that darkness will better serve his ends. He finds that he wants to speak secret things to his wife, by the glow of the streetlamps. He longs "to crush her body against his, to overmaster her" (Joyce, 148). Much to Gabriel's chagrin, however, Gretta is epically "not in the mood." When Gabriel inquires further, he finds that Gretta cannot stop thinking about *The Lass of Aughrim*, the last song (discreetly)

sung at the party, a song that meant a great deal to her during the life she led prior to their marriage. After revealing the root of her distraction and unease, Gretta tears away from Gabriel's embrace and hides her face from his view, while an awkward Gabriel attempts to appraise the situation. It is in this moment that Joyce's third-person narration allows Gabriel to come face to face with Gabriel—a modern man reflected back:

As he passed in the way of the cheval-glass he caught sight of himself in the full length, his broad, well-filled shirt front, the face whose expression always puzzled him when he saw it in the mirror, and his glimmering gilt-rimmed eyeglasses. He halted a few paces from her and said: "What about the song? Why does it make you cry?" (Joyce, 149).

Gabriel encounters Gabriel, and finds himself puzzled by himself. He takes in his "well-filled shirt front," his "broad" frame, and his "glimmering gilt-rimmed eyeglasses," and yet he does not seem to see himself wholly embodied. Gabriel experiences a kind of anxiety when met with his fragmented reflection, perhaps because within the expression that perpetually confounds and alienates him, he senses his own inner turmoil.

Berman, in his treatment of Baudelaire's fascination with the painter Guys, writes: "pathetic as it is, [it] does convey something true and important about modernity; its power to generate forms of 'outward show,' brilliant designs, glamorous spectacles, so dazzling that they blind even the most incisive self to the radiance of its own darker life within" (138). Gabriel, this modern Irish gentleman, has allowed himself to be repeatedly distracted by this or that for so long that he barely recognizes himself (or his wife) against the terrifying backdrop of his own modern epoch. It is his inability to recognize himself that impedes his ability to reconcile or recognize the turmoil brewing just below the surface of his physicality.

Baudelaire demands attentiveness to the present; he desires the kind of artist that will "make us feel how great and poetic we are in our cravats and our patent-leather boots" (qtd. in Berman, 143). Berman, placing himself in conversation with this artistic call to action, believes that there is both truth and irony in this statement. He believes that "the joke is precisely that modern men really are heroic, despite their lack of the paraphernalia to puff up their bodies and souls" (Berman, 143). Gabriel, who in this literary moment is about to discover just how fallible and fragile his own existence is, heroically embraces the quiet rubble of his

marriage—and does not look at his patent-leather shoes once! Does Gabriel’s discovery of his wife’s past love render his earlier fussing and obsession superficial? Does this crushing truth render his life inconsequential? This does not seem to be the case, as Joyce explores Gabriel’s tenacious ability to survive the truth of his existence. Joyce writes:

He suddenly saw himself as a ludicrous figure, acting as a pennyboy for his aunts, a nervous, well-meaning sentimentalist, orating to vulgarians and idealizing his own clownish lusts, the pitiable fatuous fellow he had caught a glimpse of in the mirror. Instinctively he turned his back more to the light lest she might see the shame that burned upon his forehead (Joyce, 150).

Gabriel finally recognizes the man in the mirror, and his recognition startles him, for he begins to glimpse the inner turmoil that not even the best cut of suit can hide. Joyce, insightfully, does not present this moment as a kind of moral reckoning or redemption. While Gabriel is able to begin to chip away at his own façade, he resolutely clings to his assessment that he was indeed “orating to vulgarians” earlier that evening. He himself may be pitiable in this moment, but so are the modern men in his midst.

The snow falls “general all over Ireland” at the close of this story, thus ending what Berman might call a “primal scene,” that is, an “experience that arises from the concrete everyday life,” but that possesses a “mythic resonance and depth that propels [it] beyond its place and time and transforms [it] . . . into archetypes of modern life” (Berman, 148). Baudelaire argues that modern heroism emerges from life’s ordinary scenes: an ill-timed tug at one’s tie during dinner, the wrong quotation settled upon for a toast, the all-too-casual shoes one wears to a formal event. These seemingly ordinary scenes compose the modern epic and set the stage for modern man’s performance of his modern heroism. “We need only open our eyes to recognize [Gabriel’s] heroism” (qtd. in Berman, 143).

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Income Redistribution in the Face of Diversity

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Rebba Moore graduated from Rice University in the spring of 2012. She received her BA in Sociology and Policy Studies, as well as a minor in Poverty, Justice, and Human Capabilities. Rebba is currently pursuing her PhD in Political Science at the University of Chicago.

Abstract

This manuscript is an excerpt from her honors thesis entitled “American Exceptionalism or Universal Struggle: Income Redistribution in the Face of Diversity.”

Although the negative relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and public good provision is well documented, the mechanisms underlying this relationship are poorly understood (Alesina et al., 1999, Banerjee, 2005, Miguel and Gugerty, 2005, Habyarimana et al., 2007). In developed economies, government spending in the arenas of health, education, and unemployment pensions have become visible indicators of the ways in which nations differ in levels of public investment. The number and reach of services offered by welfare states varies drastically across Western democracies. Alesina and Ferrara (2005a) find that greater ethnic/racial diversity is associated with higher levels of public good privatization. For instance, in Scandinavian countries where the population is considerably more homogenous, decommodification of welfare benefits is much more common than in more diverse countries such as the United States, Canada, and Britain (Esping-Anderson 1990).¹

Using data from the International Social Survey Program’s Religion I and II and Role of Government I, II, and III surveys in 1988, 1993, 1994, 1999, and 2001, Brooks and Manza (2007) find a positive relationship between greater public support for social welfare programs and government expenditures on poverty reduction. Esping-Anderson also notes that programs in the arenas of education and health are not stigmatized as programs for the poor in social-democratic welfare regimes, because these programs are accessible and used by a larger percentage of the population. Thus, the universality of welfare benefits is likely to garner far greater support among the public.² If ethnic/racial diversity is associated

with lower expectations that others will cooperate to solve dilemmas of collective action, lower likelihoods of giving or volunteering, less participation in civic projects, and, ultimately, lower confidence in local government and community leaders (Putnam, 2007), is it not possible that these factors could emerge on the national scale, diminishing levels of social responsibility as well as general feelings towards redistribution and social welfare policy.

Why is ethnic-homogeneity associated with greater social investment in developed economies? Following the clues within standing literature, this paper attempts to unravel the precarious relationship between ethnic diversity and public good provision in Western democracies. Durkheim’s principles of mechanical solidarity and collective conscience provide a framework that allow for a comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms behind one of the most powerful predictive variables in political economy. In exploring how racial-/ethnic-based mistrust weakens support for social welfare not only in American politics but abroad, this paper seeks to understand how the phenomena of perceived difference, anomie, and distrust could be the causal mechanisms that explain why ethnic heterogeneity undermines public good provision.

Deriving a Hypothesis from Anomie

Anomie is defined as a state of normlessness or, rather, a lack of norms. Durkheim uses the term anomie to describe the breakdown of social bonds between individuals and their community ties, resulting in the fragmentation of social identity and rejection of self-regulatory values. Durkheim’s ideas seem to resurface in much of the existing comparative literature on ethnic/racial heterogeneity and public good provision.

Baldwin and Huber (2010) find that the universal relationship between ethnic diversity and public good provision is explained upon controlling for inequality between groups, as between-group inequality has a greater negative relationship with public good provision than does commonly used measures of cultural fractionalization, ethnic linguistic fractionalization (ELF), and overall inequality.³

¹ Esping-Andersen (1990) refers to decommodification as the strength of social entitlements and the citizen’s degree of immunization from market dependency. As the government supplies a larger number of public services, citizens rely less on the market for their well-being. Thus, in all welfare states, government interventions reduce the individual’s dependency on the market. Measures of decommodification include unemployment, sickness insurance, and pensions and are commonly used to measure the welfare state.

² Social-democratic welfare states grant universal access to benefits and services based on citizenship. A social-democratic welfare state provides a relatively high degree of autonomy, thus limiting the reliance on family and market.

³ The Ethnic Linguistic Fractionalization measures the probability that two individuals will belong to another group. The Cultural Fractionalization measure used by Baldwin and Huber (2010) accounts for the expected linguistic similarity between two randomly selected individuals within a society, while the measure used to capture inequality was the Gini coefficient.

Baldwin and Huber speculate that inequities between groups will affect governance because economic disparities often translate into different group needs, varying attitudes across groups towards public investment, feelings of alienation or discrimination, as well as varying class identities by different groups that ultimately collide to impede agreement over which goods should be provided. Nonetheless, a recent study utilized both game and survey techniques in order to understand the possible mechanisms that undermine the provision of public goods in Mulago-Kyebando, Uganda. Habyarimana, Humphreys, Posner, and Weinstein (2007) found no evidence to support the notion that co-ethnics experience higher levels of altruism towards one another or a greater share of similar preferences. The study did ultimately conclude that methods of social sanctioning and norms could provide a possible explanation in understanding why ethnic diversity undermines public good provision.

Successful collective action among homogenous ethnic communities can be attributed to the existence of norms and institutions that police the defection of non-contributors. Findings suggest that co-ethnics cooperate because they adhere to in-group reciprocity norms—norms are plausibly supported by expectations that non-contribution will be sanctioned and by an ethnic technology “findability” that facilitates sanctioning among co-ethnic pairings (724).

Thus, if shared norms and social sanctioning features explain this relationship, these findings would ultimately align with Durkheim’s ideas on collective conscience, solidarity, and anomie. I assert that race and ethnic diversity weaken both national and communal levels of solidarity, if racial/ethnic groups have higher levels of collective conscience. The dynamics that drive racial/ethnic solidarity and classification provide a possible explanation for why Baldwin and Huber (2010) find that Between-Group-Inequality (BGI) mediates the relationship between ethnic diversity and public good provision. Inequality between groups not only exacerbates spatial and social divides between groups, but it also increases the agency in which borders between such groups are patrolled.⁴ Buck (2010) notes:

In short, when we feel that we are part of a beleaguered group that is caught in a struggle for dominance, it becomes all the more important to stick together as a group and to punish group members who seem disloyal . . . It is a perfectly normal human

reaction, akin to the group solidarity felt by all types of minority groups (whether involving religion, sexual orientation, or anything else) (272).

In the face of inequity, intergroup boundaries between racial/ethnic populations strengthen, furthering social divides. Subsequently, in unequal environments, racial/ethnic groups are more likely to develop high levels of collective consciousness, as racial/ethnic identity becomes increasingly salient. The perception of shared-identity intensifies the formation of in-groups reciprocity norms and methods of social sanctioning.

Across the world, ethnic heterogeneity appears to be associated with lower levels of social trust (Newton & Delhey, 2005, Anderson & Paskeveiciute, 2006, Hoohge et al., 2006, Putnam, 2007). It seems likely that such feelings of mistrust are reactions to the anomie that persists in heterogeneous communities. Emerson and Yancey (2009) noted that the promotion of multicultural-expression over feelings of national unity might negate the formation of a common core that would unite a diverse population. Thus, if racial/ethnic identity is more salient than national identity, lower levels of public investment could result in lower levels of social trust. Similarly, strong civil society and nationalism could pave pathways towards economic inclusion and social integration for ethnic groups, bringing different ethnic cleavages together under one common umbrella of trust and unity. However, too often racial/ethnic tension is used as a tool for political gain, as political parties and politicians reinforce ethnic cleavages within society by preying on the social landmines anomie creates.

Western Europe

Recent influxes in foreign-born populations and, consequentially, greater diversity have generated ripples across the pond. Boeri (2009) notes that global migration to the European continent has mobilized greater support for the conservative political agenda over traditionally popular social-democratic parties. Across Europe, immigration issues have surfaced as a political hot potato, bringing increasing attention to the legitimacy of the welfare state within political rhetoric (Oorschot and Uunk, 2006).

The recent turn in political behavior has led many to question the future of European welfare states. In a study examining solidarity felt towards immigrants in traditionally

⁴ Mills (2008) uses the term racial/ethnic border patrolling to refer to the ways in which people police racial/ethnic borders in order to maintain socially constructed differences and reinforce divisions between racial/ethnic groups and their members. Border patrolling relies on the sanctioning and reward of certain performative behaviors, as well the formation of cross-racial/ethnic social ties.

social-democratic nations, Oorschot (2008) challenges Alesina and Glaeser (2004), finding little support that suggests the recent influxes in foreigners have impacted national redistributive preferences. Oorschot does warn that in the future, the disproportionate representation of recent immigrant populations as welfare recipients could ignite a shift in public opinion if native Europeans continue to express strong prejudice and low levels of solidarity towards immigrant populations.

One counter-argument attributes varying levels of redistributive support to national cultural-values systems. Cultural explanations emphasize the importance of various egalitarian values in explaining cross-national difference, sometime stressing the internalization of egalitarian values across different countries. Such cultural explanations highlight social-democratic nations' dedication to egalitarianism, in contrast to American exceptionalism, an ideological mindset that prizes individualism (Lipset, 1996, Feldman and Zaller, 1992).

Another counter-argument asserts that national differences in redistributive preferences can be attributed to institutional factors. Studies that have tested the explanatory power of the institutional structure of welfare states have reached inconsistent verdicts. While some studies find patterns amongst the different regimes Esping-Andersen (1990) identify, other studies do not. Larsen (2008) argues that proponents of the institutional perspective have been unable to explain cross-national differences, because they rely on restrictive theoretical principles that solely attempt to find clear trends in redistributive policy based on class interest, individual self-interest, and cultural explanations that point to internalized values and societal norms. Larsen advocates for an institutional explanation of cross-national differences and addresses the previous failures of redistributive policy by introducing the intervening variable, deservingness. Relying on the measures Oorschot (2008) articulates, Larsen identifies five defining traits of deservingness: control,⁵ need,⁶ identity,⁷ attitude,⁸ and reciprocity.⁹

The degree of universalism vs. the degree of selectivism within a welfare state, and the explanatory power of economic performance, have been well documented for their considerable impact on public opinion (Esping-Anderson, 1990, Harrel and Soroka, 2010, Hooghe et al., 2006). Larsen (2008) provides an insightful explanation of the link between structure and public preference and finds that perceptions of control and identity are strongly correlated with support for welfare policy; yet the study never delves further into the micro forces at hand. The ascription of deservingness as the explanatory force behind structural welfare regime and public attitudes falls short of exploring the implications of racial/ethnic mistrust. Within the same study, Larsen (2008) finds public perceptions of control are highly correlated with levels of diversity, as the increase in the share of respondents answering "laziness" is estimated to be 10.3 percentage points when moving from an exclusively homogenous to heterogeneous society.¹⁰ Additionally, many of the key elements of deservingness, namely the perceived "attitude" of the welfare recipients, may be biased by feelings of animosity towards specific racial/ethnic and ethnic groups.

Conclusions

While it may be naïve to attribute cross-national difference solely to diversity, ignoring its significance would be just as foolish. Bay and Pedersen (2006) found that, in Norway, negative attitudes toward immigrants could be mobilized within the electorate in order to considerably weaken the support basis for public investment and social welfare. Huber (2010) notes that racial tensions divide the working- and lower-class Americans into political camps, not easily predicted by their own economic interest. In the 1960s and 1970s, racial issues catalyzed political polarization. Carmines and Stimson (1989) note that the Democratic Party suffered major blows once civil rights for minority populations surfaced on the liberal agenda. Historically democratic, white voters from the working and

⁵ Control can be thought of as the degree of responsibility attributed to the poor in explaining their current situation. The less in the control of neediness, the higher the degree of deservingness (Larsen, 2008).

⁶ Need is ultimately a measurement of how many people within a given country have currently fallen across misfortune (i.e., unemployment rate). The greater the level of need, the higher the degree of deservingness.

⁷ Shared identity amongst welfare recipients and middle-class taxpayers creates a higher the degree of group belonging, which, in return, leads to higher the degree of deservingness (Larsen, 2008, Oorschot, 2000).

⁸ Attitude refers to the extent at which the poor are believed to exhibit a "docile" or "compliant" nature. This trait essentially measures whether the general public believes the poor are grateful and is associated with higher degree of deservingness.

⁹ Reciprocity refers to the how the general public believes that the recipients of welfare have made or will make a significant contribution serving as active laborers in the workforce.

¹⁰ Diversity measure used in this study is similar to ELF (ethnic-linguistic-fractionalization measure). Essentially, the study uses a probability measure that tells us the likelihood that two randomly selected individuals from the general population will share the same racial or ethnic background.

lower-middle class turned away from the party when they believed their own interests were being neglected by democrats for the sake of “special interest” minority groups in the fight for equal rights (Edsall and Edsall, 1991). The incorporation of cultural and morality issues into the rights revolutions of the '60s and '70s further incited the massive realignment of northern working-class whites and Southern white populists in the presidential electorate. The association of morally progressive movements with the democratic party only further divided the New Deal coalition (Teixeira and Abramowitz, 2008). Edsall and Edsall (1991) argue that new formation of a “top-down coalition” between former working- and lower-middle-class Democrats, business, and the affluent sparked the creation of a hybrid of conservative populism that silenced a once more vibrant social-democratic voice for the agenda of the Republican elite. This new conservative movement stressed the importance of individualistic ideology.

Ultimately, Edsall and Edsall conclude that the political realignment of the New Coalition helped erode beliefs amongst working-class whites about the culpability of the economic system in determining the social positioning of those in the bottom third of the income distribution. Just as racial divides served as one of the catalysts igniting shifts in voting preferences during the breakdown of the New Deal Coalition in the '60s and '70s, xenophobic sentiments may prove to be a useful tool for right-wing politicians in a diversifying Europe. Individual voting preferences of pooled European voters in this study may be indicative of a similar realignment occurring across the pond.

