



The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2014

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

Justice. If there is one word that captures the theme of the *2014 Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal*, it is “justice.” In these thirty-three selected articles, our young scholars tackle gender violence, racial inequality, and institutional and economic barriers. They demonstrate how some barriers can remain entrenched even when others are removed. These scholars, encompassing twenty-one different disciplinesⁱ, share a common concern with confronting injustice and inequality across the world.

Significant inequalities remain in the academy itself. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, as of 2011 79 percent of full-time U.S. instructional faculty were white, 6 percent were Black, 4 percent were Hispanic, 9 percent were Asian/Pacific Islander, and less than 1 percent were American Indian/Alaska Native or two or more races.ⁱⁱ The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (MMUF) is dedicated to helping talented young scholars break this academic glass ceiling. Although these articles do not deal directly with the problem of barriers in higher education, indirectly they touch upon the very factors that can prohibit equality in society and in education more generally: epistemological, structural, political, racial, and gendered, among others.

MMUF Fellows Brandon Allston, Aimee Carelse, Christina Chica, Daniella Posy, Robert Franco, Jonathan Salinas, and Danielle Wu explore how gender constructions can both inhibit and enable progress for certain groups and individuals. From Danielle’s expert analysis of the Chinese photographer Chen Man to Jonathan’s re-thinking of Mary Wollstonecraft, these scholars uncover the often hidden complexities of gender politics. Krystal Caban, Sherri Cummings, Isabelia Herrera, Lauren Highsmith, Maya Mundell, and Laurel O’Connor, meanwhile, apply similar lenses to racial constructions. Yessica Martinez, John Paul Paniagua, and Marlen Rosas examine how indigenous or undesired groups have struggled to resist oppression and negotiate their needs for belonging. Takalani Muloiwa and Claudia Vargas uncover barriers to employment and further education in South Africa and Colombia, respectively.

Other MMUF scholars analyze philosophical texts, health disorders, works of art and literature, the recent film *Argo*, and the politics of identity. Three of our science and mathematics scholars—Virginia Isava, Acadia Larsen, and Megan Nathan—submit important contributions to their fields and our knowledge. We hope you enjoy reading these articles as much as we have.

Bryan McAllister-Grande

Editor, 2013–

Harvard University, EdD Candidate

Meg Brooks Swift

MMUF Coordinator, Harvard University

ⁱ 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.

ⁱⁱ <http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=61>.

Table of Contents

3	Yessica Martinez, <i>Princeton University</i> Making Meaning Out of Shards: The Case of El Cartucho and Its Poets Advisor/Mentor: German Labrador Mendez	48	Meredith Nnoka, <i>Smith College</i> The Teleology of Interiority in "Sonny's Blues" Advisor/Mentor: Daphne Lamothe
8	Jovonna Jones, <i>Emory University</i> Being as Seeing: Douglass' Phenomenology of Vision, Self, and Progress Advisor/Mentor: Cynthia Willett	52	Brandon Allston, <i>Haverford College</i> Men Ain't Boys: Black Baptist Churches as Free Spaces for the Formation of Black Masculinities Advisor/Mentor: Tracey Hucks
12	Claire Dillon, <i>Northwestern University</i> Inverted Utopia: Magritte's <i>Empire of Lights</i> in Fernando Pérez's <i>Madagascar</i> Advisor/Mentor: Adrian Lopez Denis (University of Delaware)	57	Christina Chica, <i>Princeton University</i> Queer Latino Experience in Education: The Influence and Perception of "Machismo" on Young Men Advisor/Mentor: Miguel A. Centeno
17	Danielle Wu, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Long Live the Motherland: Chen Man and the Political Pressures of Female Perfection in Contemporary China Advisor/Mentor(s): Kristina Kleutghen, Ila Sheren, Lingchei Letty Chen	61	Ariel Estrella, <i>Macalester College</i> Known (Not): <i>Kindred</i> and the Crisis of Intimacy across Epistemologies Advisor/Mentor: Theresa Krier
23	Mikel Guereca, <i>Whittier College</i> Reconquista o(r) Assimilation: Los Angeles Schools and Defining Citizenship Advisor/Mentor: Natale Zappia	64	Christopher Marcus-Gibson, <i>Duke University</i> Working with Words: The Place of Mythological Language in Platonic Philosophy Advisor/Mentor: Michael Ferejohn
27	Marlen Rosas, <i>Columbia University</i> Llaguepulli and the Mapuche Resistance: The Dynamics of "El Indio Permitido" Advisor/Mentor: Yesenia Alegre Valencia (University of Art and Social Sciences, Chile)	67	Acadia Larsen, <i>Whittier College</i> A Survey of Divisibility Properties of the Partition Function and Related Functions Advisor/Mentor: Brandt Kronholm
31	Sherri Cummings, <i>Brooklyn College – CUNY</i> Indian, Mixed, or African: The Metamorphosis of Tituba, Woman, Slave, and Witch of Salem—A Historiographical Examination Advisor/Mentor: Lynda Day	72	Isabelia Herrera, <i>Barnard College</i> "¡La Negra Que Lo Menea!": Amara La Negra and Afro-Dominican Self-Affirmation Advisor/Mentor: Monica Miller
37	Lauren Highsmith, <i>Hampton University</i> Bloodlines: The Significance of Blood in the Battle Royal Advisor/Mentor: Ameer Carmines	76	Destiny Hemphill, <i>Duke University</i> The Politics of Melancholia in Latina Literature Advisor/Mentor: Wahneema Lubiano
40	Megan Nathan, <i>University of Southern California</i> Hair Cortisol Concentrations in the Brown-throated Sloth (<i>Bradypus variegatus</i>) and Hoffmann's Two-toed Sloth (<i>Choloepus hoffmanni</i>) Advisor/Mentor: Gerald Bakus	80	Joe Soonthornsawad, <i>Carleton College</i> George Benson's Bebop Roots: Placing Smooth Jazz within the Jazz Narrative Advisor/Mentor(s): Andrew Flory, Constanza Ocampo-Raeder, William North
44	Krystal Angelina Caban, <i>Bryn Mawr College</i> Transgressive Bodies: Racial Passing as Subversion in <i>Imitation of Life</i> and <i>X-Men</i> Advisor/Mentor: Linda Susan Beard	84	Alexander Peña, <i>Williams College</i> Losing Iran: <i>Argo</i> , the Hostage Crisis, and the Politics of Reconciliation Advisor/Mentor: William Darrow

Table of Contents

89

John Paul Paniagua, *Whittier College*
An Apache Middle Passage: Exile from Northern New Spain, 1729–1816
Advisor/Mentor: Natale Zappia

96

Robert Franco, *University of Pennsylvania*
¡Salva La Madre! Gender and Reform in Ecuador during the Spanish Civil War
Advisor/Mentor(s): Antonio Feros and Ann Farnsworth-Alvear