Further research should explore the political potency of racial- and ethnic-based mistrust through a comparative lens. Additionally, Larsen's (2008) findings on notions of deservingness should not be overlooked. As demonstrated in the United States, political realignment may change the discourse on economic misfortune. The shifting categorization of lower-income and vulnerable populations as underserving may provide yet another causal mechanism for understanding how anomie and mistrust undermine public investment. Further social science research should look to create measures capable of unraveling a possibly symbiotic relationship between deservingness and racial/ethnic attitudes, as these sentiments can be used in conjunction to sway the electorate away from public investment and social-democratic policies.

Contextualizing the American experience within comparative literature presents a unique opportunity to examine the political uses of racial-/ethnic-based mistrust in

relation to social welfare policy and public investment efforts. Further research that explores whether racial/ethnic tension negates national feelings of government responsibility in the provision of social insurance programs may foster a greater understanding of how racial/ethnic heterogeneity translates into social policy outcomes.

A “Firm” Myopia: Johnson’s Gendered Policy towards the Cuban Revolution, 1963–1967

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Abstract

This study explores the extent to which gender, particularly masculinity, informed, defined, and formulated the Johnson administration’s post-missile-crisis era Cuban policy. Using a cultural approach, the project explores how domestic pressures, gender understandings, and the Cold War ideologies intertwined to formulate the continuity of the “isolationist” policy period towards Cuba. More-over, this study takes rhetoric and discourse seriously as a means of understanding how the policy was constructed—recognizing it is not generated in a vacuum, absent of personal reputation. Thus, this study explores the meaning of such gender-coded words such as “subversive communists,” or phallic outbursts like “Castro is urinating on us.” Although these concepts are central, it does not discredit racial, economic, geopolitical, and political interpretations of the time period. Instead, it entails that gender can add another dimension to other historical interpretations of the Johnson administration. Ultimately, I argue that the Johnson administration continued isolating Cuba partly due to a highly sexualized and masculine anti-communist ideology and, as a result, did little to improve Cold War tensions.

In October of 1964, Senator Barry Goldwater urged potential voters that President Johnson’s “curious crew” had a “policy of drift, deception, and defeat.”¹ Additionally, Goldwater proclaimed that Cuba’s threat and the Vietnam War were products of the Johnson administration’s “wind of weakness” originating from a “soft deal” on communism.² With the purpose of delegitimizing President

Johnson’s credibility, Goldwater consistently urged that Johnson’s policy consisted of “weakness, indecision, and indirection.”³ Beyond the domestic political sphere, Cuba’s leader, Fidel Castro, also articulated a discourse of masculinity to counter the Johnson administration. A few months prior to Goldwater’s remarks, in February of 1964, Castro asserted to ABC News’ Lisa Howard that he was interested in reconciliation with the U.S. However, he clearly did not want his appeasement to be misunderstood as “weakness”:

Tell the President he should not interpret my conciliatory attitude, my desire for discussions as a sign of *weakness*. Such an interpretation would be a serious miscalculation. We are not *weak* . . . the Revolution is *strong* . . . very *strong*. Nothing, absolutely nothing that the United States can do will destroy the Revolution. Yes we are *strong*. And it is from this position of *strength* that we wish to resolve our differences with the United States and to live in peace with all the nations of the world.⁴

This paper places these political remarks within a larger, highly sexualized and hyper-masculine discourse. It also demonstrates how the Johnson administration, those contending him, and the voting populous accepted masculinity as a form of political legitimacy. Some scholars, like Alexander DeConde, Alan McPherson, and Robert Dean, argue that U.S. Cold Warriors perceived policy-making as a way to preserve their identities as virile, strong, and relentless anti-communist leaders. Michael Kimmel argues that the executive office suffered from a so-called manhood crisis and thus made policy with an aggressive mentality. For Frank Ninkovich, the administration’s policy was part of a Cold War context, largely consumed by maintaining prestige at home and containing communism abroad. Lars Schoultz argues that the U.S. consolidated its interests in Cuba under the guise of imperial arrogance while claiming a benevolent authority. Louis A. Perez Jr. argues that the U.S. imperial metaphors of Cuba, particularly those that were gendered, justified U.S. interests and policy towards the island. Although scholars mention masculinity as an ideology for policy-making, few exclusively and thoroughly consider its impact on the Johnson administration’s decisions towards

¹ E.W. Kenworthy, “Goldwater Says Johnson ‘Doesn’t Understand’ Job: GOLDWATER FINDS POLICY ‘SHAMBLES,’” *New York Times*, October 21, 1964 <<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.whittier.edu/docview/115883366/abstract/133A629F7644F90AE86/211?accountid=25362>> (accessed November 14, 2011); emphasis added.

² Kenworthy, *New York Times*; emphasis added.

³ Charles Mohr, “Goldwater Says We Are at War,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1964 <<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.whittier.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/115881975/133A44A78EA5B91590D/1?accountid=25362>> (accessed November 11, 2011).

⁴ U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1963–1968, Lyndon B. Johnson, vol. XXXII, Dominican Republic; Cuba; Haiti; Guyana: Cuba*. (Washington, DC, GPO, 2005), 592; emphasis added to display gendered language.

the Revolution in the less dramatic post-missile-crisis years, from approximately 1963 to 1966.⁵

During crisis, the use of a hyper-masculine discourse is not surprising. Thus, to better understand “presidential machismo,” we must analyze its use in a relatively “calmer” post-missile-crisis setting. My aim is to argue that Johnson’s policy, rooted in anti-communism associated with the subversion of heterosexuality to the nation-state, was myopic; as a result, that nearsightedness limited the administration’s options at the boardroom table. Consequently and retrospectively, had Johnson ended the isolationist policy or, at the very least, seriously considered appeasement with Cuba, his domestic opponents and constituents, who believed a “firm” policy was the best policy, would have begun questioning his “resolve” towards the Cuban Revolution. However, Johnson and his “imperial brotherhood” did not question the masculine myopia. Robert Dean’s scholarship reveals how their life and political experiences were rooted in a masculine socialization.⁶ Thus, this binary led policymakers to predominantly consider “what-if” questions in terms of what would preserve their masculinity at the boardroom table, at the polling station, in the nationally and internationally read newspapers, and, most significantly, in Castro’s newly radicalized Cuban state.

The Policy

As soon as policymakers knew that Castro was increasingly inclined to communism, they isolated Cuba’s economy and continuously funded sabotage missions to assassinate Castro. Angry over the “loss of Cuba,” President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his administration isolated it; they restricted international trade with Cuba and abolished the U.S.’s sugar quota. By the time John F. Kennedy became President-elect in November of 1960, the Eisenhower administration had already planned an overthrow of Fidel Castro—the Bay of Pigs invasion. Although Kennedy replaced the administration, he and his advisors still carried

out the invasion. However, due to a lack of air support, the hired Cuban exiles could not fulfill “Operation Castration’s” mission. As a result, Kennedy’s reputation faltered, as he had campaigned to retrieve the “defiant” Cuba. Subsequently, in October of 1962, the Soviets armed Cuba with nuclear missiles. After a near-apocalyptic arms interrogation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Kennedy and Khrushchev negotiated a deal to remove the weapons from Cuban territory. The peaceful resolution, though, “left Castro unscathed” and, thus, “resulted in a redoubled effort within the White House to remove Castro by assassination.”⁷

Up until JFK’s assassination in October of 1963, U.S. policy towards Cuba roughly consisted of three measures: isolating Cuba’s economy, overthrowing and/or assassinating Castro, and using propaganda to undermine the revolution’s objectives. After JFK’s assassination, Castro remarked, “in a strange way, we believe Kennedy had to die so that the Cuban Revolution could live.”⁸ For Castro, JFK’s replacement, President Johnson, plausibly represented a shift in U.S.-Cuban relations. His conciliatory message three months after Kennedy’s death represented just that. However, although Johnson considered a shift, U.S. isolationist policy remained. The administration, though, gradually realized a Castro-removal was too difficult and subsequently cut the funding for sabotage missions. By 1965 and 1966, the administration had three policy measures: “strengthen internal resistance in Latin American countries, weaken Cuba, and demonstrate to the Soviets that they [had] made a mistake.”⁹ The “weakening” of Cuba consisted of a 1962 suspension from the Organization of American States (OAS), which, by 1964, halted “all bilateral diplomatic and consular relations, of all trade (except food and medicine), and of all sea transportation.”¹⁰ After successfully convicting Cuba of sending an arms cache to Venezuela in 1963, by mid-1964 the Johnson administration had most of Latin America on board with the isolationist policy. When OAS foreign ministers voted 15–4 to implement the added

⁵ Alexander DeConde, *Presidential Machismo: Executive Authority, Military Intervention, and Foreign Relations*. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000); Alan McPherson, “Misled by Himself: What the Johnson Tapes Reveal about the Dominican Intervention of 1965,” *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 2: 127–146, 2003. See also Robert Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996); Ninkovich, Frank. *Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Newer scholarship includes Lars Schoultz, *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009) and Louis A. Perez, Jr., *Cuba in the American Imagination* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

⁶ Robert D. Dean. *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

⁷ H.W. Brands, *The Foreign Policies of Lyndon Johnson: Beyond Vietnam*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1999, 66.

⁸ Ibid., 66.

⁹ FRUS., 714.

¹⁰ Lars Schoultz, *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 229.

restrictions of diplomacy and trade, Cuba could only turn to Mexico for diplomatic and economic relations.¹¹

Case Study of Gendered Policy: Castro, Johnson, and the Water Supply to Guantanamo

On February 2, 1964, the U.S. Coast Guard apprehended 38 Cubans in Florida waters. Judge Thomas Caro of the U.S. Criminal Court convicted the four captains, Gomez Barrios, José Garcia Rodriguez, José Manuel Ventura, and Evaldo Escandel Soto, of violating Florida waters. Caro sentenced all four to six months in jail, mandated a \$500 fine, and confiscated all of their catches.¹² In retaliation, on February 6, Fidel Castro cut off the water supply to the U.S.'s Guantanamo Bay Naval Station. The Johnson administration responded by firing hundreds of Cuban employees that worked at Guantanamo, cutting off the Cuban pipelines, taking water via tankers, and laying the infrastructure for a self-sufficient station. Before doing so, U.S. policymakers weighed these responses and retaliations within a gendered rationality.

When U.S. officials met the day after Castro cut the water supply, they weighed how the domestic and international political community would weigh their power and strength. For starters, CIA director McCone measured Castro's temperature, stating that his broadcasts regarding the issue were "mild" and "not nearly so hysterical as anticipated."¹³ Sensing the temperature, Thomas Mann believed the policymakers should not "stand *meekly* by."¹⁴ Instead, he urged them to consider U.S. "prestige in Latin America." For Mann, if the U.S. stated it did not need the water and supplied their own water, Latin America would perceive that Castro had successfully undermined their "prestige."¹⁵ Mann wanted Castro to receive the "worst of the bargain." Attorney General Robert Kennedy agreed, suggesting that if Castro turned the water back on, the U.S. would then say they did not need it. President Johnson, as reported by Dean Rusk, agreed, stating that forcing a Castro response was a "*decisive* and *strong* move."¹⁶ According to Rusk's relay of Johnson's

message, the group needed to be "*firm*" and not let Castro off "with a *mild* slap on the wrist."¹⁷ The relentless and proud President had also requested a meeting with the Russian Ambassador to inform "Khrushchev that 'Castro [was] an *irrational* man.'"¹⁸ By doing this, the Johnson Administration rationalized any diplomatic and political action "short of war" towards Cuba, to their Russian enemy—irrationality as a means for sabotage. Just like the colonial metaphor went, the "adult" acts decisively when the so-called "child" acts "immaturely." For the U.S., Castro cutting off their water supply was "immature," and, thus, they needed to respond, like a father would, with "decisive" and "firm" action.

For Johnson, the punishment of the fisherman was vital to political perception. Rival and radical Senator Barry Goldwater stated on February 7 that he "hoped President Johnson would have the '*courage*'" to tell Castro: "turn [the water] on or the marines [were] going to turn it on for you and keep it on."¹⁹ Moreover, Goldwater also reiterated maintaining a masculine posture that the U.S. citizenry would fully support: "I think I can promise President Johnson the backing of the American people if we don't take this one *lying* down."²⁰ Having read the *New York Times*, Johnson worried that U.S. voters would perceive him as "soft on communism," taking a "*lying* down" posture, and even exhibiting a lack of "*manly*" courage that Goldwater urged the presidency should project. Thus, Johnson urged that without any fines or punishment for the captured captains, his administration risked being perceived as "awfully soft" towards communism.²¹ Goldwater, the eventual 1964 Republican presidential candidate, urged the U.S. public to realize that the Johnson administration should pursue a naval blockade of Cuba. However, he insisted that the "disgraceful" administration did not block off Cuba or send marines because "this was the fear of the *pacifiers* of Washington."²² Senator Richard Russell agreed; he told Johnson that Castro was undermining the U.S.'s power and prestige.²³

¹¹ Ibid., 229.

¹² United Press International, "4 Cuban Captains of Seized Vessels Fined by Florida," *New York Times*, February 20, 1964 <<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.whittier.edu/docview/115815717?accountid=25362>> (accessed November 10, 2011).

¹³ U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1963–1968, Lyndon B. Johnson, vol. XXXII, Dominican Republic; Cuba; Haiti; Guyana: Cuba*, 568.

¹⁴ Ibid., 569; emphasis added.

¹⁵ Ibid., 569.

¹⁶ Ibid., 570; emphasis added.

¹⁷ Ibid., 571; emphasis added.

¹⁸ Ibid., 571; emphasis added.

¹⁹ Charles Mohr, "Send in Marines, Goldwater Says, He Demands Action Unless Cuba Restores Water," *New York Times*, February 7, 1964 <<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.whittier.edu/docview/115675840/133A629F7644F90AE86/20?accountid=25362>> (accessed November 15, 2011); emphasis added.

²⁰ Mohr, *New York Times*.

²¹ Ibid., 576.

²² Charles Mohr, "'Seal Off' Cuba, Goldwater Says: He Urges Naval Blockade in G.O.P. Talk in Chicago," *New York Times*, February 9, 1964 <<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.whittier.edu/docview/115670349/133A629F7644F90AE86/22?accountid=25362>> (accessed November 10, 2011); emphasis added.

²³ In addition to being Johnson's close friend, Richard Russell served as the chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services.

But they're [the U.S. public] just tired of Castro urinating on us and getting away with it. They don't like the smell of it any longer and they just want to sort of show that we are taking such steps as are within our power without involving the shedding of a lot of blood . . .²⁴

Russell related Castro's character in terms of a phallic metaphor—Castro urinating on the U.S. For someone like Johnson, who notoriously excreted with the door open in front of other decision-makers, this metaphor had meaning. Could Castro actually be undermining his presidency? If “bloodshed” was off the table, then what kind of policy would sustain the U.S.'s “strength, prestige, firmness, and decisiveness” without hindering their domestic and international legitimacy?

For the U.S., its macho anti-Castro policy would not be a hyper-masculine high-intensity war, like in Vietnam—Johnson understood this as fully castrating Ho Chi Minh while Fidel Castro's Cuba required a “nut-pinch.”²⁵ Instead, it required low-intensity warfare—promoting psychological propaganda, militaristic sabotage missions, and political internal dissidence. For Senator Richard Russell, U.S. sponsoring “bloodshed and warfare” in Cuba was out of the question. However, Russell's masculine worldview demanded that the U.S. not take a “*cringing* position,” especially in regards to Castro cutting off Guantanamo's water.²⁶ For President Johnson, macho-“firmness” was also the correct policy posture.

The Legacy of the Myopia

To maintain prestige and power domestically and internationally without escalating high intensity warfare in Cuba, Cold Warriors had to perform a fine-balancing act. In the context of Cuba, they had to appear “tough” enough to isolate and institute state-sponsored terrorism towards it without generating a fully escalated, and virile, war as they had in Vietnam. Perhaps the *New York Times*' Tom Wicker said it best:

. . . the lack of fresh Republican thinking on foreign issues—the Republican can stress on standing firm, digging in, talking tough—meant that Mr. Johnson could not afford much hospitality to new ideas,

whether from his own party's thinkers or from elsewhere . . . [thus] there seemed little possibility that the President, maneuvering carefully between Senator Goldwater and Senator Fulbright, would risk great new initiatives or venture far off familiar ground.²⁷

President Johnson thus made the choice to not “venture far off familiar” masculine-based policymaking because it was the mechanism of his administration's legitimacy. However, by doing so, he chose a path that led to few options. This balancing act frustrated both policymakers and the U.S. media. The *Des Moines Register*, as quoted in the *New York Times*, claimed that the state of affairs in the post-missile-crisis period was a “frustrating situation,” because Cuba, “a small neighbor and former protectorate” was “getting away with defiance.” Moreover, it claimed that the “‘Big Stick’ methods [did not] work as they once did.”²⁸ Although masculinity took an a relatively different form, as “carrying a Big Stick” was not as effective as it had been, it still provoked policymakers to isolate Cuba—a policy of dramatic significance and of little help to ease over Cold War tensions with the island.

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²⁴ FRUS., 581.

²⁵ Schultz, Lars. *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 214. Full quote, Johnson to Senator Fulbright: “I'm not getting into any Bay of Pigs deal. No, I'm just asking you what we ought to do to *pinch their nuts* more than we're doing.”

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 572; emphasis added.

²⁷ Tom Wicker, “G.O.P. Press Foreign Policy Issues: President Is Believed to Be Weak in This Sector and Almost Invulnerable on Domestic Issues,” *New York Times*, April 5, 1964 <<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.whittier.edu/docview/115582402/133A666AD855FF1B751/42?accountid=25362>> (accessed November 19, 2011).

²⁸ News Background Editorials, “Opinion of the Week: At Home and Abroad,” *New York Times*, May 24, 1964 <<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.whittier.edu/docview/115783156/abstract/133A70AACB53FECEE6D/52?accountid=25362>> (accessed November 19, 2011).