101

Jonathan Salinas, *University of California – Los Angeles*
The Struggle between Feminism and Patriarchy in the Writings of Mary Wollstonecraft: *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and *Maria: or, The Wrongs of Woman*
Advisor/Mentor(s): Felicity Nussbaum and Adela Pinch

105

Virginia Isava, *Duke University*
Deciphering Multistage Metamorphic Events in the Northern Region of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Tennessee
Advisor/Mentor: Alan Boudreau

110

Laurel O'Connor, *Williams College*
Slaughterhouse Rule: Environments of the Bitter Earth
Advisor/Mentor(s): Nicolas Howe and Liza Johnson

114

Maya Mundell, *Cornell University*
Constructions of Blackness in Regions of the Arab World: Reflections on Jordan and an Ethnography in Oman
Advisor/Mentor(s): Noliwe Rooks and Margo Crawford

118

Aimee Carelse, *University of Cape Town*
The Construction of Femininity in *Fairlady*: Shifting Identities in South African Women's Magazines
Advisor/Mentor: Martha Evans

124

Takalani Muloiwa, *University of the Witwatersrand – Johannesburg*
Immigrants in South Africa: The Relationship between Education Level and Employment Status
Advisor/Mentor(s): Nicole De Wet (University of the Witwatersrand) and Rachel Connelly (Bowdoin College)

129

Claudia Vargas, *Hunter College – CUNY*
Did the 1999 Economic Crises in Colombia Affect the Probability of Graduating from High School in Colombia?
Advisor/Mentor: Randall K. Filer

136

Keil Oberlander, *Brown University*
Playing Indian in Virtual Spaces: German Hobbyists and Their Social Network Identities
Advisor/Mentor: Elizabeth Hoover

141

Katrina Cortés, *Oberlin College*
I Am a Venn Diagram: Erasure, Emphasis, and De-emphasis in Mexipinx Organizing and Identity
Advisor/Mentor: Gina Pérez

145

Taleisia Edwards, *Brooklyn College – CUNY*
Categorization Abilities in Typically Developing (TD) Children and Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD)
Advisor/Mentor(s): Laraine McDonough, Tashana Samuel

150

Daniella Posy, *Queens College – CUNY*
White and Black Womanhood in the Pre-Code Era
Advisor/Mentor: Ellen Scott

Creating Meaning Out of Shards: The Case of El Cartucho and Its Poets

Yessica Martinez, *Princeton University*

Yessica Martinez is a senior at Princeton University pursuing a degree in comparative literature with certificates in Latin American studies and creative writing. Her academic interests focus on the lives of marginalized groups and the modes of cultural production that arise out of extreme experiences. She has studied violence, trauma, and testimonial narratives. She plans to pursue a PhD in Spanish literature.

Abstract

La Calle del Cartucho was a slum in Bogotá, Colombia, that was destroyed and replaced by a park after a failed urban intervention project. Thousands of residents were displaced and rejected throughout the city. In this paper, I analyze a series of poems written by poets from El Cartucho, many of whom are drug addicts and recyclers. I argue that in making sense of the discourses of waste marshaled against them, they present an alternative view of modernity that uncovers the vulnerability of our collective condition. Their poetry shows how alternative modes of existence can be derived from our relationship to waste and obsolescence.

Introduction

In a devastatingly complex and oftentimes cruel world, how do we accept the possibility for change and healing while fully accounting for the destruction and pain that surrounds us? To offer a take on this question, I turn to a group of poets who lived in a notorious urban slum in Bogotá, Colombia, known as La Calle del Cartucho ("El Cartucho"). I argue that their literary productions present a world in which creation must work hand in hand with destruction in order for meaning to emerge. What they reveal is a powerful logic of recycling, which views our collective enterprise as one veering toward obsolescence but recognizes in the waste that surrounds us possibilities for reshaping the world at hand.

El Cartucho's poets were part of a poetry collective founded by Jorge Gaviña Pérez, a former architect who became addicted to drugs and is better known as El Científico. By the time of his death at the age of thirty-five, there were over thirty people from El Cartucho distributing the groups' poems in city streets and buses (Morris and Garcon 111). Hopes of widespread distribution ended with El Científico's death in 1999, but the poems remain as testimony to their lives (Arias 1). A professor in Bogotá compiled some of the poems and published them on an online literary site, offering what is, to my knowledge, a first and only analysis of them. In this paper, I offer a more focused reading of these poems in the context of the poets' lives as drug addicts and in the context of the economic space of recycling that surrounded them.

By the 1990s, El Cartucho was Bogotá's largest drug dispensary. It was known specifically for the distribution of Basuco, a cheap mix of cocaine and cocaine paste distributed excessively throughout the city (Morris and Garcon 79). El Cartucho was also known for its large recycling warehouses. These became centers of exchange between owners (so-called *bodegueros*) and countless waste collectors who found in them economic survival as well as a place of belonging (60). Indeed, El Cartucho was not only an economic space for the buying and selling of goods but also a dwelling place for thousands of people who made its sidewalks and large warehouses their home (60).

As we will see, both the poets' drug addiction as well as their involvement in El Cartucho's recycling economy furnished them with a unique understanding of waste. As drug addicts, they show a deep awareness of the processes of consumption and destruction that regulate their own bodies and lives. Their poems in turn reveal decay as a material, societal, and bodily process to which we are all connected. However, as people involved in El Cartucho's recycling economy, they treat decay with a sensitivity proper to people who live and work amongst it.

Significantly, the poets also speak of waste as people who are treated as disposable material. Indeed, El Cartucho's residents were associated with degradation, illegality, and waste; they were collectively referred to as *desechables* (disposables) throughout Bogotá (Morris and Garcon 52). In their poems, they appropriate and radicalize this language of *desechos* (waste) to speak of their own bodies and lives but also to reveal this condition of disposability as one that is common to us all. They treat destruction and decay as the permanent condition of our time and present a way of dealing with the world that uncovers hope and possibilities in these surroundings.¹

This powerful insight is particularly important given El Cartucho's final end. After decades of state inaction and neglect, the government destroyed El Cartucho and built a park in its place (Peñalosa 92), forcing the displacement of thousands of residents. When the government attempted to relocate them and create social centers to facilitate their integration, communities all throughout Bogotá fiercely resisted having El Cartucho's former residents living near them (Malaver 1).

What the government sought to do with the destruction of El Cartucho was expunge undesirable aspects of the city landscape to create an environment free of degeneration and chaos. However, in the end, El Cartucho did not go away; it sprung up with force in other neighborhoods throughout the city as testimony to a failed intervention (Ardila 1). The poets, on the other hand, ask us to accept

spaces like El Cartucho as emblematic of our modern times and to reshape our perception to find within these spaces, rather than in their destruction, possibilities for change.

The Poems

In this first poem, “Plomo,” El Científico interprets the experience of drug addiction. Feelings of shame, impotence, and loneliness are accentuated as the process of consuming Basuco is described.