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“Yo Soy Negro, Pero Negro Blanco”: Hispanicity, Antihaitianismo, and Genocide in the Dominican Republic

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Abstract

This article is an excerpt from her senior honors thesis, which she worked on with her Mellon Mentor, Professor Ann Wightman, and her Thesis Mentor, Professor Alex Dupuy.

In November of 2009, the Dominican baseball player Sammy Sosa made headlines around the world when published photographs showed him with lightened facial pigmentation. Fans worried that Sosa might be ill, possibly suffering from vitiligo.¹ Sosa immediately addressed these concerns, stating that he was not ill, but rather was using a skin-whitening cream. In his hometown of San Pedro de Macoris, many were angered and offended by the pictures of a lighter Sammy Sosa. To the residents of a region inhabited primarily by dark-skinned Dominicans, Sosa seemed to be denying his blackness by lightening his skin.

In an exclusive interview on *Primer Impacto*—a popular show on Univision, one of the leading Latino networks in the United States—Sosa was asked by Tony Dandrade, himself a dark-skinned Dominican, whether he “was proud of being black.” Sammy Sosa responded, “All the time; that was the way that I was born, Tony. All my life I have wanted to look better. I do not see any kind of problem with that, but I do not forget where I come from.”² Sosa’s explanation offers a telling insight into the way race, ethnicity, and culture are often constructed in the Caribbean region and Latin America. While accepting the fact that he is phenotypically dark and a descendant of African slaves brought over to the New World, Sosa simultaneously identifies whiteness as the secret to looking “better.”

Blackness has long been plagued with negative connotations; nowhere is this clearer than in the Dominican Republic. Imbued with the notion that its culture, religion, and people are homogeneously white and Spanish, Dominican society has long denied its population’s African ancestry. The motivation for this denial lies in the

proximity to Haiti. Haiti, which proclaimed itself a Black Republic,³ represents, in the eyes of many Dominicans, a constant threat to Dominican culture and values. This sentiment grows out of a history between the two nations that stretches back to the colonial era. Several Haitian occupations of the Dominican Republic and the Dominicans’ fight for independence from their neighbor gave rise to intense hostility towards Haiti, its people, and its culture.

My honors thesis, “Yo Soy Negro, Pero Negro Blanco”: Hispanicity, *Antihaitianismo*, and Genocide in the Dominican Republic, looks at racial, ethnic, and national formations in Dominican society before and after the Haitian Massacre of 1937, a genocide ordered by General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina. Drawing on the work of scholars Michael Banton, Max Weber, Peter Wade, and Benedict Anderson, I argue that racial, ethnic, and national groups are created by individuals who feel attached to each other by a constructed common and shared ancestry. Out of this feeling of commonalities emerges nationalism, a deeply rooted sense of belonging to the nation. In order for race, ethnicity, and nationalism to develop, boundaries must be created to *define* the physical parameters of a race, ethnic group, or nation. Without such boundaries, anyone could become a member of these groups. The boundaries erected in the process of group formation serve to make clear what the group is and what it is not. Nations, races, and ethnic groups understand themselves in terms of the Self/Other dichotomy, with the Self, a superior being, standing for everything the Other, viewed as inferior, is not.

In the Dominican Republic, the definitions of race, ethnicity, and nationhood are conflated and rearticulated through an understanding that the nation is racially and ethnically white and Spanish. This conceptualization is obviously at odds with reality, considering the long histories of indigenous and African peoples both in colonial Santo Domingo and in the post-colonial, independent Dominican Republic. The population’s phenotypical characteristics, coupled with its cultural values and traditions, display a clear fusion of Spanish, indigenous, and African races, ethnicities, and cultures. The creation of a white and Spanish racial, ethnic, and cultural ideology and the vehement denial of blackness in the Dominican Republic gave rise to racist limitations on what being Dominican meant.

¹ “Vitiligo,” *PubMed Health*, Linda J. Vorvick, A.D.A.M. Medical Encyclopedia, 11/09/2010, 21 Mar 2012. <<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmedhealth/PMH0001834/>>.

² Sammy Sosa interview, November 10, 2009. *Primer Impacto*, Univision Studios. <<http://anyguy.guanabee.com/2009/11/sammy-sosa-4/>>.

³ In this case, capitalizing Black is necessary because of the political significance of the Haitian Revolution. In the rest of my thesis, the term black usually appears in lower case, because black has not become a politicized concept in the Dominican Republic as it did in the United States in the context of the Black Power Movement and in Haiti as a result of the Haitian Revolution.

These limitations had the effect of defining Haitians as a foreign, threatening force and justifying nationalistic calls to protect the Dominican Republic from further Haitian intrusion. Albert Memmi argues that racism develops out of fear and aggression: "Fear always accompanies the undertaking of hostility For racism, its attacks are always seen as preventive reactions to what is unforeseeably foreseen as aggression by the adversary."⁴ Such sentiments can be clearly discerned in the actions of the Dominican government and Dominican society. The fear of Dominicans that their country will be penetrated by Haitian culture, language, customs, and thought directly informs Dominicans' aggressive stance towards their neighbors.

Both the Dominican elite and the Dominican government have worked to engrain racist, anti-Haitian sentiment in Dominican society since before Dominican independence in 1844. But racist sentiments and campaigns did not become fatally violent until the Haitian Massacre, in which thousands of Haitians were slaughtered on the Dominican side of the Dominican/Haitian border. The Dominican government domestically justified the massacre as necessary for the racial, cultural, and social preservation of the nation. Memmi notes that "racism truly begins when one prepares or justifies an offense or an assault through the devaluation of the other; that is, when one sets in motion certain discursive machinery that conceptually nullifies others and whose main function is to provide the groundwork for concretely preying upon and injuring them."⁵ The Haitian Massacre epitomizes the mechanism Memmi describes: the deaths of thousands were interpreted as necessary, with no concern for those who died or the families left behind. Moreover, the massacre provided the foundation for a rearticulation of the *antibaitianismo* that characterized the Trujillo regime.

In the first chapter of my thesis, I present a historical account of *antibaitianismo* prior to the Haitian Massacre. *Antibaitianismo* is the belief that Haiti and its people are racially, ethnically, morally, and mentally inferior to the Dominican Republic and Dominican people. As an ideology, *antibaitianismo* posits a binary distinction between Dominican and Haitian identities. I trace the process of national identity construction, in the course of which blackness came to be conflated with Haitian identity, while Dominicanity was defined as a blend of Spanish and indigenous cultures, devoid of African influences. The development of *antibaitianismo* goes back to the colonial era, with the most important event being the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697, which officially divided

the island of Hispaniola into Spanish Santo Domingo and French Saint-Domingue.

Anti-Haitian sentiment strengthened with the 22-year Haitian occupation of the Dominican Republic and solidified itself as a racist ideology as a result of Dominican independence in 1844. Dominican/Haitian relations remained tense during the first decades of Dominican independence. Border disputes occurred repeatedly; agreements made were rarely upheld, and the border between the two nations remained unsettled. The friction intensified with the U.S. occupation of the entire island in the early 1900s. The end of the 1920s found the Dominican Republic with a newly established police force and army and Trujillo emerging as a political force. His seizure of power in 1930 marks the beginning of the Trujillo Era.

In the second chapter, I evaluate the Haitian Massacre and its consequences. After setting in motion the killing of thousands of Haitians, Trujillo and his regime attempted to cover up the massacre but failed to convince the international community. Trujillo managed nonetheless to avoid serious repercussions and agreed to a monetary settlement between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. The effects of the massacre persisted, increasing in severity during the later years of Trujillo's regime. The once bicultural and bilingual community that had characterized the Dominican/Haitian borderlands was destroyed. After the massacre, the border became a heavily monitored location; augmented security made crossing between the neighboring nations almost impossible. As a result, several lucrative markets that had depended on the fluidity of the border, including cattle herding and selling, collapsed, driving the frontier communities into an economic depression. The closure of the border also allowed for the spread of the racist notions of Dominicanity advocated by the Dominican elite and policy-makers. It took only a generation before the understanding of race and ethnicity that had existed in the border regions was supplanted by the dominant elite's notion of Dominicanity. For the children born after the massacre, who had never seen the bicultural and bilingual frontier familiar to their parents and ancestors, the predominant Dominican race theory became their way of identifying themselves. A rearticulated *antibaitianismo* served as the unifying ideology during the remainder of Trujillo's regime, offering the basis for a new nationalist rhetoric. Maintenance of a rigid physical boundary between Dominicans and Haitians generated an "us against them" mentality.

⁴ Albert Memmi, *Racism*, translated by Steve Martinot (Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press, 2000) 104.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

In the third chapter, I look at how Manuel Arturo Peña Batlle and Joaquín Balaguer, two leading intellectuals of the Trujillo regime, speak about Dominican society and history. It was their works that laid the foundation on which the other intellectuals who rose to prominence during this period based their thinking. Scholars such as Sócrates Nolasco, Angel S. del Rosario Pérez, Carlos Augusto Sánchez y Sánchez, and Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi all produced writings during the Trujillo Era that promoted the new *antihaitianismo*. These scholars asserted that Haitians represented an imminent threat to Dominican society and culture. Like Balaguer, many of them were convinced that there was a biological difference between Haitians and Dominicans, and, like Peña Batlle, all used a revised history to undergird their racist claims. Balaguer and Peña Batlle, through different methods, reinforced *antihaitianismo* for Trujillo's totalitarian government, intent on securing the absolute social and political cohesion of the Dominican Republic. Holding up Trujillo as the "Savior and Father of the Nation," both authors recast and reworked Dominican and Dominican/Haitian history to get their points across.

Balaguer maintained that Haitians and Dominicans were racially different. He described Dominicans as descendants of a "Spanish race," while Haitians were descendants of an "Ethiopian race."⁶ The historian Pedro L. San Miguel and the sociologist Ernesto Sagás argue that Balaguer conflated race, ethnicity, nation, and culture: his insistence that Dominicans were biologically white and of Spanish origin led him to conclude that they formed a nation that was also ethnically and culturally white and Spanish. Balaguer's construction of Dominican identity made no allowance for obvious African and indigenous influences on Dominican society. Balaguer furthermore invoked negative stereotypes about Haitians to support his assumptions about Dominicans' racial, ethnic, and cultural characteristics. Many of his assertions amount to nothing more than a racist narrative rather than a serious attempt to understand the complicated history of the Dominican Republic and Haiti and their peoples. The effect was to impose on the majority of Dominicans a racial, ethnic, and national identity at odds with their actual heritage. Peña Batlle, in his definition of Dominicanity, did not conflate race, ethnicity, and nation. He portrayed Dominicans as the descendants of a mixture of Spanish, African, and indigenous racial and ethnic groups. He stressed, however, that racial and ethnic origins were irrelevant, because Dominicans were socialized in a Spanish society, which automatically made their culture and nation white and Spanish. Peña Batlle rewrote Dominican/Haitian

history to support his claims. Ernesto Sagás stresses that while both men harbored strong anti-Haitian sentiments, "Balaguer's *antihaitianismo* clearly lacks the historical coherence of Peña Batlle's arguments."⁷

Despite the differences in their construction of Dominicanity, these scholars shared a concern for the preservation of Hispanicity. Fear and paranoia regarding the loss of Spanish culture and the spread of Haitian culture into the Dominican Republic permeated their arguments and supported racist anti-Haitian sentiment. According to their agenda, it was imperative that the cultural purity of the Dominican Republic be maintained at all costs. While Balaguer was generally known as the principal apologist of the Trujillo regime, Peña Batlle became the chief intellectual leading the new *antihaitianismo* movement. Taking an unapologetic stance toward Haitians and the threat that he claimed they posed to Dominican society, Peña Batlle made no attempt to conceal his *antihaitianismo*: Dominicans and Haitians were inherently different, and Haitians were unmistakably inferior.

In the final chapter, I address contemporary conceptions of Dominicanity and *antihaitianismo* by reviewing major scholarly trends that have emerged in the past three decades. Many of the more recent works being produced in the Dominican Republic try to revise long unquestioned histories and narratives about Dominican/Haitian relations and the Haitian Massacre. This scholarly counter-narrative is complemented by a literary movement to which both Dominican and Haitian authors are contributing, chief among them Julia Alvarez and Edwidge Danticat, along with the Peruvian author Mario Vargas Llosa. The scholarly and literary counternarrative does not stand uncontested; contemporary scholarly texts that follow in the *Trujillista* tradition are still being written.

In my conclusion, I suggest directions for future research on this topic, now that I have established that *antihaitianismo* and a definition of Dominicanity privileging whiteness and Hispanicity are co-constructed ideologies. *Antihaitianismo* gave rise to the narrow definition of Dominicanity that disregards racial and ethnic realities. Fear of blackness and the specter of a loss of Dominican purity have made Dominicans unable to see themselves for what they are. The denial of African origins has also worked to exclude Dominicans of Haitian descent and dark-skinned Dominicans from full acceptance in Dominican society. For these individuals, a vocal disavowal of blackness has become

⁶ Balaguer used the terms "black race" and "Ethiopian race" interchangeably as a way of describing Haitians.

⁷ Ernesto Sagás, *Race and Politics in the Dominican Republic* (Gainesville, FL: Univ. of Florida Press, 2000) 52.

necessary before they can be considered—by themselves and others—Dominican.

When I went to the Dominican Republic to conduct my research last summer, I could see some ways that the current counternarrative had directly affected some Dominicans. Members of my family were troubled by the history of conflict between the Dominican Republic and Haiti and admitted that the treatment of Haitians in the Dominican Republic needed to change for the better. On the other hand, when two of my cousins asked what my research was about, and I said I was looking at the Haitian Massacre, they hastened to set me straight: “*No te confunda, tu no eres negra, tu no eres haitiana. Tu eres morenita, si, pero no negra.*” (Do not be confused, you are not black, you are not Haitian. You are a little dark-skinned, yes, but not black.) This contradictory comment highlights the uncertain place in which Dominican society finds itself. My cousins’ insistence that I am not black is very similar to a common phrase Dominicans used in the late 19th century: “*Yo soy negro, pero negro blanco*”—“I am black, but white black.” One could hardly imagine a more poignant expression of the tangled ideas about racial, ethnic, and national identities in the Dominican Republic.

Sociologists, historians, and anthropologists, among others, have increasingly become interested in the Dominican Republic, its history, and its culture. In particular, the Trujillo regime and the continued plight of Haitian migrant workers have attracted attention. I contend that future research should also look at the influence of transnationalism and globalization on Dominican racial, ethnic, and national understandings. As larger numbers of Dominicans no longer reside in the Dominican Republic but rather in urban centers such as New York, Boston, and Providence, traveling back and forth between the United States and the Dominican Republic has become frequent. The travelers bring not only American currency but also American cultural values. Nowhere is this exchange more tangible than among members of the younger generations, who have grown up in an environment where they listen to *merengue*, *bachata*, *salsa*, R&B, and hip-hop, all in the same neighborhood. Today’s young people have created a more malleable definition of Dominicanity for themselves that they carry back to the Dominican Republic when they go there to visit.

If we return to the Sammy Sosa scandal, we can see the dilemma clearly: Sosa asserts that while he is proud of being black, he is whitening his skin because he wishes to look better. Sosa’s desire of whiter skin is rooted in problematic

understandings of race, color, culture, and nationhood. In order for the Dominican Republic to be inclusive of its constituents, it must reconsider the definition of Dominicanity that portrays Dominican society as strictly white and Spanish—racially, ethnically, and nationally. Only then will dark-skinned Dominicans and Dominicans of Haitian descent be able to function as full members of Dominican society. The refusal to recognize and accept blackness is hindering the Dominican Republic’s potential to understand, acknowledge, and benefit from its multiple racial, ethnic, and cultural heritages. The re-articulation of Dominicanity along more generous lines will also make possible a Dominican society *not* defined by anti-Haitian sentiment and willing to establish a genuinely good relationship with its neighbors for the first time in their shared history.

“Charm, Culture, and Dreadlocks”: Jamaican Beauty Queens and Gendered Nationalist Performativity

Amanda Reid, *Williams College*

Amanda graduated from Williams College in 2012 with a BA in History and concentration in Africana Studies. Her research interests include gender and nationalism in Southeast Asia and the Caribbean and the visual cultural of nationalist and liberation movements. She is currently enjoying sharing her love of academics and pop culture with her students at Vinh University in Nghe An province, Vietnam, as a Fulbright English Assistant.

Abstract

This paper reflects some conclusions from the research project she conducted as a Mellon Mays Undergraduate Research Fellowship. The project examined gender, nationalism, and the effects of tourism on the national-building project in Jamaica from the 1960s to the 1990s through the lens of the three Jamaican women who won the Miss World Pageant. It connects newspaper discourse about each Miss World and her representation of an ideal female citizenship with the politics and political rhetoric of her historical moment. Using the stories of these three women, this paper reflects on how tourism contributed not only to Jamaica's continued economic dependence on Europe and the United States but how the tourist's gaze dictated what Jamaica's leaders defined to be successful performance of Jamaican identity.