“Plomo”—*El Científico*
 “Lead” by El Científicoⁱⁱ

Me pesa como el plomo
 It weighs me down like lead
el conocimiento matutino
 The morning recognition
de ser también hoy incapaz
 that again today, I am unable
de saltar o romper el muro
 to jump or break the wall
que conforma y define
 that forms and defines
este espacio así:
 this space as follows:

Cerrado y figurado en círculo
 Closed and formed as a circle
ceñido por una línea
 girded by a line
que además de ser una línea
 that more than a line
es un trazo sin sentido.
 is a senseless trace

Mi propósito de ser pero no poder
 My purpose of being but not being able
que de quien está a mi lado
 who is next to me
veo en su cara, y en su rostro leo
 I look on his face and on his face read
el querer con ansias ser querido
 the anxious desire to be loved
con hechos concretos
 with concrete acts
que se definen con caricias de metal.
 materialized in metal caresses.

Y al mismo tiempo agradecer
 And at the same time give thanks
el no estar aquí sino en el muladar
 for not being there but in the refuse heap
buyendo de mí y de él;
 fleeing from myself and from him;
pero esperando que llegue yo
 but waiting for me to arrive

y le dé un poquito del veneno
 to give him a bit of the poison
con el cual él se mata
 with which he kills himself
atrayéndolo a mi lado
 attracting him to my side
para que venga a matarse conmigo
 so he can come kill himself with me
en este mi calabozo de muros
 in this my dungeon of nonexistent
inexistentes donde pago la pena
 walls where I pay the price
de no tener vergüenzas.
 of having no shame.

In the first stanza of the poem, the poet describes the isolation and impotence caused by the consumption of Basuco. The description of the circular cell girded by a senseless line in the beginning of the poem is a close description of a ready-made pipe commonly used to smoke Basuco. The circular space is the bowl where Basuco, and sometimes lead, are burned, and the line that encircles the space is the band used to hold the structure together. The poet’s frustration is thus his inability to break free of his drug addiction, rendered both literal and figurative by the poet’s language.

However, in the third stanza, we see not the desire to break free but to find a loving refuge. The poet frenetically introduces another character in the third stanza that appears sitting next to him. The poet then transfers the feelings of isolation and fear seen in the preceding verses onto this new figure, reading on his face the desire to be caressed. The word “metal” is an echo of the poem’s title, “Lead,” but here it does not weigh the subject down as it did in the beginning of the poem, rather it bears a lightness that can touch someone gently and lovingly. What the verses thus allude to is the process of melting and consuming Basuco by which the poet alleviates his anguish.

In the end, we see what occurs once this high has come to pass. In the last stanza, the impenetrable, closed, and circular space gives way to a refuse heap. In this new reality, the poet is not anxious to break free but to escape from himself and the subject sitting next to him. It is here that the veil lifts and uncovers the harshness of reality. But this state of fear, too, is but a momentary flash. Even as he gives thanks for returning to this reality, he remains subject to his addiction. He tells us, “But waiting for me to arrive/ to give him a bit of the poison/ with which he kills himself.” The language’s ambiguity accepts both the poet and that other subject as possible referents. In that sense, the poet is describing both a longing for his other self that will bring him the poison he wishes to consume and the desire for that other subject introduced in the third stanza that awaits him and his fix. Indeed, he doubles himself and returns to that

other subject to reveal his need to share in his isolation and shame. In this poem we thus keenly sense the poet's misery and feelings of worthlessness.

In the next poem, however, this feeling of being disposable is one that is shared collectively. Jaime Sanabria, also known as El Costeño, is the poem's author (Guerrero 1).

"Desechables"—El Costeño
"Disposables" by El Costeño
El tiempo nos hace desecharables
 Time makes us disposable
Nos baja la Mirada
 It lowers our gaze
Nos arrastra por el piso las angustias
 Drags our anxieties along the floor
Rondamos la basura del ayer
 We circle yesterday's trash
Mendigamos días blandos de cartón
 Beg for our soft, cardboard days
Descartamos el enigma del futuro
 Discard the future's enigma
Las palabras tiemblan y se caen
 The words tremble and fall
Cuando el tiempo nos hace desecharables
 When time makes us disposable
Tejemos con retazos nuestros años
 We weave our years with remnants
Con miedo nuestras noches
 With fear our nights

In this poem, precariousness and the sense of anxiety it generates are common to us all. Here, it is time that weakens and emaciates. It is our existence that is fragile, and our anxieties and fears sprawl the floor underneath us. In this poem, we construct our reality out of waste because the world has nothing more to offer. As the poet tells us in the end, "We weave our years with remnants." What appears in this poem is a profound sense of anguish at the recognition that we are not rooted in time and, therefore, cannot secure the future. Towards the end of the poem, we read a verse about the disintegration of language that accompanies our own decay: "the words tremble and fall/ when time makes us disposable." However, as we will see in the poems that follow, the poets mobilize these destructive forces inherent in our world—the forces that uproot and make us disposable—to reorder the world from within.

In this next poem, written by El Científico, we see how the subject reinterprets reality through a different value lens to masterfully discover in waste the things he needs.

"Hechos y Desechos"—El Científico
"Doings and Undoings" by El Científico
Sobre el prado, bajo los árboles
 On the lawn, under the trees
Con desdén y sin vergüenza
 With disdain and without shame
Entre una bolsa arrojas
 In a bag you throw
Lo que te sobra te estorba
 The leftovers, what gets in your way
Caminando por los andenes
 Walking on the sidewalks
Encuentro como escarbo y saco
 I dig, rummage, scratch and pull
Cojo recojo y llevo
 Take, grab and carry
Lo que recojo y llevo
 What I grab and take
Lo que requiero y quiero
 What I need and want
De tu basura mis enseres
 From your garbage my belongings
Con tus trapos mis vestidos
 From your rags my dresses
De tus sobras mis exquisiteces.
 From your leftover my delicacies.

In this poem, the poet presents recategorization of objects as a process that involves the reconstruction of meaning. What the person in the second stanza does is take the objects discarded by the people in the first stanza to rework them to a point where they acquire an altogether different form. Unlike the people described in the first stanza who exhibit a disregard for their surroundings, this person's gaze is marked by his ability to zoom in and out of his surroundings. We thus picture the subject covering the whole expanse of the city landscape and then bending down towards the earth, even digging his head inside it in order to find what he needs. However, he not only finds, but also transforms, objects. Garbage becomes utensils, rags become dresses, and leftovers become delicacies. The poem thus shows how we can work within the nearly inflexible mold of the world to uncover solutions that compensate for our needs.

In this poem, the idea of creating a world that fits neatly within a preferred image of the future, like we saw with the failed intervention of El Cartucho, does not exist. What the person can do, however, is become enmeshed in the world, working within its full range of complexity and decay in order to find a solution. This is at once a more humble—and yet more cunning and dangerous way—of dealing with the world because it recognizes its full range of complexity and works within its destructive tendencies. Similarly, the next poem, "Papelitos," written by a man nicknamed El Go Go (Guerrero 1), asks us to reconsider creation

as a process that emerges directly from the waste that surrounds us.

"Papelitos" by El Go Go
 "Little Papers" by El Go Go

¡No podemos entender
 We cannot understand
lo que algunos aseguran!
 what some affirm!
Que venimos a vender
 That we came to sell
papeles que son basura
 papers that are garbage
si así como pueden ver
 for as you can see
son literatura.
 they are literature.

No son un simple papel,
 They are not a simple paper,
son mensajes
 they are messages
nacidos en la calle
 born on the street
bajo la luz de la luna,
 underneath the moonlight
que nosotros a la intemperie
 that us in the face of inclemency
les escribimos en un papel
 wrote in a paper
sacado de la basura.
 taken from the garbage.

This last poem is the one that best exemplifies the poets' enterprise. What we see is the wish to sell and distribute poems, to reach across a divide to an unfamiliar audience, and, most importantly, to vindicate the medium that allows us to rescue the meaning of our lives. Here, it is waste that mediates meaning; as such, it is the thing that must be rescued.

The poem describes the birth of a message. This is an orphaned babe, born in the street and nourished by the moonlight that was written down and rescued under impossible conditions. The poem, however, finishes by reminding us that this message was saved—indeed created—through the medium of garbage. As such, it asks the audience to believe that the used paper has not profaned the message. In fact, it requires an altogether different conception of waste and the possibilities of creation.

What the poem thus offers is a powerful logic of recycling. Change involves not destruction and erasure but rather a process similar to the cultivation of crops. Like a patch of waste ground cultivated for the growth of crops, the *papelito* in this poem is rescued for a new message to emerge from it. The value of waste is that it allows for the

coming into being of the message, and its own rescue and preservation are viewed as miraculous.

What this final poem shows us is the level of identification the poets acquired with the waste that surrounds them. It is this intimate connection with waste that drives them to search for meaning within it. Ultimately, El Cartucho's poets share in the intuition that the possibility of a different world lies in the rubble of time. It is with this understanding that we turn to El Cartucho's ruins to say that it is there—and not in the image of the park that replaced it—that the possibilities for our future reside.

Endnotes

ⁱ The work of El Cartucho's poets follows a tradition of modern poetics as explored in Walter Benjamin's text, *Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire*. In a longer version of this essay, I read the work of El Cartucho's poets in the context of Benjamin's thoughts on Baudelaire.

ⁱⁱ All poem translations are my own.

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Being as Seeing: Douglass' Phenomenology of Vision, Self, and Progress

Jovonna Jones, *Emory University*

Jovonna is a senior from Randolph, MA, double-majoring in philosophy and African-American studies. At Emory, Jovonna is highly involved with the Black Student Alliance, Advocates for Racial Justice, and diversity/inclusion consulting. She weaves her activism with her scholarly questions, wondering how such spaces and efforts can inform each other. As a potential scholar-practitioner and professor, Jovonna plans to use academic research, organizational strategy, and communal identity work to better understand what it means to promote thriving environments of difference.

Abstract

For my research, I contemplate how contemporary Black women photographers interpret visual being in a way that addresses conflicts of seeing as both constructed and experientially lived. I consider how Black women artists use photography to problematize and explore the body as the fundamental site of consciousness. Studying the works and narratives of photographers such as Carrie Mae Weems and Deana Lawson, I examine how their ways of seeing illuminate radical ways for human beings to comport themselves in a world of shared spaces and difference. As a working section of my thesis, "Being as Seeing: Douglass' Phenomenology of Vision, Self, and Progress" delves into Frederick Douglass' (1861) visual theory and photographic inquiry. I examine his dynamic conceptions of visibility, self-determination, and human existence.

As opposed to Western philosophers' traditional emphasis on reason and mind at the core of human being, thinker and activist Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) saw differently—literally. Extinguishing his bonds of enslavement in American society and charging towards justice and equity, Douglass had already cultivated a career of testing the bounds of human reason, demanding that the American people actually adhere to the progressive social ideals in the nation's creed. However, on December 3, 1861, Douglass delivered "Pictures and Progress," an innovative lecture illustrating the necessary stakes for not only achieving justice in America but also for embodying human understanding across differences and through self-revelation. This progressive process would require more than changing individual thoughts or political stances about citizenship. Rather, Douglass argued, we must see ourselves differently. While media studies scholar Ginger Hill discusses the various theoretical strands of Douglass' lecture in her essay "Rightly Viewed,"ⁱ this paper further examines the phenomenological underpinnings and propositions of Douglass' ideas. Assessing photography as a phenomenological tool capable of facilitating us to our very modes of being, Douglass ultimately creates a radical visualⁱⁱ theory

that emphasizes sense and imagination to grasp what it means to be human.

Capitalizing on photography's popularity in the mid-1800s, Douglass centers his visual theory on what he deems a key material and perceptual human capacity: the ability to form "thought-pictures."ⁱⁱⁱ He describes thought-pictures as:

"[. . .] the outstanding headlands of the meandering shores of life and are points to steer by on the broad sea of thought and experience. They body forth in living forms and colors, the varying lights and shadows of the soul."^{iv}

Intentionally and poetically, Douglass situates thought-pictures in a movement and process of human perception. He connects our visual capabilities with the ways in which we inhabit the world. Although continental philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty would extrapolate upon the ontological significance of perception in his work *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945), Douglass' nineteenth-century articulation of thought-pictures already indicates fundamental sensory ways of being. His visual theory, paired with Merleau-Ponty's specific phenomenological language, further illuminates the potency of Douglass' theoretical claims and ideas for social progress.

Emphasizing the existential significance of sense, Douglass' description of thought-pictures as the "broad sea of thought and experience" directly points to a phenomenological interrelation of mind and body in human perception. Situated in a broad sea of existence, he can touch and respond to the water sweeping around him, see the vastness of sea and cloud, and feel great space between him and the rest of the world that does not yet appear to him. What has yet to appear may emerge in physical form, yet such space also indicates for Douglass potential for new being. This space opens onto a world he can imagine, one of freedom and self-determination. When the social world strives to mentally and physically bind him, what does it feel like to embody freedom and still interact with the world as so? Douglass moves throughout this vision, one whose meaning and appearance emerges through his lived experiences of community, injustice, enslavement, family, activism, and day-to-day happenings. He navigates this contextual space and time through perception and behavior, determining himself, existing in the world by living its history and present. Sensation allows him to embody this history, these fellow phenomenal facts of the universe,^v and how they manifest in his lived impression of being. His body, then, becomes a site of both historical recollection and existential change. Already implicated in the world he inhabits, Douglass' visibility establishes his ground as being-subject. He emerges in the world, sensing ways to inhabit and respond to it further as he lives it differently.