Several years ago, my mother emailed me an article from the March 27, 2007 issue of *The Gleaner* entitled “Rastafarian Wins Miss JA Universe Title.”¹ At the top of the page was a picture of Zahra Redwood, a beautiful, dark-skinned beauty queen with long dreadlocks down past her waist who became the first Rastafarian woman to win the Miss Jamaica Universe pageant. After a quick Internet search, I learned that Redwood had made headlines around the world. The international press registered the public's surprise that a woman who was supposed to set the standard of feminine grace and refinement also claimed an identity that in the eyes of much of the West is embodied by Bob Marley and pot-smoking “trustafarians” with *One Love* t-shirts. Images of Redwood, however, sought to reconcile these stereotypes of masculinist Rastafarian-inspired popular culture and hegemonic standards of beauty. Setting aside the traditional costume of Miss Jamaica in the international Miss Universe pageant, which is usually a modernized take on a 19th-century peasant dress, Redwood chose to wear a long, red skirt and a black Bob Marley t-shirt—much like

ones that are sold at tourist craft markets in Negril—all topped off by a red, green, and gold floor-length duster with the Rastafari Lion of Judah bedazzled on the back. The image was captivating, as if she had been produced and packaged specifically to fulfill the state's goals of black modernity and the aims of the Jamaican Tourist Board—a uniquely Jamaican cultural symbol glamorously displayed for international consumption. A *Gleaner* interview labeled her “an ideal J’can mix,” evoking the discourse of Creoleness to describe her rootsy blackness, refinement, and touristic stereotypes. Denying any possible conflicts between international pageant culture and doctrines of her faith (particularly their mandates of female modesty), Redwood told *The Gleaner*: “The Rastafarian culture and beauty pageants have a great deal in common because they both promote decorum in the attitude of the female and the female as a role model in society. You’re looking at beauty of the mind, body, and soul.”² As I looked at her image, I saw the work of decades of marketing what was once considered radical black culture to suit the state's economic goals fully realized.

My interest in Redwood, which began as casual Internet browsing and developed into a full-blown Google Images obsession, became point of departure for a larger research project that centered on the three Miss Jamaicas who won Miss World: Carol Crawford (Miss World 1963), Cindy Breakspeare (Miss World 1976), and Lisa Hanna (Miss World 1993). Representing a Creole beauty, a white Canadian immigrant, and a dark-skinned member of society's elite, these case studies highlight and reveal the politics, contestations, and continuities that have shaped the multiple ways that Jamaicans have constructed their national identity from independence to the present. Drawing from articles and reader responses published in *The Daily Gleaner* newspaper and its various tabloid and magazine subsidiaries in each of their year-long reigns, I analyzed how each beauty queen's performance of femininity and citizenship legitimized or contested three distinct periods of Jamaican political leadership: the Creole Nationalism of the 1960s, the Democratic Socialism of the 1970s, and the Black Bourgeoisie of the 1990s.³

My exploration of Jamaican beauty queens is particularly concerned with how Miss Jamaica World fostered discussions that addressed the centrality of blackness to the nationalistic and touristic depictions of Jamaican identity in the national media. As the largest media corporation in Jamaica, *The Daily Gleaner* was fairly conservative, nationalist,

¹ Kavelle Anglin-Christie, “Rastafarian Wins Miss JA Universe Title.” *The Gleaner*, March 27, 2007, available at <<http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20070327/lead/lead3.html>>.

² “Redwood, an Ideal J’can Mix,” *The Gleaner*, March 7, 2007, available at <<http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20070325/ent/ent5.html>>.

³ *The Gleaner* is Jamaica's oldest newspaper and has had the widest circulation for the majority of the 20th century.

⁴ Lisa Douglass, *The Power of Sentiment: Love, Hierarchies, and the Jamaican Family Elite* (Oxford: Westview Press, Inc., 1992) 83.

and aligned with the interests of ruling elite.⁴ While *The Gleaner's* editorial voice often reflected the concerns of the middle class and targeted primarily urban, literate Jamaicans, it had a profound effect on political opinion across Jamaican society.⁵ I draw excerpts from throughout the paper on the topic of Miss Jamaica World (e.g., conversations in news items, opinion columns, editorials, and letters to the editor), to argue that Jamaica's reliance on its tourist economy exerted a neo-colonial influence that dictated what was deemed a successful performance of national identity and contributed to the social conditions of race, class, and gender that allow Jamaicans to receive full rights of citizenship.

Admittedly, this racialized notion of the "face of the nation" and the symbols that have come to represent Jamaicanness have changed dramatically over the past 50 years that Jamaica has been a fully sovereign nation. Just as the politics of Jamaica's charismatic male leaders have changed, so have the cultural symbols and national heroes that have shaped the history of Jamaican nationalism. During the 1962–1967 administration of Prime Minister Alexander Bustamante, national pride and economic power were envisioned as proximity to white Europeaness, a performance that Carol Crawford's light-skinned respectability embodied perfectly. *The Gleaner* and new government represented Crawford as a signifier for the "civilized" society that produced her, a tropical paradise that was polished, tamed, and ready to welcome the world. Under the democratic-socialist leadership of Prime Minister Michael Manley in the 1970s, foreign politics and domestic political rhetoric demonstrated a new Jamaican national identity that associated itself with Third Worldism and Pan-Africanism, alliances that at times directly opposed the hegemonic power of the West. While Breakspear's light skin and failure to protest apartheid were seen as antithetical to the nationalist rhetoric of the 1970s, she also represented a performance of cultural Jamaican blackness that was powerfully relevant and current to her political moment and proved to have incredible staying power in the public imagination. Finally, *The Gleaner's* coverage of Lisa Hanna in 1993 and 1994 framed her as the female representative of the "modern Blackness" of the black bourgeoisie—led by Prime Minister P.J. Patterson—and its vision of black

capitalist progress at the end of the 20th century.⁶ The impact of the labor that these women contributed towards the nationalist cause—and the ways that they fueled counter-discourse against reigning nationalist tropes—was reflected in Jamaicans' deep investment in the lively and fruitful discussions about their validity. Jamaica's obsession with their Miss Worlds provides a record of the contributions that women made for the state's nationalist project, a story that filled *The Gleaner's* pages yet is rarely told in Jamaican histories.

As different as their faces and performances may seem, it would be misguided to adopt a simplistic narrative of the gradual blackening of Jamaica nationalism as indicative of progressive political change, from embracing explicitly black nationalist cultural symbols to eventually electing black leadership as representations of the nation. Moments when Jamaica was politically or symbolically represented by black figures did not necessarily bring about meaningful social reform to address racial and class inequalities. For instance, while the People's National Party (PNP) administration of the 1970s was led by the brown Creole figure of Manley, it embraced the contemporary black culture of its time and sought to provide all Jamaicans with democratic access to national political decision making. Similarly, while Patterson's PNP administration explicitly associated blackness with Jamaicanness, his vision of blackness was rooted in an historical ideal, which could be branded, simplified, and manipulated for political means much easier than the complex and often turbulent notions of blackness reflected in his contemporary Jamaica. However, all three decades were plagued by the same indebtedness to Western superpowers, which stunted Jamaica's economic growth and made the success of the tourist industry even more important to the country's survival. It also inexorably tied Jamaican performances of nationality to the stereotypes and expectations held by the white, Western world.

In the 21st century, Redwood, an educated "modern" woman who had grown up in the radical black nationalist tradition of the Rastafari faith, continued *The Gleaner's* work of constructing female gender performativity by framing her lifestyle, intelligence, body, and beliefs as part of a brand.

⁵ Douglass, *Power of Sentiment*, 83. See also Stephens, Evelynne Huber, and John D. Stephens, *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica: The Political Movement and Social Transformation in Dependent Capitalism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

⁶ Deborah A. Thomas coined the term "modern Blackness" to describe this capitalist framework that Jamaicans across social classes embraced as in the 1990s. See Deborah Thomas, "Modern Blackness: 'What We Are and What We Hope to Be,'" *Small Axe* 12 (September 2002); Deborah A. Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Don Robotham, "Blackening the Jamaican Nation: The Travails of a Black Bourgeoisie in a Globalized World," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 7, no. 1 (2000).

My entry in the Miss Jamaica Universe pageant will assist in boosting “Brand Jamaica” in pretty much getting rid of that stigma that we are just all about music. You think of girls who are very intelligent and who have a cause for entering the pageant and a patriotic cause for nation building. And being a fan of these pageants will allow me to put a spin on how it is that Jamaica has been perceived by persons internationally and locally. They know that they are seeing something different. They are seeing the face of a Rastafarian, whose culture is so much Jamaican.⁷

Redwood’s statement, published in an interview in *The Gleaner*, indicated that she saw Jamaican beauty queens as representatives of the progress and modernity of her nation to the rest of the world. Redwood framed it as her patriotic duty to challenge that which she saw as a negative or simplistic understanding of her national culture, even as she enforced other stereotypes, such as to be Jamaican is to be Rastafarian.

The consistent presence of tourism and national tourism marketing strategy popularly known as “Brand Jamaica” in discourses of national identity and progress—both in the words of *Gleaner* writers and readers—reveal that it has become a central component of Jamaican identity over the course of the 20th century. The political underpinnings of this discourse—which solidified the domestic popularity of Miss Jamaica World and validated the beauty queen’s symbolic status—was dictated by a common economic apparatus. Each woman was representing a vision of a brand of Jamaican citizenship that nationalist myths maintained would bring economic success and international respect to their nation.

Female bodies continue to carry much of the burden of both respectability and exotic desirability that make up this brand. Miss Jamaica must signify hospitality, safety, and authentic “Jamaicanness” that visitors crave, and thus Miss Jamaica is the ideal public figure to model the government’s efforts to make Jamaica into a “touristic culture.”⁸ Through the lens of Miss Jamaica as the ultimate example of femininity, Jamaican women were both glorified and censured in

public discourse according to the brand’s standards. By presenting Carol Crawford’s light-skinned body and erotic mulatto desirability as the vision for the new nation’s goals to grow as a tourist destination, Creole nationalists in the 1960s denied the fact of Jamaica’s blackness and excluded the black majority from their aims of modernity. In the 1990s, the Jamaican government promoted images of middle-class respectability and femininity modeled by Lisa Hanna; however, they juxtaposed her with what they deemed negative or “uncivilized” elements of lower-class black Jamaican culture.⁹

The complex identities of each individual contestant forced Jamaicans to contemplate and reassess their notions of the “ideal.” Each contestant engaged in this process in a powerfully public way, asserting her own subjectivity to add to a national conversation and shift nationalist discourse. Crawford claimed the title of “ambassadoress,” despite *The Gleaner*’s portrayal of her role as merely decorative. Breakspeare refused to be portrayed as merely a servant to her nation, asserting her love for her country as well as her own personal ambition. She also rejected some of the conservative behaviors and self-fashioning of “respectable” middle-class women by forming a relationship with Bob Marley and promoting a “bohemian lifestyle.”¹⁰ Lisa Hanna also continually asserted her own identity as a youth leader and activist—and eventually politician—over her status as a beauty queen, consciously framing her political purpose as part of the black bourgeois political agenda. While the Miss World pageant expands how Jamaican women can be studied as prominent nationalist icons in their own right—not simply subordinated helpmates—it also reveals the masculinism that is at the core of Creole nationalism and the format of the beauty pageant limited what Jamaicans understood to be the boundaries of women’s abilities to act as powerful public figures.¹¹

While pageants do reveal hegemonic constructs of citizenship, their representative status also invites Jamaicans to enter into a dialogue about who they are as a nation and

⁷ “Redwood, an Ideal J’can Mix,” *The Gleaner*.

⁸ My engagement with the notion of touristic culture was influenced by: Michel Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 1998).

⁹ See Patterson’s early 1990s speeches in Percival James Patterson, *In Search of a New Jamaica: Determined Fight for Good Governance: Selected Speeches* (Kingston: Jamaica Information Service for the Office of the Prime Minister, 2005) 14. See P.J. Patterson, *In Search of a New Jamaica: Determined Fight for Good Governance: Selected Speeches*, ed. Sandra Graham (Kingston: Jamaica Information Service for the Office of the Prime Minister, 2005) 9, 17; P.J. Patterson, *The Challenges of Change: P.J. Patterson Budget Presentations, 1992–2002*, ed. Delano Franklyn (Kingston: I. Randle, 2004), 78. See also Thomas, *Modern Blackness*.

¹⁰ In my larger paper, I discuss how Breakspeare’s ability to be associated with black counter-culture without public backlash or loss of her feminine respectability was in large part a privilege of her whiteness, while the same behaviors by a black women would have been considered markers of a lower-class, unfeminine nature.

¹¹ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, & Bases*, 44.

who they want to be in the eyes of the rest of the world. By praising, accepting, debating, challenging, and sometimes resisting definitions of national culture, Jamaicans took part in shaping the nation-building process and inserting their own voices into the national history. This process of collective “branding” has become a way that Jamaicans claim their rights of citizenship and take part in the cultural mark that Jamaica has made on the world. Through the now-ritual act of affirming or contesting each woman’s legitimacy in *The Gleaner*, Jamaicans crowned Miss World for themselves, claiming these women as representatives of their hopes for the future.

Negotiating Health Care at the South Bronx's Lincoln Hospital

Taisha Rodriguez, *Williams College*

Hailing from Bronx, NY, Taisha Rodriguez graduated from Williams College in 2012, having majored in American Studies and Psychology as well as Latina/o Studies. Taisha is currently teaching at a charter school before applying to graduate school.

Abstract

The article examines the health care debate that emerged from the actions and rhetoric of the Young Lords Party at the South Bronx's Lincoln Hospital during the 1970s and the responses of the *New York Times*. Utilizing newspaper articles and statistical reports from the New York City Department of Health, it also examines health care issues at Lincoln Hospital that remained despite the construction of new facilities in 1976. The analysis focuses on how the health care discussions and the terminology shifted with time.

"Welcome to the People's Hospital," read a banner hung on the exterior of the South Bronx's Lincoln Hospital on July 14, 1970. It epitomized the core of the demands that the Young Lords Party, a Puerto Rican activist group with a socialist and nationalist agenda, presented to Lincoln Hospital administrators. During their 12-hour takeover of the medical center's administrative building, the group demanded community control of the facilities and that services meet the needs of community residents. More specifically, their demands included: preventative health care, continuation of services, training, and employment for community residents, and a grievance table where both patients and employees could voice their complaints. After negotiations with Lincoln Hospital's administrators, hospital director Dr. Antero Lacot, a Puerto Rican gynecologist and the first non-white person to occupy a high-ranking management position, granted the Young Lords' demand for a complaint table. The group voluntarily exited the building without having caused any physical damage to the property.¹

The next day, on behalf of the Lincoln Hospital administration, Dr. Lacot announced that the administration agreed to ensure no cutbacks in jobs or services, to implement preventative programs, and to continue with discussions for the construction of a new Lincoln Hospital.²

With their continued advocacy, the Young Lords Party members remained an active presence at Lincoln Hospital by assisting staff with interpreting and paperwork, manning a complaint table, and using an x-ray truck for tuberculosis screening.³ Consistent with their goals for community control and self-determination, the Young Lords not only advocated for community residents to attain employment and training opportunities at Lincoln Hospital but also sought to ensure that the hospital employees, who served predominantly low-income patients, be attentive to the needs of the community and treat them with dignity. Through the distribution of information and rallies, the organization asserted the community's rights and hoped that patients would demand adequate services rather than become complacent with poor, indecent treatment.

In 1970, Lincoln Hospital became a focal point for debates over health care, with issues centering on inadequate health services and patient care. Numerous protests, the Young Lords' "takeover," an abortion-related death, changes within the hospital's administration, and doctor walkouts positioned Lincoln Hospital at the forefront of health care debates among the Young Lords Party, the *New York Times*, and medical professionals. For the Young Lords, Lincoln Hospital was part of their larger, ongoing health care initiatives. In advocating an explicitly socialist agenda, which the Young Lords termed as "socialist medicine," the organization promoted "community control" and "self-determination."⁴ For the Young Lords, community control and self-determination meant that community residents could feel empowered within their local hospitals through employment opportunities and by voicing residents' concerns and needs.⁵ The Young Lords' takeover of the administrative building at Lincoln Hospital commenced the negotiating processes between community members and hospital administrators.

The *New York Times*, previously inattentive to Lincoln Hospital, was rather dismissive of the Young Lords' efforts and actions. The newspaper coverage often presented the organization as one that promoted militant, racialized nationalism. It also juxtaposed the Young Lords' vision for community control at Lincoln Hospital as contradictory to its own notions of professionalism. The doctors and

¹ Alfonso A. Narvaez, "Young Lords Seize Lincoln Hospital: Offices Are Held for 12 Hours—Official Calls Points Valid," *New York Times*, 15 July 1970; Martin Gansberg, "Abortion Death Reported by City: Victim Is First Here since State Law Was Relaxed," *New York Times*, 21 July 1970; Alfonso A. Narvaez, "Doctors at Lincoln Hospital Threaten to Resign: Charge Harassment in Clinic by Young Lords and Other Activist Community Units," *New York Times*, 29 July 1970.

² Alfonso A. Narvaez, "Lincoln Hospital Hears Demands: Officials Meet with Young Lords to Discuss Problems," *New York Times*, 16 July 1970; Narvaez, "Young Lords Seize Lincoln Hospital," *New York Times*, 15 July 1970.

³ Narvaez, "Doctors at Lincoln Hospital Threaten to Resign," *New York Times*, 29 July 1970; Alfonso A. Narvaez, "Lincoln Doctors to Aid Militants: Action Is Taken to Insure Peace in Hospital," *New York Times*, 30 July 1970; Charlayne Hunter, "Community Dispute Cuts Service at City Hospital: Dispute Cripples Lincoln Hospital," *New York Times*, 26 August 1970; Esli Ramon Gonzalez, "Creo que me Equivoque con los 'Young Lords': Dr. Lacot," *El Diario-La Prensa*, 30 Agosto 1970.

⁴ Carl Pastor, "Socialist Medicine," *Palante*, 5 June 1970, in *The Young Lords: A Reader*, ed. Darrel Enck-Wanzer (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 192–193.

⁵ Hunter, "Community Dispute Cuts Service at City Hospital," *New York Times*, 26 August 1970.

administrators at Lincoln Hospital who promoted professionalism advocated for hospital employees to be completely in charge of the decisions, actions, and services.⁶ Other doctors and staff at Lincoln Hospital, however, supported the Young Lords' calls for change. Although the *New York Times* presented community control and professionalism as contradictory ideals, the Young Lords instead attempted to work with Lincoln Hospital employees to ensure that patient needs remained at the forefront of patient care. The Young Lords expanded the definition of professionalism to include providing dignified and humane care, along with a commitment to meeting the needs of the community.