The nuances of Douglass' sea metaphor correlate with Merleau-Ponty's account of human subjectivity: the ways in which our lived presence in the world unfolds through a myriad of relations, perceptions, and happenings. For Merleau-Ponty, "The subject of sensation is a power that is born together with a certain existential milieu or that is synchronized with it."^{vi} Each sense—such as "vision"—occurs as pre-personal^{vii} to individual beings yet constitutes a primary way in which we each experience the world in first-person. Sense is not a purely subjective entity, only existing for single beings. Rather, Merleau-Ponty explains that sensations belong to a field of existence, making subjective experience possible. Although phenomena of sensation exist prior to an individual's particular experience of it (hence, pre-personal), senses can only happen through embodiment. Sense has a particular existence in itself, yet synchronizes with and comes to be through living subjects. We see only because there is the capacity for shared vision. Thus, sensation poses a suspended realm of mutually activated subjective experience, an inter-subjectivity in which all subjects partake in order to experience being and to navigate space, time, and contexts.

Inter-subjectivity as a state of existence can acknowledge multiple being-subjects as fundamentally related through the field of sense. It is within this field that individual selves can realize themselves in the living world, constantly habituating new ways of being in the world through embodied sense. For Douglass, it is vision that has the capacity to envelop both the being-subject (the person) and the world (people, spaces, objects) in a mutually determining and motivating relation. Although a Cartesian^{viii} method of understanding existence emphasizes language, measurement, or record, "the dead fact is nothing without the lived impression."^{ix} Douglass contends that facts and reason are empty of motion in themselves and do not speak to nor summon the sensory attributes and emotive responses through which subjects grasp themselves as existing. Sense remains the primary avenue through which humans figure out what it means and feels like to be living. When we stand in Douglass' broad sea of perception, we embody and respond to the world as we know it through this moment of the sea. Through sense, we know its movement, depth, color, temperature, texture. Such qualities constitute Douglass' notion of the "lived impression" of the world, allowing us to feel out our supposed existence by perceiving and describing how experience happens with us.

While human beings absorb and emerge from these experiences, photographs embody a similar quality of lived impression. Douglass' thought-pictures function as "the outstanding headlands of the meandering shores of life and are points to steer by"^x within one's lived experience of the world. Since a "headland" is defined as a stretch of land

projecting towards the sea, Douglass suggests that thought-pictures motivate a way of being reaching out towards others and to an existing world that unfolds through lived experience and perception. Shaping the sea and establishing flexible boundaries of its motion, the headland traverses sea and ground, marking the point at which they both come together and fall apart. The headland facilitates such similarity and difference yet exists as a point in itself. While it motivates sea and ground to remain as different elements, it becomes motivated by these bodies to consistently facilitate their own being. Sea and ground lean into the headland to push back onto themselves. While the headland forms from both land and water, it serves as a new entity by which they consistently re-shape and re-engage who they are. The headland exists to gesture back out to, re-establish, and reform its creators.

Representing the headlands in Douglass' metaphor, thought-pictures as material photographs situate subject, viewer, and photographer on the shores of life, pulling them into themselves and inhabiting the world interdependently. Each picture ("point") positions them on shared edges of the world, stimulating their vision of being yet living the photographed moment differently. Photographic phenomenologist Ed Casey contends that "edges emerge between things,"^{xi} proposing that the material surface, sides, or camera frame of an image convey an opportunity to bridge these different boundaries of being, emerging through the realm of sense that Douglass and Merleau-Ponty previously described. These edges place lived moments face-to-face, allowing each participating subject to meet first in the field of sensation—vision as a lens for stimulation and emotion. Photographs transpire in "living forms and colors, [and] the varying lights and shadows of the soul"^{xii} and embody sensory phenomena that we know not just through fact but through the ways they make us feel. To materialize and review such an image is to meet oneself as the world, our stimulated senses relating meaning between one as the viewer, the photographer, and the 'photographed other.' Pictures transfer each being-subject out into the world as seeing and seen, as feeling and felt. This relation of sense unfolds a realm through which each subject can be implicated and present in this moment of realization and visual meaning.

When a being-subject observes a picture, the moment captured in the image relays particular meaning only insofar as the viewer summons, receives, or creates it through her unique perceptual lens, coated by personal history, social identity, and daily habits. Conversely, the photographer suspends the world in constant creation, motivating others to see themselves through her lens. Finally, the photographed subject must only appear, appearing differently every time she is seen, even when she looks

onto her own image. When I engage a photograph, such lived visualization and relation is the only way I, as being-subject, retain my grasp on myself in the world after peering over new edges of being. I cannot look at an image and see only objects lying flat on my hand. I must live this visual experience—in time, yet across time; impersonal, yet inherently sensed. The process of thought-pictures, then, is ultimately one of self-revelation, “a comparison of beauty and excellence without, with those which are within.”^{xiii} Thought-pictures reveal, engage, and re-create the self that emerges in and of the world.

The fundamental nature of thought-pictures leads Douglass to proclaim that “the process by which [one] is able to invent his own subjective consciousness into the objective form [. . .] is in truth the highest attribute of [human’s] nature.”^{xiv} While the “objective form” translates as the material image of the lived world, the inventive and interactive engagement of self-consciousness suggests radical possibilities for photography’s function in human society. If phenomenology can serve as “[a] science of [humans’] own relations to the world,”^{xv} then photography operates as the tool, allowing us to traverse and broaden the boundaries of our being. Therefore, Douglass requires that this material progress inspire moral progress.

Metaphorically placed in the broad sea of thought and experience, Douglass envisions a world devoid of slavery and oppression, a world in which we could understand and embrace humanity differently. While this vast space beyond the shoreline does not yet physically appear to him, he emphasizes his faculty of imagination to re-frame reality, suggesting that the ways we learn to navigate our lived experiences become our avenues for our contributions. Although material images create spaces of interrelation and self-revelation, “this picture-making faculty is flung out into the world” just as we are, “subject to a wild scramble between contending interests and forces.”^{xvi} Douglass recognizes that photography as a philosophic tool does not intrinsically imply radical social change but, rather, serves as a new sensory mode of grasping the world and ourselves differently. The universality of the photographic realm and sensation introduces what Douglass would note as a more progressive potential for “a larger, fuller, and freer range of vision.”^{xvii} Transcending boundaries of space, language, and knowledge, “all the pictures in the book are known before a single lesson is learned. They speak to [people] in [their] own tongue.”^{xviii} Vision and visualization point directly to the world in how it appears, motivates, and responds to us, illuminating the structure through which beings come to inhabit the world relationally. So, if such technological progress facilitates interaction across boundaries of human consciousness, then photography could influence the potential for more affirming and interdependent human interaction and

understanding. If we engage in a lived experience of photographs as Douglass asserts, how can such material visions manifest new realities, new possibilities for change?

To grasp such potential for social change through the photographic realm, we must find ways to engage Douglass’ goals to motivate human beings to act and see each other differently, not only through images but also in everyday life and politics. Noting photography’s potential for re-framing human experience and being, Douglass closes his visual theory with a call to action, hoping that this technological progress “[dissolves] the granite barriers of arbitrary power, [bringing] the world into peace and unity.”^{xix} Although one could read this proposition as the intention for photography to reveal the world’s troubles and continue framing new representations, Douglass also calls us to change the ways we fundamentally realize each other and each individual selves. As long as we continue to deem the self as determined by reason and existing isolated among others, we cannot locate and engage the shared sensory field required for Douglass’ visual theory to take root. Capturing the nuances of Douglass’ hope, scholar Ginger Hill suggests that thought-pictures— independent and shared—require “new gestural habits”^{xx} in order to inspire modes of inhabiting the world, true to humans’ core sensory, imaginative, and interpersonal motivations. Change in our behaviors and interactions can only begin to emerge through seeing and being seen differently. Thus, in igniting the phenomenological potential of photography, Douglass plants his radical societal vision on the shores of new being.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Hill, Ginger. “Rightly Viewed.” *Pictures and Progress: Early Photography and the Making of African American Identity*. By Maurice O. Wallace and Shawn Michelle Smith (Durham: Duke UP, 2013)
- ⁱⁱ I realize that not every human has the capacity of sight and physical vision, so I do not intend to unfairly privilege vision and sight. Rather, I emphasize this particular sense, and its photographic extension, to examine a fundamentally intersubjective realm of being. As I continue my research, I read Osaigie Obasogie’s *Blinded by Sight: Seeing Race through the Eyes of the Blind* (Stanford Law Books, 2013) to explore vision, race, and identity as it unfolds for those who do not have that physical capacity.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Douglass, Frederick. “Pictures and Progress: An Address Delivered in Boston, Massachusetts, on 3 December 1861,” in *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One, Speeches, Debates, and Interviews; Volume Three*, ed. John W. Blassingame (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 459.
- ^{iv} Ibid.
- ^v Ibid.

- ^{vi} Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Phenomenology of Perception*. 1945. (Routledge, 2013), p. 219.
- ^{vii} Ibid.
- ^{viii} Cartesian ideas of experience and consciousness relate to Descartes' philosophy, asserting the notion that, "I think, therefore, I am." This philosophy emphasizes consciousness in mind and reason and correlates the nature of being with the realm of thought. For more background on Descartes, see: Hatfield, Gary, "René Descartes," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2014/entries/descartes>.
- ^{ix} Douglass, 462.
- ^x Ibid., 459.
- ^{xi} Casey, Edward. "Taking Photography to the Edge." Emory University, Atlanta, GA. Oct. 13, 2013. Lecture.
- ^{xii} Ibid.
- ^{xiii} Ibid., 460.
- ^{xiv} Douglass as quoted by M. Wallace, 6.
- ^{xv} Douglass, 472.
- ^{xvi} Ibid., 461.
- ^{xvii} Ibid., 460.
- ^{xviii} Ibid.
- ^{xix} Ibid., 472.
- ^{xx} Hill, 72.

Inverted Utopia: Magritte's *Empire of Lights* in Fernando Pérez's *Madagascar*

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Abstract

In the 1994 film *Madagascar* by Fernando Pérez, the theme of inversion is central to both the plot and the movie's greater historical context. Pérez's intentional focus on inversion is evident in the film's reinterpretation of the short story that inspired it, entitled "Beatles contra Duran Duran." While the story follows a linear narrative, *Madagascar* ends with a role reversal between the protagonist, Laura, and her daughter, Laurita, and this inversion reflects the precarious state of Cuban society during the Special Period of the 1990s. The fall of the Soviet Union jeopardized Cuba's revolutionary values, which led to the difficulties and contradictions portrayed in the film. In order to further develop the theme of inversion in *Madagascar*, this paper studies a second source of inspiration: René Magritte's series *Empire of Lights*. These Surrealist paintings, which simultaneously depict day and night, inspired the formal qualities of Pérez's film. This paper pursues deeper study of Magritte's work and its conceptual resonance with *Madagascar's* exploration of inversions and dreams, creating a work of art that speaks to the political situation of the time and Cuba's continued economic recovery.

Fernando Pérez is widely regarded as the greatest living film director in Cuba, and this acclaim granted him the privilege of creating one of the few Cuban films of 1993, when resources were scarce due to the recent collapse of the Soviet Union.ⁱ This time of economic hardship, which in 1991 Fidel Castro termed the "Special Period in a time of peace," was a significant threat to the survival of the Cuban Revolution. Pérez captures this difficult era in his third feature-length film, *Madagascar*, which was released in 1994 and portrays the generational conflict between a Cuban mother and daughter as they grapple with the deterioration of the revolutionary values upheld in their country.

During a 2013 conversation in Havana, Pérez told me that the visual elements of the film were inspired by René Magritte's series of paintings entitled *Empire of Lights*.ⁱⁱ While some scholarship on *Madagascar* cites Magritte as a visual referent, these few examples only briefly touch on their visual similarities.ⁱⁱⁱ This paper examines the deeper connection between the paintings and the film and considers how the work of this Belgian Surrealist speaks to the experiences portrayed in *Madagascar*. The economic, social,

and spiritual challenges prompted by the Special Period resonate with the Surrealists' skepticism of reality and reason and their preoccupation with free thought as expressed through dreams. Studying this film in relation to Surrealism deepens our understanding of the inversions that pervade *Madagascar's* plot and historical context.

In this study, I will first establish the concept of inversion as central to the film through a comparison with the short story that inspired it, "Beatles contra Duran Duran," written by Mirta Yáñez in 1984. The plot variations between film and prose reveal Pérez's interest in reversal and contradiction, which are important aspects of the film that are not evident in the short story. The concept of inversion is further developed through a study of Magritte's *Empire of Lights* and its representation of key tenets of the Surrealist movement. The paintings' depiction of multiple realities and unstable images complements Pérez's stated aim of complicating reality through his work by focusing on life's contradictory qualities.

Complication and contradiction give way to the ambiguity inherent in the official role prescribed to Cuban culture according to Fidel Castro: "Within the Revolution: everything. Against the Revolution: nothing."^{iv} This declaration leaves an ambiguous space for artists to work outside of the Revolution without overtly working against it, and within this grey area resides much of the economic and political change that occurred during the Special Period. *Madagascar* therefore speaks to the larger compromises and contradictions that arose in Cuba and the rest of the Comecon after the fall of the Soviet Union, which effectively shattered the notion of utopia that was—and still is—so often used to describe the island. Even ten years after its release, the film continues to shed light on the challenges afflicting Cuba as what is perhaps the only remaining alternative to plutocratic capitalism.^v

Madagascar focuses on the fragile relationship between Laura, a respected professor who has lost her ability to dream about anything beyond her quotidian reality, and her adolescent daughter, Laurita, who refuses to go to school and yearns to see Madagascar. Throughout the film, Laurita searches for meaning in short-lived phases of art, music, religion, and other sources, while Laura worries about her stagnant life and her daughter's erratic behavior. The characters are loosely based on the narrator in "Beatles contra Duran Duran" and her daughter Pilar, whose conflicted relationship is metaphorically represented by the unnamed mother's preference for the Beatles and her distaste of Duran Duran, which is popular with her daughter.