After years of debates, conversations, and tensions, the long-awaited "new" Lincoln Hospital welcomed patients for the first time on March 1976 in its new location on 149th Street and Park Ave. However, the hospital opened on the heels of the New York City fiscal crisis of 1975, a time of significant reductions in public services and institutions.⁷ While public agencies were deeply affected as a result of the fiscal crisis, urban studies scholar William Sites describes how the severity of the crisis even positioned prominent banks at risk for significant losses.⁸ In fact, the "new" Lincoln Hospital opened earlier than expected due to the closing of two other Bronx Hospitals—Fordham and Morrisania. As a municipal hospital, Lincoln faced decreased funding, which made it difficult to provide basic care and maintain equipment for specialized services. The increased reliance of poor residents on the services at Lincoln Hospital during a time when the municipal hospital struggled with its limited resources made the South Bronx residents vulnerable to inadequate services and treatments.

Less than two years after the new facility opened, the ongoing discourse centered on underfunding, understaffing, the challenges of municipal hospitals, and doctors' and administrators' attitudes towards patients. In a November 1978 *New York Times* article, journalist Ronald Sullivan described how South Bronx residents referred to physicians as "butchers," reminiscent of the terminology used by the Young Lords eight years earlier. Politicians who had previously praised the new facilities began to criticize the physicians at Lincoln Hospital. These statements suggest that, despite acquiring new facilities, little progress had been

accomplished in regards to doctors' treatments towards patients. Considerable work remained necessary to shift doctors' attitudes towards patients and to equip doctors to cope with the unpredictable dimensions of the South Bronx community, circumstances that the construction of new facilities simply could not address. In fact, Sullivan cited a city report concluding that "the hospital simply did not work."⁹ While this conclusion may have appeared premature in 1978, media coverage and perceptions of Lincoln Hospital show that providing adequate and dignified care would remain an issue for years to come.

Dr. Fitzhugh Mullan, a resident physician at Lincoln Hospital's emergency room, wrote about his experiences and perspectives on providing better health care for the community in a 1978 *New York Times* article. He noted that municipal hospitals in poor communities were often utilized and exploited as stepping-stones for higher paying, less demanding, more desirable work opportunities. After gaining experience and completing their residency, doctors moved on to the next step of their lives and considered their own advancement rather than their impacts on health care. Dr. Mullan labeled doctors and the field of medicine as suffering from "social complacency," in which the patient was not central but rather "high incomes, professional mobility, [and] social respect" had become motivational factors for progressing within their career.¹⁰ Instead, Dr. Mullan provided an alternative notion of professionalism, and what he called "city medicine." He emphasized the importance of fostering a sense of commitment to the community among medical residents and physicians to provide better care for patients. Dr. Mullan wrote, "The real pay for these physicians will have to come from watching their clinics take root and grow, from seeing their neighborhoods made a little more humane by their labors. Mainline American-trained physicians have largely avoided the tough neighborhoods. If medicine is to be effective, much of it has to be practiced in the neighborhood."¹¹ Similar to the Young Lords' advocacy to bring health care to the people, Dr. Mullan hoped that city doctors would become more engaged in the hospitals' surrounding community.

In 2000, talk of financial difficulties, low salaries, and undesirability of municipal hospitals serving poor communities in New York City echoed Dr. Mullan's perspective in

⁶ Edward Hudson, "Doctors Stay Out at Hospital Here: Injunction Fails to Influence 27 on Staff at Lincoln," *New York Times*, 28 August 1970.

⁷ William Sites, *Remaking New York: Primitive Globalization and the Politics of Urban Community* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America's Global Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Ida Susser, *Norman Street: Poverty and Politics in an Urban Neighborhood* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 203.

⁸ Sites, *Remaking New York*, 37–38.

⁹ Ronald Sullivan, "Lincoln Hospital's Chaos Traced to 'Battle' Conditions in Bronx," *New York Times*, 26 November 1978.

¹⁰ Fitzhugh Mullan, "'Patient Wheezing—Admit,'" *New York Times*, 6 February 1978.

¹¹ Mullan, "'Patient Wheezing,'" *New York Times*, 6 February 1978.

1978. Parallel to Dr. Mullan's concerns, municipal hospitals continued to struggle in attracting committed doctors to work in poor communities due to the low salaries and working conditions. The *New York Times* emphasized, "Because the pay is low, the best young primary-care doctors are usually not attracted to private practice in poor neighborhoods."¹² Unable to attract doctors who are willing to begin or commit to working extensively in poor neighborhoods, primary health care has remained inaccessible to South Bronx residents. Furthermore, numerous clinics that had served poor neighborhoods like the South Bronx since the 1990s, closed. Decreased Medicaid funding and insurance reimbursements, along with the significant population of uninsured patients, made it difficult for the clinics to sustain themselves and remain open. Even those doctors who were committed to the South Bronx residents and interested in establishing a private practice recognized that clinics were not a "financially viable model."¹³

Indeed, the challenges of meeting the basic health care needs of the South Bronx community continued. A 2007 New York City Department of Health report revealed that South Bronx residents had the highest percentage of residents screened for breast cancer in the Bronx, demonstrating excellent care in this area. However, the Bronx was also the borough with the highest percentage of residents who were uninsured and the least likely to have a primary health care provider.¹⁴ In addition, the percentage of Bronx residents who had not received necessary medical care surpassed the New York City average. Although concerns about health care insurance coverage are part of a larger discussion on health care reform, it is evident that health disparities continued to affect South Bronx residents negatively.¹⁵

On December 27, 2011, Mayor Michael Bloomberg "gushed with pride" as he delivered a speech at Lincoln Hospital's maternity ward announcing that the life expectancy for 2009 babies had increased in New York City and even surpassed the national average. According to the

New York Times, the Bloomberg administration had made public health one of the "top policy priorities," and, for this reason, they had engaged in numerous "high-profile campaigns against smoking, obesity, and salt consumption."¹⁶ In fact, Mayor Bloomberg described the administration's efforts to improve public health as one of the greatest accomplishments within the last ten years. To account for the city's improved life expectancies, Mayor Bloomberg offered the following as possible explanations: individuals are making healthier choices; better access to HIV treatment, screening, and prevention; and effective health campaigns. Mayor Bloomberg underscored city residents' decisions and motivations to live healthier, which he presumed and promoted as contributing to these promising statistics. He stated, "It's the people in this city that have really done the work, with some help from city-government."¹⁷

Despite Mayor Bloomberg's best intentions to commend city residents for improving their life expectancies, this explanation misrepresents poor communities and implicitly blames them for the inability to achieve the same optimistic results. The mayor's explanations do not account for the effects of socioeconomic status and the reality that healthy dietary options and lifestyles are often unavailable, scarce, or unaffordable in low-income communities. Whereas the Young Lords emphasized the needs of the community, Mayor Bloomberg spoke at Lincoln Hospital without considering the specific context of the South Bronx neighborhood where it was located.

Hence, when Mayor Bloomberg took the podium at Lincoln Hospital to proclaim improvements in New Yorkers' health, South Bronx residents instead used the opportunity to point to health care disparities and the unmet health needs of their community. Their assertion of socioeconomic imperatives and the broader health needs of their community provided a contrast to Mayor Bloomberg's emphasis on individuals. From the residents' perspectives presented in the *New York Daily News*, the South Bronx community did not

¹² Jennifer Steinhauer, "Financial Struggles," *New York Times*, 17 April 2000.

¹³ Steinhauer, "Financial Struggles at Medical Clinics for the City's Poor," *New York Times*, 17 April 2000.

¹⁴ The City of New York, "Neighborhood Statistics," New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, accessed March 4, 2012, <<http://www.nyc.gov/html/doh/html/stats/stats-prev.shtml>>; The City of New York, "Access to Health Care and Health Insurance: New York Community Health Survey, 2007," New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, accessed March 6, 2012, <<http://www.nyc.gov/html/doh/downloads/pdf/community/chs2007-access.pdf>>.

¹⁵ Editorial, "Who let the healthcare dogs out?" *El Diario-La Prensa*, 29 July 2009; The City of New York, "Health Disparities in New York City," New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, accessed March 4, 2012, <<http://www.nyc.gov/html/doh/downloads/pdf/episrv/disparitiesonesum.pdf>>.

¹⁶ Corinne Lestch, "The Livin' is Longer: Life Expectancy in City Rises Sharply and Now Exceeds the National Average," *New York Times*, 28 December 2011; Kate Taylor, "Life Expectancy for Babies Climbs to Record Level in City," *New York Times*, 28 December 2011.

¹⁷ Lestch, "The Livin' is Longer," *New York Times*, 28 December 2011.

believe that the statistics showing improved life-expectancy rates applied to their community. Instead, community residents pointed to broader social issues, such as a lack of access to those very same healthy choices that Mayor Bloomberg described. According to some South Bronx residents, the less optimistic life expectancies in poor communities resulted from inaccessibility to healthy options and economic disparities, which should be understood as interrelated. In terms of food accessibility, residents complained of the prevalence of unhealthy options in lieu of healthier produce. One resident observed, “Most places tend to have junk food, and there are less places you can buy vegetables. Most people don’t eat vegetables and the reason is poverty . . . whatever vegetables [stores] have, people won’t buy because they’ve been there for so long.”¹⁸ These statements highlighted the inaccessibility of healthy dietary options for South Bronx residents—where even if stores supplied fruits and vegetables, they were unlikely to be fresh.

Additionally, residents’ perspectives speak to the role poverty plays as a major contributor to the existing disparities. The lack of accessibility to fresh fruits, vegetables, and exercise venues makes it challenging for poor New York City neighborhoods to attain as positive health and life expectancy outcomes as wealthier city residents. When questioned about the less than optimal health statistic in poorer neighborhoods, Mayor Bloomberg responded, “There’s no question we still have a challenge with that.”¹⁹ Although it is unclear whether he spoke on behalf of ameliorating health services or access to healthier lifestyles, it is important to note that the two are complementary and both are vital to understanding the persistent struggles that poor, underprivileged communities have encountered in achieving adequate health standards and care.

Demands for community control were no longer part of the health care discourse; nonetheless, the needs of the South Bronx community remained important. Together, the struggles of Lincoln Hospital to provide adequate treatments and preventative care to its patients in conjunction with societal factors have exacerbated the poor health among the South Bronx residents. Without healthy dietary options, medical insurance, and routine health care, it might be expected for South Bronx residents to demonstrate a high incidence of medical conditions and to place a greater stress on the resources at Lincoln Hospital. For this reason, it is important to address health needs at the community level.

Accessibility to adequate and humane routine health exams, preventative care, and treatments is the most literal understanding of improved health care. However, it is imperative to understand that the contributing factors responsible for the poor health statistics among South Bronx residents are not solely related to treatments and services received at Lincoln Hospital but also to societal factors that affect the community. When the Young Lords participated in the East Harlem’s 1969 garbage offensive, in which protestors filled the streets and complained of the city’s failure to collect garbage in the community, the Young Lords pointed to the risks that unsanitary conditions posed to East Harlem residents.²⁰ Still, they used garbage in a metaphorical sense to criticize capitalism and government for subjugating populations to oppression and to emphasize the need to get rid of such “garbage.”

With time, it became evident that although community control and self-determination were not the terms used within health care discussions, the notion of doctors as the central decision makers in patient care—termed as professionalism during the early 1970s—did not prevail, either. Instead, a third party, which usually involves insurance companies, makes the decisions regarding funding for health care, treatments, and prevention. The mere allocation of funds is potentially powerful, considering that it determines what is deemed important and worthy of priority. Just as the way health care operates has evolved, changes in the health care discourses and the influencing societal conditions from 1970 to the present has also led to different means to address health care issues. As evident in Mayor Bloomberg’s health care campaign, health care has become increasingly individualized. However, South Bronx residents have continued to echo the importance of addressing issues systematically and within the community instead. Through the efforts of individuals as well as the expressed perspectives of South Bronx residents, it is evident that the Young Lords’ vision for the community has remained relevant. Locally within the Bronx, initiatives that make fresh produce more accessible to residents and inform them of this option have emerged.

¹⁸ Lestch and Moore, “The Livin’ is Longer,” *New York Daily News*, 28 December 2011.

¹⁹ Lestch and Moore, “The Livin’ is Longer,” *New York Daily News*, 28 December 2011.

²⁰ Yoruba, “Young Lords Block Street with Garbage,” Young Lords Organization, 1969, quoted in Ch. 8, “The Garbage Offensive,” in *The Young Lords: A Reader*, ed. Darrel Enck-Wanzer (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 185; Miguel “Mickey” Melendez, “Nobody Likes Garbage,” in *We Took the Streets* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2003), 88–111.

Piero Manzoni: A Queer Reading

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Abstract

The following essay, inspired by Professor Benjamin Buchloh's course "American and European Art, 1945–1975" at Harvard University, unites the artistic practice of Piero Manzoni, exemplified by his *Achromes*, with emerging concepts of queerness and transgender theory.

We absolutely cannot consider a painting to be a space in which we project our mental sets, but rather as our area of liberty, where we can go in search of our first images. Images that are as absolute as possible, which cannot be valued for what they recall, explain, express, but only inasmuch as what they are: being (Manzoni in Celant, 53).

The trajectory of art history, in its refusals and oversights, stubbornness, and volatility, maintains a definite adherence to a masculinist understanding of artistic subjecthood, though perhaps in subtler ways now than in the past. In this vein, this quote from Piero Manzoni is indicative of the interpretive tendencies that accompany him, even though his short career undoubtedly resists any unified theory. The work of Piero Manzoni, the interpretation of which represents the fatal re-inscription of potentially subversive content into an easily understood lineage, despite its multifaceted meanings, stands as an exemplar of the analytical limitations that remain in the field of art history. The above quote illustrates the refusal of contextualization that plagues interpretations of Manzoni's art and fails to take into account the full range of theoretical possibilities that can be attributed to him, specifically regarding theories of gender and sexuality.¹ His work has not been viewed in this light, though, as I will explain, many analyses of his work are decidedly, yet insecurely, gendered. Each time, discussions

of Manzoni's *Achromes* refuse to deal with this essential characteristic of his short-lived career, thereby replacing a frank discussion of sexuality and identity with an effacement of nuance. It is with Jaleh Mansoor that the body returns full force, and I will take her analysis one step further and discuss the implications of her observations. A new understanding of modernism is necessary, one that allows for the capability of artistic practice to transcend simple narratives that offer occasional nods to underrepresented groups as exceptions to a rule. As a result, it is my intention to offer a reading of Manzoni's *Achrome with Bread Rolls* that stands alone in its understanding of a short, yet bountiful career. As succinctly as possible, I will attempt to undo history, to untangle the legacy of an artist from a limited and exclusive reading that mistakes progress for regression and incommensurability for safeness. In fact, I will propose a queer reading of Manzoni's work that refutes the artist's own words and analyses, for in *Achrome with Bread Rolls*, masculine, heterosexual privilege is, in fact, dismantled, and replaced by a space that defies traditional understandings of subjecthood and artistic expression, as well as interpretations that hinge upon a totalizing reading of a work of art.

It is important to note at the onset that much of the language used to discuss the corporeality of Manzoni's *Achromes* is gendered, though an explicit connection has yet to be made. *Achrome with Bread Rolls* is especially notable within the series because of its occupation of an indistinct area between the bodily and the detached. The piece consists of bread rolls arranged in a grid and covered in kaolin; in this way, the canvas becomes the site of life that is at once halted by and constitutive of the modernist aesthetic conventions of the monochrome and the grid. Though Manzoni used other materials in his *Achromes*, such as cotton, the bread rolls in all their irregularity within the organizing functions of the grid and the monochrome bring forth bodily associations that stem from the unrealizable arousal of the appetite. In this way, Manzoni forcibly exposes the presence of the body in the modernist tradition with an "appeal to oral and somatic processes," a direct assertion of the process of physical integration, as well as the impossibility thereof, a product of the kaolin that coats the bread rolls

¹ When asked for an example of a gender-cognizant artist of this period, many art historians would offer Eva Hesse as a token, thereby presenting her as a brief phenomenon that does not represent the power of art to question norms but rather the placating power of offering a single woman's story void of context or significance beyond the simple fact of her biological sex. Understanding modernity in this way, as a seamless tale of masculine achievement marked by brief identity-based interludes, assumes the inherently politicized nature of marginalized artists, that is, the idea that a woman artist, for the simple fact of her gender, stands opposite to male practice in every case. With this understanding of art history in place, the narrative of the triumphant male artist whose contributions creates an aesthetic teleology that perpetually remains secure.

(Mansoor, 43). At its core, the work presents an incongruous combination of two forms—the “modernist monochrome, heavy with its historically determined purity and factual self-evidence” and the “grid—as the axiomatically deduced, central organizing principle that claims to transcend particularity,” all combined with a kitchen staple (Mansoor, 31). This creates a fundamental confusion of identity, a precarious placement between two monolithic aesthetic categories that could be called as stable and historically consecrated as the gender binary itself. The presence of the bread rolls complicates the already precarious piece; they act as asymmetric, illogical foils to the purity and reason of the structures that they inhabit. I purposefully use the term inhabit, following Jaleh Mansoor, who writes, “Unruly in their columns and rows, the rolls appear as both figure and ground, literally welling up as embodied figure and visually withdrawing as support. They perform this oscillation in the register of the material” (Mansoor, 32). Mansoor thus fills a void in the literature on Manzoni, and she contends with a history of writers who deny the presence of the body, even as they draw ever closer to naming it in the *Achromes*.

Germano Celant, for example, sets up an argument that considers gender only asymptotically; he comes near to the unmasking of underlying forces while continuously refusing a definite identification. In effect, Celant takes Manzoni for his word, that his work represents the expulsion of the artist, as well as outside control, from his work. Even if Manzoni’s work supposedly exists for itself, this autonomy is, by default, masculine; the heteronormative framework is reproduced constantly without being noticed, as it is the norm by which other configurations are measured. Celant makes his position clear: “In [the *Achromes*], the artist arrested and blocked the fertilizing power of his own participation, leaving out his gesture and action, in the hope of reducing the work to its own self-fecundating process. In this sense, the achrome opposes the artist’s corporeality with an independence of its own” (Celant, 31). It is no mistake that he uses terms such as “fertilizing” and “self-fecundating,” since the *Achromes* represent a process contingent upon gender rather than a self-sufficient illustration of artistic absence.

Surely, Manzoni’s practice is bound up in the rhetoric of gender, despite the alleged divorcing of the work of art from the artist; even in the creation of a seemingly independent work, there exists the masculine prerogative of subjecthood, of existence for and within oneself. As constructed by heteronormative forces, the feminine is but a vehicle, the foil to the masculine that allows for differentiation and thus the entry into language, or sign production, that marks the

supremacy of the speaking subject, the “I.” Therefore, that which is seemingly independent, or pre-cultural, as Celant claims the *Achromes* are, rests upon gender in its claim to autonomy.² Even though the *Achromes* may reject an aesthetic projection of maleness, their assertion of a self-constituting being is in itself a masculine process, though it is never named as such. What results from overlooking the gendered nature of an allegedly autonomous object is the replication of the masculine in analyses of the *Achromes*, even if one contends that they represent the artist’s absence. By omission, Celant’s viewpoint on the *Achromes* becomes a part of the masculine existence, even as he claims that Manzoni strives for a self-administered process. It is Celant himself, however, who paints the *Achrome* as something that “unravels and rewinds, offering thus its carnal, sensual dimension, or else it crystallizes and congeals, resorting to the impersonality of stitching or geometrical structure to convey a mental or conceptual state” (Celant, 37). Generally speaking, therefore, the *Achromes* refuse categorization even as they inhabit two organizational spaces, the grid and the monochrome, a concept that Mansoor elegantly explicates.

Though the status of the body in Manzoni’s piece is ambiguous, it is nonetheless present as both part of and separate from the grid and monochrome that sets up the framing slippage. Manzoni sets up a space that is based on violation of tradition even in its production, and, “paradoxically, each violated cell is constituted by the roll that it also seeks to contain,” which places the representation of the body in a position of creation and undoing, filling and evacuating (Mansoor, 32). The body held within *Achrome with Bread Rolls*, as one can see, does not operate in the conventional sense. Its identity lacks the structural components to allow it to enter into unified subjecthood; neither does it offer a clear sense of differentiation, and thus entry into language, nor does it contain an innate unity that allows for linguistic solidity. Surely, “the status of the rolls as body—as the non-molded—remains opaque. Obviating metaphor and figuration, the mounds suggest disparate possibilities” (Mansoor, 32). The specific nature of these disparate possibilities is what interests me here.

It is in this unintelligibility that Manzoni’s work enters into the realm of the queer, what could be called an indeterminate space that does not cling to the binaries of gender and sexuality. Manzoni hoped for an art that “wishes always to be ‘other,’” and strives for “organize[d] disintegration,” and he certainly accomplishes this task by noting the indeterminacy of his work (Manzoni in Mansoor, 36). Still, the process cannot be described in terms of a subject

² See Irigaray for a further explanation of this concept, especially Chapter 4, “The Power of Discourse and the Subordination of the Feminine.”

and an Other, because, as was discussed in the previous paragraph, there is an inescapable insecurity of the function of the body, both linguistically and physically, in *Achrome with Bread Rolls*. Indeed, “Manzoni does not pretend to wrest material presence free of a set of rigid structural determinations—one of which would be the mapped-out pictorial surface, the visual schema” (Mansoor, 42). It is clear, then, that Manzoni’s paradoxical bodily process is contained by and exceeds the conventions of the grid. He presents the body within the grid, within the syntactical construct, in order to expose its limits; indeed, “the *Achromes*’ very deployment of a modernist syntax unravels the systematicity of that language from an internal vantage” (Mansoor, 43). Language itself is both constituted and undone by the body, a rejection of gendered binaries that assert language as the unfailing indicator of phallic power.

To begin to understand the subversive sexuality manifest in *Achrome with Bread Rolls*, I begin with a quote by Luce Irigaray: “Women don’t have a soul; they serve as guarantee for a man’s. But it does not suffice, of course, for this soul to remain simply external to their universe. It must also be rearticulated within the ‘body’ of the speaking subject” (Irigaray, 97).³ The feminine is thus manifest in and constitutive of the masculine, a phenomenon that reframes sexuality not as a distinct binary but rather as a process of interdependence. Irigaray continues, “Sexual pleasure is engulfed then in the body of the Other. It is ‘produced’ because the Other, in part, escapes the grasp of discourse . . . Phallicism . . . [nourishes] itself through the Other” (Irigaray, 97–98). The gendered parallels in Manzoni’s work are thus manifest, for in the rolls’ uncertain status as both the unifier and dissolver of a binary of modernism, they function as reminders of the uncertain nature of gendered constructs. Gender, though a binary, is a contingent one. Gayle Salamon suggests that rather than viewing this as producing a dichotomy, as Irigaray does, this could be the basis of fluidity of sexuality and gender that springs from the erotic battle that takes place within structures of discourse. *Achrome with Bread Rolls*, therefore, is in dialog with Freud’s formative assumption that the “admixture of masculine and feminine within the same register [in this case, modernism] is socially and psychically unbearable” (Salamon, 19).

However, *Achrome with Bread Rolls* does not affirm this binary; instead, it insists on its fluidity, that “embodiment is intersubjective” and incapable of being captured in a single schema (Salamon, 46). The production of sexuality is therefore a constant process of inversion, an unsure intrusion upon historically and aesthetically established structures that are both strong and vulnerable to revision. Foucault’s conception of power is important here, for queerness as such was theorized through its pathological features as not heterosexual, an example of the indistinguishable boundary among identities that allows for mobility, change, and insecurity (Foucault, 11–13). As a result, the dominant paradigm constitutes the system that brings about its antithesis, as Manzoni does in his combination of the grid and the monochrome with the imperfect, disrupting rolls. It is clear that “an embodied response to desire is, through its radical particularity, unpredictable and impossible to map onto the morphology of the body . . . [and creates] a function that emphasizes a shifting from one mode of being or bodily inhabitation to another” (Salamon, 49, 52). The appearance of the body in *Achrome with Bread Rolls* certainly follows Salamon’s argument; order and disorder come together without the emergence of a clear winner, and no gendered or bodily register can be said to take hold completely. *Achrome with Bread Rolls* becomes “the place where I confront the otherness of the other without annihilating or canceling that difference or replicating the other in my own image” (Salamon, 140). It is an exemplar of this arrangement wherein the body faces its Other, the grid and the monochrome, and is incorporated, yet resists full absorption. It therefore presents a transgendered space, one in which the body is in a state of indeterminacy, unable to be mapped fully by the grid due to its own semantic and physical richness.

This reading of Manzoni’s work must not be taken as a token example of a queer artistic practice that can be gleaned from history. I do not mean to propose a revisionist methodology centered on sleuthing for ways to “include” queerness in an already established progression of modernism. It is exactly this line of thinking that allows for the perpetuation of a history that marginalizes those voices that do not conform to a dominant narrative by allowing norms to continue as unexamined phenomena that are affirmed by

³ It is important to note that Irigaray’s critique could be faulted for its creation of a universal patriarchy that applies equally across boundaries of history, sexuality, and socioeconomics. Scholars such as Chandra Mohanty have questioned this Eurocentric line of thinking by explicating the various factors that complicate an essentialist tendency, especially with regard to transnational feminist thought. It is thus essential to take into account the historical and social circumstances that frame Manzoni’s work in order to engender an analysis that does not limit gender to abstraction. Please see Mohanty, Chandra, “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.” *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

underdeveloped tokenistic insertions. Incorporating queerness, as if it belongs to a separate sphere that requires special attention, is not satisfactory, and finding occasional examples of subversion is not enough. Instead, longstanding discourses, such as those concerning both Manzoni's practice and modernism itself, must be undone and replaced by readings that actively aim to eliminate interpretational biases. Though Manzoni has never been associated with an analysis of this kind, his legacy need not serve a singular purpose. Art history contains a variety of unnoticed stories that are undoubtedly valuable to the modernist narrative; it takes an inversion of conventional interpretational modes to rework the discipline into a discussion that invites contradiction, questioning, and openness.



Piero Manzoni, *Achrome with Bread Rolls*. 1961. ©2012 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/SIAE, Rome.

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“Till Death Do Us All Part?": Dissenting Opinions on Same-Sex Marriage from Non-Heterosexuals

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Abstract

With increasing debate and political activity around same-sex marriage legislation in the United States, it is reasonable to assume that legal recognition of same-sex marriages is the priority for the “gay agenda” and many lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBTQ) advocacy groups. However, this assumption must be questioned, since those who exist within the group also inhabit other marginalized positions; for instance, due to being racial minorities or of lower socioeconomic status (SES). Understanding that people of color and working-class people are more likely to have fewer economic resources in comparison to their white middle-class counterparts, LGBTQ people of color may have a different sense of urgency for legalization of same-sex marriage.

Introduction

Given the current legislative limitations regarding same-sex marriage in the United States, non-heterosexual couples are restricted in their choice to form traditional marriages. The mainstream attention focused on the topic of same-sex marriage makes it appear as though this is the primary concern for the LGBTQ political agenda.¹ However, media portrayals, such as news reports, press releases, and television, of same-sex marriage often ignore many of the voices within the community, particularly people of color. Rather, on the current political stage, white male views are the most prominent. Therefore, it is not clear whether same-sex marriage is the priority for all members of the LGBTQ community, many of whom are often devoid of equal agency and representation in political debates on this issue.

Grouping people with similar sexual identities together risks marginalizing and silencing the minority within that category. As such, this research focuses on investigating different point of views on same-sex marriage among queer people of color. Same-sex marriage is a highly politicized topic and thus involves policy and legislation regarding LGBTQ people. If priority is given to marriage,

necessary policies that target more pressing issues for queer communities of color are ignored, such as sexual health. For example, the Centers for Disease Control reports that young black men who have sex with men (MSM) experienced the highest increase in diagnoses of HIV—from 1,841 cases in 2005 to 3,188 cases in 2008 (Garcia, 1998). The U.S. census finds that even though African Americans are only 17% of the youth population ages 13–24, they represent 63% of all diagnoses in 2008. Because Latino and African-American MSM generally have a greater likelihood of being infected with HIV at a younger age (13–24) than whites (MacKellar, Valleroy, Secura et al., 2005), policy focusing on legalization of same-sex marriage does not represent most pressing concerns of the minority voices in the LGBTQ community. It is even possible that queer working-class men of color might have opinions of same-sex marriage that are dissenting of the dominant white voice.

The additional economic, social, and health stresses LGBTQ people of color are more likely to face on a daily basis (Patron and Buam, 2004; Queers for Economic Justice, 2004) begs the question if there are other priorities the LGBTQ community should fight for instead of marriage. Harassment, bullying, homelessness, inadequate health care, poverty, and violence are all plights of the general LGBTQ community, so should addressing these topics be of higher priority in the gay agenda? These issues tend to be further exacerbated for people living at the intersections of marginalized racial and sexual identities. Therefore we might ask: Are marriage priorities different for LGBTQ people of color compared to their white counterparts?

In this paper, I first provide a brief review of same-sex marriage in the political arena and evaluate the level of priority the gay community has placed on it. Additionally, I illustrate how people of color have been underrepresented in gay political movements and demonstrate the white dominance in this arena. Then I address the problems and challenges some LGBTQ people—particularly LGBTQ people of color and of poor or working-class backgrounds—are more likely to face, such as poor or nonexistent health care, harassment, and discrimination. I also look at how racial differences increase the likelihood that certain groups in the LGBTQ community experience these disadvantages.

Same-Sex Marriage in Legislation

The topic of same-sex marriages was brought to national attention in 1993 in the United States when judges in Hawaii found the need for a compelling reason in the

¹ Human Rights Campaign is one of the leading gay-interest advocacy groups in the United States.

state's constitution to explicitly deny same-sex couples the right to marry. This inclined the U.S. Congress to push the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act, which denies same-sex couples the benefits given to those allowed to marry. Since then, 27 states have passed constitutional bans on same-sex marriage. However, in the past few years, a few states have also allowed recognized same-sex unions, including Massachusetts, Iowa, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Vermont, and the District of Columbia.²

Recent years have seen an increase in the prominence of same-sex marriage as an alternative to that of the traditional husband-wife institution. In 2003, Massachusetts's courts ruled that same-sex couples could marry as a result of *Goodrich v. Massachusetts Department of Public Health*.³ Though this was not the beginning of debate surrounding same-sex marriage, it certainly marked a major milestone for the gay community. For many in the gay community, marriage is a significant symbol of equality. Married partners enjoy tax benefits, joint health care, hospital visitation rights, and many more rights (West, 2007). Consequently, the struggle for the legalization of gay marriage reflects a strong desire for these rights as well as the connotations and resources associated with them.

The money and effort put into California's Proposition 8, an initiative to ban same-sex marriage, alludes to the gay community's investment in same-sex marriage. According to *U.S. News and World Report*, spending on California's Proposition 8 to ban same-sex marriage reached over \$80 million, with over \$60 million in donations. The Associated Press reports that this legislation set a new record nationally for a social policy initiative. While campaigning against Proposition 8, Human Rights Campaign's (HRC) president Joe Solmonese stated that this was the most pressing human rights issue for the gay community. With over 750,000 supporters, CNN reports that the Human Rights Campaign⁴ is the largest LGBT advocacy group in America. The statement of the organization's president, coupled with the self-reported \$3 million donated to the "No on Prop. 8" campaign, suggests same-sex marriage is one of their main priorities. These actions signify the importance placed on gay marriage in our society today.

Diverse Representations of the Gay Agenda in Media

As technology and social media become more prevalent in politics, the LGBTQ social movements have begun to rely heavily on media strategies to draw attention toward

marriage equality for same-sex couples (Liebler, Schwartz, and Harper, 2009). As this method of political action increases, there are also increases in efforts to control the image and representation of the LGBTQ community in the media (Epps-Johnson, 2010). In his critique of the mainstream LGBTQ movement, L.M. Moscovitz argues that representatives within the LGBTQ community favor people who are "least offensive" to the public. These definitions of those who are most appealing to the dominant groups are often white, well-spoken, and upper-middle class (Liebler et al., 2009). In response to the criticism that the LGBTQ movement is white dominant, there have been "deliberate efforts . . . of increased inclusiveness of diversity in campaigns and outreach to communities of colour" (p. 13 in Johnson, 2010).

Even with this attempt to diversify the representation of LGBTQ subjects, there is continued criticism of the ways in which people of color are rendered invisible in LGBTQ-related topics within the media (Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, 2005). In a study of same-sex couples featured in news coverage, Moscovitz (2010) found that couples where both people were people of color were represented in less than 3% of stories and did not get the chance to speak at all. Thus, the marginalization of queer people of color in mainstream media is being reproduced by advocacy organizations like HRC. Since LGBTQ people of color are given less representation and influence than their white counterparts in the media, it is overarching to assume that same-sex marriage is equally important to all LGBTQ people. Therefore, we might question if the priorities forwarded by those most visible in the LGBTQ movement (often whites) are entirely representative of all people within the community.

Issues Facing Queer People of Color

LGBTQ people face a plethora of issues ranging from homelessness to discrimination in the workplace; however, these challenges tend to be further exacerbated for people of color. On average, LGBTQ people of color are more likely to face a lack of access to health care, homelessness, and violence (Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, 2005), which may result in a diminished priority placed on marriage by LGBTQ people of color who disproportionately have fewer socioeconomic resources than their white counterparts. It is additionally important to consider that the increasing costs of weddings may make the prospect of marriage seem more of a luxury that poor and working-class

² <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Same-sex_marriage#United_States>.

³ <<http://www.lawlib.state.ma.us/subject/about/gaymarriage.html>> for information of the court case and decisions as well as additional briefings.

⁴ Human Rights Campaign's web page, www.hrc.org.

people from all ethnic groups cannot afford to worry about because they have more pressing issues that policy advocacy should prioritize.⁵

The Williams Institute at the University of California Law School found that white men in same-sex couples have poverty rates of 2.7% compared to the 14.4% of African-American and 19.1% of Native American gay men. For non-Hispanic lesbian couples, the poverty rate is 5.7%, which is tripled for Hispanic lesbian couples (The Williams Institution, 2009). The Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues reports that, on average, African-American gay male same-sex couples have a median income of \$20,000 less than their white counterparts. Though income is one main factor of socioeconomic status, there are other markers of livelihood that should be emphasized in the LGBTQ movement.

One economic issue facing LGBTQ people today is access to health care. Though non-heterosexual adults of all racial groups are less likely than heterosexual adults to have health care access, LGBTQ people of color have even less health care access than their white counterparts (Center for American Progress). Unfortunately there are very few health studies and surveys that take into account the intersections of race and sexual orientation. One of the few surveys is the California Health Interview Survey, which reports that Latino LGB⁶ people are the least likely to have health insurance (64%) compared to white LGB people (88%). Moreover, African-American LGB people are most likely to have diabetes and to delay or not get needed prescription medicine. In terms of mental health, out of all racial/ethnic groups within the LGB community, LGB Asian or Pacific Islander adults are most likely to experience psychological distress. The Center for American Progress, which is responsible for this report, therefore urges more funding for research on the health of LGBTQ people, particularly in relation to race and ethnicity. In addition, they express the need for policy that provides equal access to health care for all sexual orientations and identities and for all racial groups (Kerhely, 2009). Accessible health care is a pressing issue for non-heterosexual people of all racial and ethnic groups, particularly those who are economically disadvantaged. Insofar as people who are non-heterosexual and non-white are even more likely to have health risks, access to health care should be given greater importance than same-sex marriage.