While both stories are concerned with generational conflict, the mothers and daughters achieve mutual understanding in different ways. Pilar's mother eventually comes

to appreciate Duran Duran's significance for the younger generation; the story ends with the words: "I think that the word 'generation' should be abolished from my vocabulary. And I guess that you have already figured out that in my next dream the Beatles and Duran Duran are probably going to end up in a tie."^{vi} Laura similarly comes to understand Laurita and decides to take time off work so they can travel to Madagascar, but Laurita has lost interest in this dream and instead focuses on her studies. The characters have traded personalities to such an extent that Laurita can only dream about her lived experiences, as her mother did before: "You know, Mom . . . I dream the exact reality of every day. What some live in twelve hours, I live in twenty-four."^{vii}

The inversion between Laura and Laurita significantly differs from the ending of "Beatles contra Duran Duran." While the short story has a linear narrative, the film is cyclical and convoluted. Pérez frequently repeats scenes and imagery in a strategy that withholds any concrete sense of location or of the passage of time. The obvious similarities between Laura and Laurita's names also blur the distinctions between the two characters and their respective generations. Though the characters are opposites in some ways, they are identical in others: for example, both owned mice as young adults, and Laura identifies with her daughter's care for her pets. This parallel is further emphasized when Laurita, like her mother before her, lets her mice scurry across a dinner table to disturb those who are eating. Film scholar Jan Mennell notes that during this scene the film alternates between shots of Laurita, who has run away from home, and Laura, who is cooking alone in her kitchen. Laura accidentally burns her hand at the same time that Laurita releases the mice, and each grabs her hand with the same motion, thereby "juxtaposing the youthful rebellion of Laurita with the memories of Laura that have now given way to weary resignation."^{viii} These overlapping and intersecting moments create unexpected lapses in time and space, which highlight the significant differences between the lived experiences of mother and daughter in revolutionary and post-revolutionary Cuba.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cuba's economy shrunk as much as fifty percent, and the Revolution's future became uncertain.^{ix} Electricity shortages, limited resources, and reduced rations required government reforms, including the legalization of the U.S. dollar and the expansion of private and informal economic activity.^x These changes initiated a gradual economic recovery that continues to this day and at times contradicts the Revolution's desire for utopia via social equality. For example, Cuba's increased tourism and the reception of remittances have only benefitted those with privileged access to such income, thus creating financial, social, and racial imbalances.^{xi} This apparent reversal of revolutionary progress is not necessarily regression but instead poses the

question of how the country will adapt under the leadership of Laurita's generation: a generation that did not bear witness to the beginnings of the Revolution.^{xii} *Madagascar's* exploration of these issues can be studied within the context of the artistic and philosophical discourses surrounding Magritte's surreal paintings, which bring greater depth to both the visual and conceptual elements of the film.

Empire of Lights (1953–1954) consists of three paintings that depict a house at night, illuminated by a streetlamp while a daytime sky shines above [Figure 1]. This startling contrast between day and night complicates what is otherwise a seemingly straightforward image. The paintings served as a reference for *Madagascar*, which is cast in blue hues and recurrently uses high contrast [Figure 2]. While the film's formal qualities have been previously interpreted as grey and muted, conveying an image of "a nation condemned to, and characterized by, decay, barrenness, and stagnation,"^{xiii} recontextualizing the film in relation to *Empire of Lights* and the Surrealist movement enlivens its visual elements to convey a more hopeful view of the Special Period that portrays an active search for improvement rather than a condemnation to decline.

The disorienting effect of *Empire of Lights* is meant to challenge our understanding of reality, which aligns with common Surrealist themes and with Laurita's attempts to grapple with the shortcomings of post-revolutionary Cuba. The images' instability is characteristic of Magritte's work and of the Surrealist movement's desire to complicate social norms. As leading Surrealist André Breton explained in his lecture "What is Surrealism?," which was delivered in Magritte's presence, the Surrealist's task was to confront the many possible realities that exist within our realm of experience and to paradoxically maintain their separateness and simultaneity.^{xiv} Surrealism wanted to "break the coherence of the stable images that constitute the objective World, the World of science and of positive reason," and thereby destabilize the established order.^{xv} This tension plays out in Laura and Laurita's relationship; while Laura represents the generation that came of age during the Cuban Revolution, her daughter represents the youth who have lost the promise of revolutionary values. The Surrealists' desire to contaminate the everyday with dreams from the unconscious is similar to Pérez's treatment of the political concerns and crisis of values represented in *Madagascar*.

Dreams play an important role in *Madagascar*—not only within the plot but also in signifying the potential for positive change. Pérez has suggested the concept of *Madagascar* represents "the possibility to always start again," offering hope for the re-articulation of revolution.^{xvi} The power of dreams resonates with the Surrealists' belief that liberation through dreams could potentially establish

a new order.^{xvii} Though the Surrealists were often dismissed as bourgeois and decadent,^{xviii} they were optimistic about the revolutionary role of art and hoped to instigate change through their representations of the surreal.^{xix} Pérez has described the Cuban Revolution as the realization of dreams,^{xx} and while Laurita's ideas are more whimsical than those of the revolutionary archetype, Pérez suggests her dreams are valuable, or even necessary, to the country's transformation.

The use of dreams in *Madagascar* can be interpreted as one example in which the Surrealists' methods and ambitions were more precisely and effectively applied to serve a specific revolution. Pérez's exploration of dreams falls perfectly within the grey area left by Castro, in which culture can exist outside of revolutionary values without expressly challenging them. This allows Pérez and others to think beyond conventional discourse in order to critique the Revolution and conceptualize new directions for its advancement, much like the Surrealists believed that liberated thought could bring about change. For Pérez, such an approach was necessary during the dire conditions of the Special Period, and his intentional play with inversions and dreams can be interpreted as a constructive and creative response to the difficulties and contradictions Cubans experienced during this time.

The current dichotomies of different economic sectors, social classes, and generations, and the disparities between official discourse and lived experience have placed Cuba in a moment of suspension much like the crystallized interruption captured in *Empire of Lights*. The Surrealist ideas underlying these paintings support Pérez's belief that "what is most beautiful is that which is most complex. Life is not simple. Life moves based on contradictions," which he strives to highlight in his films.^{xxi} When applying this thought to interpret Laura and Laurita's conflict and eventual convergence, and by extension to the inversion of revolutionary values they experience, *Madagascar* offers a much more positive outlook that accepts the difficulties and contradictions the country faces during this time of transition.



Figure 1.