Even those with health insurance continue to face hardships caused by discrimination. In 2009, as part of the Health Care Fairness Campaign, Lambda Legal collected approximately 5,000 surveys and found that “in nearly every category of discrimination . . . people of color respondents were more likely than their white counterparts to experience discrimination and substandard care” (Lambda Legal).⁷ Just as LGBTQ people may have different experiences in health care, LGBTQ people of color also have unique experiences that may not be best addressed in policy and programs that render invisible their unique voices and concerns. Lambda Legal argues that this intersection needs to be accounted for, since LGBTQ people of color report feeling greater barriers to health care. These topics of policy and program implementation are also likely to be of greater significance to people of color than same-sex marriage. Moreover, considering the unequal access to economic resources, the fiscal cost of marriage might pose as a further disincentive.

Recognizing that not all couples wanting marriage will have a wedding, the ritual still holds social and cultural relevance, since weddings typically represent a public and communal function. For those interested in a wedding, the financial cost of getting married can be expensive, and that cost continues to rise. According to the Bridal Association of America, the average cost of a wedding in 2009 was over \$30,000, an 11% increase from 2005’s average cost of \$26,450 per wedding. Given how cost-prohibitive it is to get married, marriage equality may not be the best focus point for the LGBTQ community to focus on.

LGBTQ people are also at disproportionate risk for diseases such as HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. In the U.S., African-American men who have sex with men comprise a disproportionate number of new cases of HIV and AIDS. From the year 2001 to 2005, the number of cases in black MSM ages 13–24 in 33 states increased 93% (Centers for Disease Control, 2009). Men of color who have sex with men face a greater risk of new HIV infections than white MSM (Advocates for Youth). Many MSM today believe that HIV/AIDS infection is a phenomenon of the older generation without realizing that there has been steady increase in the rate of infections (Advocates for Youth). However, the significant increase suggests that HIV prevention might be a more pressing concern than same-sex marriage, particularly within African American communities.

⁵ This is not to say that working-class white people in the LGBTQ community are exempt from class struggles. Rather, there are challenges that are associated with being LGBTQ and working class—keeping in mind that economic disparities have high correlation with race—which the political agenda of the LGBTQ community-at-large should focus on in addition to same-sex marriage legalization.

⁶ Lesbian, gay, and bisexual.

⁷ The categories range from refused needed care and refused to touch to physically rough or abusive and blaming the patient.

Although marriage is a topic that is more relevant to adults, LGBTQ youth of color face several issues that may ultimately make marriage less of a priority as they enter adulthood. For example, LGBTQ youth of color are more likely to face additional hardships associated with homelessness and harassment. Many have argued that queer youth of color are often raised in homes that are more culturally and politically conservative and also less accepting of homosexuality than are queer white youth (Cherlin, 2009; Epps-Johnson, 2009; Loue, 2008). The lack of acceptance in these families may result in being forced out of the homes, which for many leads to homelessness. In fact, around 44% of homeless youth are queer (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force). Of these youth, disproportionate amounts are racial minorities (Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, 2005).

The Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) of Upstate South Carolina also report that 45% of gay males and 20% of lesbians experience physical or verbal assault in high school. Due to this harassment, 28% of these young people feel forced to drop out of school. Additionally, a study in 1987 of lesbian and gay youth found that over 80% reported feelings of isolation (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force). Perhaps not surprisingly, in 1989, suicide was the leading cause of death for LGBTQ youth, with 53% of LGBTQ youth reporting attempted suicide (Singer and DeSchamps, 1994), and 30% of all completed suicides were by lesbian and gay youths. Within almost every one of these adversities for LGBTQ youth, youth of color are disproportionately impacted (Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, 2005). LGBTQ youth of color are also disproportionately targeted by police misconduct and abuse, especially for non-violent drug arrests (Patron and Buam, 2004; Queers for Economic Justice, 2004).

Concerns facing LGBTQ immigrants are also marginalized by both LGBTQ advocacy organizations and the mainstream discourse around gay rights. The Audre Lorde Project's Immigrant Rights Working Group reports that LGBTQ immigrants are more likely to face violence based on race and ethnicity. Moreover, undocumented LGBTQ immigrants are unlikely to find substantial employment, making them more likely to lack economic stability and to have limited access to public benefits and health care (Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2004). In addition, because U.S. policy prohibits people with HIV from obtaining residency, HIV-positive immigrants are faced with deportation to their original countries, which comes with the risk of confinement, harassment, quarantine, abuse, and torture (Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, 2005). These

hardships can make it even more difficult for LGBTQ immigrants to form and maintain families—which again begs the question of how much of a priority legalization of same-sex marriage is for them.

In addition to the many challenges non-heterosexuals face, non-heterosexuals of color are more likely to experience other forms of discrimination and oppression, which may impact the feasibility of marriage for marginalized groups within the LGBTQ community once taking into account the energy and resources they are able to devote to marriage equality legislation. However, the current political focus for the mainstream gay agenda appears to be dominated by the white middle class who are invested in same-sex marriage as a priority because they are best positioned to reap the advantages associated with it, such as health care incentives, property and inheritance rights, and potential shared employer benefits. This objective is potentially biased toward certain groups, considering all the other issues LGBTQ people face. As a result, the position of same-sex marriage legalization in the priorities of the LGBTQ political agenda needs to be interrogated and reconsidered, especially as it regards people of color and poor and working-class members of the community whose pressing concerns around economic, social, and security issues have been marginalized within the LGBTQ community.

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Subalternity: Genealogy and Critique

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Abstract

This essay puts forward a brief genealogy of “subalternity” in order to problematize the usage of this concept by the scholars of the Subaltern Studies Project. The emancipatory potential of critique is at the background of this brief investigation.

With the catastrophes of 20th-century socialism, the possibilities of a successful truly emancipatory and liberatory project of the “Left” for the 21st century are not promising. Classical Marxist theory was, by the time of the failure of 20th-century socialism, already unable to provide the tools needed to outline such an emancipatory and liberatory project.¹ Nonetheless, throughout the remaining of the 20th century, a number of people did seriously respond to the obsolete nature of classical Marxist theory while maintaining an emancipatory ideal at the forefront of their theoretical practice.² The Subaltern Studies Collective (SASSC), founded in the 1980s by South Asian social science and humanities scholars, was among the many groups that attempted to break away from strict classical Marxism. By the late 20th century, a small faction of Latin American scholars that called themselves the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group (LASSG) had also taken upon what I will here call “the Subaltern Project.” Though the working definitions of “the subaltern subject” and “subalternity” for both the SASSC and the LASSG varied in details, all of them one way or another talked about the “deconstruction of the concept of class”³ or the “plural and decentralized [. . .] heterogeneous”⁴ nature of the subaltern subject.

As someone who wants to uphold “an academic project that would continue the legacy of politically committed scholarship,”⁵ I am skeptical of the accomplishments of the entire Subaltern Project. It is thus the purpose of this essay to briefly assess the conclusions of the Subaltern Project in both its South Asian and Latin American forms. In order to do this, I will briefly sample the usage of the concepts of “the subaltern” and “subalternity” in the writings of these so-called “Subalternists.” I will pay particular attention to the way these two concepts diverge from classical Marxist theory, while additionally assessing their helpfulness for our present and future needs. This attempt at a genealogy of subalternity might allow me to offer a critique of subalternity—a modest suggestion for scholars interested in the notion of a politically committed scholarship, so as to explore new and some perhaps not-so-new theoretical positions.

The first definition of “the subaltern” within the Subaltern Project came from one of the founders of the SASSC, Ranajit Guha, who, according to Florencia Mallon (a member of the LASSG herself), “defined the subaltern very broadly as anyone who is subordinated ‘in terms of class, caste, age, gender, and office or in any other way.’”⁶ Guha’s definition of “the subaltern,” itself highly influenced by the writings of Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, has proven to be one of the strongest foundations of the entire Subaltern Project. Virtually all definitions of “the subaltern” and “subalternity” after Guha’s founding definition relate to the notion of subordination. At this point, however, the question remains: *What* constitutes subordination? Or perhaps in more appropriate terminology: *Who* is actually subordinated?

Gyan Prakash worked upon Guha’s Gramscian notion of “the subaltern,” increasing its theoretical sophistication by incorporating the insights of French philosopher Michel Foucault.⁷ According to Prakash, the combination of Guha’s Gramscian notion of “subalternity” and Foucault’s analysis of “power” results in “subalternity” being defined as “an essential object *in place of class*—an effect of *power relations* and expressed through a variety of means—linguistic,

¹ Unlike people that claim that 20th-century socialism failed around 1989–1991, I place such event at the moment of Stalin’s rise. Theoretically, so-called Marxist historical materialism failed much earlier, with the rise of the Bolsheviks.

² See, for instance, the first generation of the Frankfurt School, as well as the work of Antonio Negri and Ernesto Laclau. These names do not at all exhaust the rich list of scholars committed to this tradition.

³ Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, “‘The Making of the Working Class’: E.P. Thompson and Indian History,” *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 44 (Spring, 1997): 177.

⁴ Ileana Rodríguez, “Reading Subalterns across Texts, Disciplines, and Theories: From Representation to Recognition,” in Ileana Rodríguez, ed., *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶ Florencia Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 99, no. 5 (Dec. 1994): 1,494, referencing Ranajit Guha, “Preface,” *Subaltern Studies I* (Canberra, 1981).

⁷ In this context, Foucault’s contributions are that we can no longer continue to speak of “power” as if “it” was a top-down static apparatus embodied in a singular entity; e.g., the State. Instead, we must always speak of “power” as a capillary network of apparatuses, as “power relations”; e.g., as in the form of biopolitical power or disciplinary power. See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume One: An Introduction*, Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage-Random House, 1978 [1976]).

economic, social, and cultural.”⁸ Here it is important to highlight two things: (i) once we incorporate Foucault’s theoretical contributions into our genealogy, our working definition of “the subaltern” would no longer imply mere *subordination* but also *subjugation*; i.e., the making of docile bodies;⁹ (ii) Prakash explicitly substitutes the Marxian category of “class” for Guha’s Gramscian-Foucauldian notion of “subalternity.” The result seems to go along with the Project’s initial proposition to find a new set of theoretical tools in order to outline the future emancipatory and liberatory project of the “Left.”

There is no doubt whatsoever that Foucault’s work indeed achieved a detachment from classical Marxist theory. And Prakash was perfectly well aware of this. In fact, Prakash named the Subaltern Project’s incorporation of Foucault’s work a “post-foundational” theoretical move, going as far as claiming that the Subaltern Project would now be affiliated “with poststructuralism,” echoing “the postmodernist decentering of unitary subjects and hegemonic histories.”¹⁰ Consequently, it all seemed as if the Subaltern Project’s post-Marxist move was on a suitable path.

Nevertheless, the Subaltern Project’s association with poststructuralism and postmodernism was seen by some scholars as contradictory to its commitment to a future emancipatory and liberatory project of the “Left.” Rosalind O’Hanlon and David Washbrook, for instance, were doubtful of the practical viability of Prakash’s “post-foundational” move. These critics could not reconcile either Foucault’s “poststructuralist” analysis of power—or what by the 1990s had become an increasingly popular deconstructive methodological approach inspired by the work of French philosopher Jacques Derrida—with what they saw as the absolute need to find a *foundation* from where critique could be grounded and thus “successfully” performed.¹¹ The lack of intellectual rigor from these

critics, however, made it difficult for them to override the Subaltern Project’s momentum.¹²

Derrida’s work is certainly the last underpinning that molded what I think to be the core of the Subaltern Project’s theoretical architectonic. Having as one of its main premises the theoretical discontinuity with classical Marxist theory, the Subaltern Project, as I have already mentioned, quickly became interested in the notion of the “deconstruction of the concept of class.”¹³ In fact, the notion of deconstruction became the optimum way through which one could uncover the concepts of “the subaltern” and “subalternity.” With this approach, the objective to find these two categories of “the subaltern” and “subalternity” becomes a task of deconstructing all our present categories of representation and understanding. The task, indeed, becomes a radical and relentless critique of what appears to be our necessary, absolute, and universal systems of thought. If detractors of poststructuralism and postmodernism supposed this theoretical move would render invalid the Subaltern Project’s commitment to an emancipatory and liberatory project of the “Left,” they were countered by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s insistence that “the deconstructive philosophical position consists in saying an ‘impossible ‘no’ to a structure, which one critiques, yet inhabits intimately.”¹⁴ In other words, deconstruction, as a practice of radical immanence, must be at work *at all times*.

Given this brief genealogy of the notions of “the subaltern” and “subalternity” from the perspective of the SASSC, let us now briefly examine the way the LASSG theorized about these very same concepts in order to come to a general understanding of the accomplishments of the Subaltern Project as a whole. As I hope to demonstrate, it is with the LASSG’s usage of the concepts of “the subaltern” and “subalternity” that I come into serious dispute. As a result of this conflict, I return to the writings of Gramsci in

⁸ Gyan Prakash, “Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography,” *Comparative Studies in Society and Culture*, vol. 32, no. 2 (Apr. 1990): 400. My emphases.

⁹ Docility in the Foucauldian sense *does not* imply a lack of agency, as Ileana Rodríguez and María Milagros López seem to imply it does. Ileana Rodríguez, “Reading Subalterns across Texts, Disciplines, and Theories,” 17. In fact, one of my main criticisms of the Subaltern Project in general that I will be unable to fully develop in this essay is the Project’s common misreading of a lot of the philosophical texts that ground its approach; e.g., Foucault, Derrida, Gramsci, and so on (see footnote 12).

¹⁰ Gyan Prakash, “Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography,” 406.

¹¹ A criticism of this sort (lack of normative foundations) coming from a philosopher can also be seen in the work of Jürgen Habermas. See Michael Kelly, ed. *Critique and Power: Recasting the Foucault-Habermas Debate* (Cambridge MA, MIT Press, 1994).

¹² At one point in their essay, O’Hanlon and Washbrook write that the Subaltern Project cannot hold “an extreme Foucauldian view of the inescapability of relations of power and domination.” Rosalind O’Hanlon and David Washbrook, “After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 34, no. 1 (Jan. 1992): 150. These critics, however, fail to cite any academic piece by Foucault. As such, I cannot even claim that they have misread Foucault. In the same way, Prakash mentions O’Hanlon’s and Washbrook’s lack of intellectual precision in their engagement with Derrida: “not one of Derrida’s writings and interviews is cited.” Gyan Prakash, “Can the ‘Subaltern’ Ride? A Reply to O’Hanlon and Washbrook,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 34, no. 1 (Jan. 1992): 171.

¹³ Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, “‘The Making of the Working Class’: E.P. Thompson and Indian History,” 177.

¹⁴ Gyan Prakash, “Can the ‘Subaltern’ Ride?” 173, referencing Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “The Making of Americans, the Teaching of English, the Future of Colonial Studies,” *New Literary History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1990): 28.

order to set the ground for a re-assessment of the entire Subaltern Project.

In a very thought-provoking article, Florencia Mallon reviewed and assessed the undertaking of the Subaltern Project by the LASSG.¹⁵ Mallon calls herself “a progressive scholar,”¹⁶ perhaps implying that she is in agreement with the notion of “an academic project that would continue the legacy of politically committed scholarship.”¹⁷ Her application and understanding of the notion of “subalternity,” however, especially as built from the theoretical works of Gramsci, Foucault, and Derrida, seems to spark more questions than answers.

For instance, in the very same thought-provoking essay, Mallon makes a subtle reference to Upendra Baxi, writing that the undertaking of the search for “the subaltern” “can also be liberating, *not only to subaltern subjects themselves but also to the scholars who follow their trails.*”¹⁸ This distinction between “subaltern subjects themselves” and “the scholars who follow them” is, in my view, incompatible with the radical deconstructive philosophical position that must be at work *at all times*.¹⁹ In other words, Mallon’s position here, I claim, misses the entire point of what I think the radical deconstruction of all categories of representation entails. While she claims, “most subalterns are both dominated and dominating subjects,”²⁰ she does not take this logic to its ultimate conclusion, that virtually *all subjects in society are potentially both subalterns and elites, simultaneously.*²¹

In a highly influential essay, John Beverley, one of the founders of the LASSG, goes well back to the works of Foucault and Gramsci in order to put into context the Subaltern Project for the case of present (and future) Latin America. Beverley brings up the Foucauldian notion of ungovernability and relates it to the notion of subalternity in the sense that what the former one “expresses is the incommensurability between what Dipesh Chakrabarty calls the ‘radical heterogeneity’ of subaltern social subjects and the ‘reason’ of the modern nation-state.”²² Thus, ungovernability as “the space of resistance, opposition, and insurgency in globalization [. . .] also designates the failure of politics as such—that is, of hegemony.”²³ Accordingly, the purpose of the Subaltern Project would then be “the critique of hegemony and the possibility of a new form of hegemony.”²⁴

Beverley’s reference to Gramsci’s notion of hegemony is very important here, as it will allow us to go back and thoroughly assess the entire Subaltern Project from its very Gramscian foundations all the way to the writings of the SASSC and the LASSG. My initial question here is: What do post-Marxist intellectuals interested in the continuation of the legacy of a politically committed scholarship attain from conceptualizing subalternity as a critique of hegemony? The key here is the category of “post-Marxist.” A more concrete question would be: How “post-Marxist” the critique of hegemony *actually* is?

These provocative questions also allow us to interrogate: To what extent has the Subaltern Project successfully substituted the Marxist notion of class for something along

¹⁵ See footnote 6.

¹⁶ Florencia Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies,” 1,491.

¹⁷ Ileana Rodríguez, “Reading Subalterns across Texts, Disciplines, and Theories,” 1.

¹⁸ Florencia Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies,” 1,511. My emphasis.

¹⁹ This exact same position could be seen in an essay by Abdul-Karim Mustapha. In this dense essay, at some point Mustapha identifies himself just as “a subalternist.” Abdul-Karim Mustapha, “Questions of Strategy as an Abstract Minimum: Subalternity and Us,” in Ileana Rodríguez, ed., *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 216. The very title of Mustapha’s essay seem to fall completely short of the deconstruction of all categories of representation.

²⁰ Florencia Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies,” 1,511.

²¹ It seems to me that both Mallon and Mustapha are not incorporating the fact that they inhabit what Sally Haslanger has called a “global white supremacist capitalist patriarchy.” Sally Haslanger, “Social Construction and Social Justice,” colloquium at Northwestern University’s Department of Philosophy, Spring 2011. Thus, Mallon and Mustapha could be affluent academics; i.e., elites in terms of class, yet both of them could also potentially be subordinated and subjugated in terms of their gender or ethnicity; i.e., subalterns in the “global white supremacist capitalist patriarchy.”

²² John Beverley, “The Im/possibility of Politics: Subalternity, Modernity, Hegemony,” in Ileana Rodríguez, ed., *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 49.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid. This point seems to parallel the work of Ernesto Laclau.

the lines of the radical heterogeneity that Chakrabarty mentions? This concern becomes peculiar when we take into account the technical context in which Gramsci originally wrote his *Prison Notebooks*. For instance, if one considers that Gramsci had to resort to the usage of obscure language in order to bypass the censorship of the Italian fascist regime; e.g., using the phrase “philosophy of praxis” instead of “Marxism,” could it then be possible that for Gramsci the category of “subaltern” was actually a mere code word for the category of “proletariat”? What could this mean for someone like Guha whose founding definition of “the subaltern” for the entire Subaltern Project was almost directly transcribed from the *Prison Notebooks*?

If the above dilemma turned out to be correct, however, it would not necessarily render invalid our usage the category of “the subaltern” as long as we are very careful in its definition and application. The problem seems to be, however, that a lot of the so-called “Subalternists,” especially on the Latin American camp, have not actually been able to either carefully define or apply this category.

To conclude, my modest critique of the Subaltern Project in its entirety would be that, if one does not take the deconstructive philosophical position seriously, it becomes extremely easy to fall into a theoretical position not too far removed from the essentialist classical Marxism that was rendered defunct almost a century ago. The deconstructive philosophical position, as a radical immanence, must be at the forefront of all attempts to build a successful truly emancipatory and liberatory project of the “Left” for the 21st century.²⁵ For once the deconstruction of all categories of representation ceases to be of primary importance, then at that very same moment, one representation of reality, whether class, gender, or race, will take precedence over all others, thus misrepresenting and obscuring the complex reality of the world.

The very brief genealogy of the category of subalternity with which this essay began allowed me to offer an also modest critique of this category. This essay, however, has raised by far more questions than answers—as these questions go well beyond the scope of such a short essay. Though these questions cannot be fully answered here, I know they will continue to resurface again and again in my work as a politically committed scholar. My purpose was not so much to find concrete answers *to them*, as it was to spark discussion *of them*. To close, I contend that the viability of the constant deconstruction of all categories of representation is by no

means a simple matter. Our reality, however, is just as complex. And if our aim is to interpret the world—before we can change it—we must always aspire to never simplify it.²⁶

²⁵ One must go as far (and beyond) as the deconstruction of the very category of the “Left.”

²⁶ I am in debt to History Professor Brodwyn Fischer for supervising my study of subalternity during the winter of 2012. I also would like to thank English Professor Vivasvan Soni for his careful reading of this essay.

The Effects of Salinity and Elevated CO₂ on the Standard Metabolic Rate (SMR) of Clams (*M. mercenaria*)

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Abstract

Rising levels of atmospheric CO₂ can lead to acidification in the ocean and alter the carbonate chemistry of marine calcifiers, which includes mollusks. In estuarine waters, elevated CO₂ can be a stressor that can co-occur with reduced salinity, and affect the ion and acid-base regulation of marine calcifiers, changing their response to ocean acidification. We studied the effects of salinity and elevated CO₂ on the standard metabolic rate of juvenile clams (*M. mercenaria*). In our study, we kept the clams under exposure for 21 weeks in a 2 x 3 factorial design, which consisted of two salinities (30ppt or 15ppt) and three P_{CO2} concentrations (2,000ppm, 800ppm, or 380ppm). The exposure of the juvenile clams to elevated P_{CO2} and/or low salinity led to a significant increase in the standard metabolic rate (SMR) and mortality. We found that low salinity was a major contributor to the increase in the basal metabolic rate, and extreme P_{CO2} combined with low salinity increased the standard metabolic rate as well.

Introduction

Carbon dioxide has been a major cause of global warming since the Industrial Revolution, causing the Earth's atmospheric temperature to rise. The majority of the CO₂ emitted into the atmosphere is anthropogenic, which is mostly caused by the burning of fossil fuels, cement production, and deforestation (Sabine et al., 2004). Before the Industrial Revolution, CO₂ concentrations in the atmosphere were around 280 parts per million (ppm), while the current CO₂ levels in the Earth's atmosphere today is around 395ppm. The CO₂ concentrations are projected to rise to 440ppm by 2020, and, by 2100, CO₂ concentrations are predicted to rise to 850ppm if there is a continuous release of CO₂ into the Earth's atmosphere (National Research Council). This will not only affect the Earth's climate but will also have an effect on the chemistry of the oceans.

The ocean plays a pivotal role in moderating climate change (National Research Council 2010). It helps to mitigate the global climate change by lowering the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere and lowering the temperature of the Earth's atmosphere. If there is a continuous increase in the amount of CO₂ consumed by the ocean due to anthropogenic activity, this will ultimately become detrimental to oceanic chemistry. Once the carbon dioxide has dissolved in the ocean, it reacts with water, forming a weak acid called carbonic acid. Mollusks are filter feeders that help to keep a clean environment, especially when there is unnecessary sediment that needs to be removed from the ocean along with chemicals and other pollutants that could otherwise cause harm in the surrounding water (Harrould and Savitz, 2009). Not only are these animals important for their own ecosystem, but they are also important commercially. The mollusk aquaculture's estimated reach is about U.S. \$100 billion in annual production by 2050, at the growth rate of 5% per year (Cooley et al., 2009). If these important marine animals are affected by acidification, this could cause the waterways to become rapidly polluted and unsafe, and it could lead to significant changes in coastal biodiversity and ecosystem functioning (Harrould and Savitz, 2009).

The goal of the study is to evaluate the effect of salinity and elevated CO₂ on juvenile clams (*M. mercenaria*) to see how it may affect their standard metabolic rate (SMR). We predict that due to increase elevated P_{CO2} and/or low salinity, stress will lead to an increase in SMR, reflecting high-energy costs to maintain cellular homeostasis.

Materials and Methods

The basic setup for this experiment was a 2 x 3 factorial design with two studied factors: salinity and P_{CO2}. The salinity conditions used in this study were 30ppt (high salinity) and 15ppt (low salinity). The salinity conditions were within an environmentally relevant range for the clams (*M. mercenaria*). The P_{CO2} concentrations that were used in each tank were 380ppm—present-day conditions normocapnia (the control); 800ppm—2100 projection, moderate hypercapnia; and 2,000ppm—2250 projection, extreme hypercapnia. A total of six tanks were used in this experiment. All of the species were placed inside tanks that were maintained at 20°C. Each of the tanks was placed under the different exposures to P_{CO2} concentrations and salinity over a span of 21 weeks. **Figure 1** shows the basic setup for the experiment.

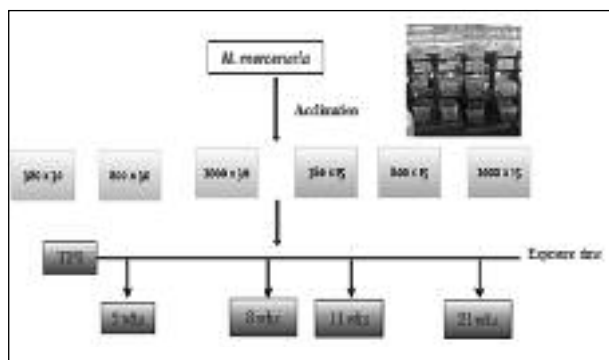


Figure 1. The acclimated conditions [CO₂ (380, 800, or 2,000ppm) and salinity (30 or 15ppt) levels] of experimental clams creating a 2 x 3 factorial design. Grey boxes indicate the time at which samples were taken.

Animal Collection and Maintenance

The juvenile clams were obtained from a local provider (Grant's Oyster House, Sneads, NC). For clams under the hypercapnic treatment (2,000ppm, 30ppt, 15ppt, and 800ppm, 30ppt, 15ppt), seawater was bubbled with CO₂-enriched air with the use of a carbon dioxide gas tank. The clams under normocapnic treatment (380ppm, 30ppt, and 15ppt) were bubbled with just ambient air. The salinity was determined using an YSI30 salinity, temperature and conductivity meter (YSI Inc., Yellow Spring, OH). The water temperature was maintained at 20±1°C in all tanks and salinity either at 30±0.5 and 15±0.5. Artificial seawater was prepared using Instant Ocean Kent Marine ASW during every water change. The water pH for each tank was measured before changing water using a pH electrode (pH meter Model 1671 equipped with 600P pH electrode, Jenco Instruments, San Diego, CA). Clams were fed every other day with a commercial algal (DT's Live Marine Phytoplankton, Sycamore, IL) (3mL to 2mL for each tank). The experimental tanks were checked for mortality once every week. The samples were collected from experimental tanks for 2 weeks, 8 weeks, 11 weeks, and 21 weeks and placed in a closed, temperature-controlled chamber (temperature maintained at 20°C) equipped with a Clarke-type electrode to measure the respiration rate shown in **Figure 2**. Prior to starting the experiment, we had to set up the Clarke-type electrode with a Teflon membrane covered on top of the electrode and submerged it in a liquid KCl. After setting up the electrode, we calibrated the electrode from 0% and 100% to help polarize the electrode, adding deionized (DI) water in the process and allowing it to sit for 30 minutes.

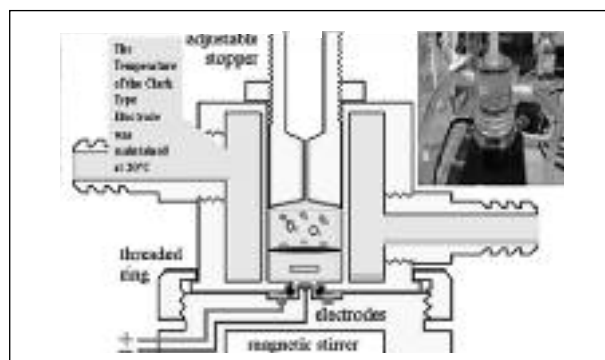


Figure 2. A scheme of the Clarke-type electrode for measuring clams' respiration. Clams are shown as orange ovals placed on the metal mesh (black) inside the chamber.

We placed three to four juveniles in two enclosed respiration chambers. Juveniles were kept in the chamber for 45 minutes without being measured for oxygen consumption to reduce the effects of handling. The oxygen consumption was then measured for 50 minutes and recorded using the "Logger Pro" analog-to-digital converter and the respective software.

After the data was collected for the respiration rate from the experimental clams, they were stored in 70% ethanol and shipped to the University of Pittsburgh for mass measurements and mechanical testing.

Results and Discussion

Our study demonstrates that the effects of low salinity and elevated PCO₂ can be detrimental to marine bivalves in estuarine waters where salinity can vary. In the respiration graph in **Figure 3A**, starting with the normocapnic controls at 380ppm/30ppt and 380/15ppt. The control at 380ppm/30ppt shows no increase in oxygen consumption at 2 weeks throughout the course of exposure at 11 weeks and 21 weeks. This suggests that the animals were acclimated to the condition due to long periods of exposure. The control at 380ppm/15ppt starting from 2 weeks to 8 weeks remains the same no changes occur, but until 11 weeks, the metabolic rate starts to increase significantly and remains elevated throughout the experimental exposure. Under experimental conditions of moderate hypercapnia, 800ppm/30ppt, starting at 2 weeks, there is no change in the metabolic rate up until 8 weeks, where there is a slight increase. From 8 weeks to 11 weeks, there is still no change, and it remains on this trajectory to 21 weeks. This shows that hypercapnia alone does not affect the SMR in comparison with the controls.

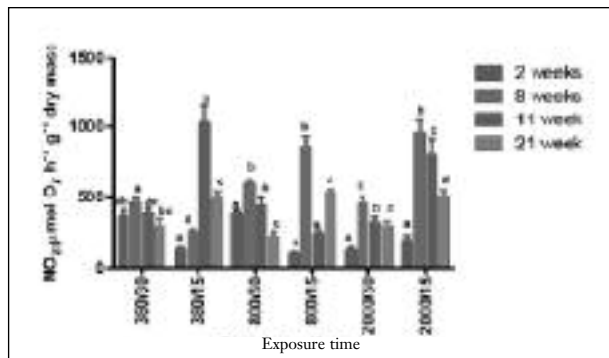


Figure 3A. Respiration rates of the clams (*M. mercenaria*) y-axis oxygen consumption rates in μmol of oxygen consumed $\text{h}^{-1} \text{g}^{-1}$ of dry mass weight, shown on the x-axis CO_2 concentrations and salinity. The samples were taken and measured for respiration at 2 weeks (red), 8 weeks (blue), 11 weeks (purple), and 21 weeks (brown). The letters above the column refer to the post-hoc comparisons of the respiration rates at different exposure times within the same experimental conditions; the columns that do not share a letter are significantly different ($p < 0.05$).

Under the conditions with moderate hypercapnia and low salinity, 800ppm/30ppt, there is no increase in the first 2 weeks of exposure, but at 8 weeks there is a significant increase in SMR and remains elevated up until 21 weeks. Under conditions where there were extreme P_{CO_2} concentrations and high salinity, we saw no change in the standard metabolic rate starting out low at 2 weeks, then steadily increasing and remaining slightly high at the end of 21 weeks. In the conditions in extreme P_{CO_2} concentrations and low salinity, the peak of increase in the standard metabolic starts out at 8 weeks and remains elevated through the course of exposure time.

The mortality shown in **Figure 3B** under the salinity conditions at 30ppt shows no increase in mortality up until 11 to 15 weeks and continues to elevate up until 21 weeks. The data for the 800ppm/30ppt stop after 10 weeks, because the clams were unable to survive the condition. The mortality shown in **Figure 3C** under low salinity show a different mortality increasing before 10 weeks in comparison with 30ppt increased mortality started after 10 weeks of exposure. The mortality rates are found to have a fourfold to fivefold increase in low salinity compared to normcapnia and high salinity (Dickinson et al., 2011).

The study finds that at low salinity and/or extreme carbon dioxide concentrations, there is an increase in the standard metabolic rate. The effects of elevated P_{CO_2} , alone and in combination, have an overall negative effect. Based on observations, low salinity is a greater stressor than high

P_{CO_2} , whereas the combination of these two factors produces greater changes in physiology and shell formation (Dickinson et al., 2011). The data proves this in **Figure 3A** at exposures 2,000ppm/15ppt. This allows clams to spend more time maintaining energy balance. In stressful environments, organisms will need to increase energy demand to maintain defense and repair (Lanning et al., 2010), which is why the SMR becomes elevated at low salinity and/or elevated P_{CO_2} . The stress-induced metabolic adjustments are aimed at stabilizing the metabolic balance that ensures survival of the individual (Dickinson et al., 2011). This increased energy cost will help to maintain that energy balance through acid-base balance, buffering capacity, ion transport and exchange, and metabolic suppression in order to sustain that energy balance. This high-energy cost affects cellular homeostasis in normal function such as reproduction, survival, and growth.

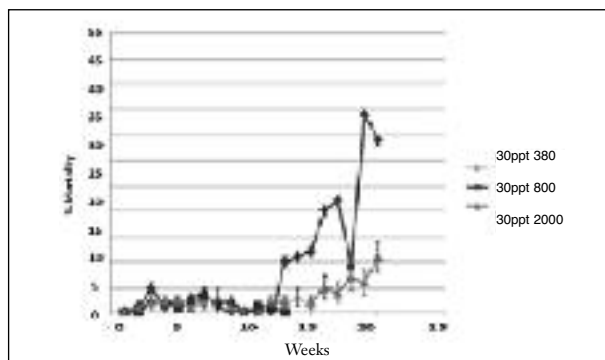


Figure 3B.

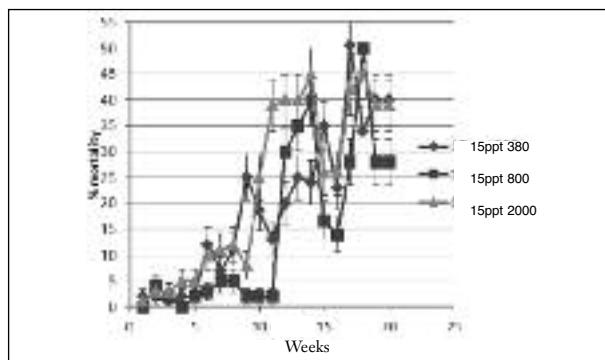


Figure 3C.

Figures 3B and 3C represent the percentage of mortality of clams at salinity 30ppt and 15ppt under three different $[\text{CO}_2]$ (380ppm, 800ppm, and 2,000ppm) over the course of 21 weeks.

Conclusions

Reduced salinities and elevated P_{CO_2} levels interactively affect survival, growth, and energy demands. We found that in elevated CO_2 and low salinity there is an increase in the standard metabolic rate. This indicates that for clams in estuarine waters, long-term exposure to low salinity can ultimately affect their cellular homeostasis modifying shell formation, by weakening properties of shells, reducing the acid-base balance between the extracellular and intracellular pathways, and making them more prone to predators, parasites, and other mechanical damages (Dickinson et al., 2011). Overall, we found that low salinity is a major contributor in increasing the standard metabolic rate and mortality of juvenile mollusks than P_{CO_2} that will pose a threat in the near future if conditions continue to progress like they are now.

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