Figure 2.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Jan Mennell, "Dreaming the Cuban Nation: Fernando Pérez's *Madagascar*," *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 33.66 (2008): 89, and Ann Marie Stock, "Imagining the Future in Revolutionary Cuba: An Interview with Fernando Pérez," *Film Quarterly* 60.3 (Spring 2007): 68.
- ⁱⁱ Fernando Pérez in discussion with the author, August 13, 2013.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Juan Antonio García Borrero, "Las Iniciales de la Ciudad: La libertad expresiva en el cine de Fernando Pérez," *Cinemas d'Amérique Latine* 12 (2004): 88, and Fernando Pérez, "Encuentro con Fernando Pérez," by Magali Kabous. *Caravelle* 92 (June 2009): 196.
- ^{iv} Fidel Castro, "Discurso pronunciado por el Comandante Fidel Castro Ruz, Primer Ministro del gobierno revolucionario y Secretario del PURSC, como conclusión de las reuniones con los intelectuales cubanos, efectuadas en la Biblioteca Nacional el 16, 23, y 30 de junio de 1961." Web. All translations are the author's unless otherwise noted.
- ^v "On Celebrating the Cuban Revolution," *Latin American Perspectives* 36.1 (January 2009): 10.
- ^{vi} Mirta Yáñez, "Beatles vs. Duran Duran." Trans. Victoria L. McCard. In *Havana is a Really Big City and Other Short Stories*, edited by Sarah E. Cooper. (Chico, California: Cubanabooks, 2010), 58.
- ^{vii} *Madagascar*. Directed by Fernando Pérez. 1994. Havana: Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematográficos.
- ^{viii} Mennell, "Dreaming the Cuban Nation: Fernando Pérez's *Madagascar*," 99.
- ^{ix} Miguel Angel Centeno, "The Return of Cuba to Latin America: The End of Cuban Exceptionalism?" *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 23.4 (2004): 406, 411, and Gary Prevost, "Reflections on the Cuban Revolution," *Latin American Perspectives* 36.2 (March 2009): 138.
- ^x "On Celebrating the Cuban Revolution," 6.
- ^{xi} Centeno, "The Return of Cuba to Latin America: The End of Cuban Exceptionalism?" 407.
- ^{xii} Prevost, "Reflections on the Cuban Revolution," 139.
- ^{xiii} *Ibid.*, 102.
- ^{xiv} André Breton, "What is Surrealism?" Lecture organized by the Belgian Surrealists, Brussels, Belgium, June 1, 1934.
- ^{xv} Ferdinand Alquie, *The Philosophy of Surrealism*, trans. Bernard Waldrop. Quoted in George W. Linden, "Film, Fantasy, and the Extension of Reality," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 18.3 (Fall 1984): 39.

- ^{xvi} Mennell, "Dreaming the Cuban Nation: Fernando Pérez's *Madagascar*," 107.
- ^{xvii} Wolfgang Paalen, "The New Image," *Dyn*, I (April–May 1942), cited in J.H. Matthews, "The Case for Surrealist Painting," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Criticism* 21.2 (Winter 1962): 143.
- ^{xviii} Linden, "Film, Fantasy, and the Extension of Reality," 40: "Surrealism was a petit-bourgeois negation of bourgeois values that aspired to be Marxist but never understood proletarian necessity." This argument is echoed in Robert Clancy, "Surrealism and Freedom," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 8.3 (April 1949): 274.
- ^{xix} Shane Alexandria, "De la Société comme expression de la Poésie," cited in Matthews, "The Case for Surrealist Painting," 145.
- ^{xx} Stock, "Imagining the Future in Revolutionary Cuba: An Interview with Fernando Pérez," 72.
- ^{xxi} Stock, "Imagining the Future in Revolutionary Cuba: An Interview with Fernando Pérez," 72.

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Long Live the Motherland: Chen Man and the Political Pressures of Female Perfection in Contemporary China

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Abstract

This article focuses on a selection of works by contemporary Chinese photographer Chen Man 陈漫 (b. 1980) that were published around the time of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, providing reflections from a time of drastic transformation of a nation that has been generally recognized as the “New China” (xinzhongguo 新中国). During this period of high international scrutiny, Chen utilizes the quasi-pedagogical space of the fashion magazine as a means to critique the ubiquitous ideas of ideal social citizenship. A study of Chen Man's *Long Live the Motherland* (2009), a magazine spread in the October 2009 edition of *Vogue China*, reveals how Chen utilizes the female body as a site to contest patriarchal notions of ideal social citizenship and defend women's fashion as an important component of female agency.

“A love of one's nation: this gives rise to a special kind of beauty.”
—Chen Manⁱ

Introduction

To most people across the world, Chen Man 陈漫 (b. 1980) is just an unconventionally young Chinese photographer born in Inner Mongolia who gets her edgy appeal from an ability to “bridge Eastern and Western styles” in her richly colorful fashion photography.ⁱⁱ She launched her career in 2005, during her senior year at the Beijing Central Academy of Fine Arts, by designing a series of front covers for *Vision* magazine, one of the first Shanghaiese fashion and design magazines in contemporary China. Since then, Chen has become widely demanded by a global network of fashion industries such as *Vogue*, *Elle*, *Guess*, and *Harper's Bazaar*. Although scholars such as Karen Smith recognize that her signature style of “high-polish whimsy and fantastical kitsch” sets her apart from many artists of her generation, many critics neglect to explore the theoretical approach that

makes her work unique.ⁱⁱⁱ Like most other fashion photographers, Chen is well versed in the language of advertising and uses digital tools to idealize the female body and surrounding environment. However, she also frequently critiques the traditions, cultural shifts, and social norms that have put certain beauty ideals into place.

This paper offers an analysis of *Long Live the Motherland* (zuguowansui 祖国万岁), a photographic series by Chen Man that was originally published inside the pages of *Vogue China*'s October 2009 issue. In this particular series, Chen chose to photograph Chinese model Du Juan (杜鹃) with several Chinese national icons as backdrops. The premise of the fashion editorial was to give a visual timeline of the years 1949–2009 in China's history, with the headline “60 Memorable Fashion Moments 六十个经典时尚时刻.” While Chen's photographs stood in for contemporary revisions of historical fashions, they are all uniformly nationalistic, consistently underscoring the connection between women's fashion and national achievements. For example, pages 182–183 of the magazine (Figure 1) features Du Juan posing with the CCTV tower with the caption, “[1999–2009:] The new CCTV tower was built and soon became China's new fashionable landmark. Let's dress up and welcome sleepless nights of revelry!”^{iv} In multiple depictions of model woman, from chic pedestrian to beautiful manual laborer, Chen departs from the realms of reality in order to depict highly glamorized visions of Beijing's citizens.

This way of perceiving China reflects the context in which Chen made the series, which is around the time of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. This pivotal moment in the nation's history involved grand building projects and preparations for an event that would glorify China's current condition to the world. Not only was the city in which Chen resided in the midst of fervent reconstruction that displaced thousands of residents, but Olympic campaigns also placed pressures on citizens to behave in manners perceived to be more civilized.^v The fashion industry was no exception to China's various modernization projects; efforts were made to advance Beijing and Shanghai into fashion capitals akin to cities such as New York, Paris, and Milan.^{vi} The development of new local magazines aligned with the nation's desire for iconicity and, accordingly, cultivating sites for displaying the nation's beautiful women as cultural assets. Women were, ironically, seen in China to be the most suitable visual representatives of the New China, while little involved in the country's politics.

Initially, *Long Live the Motherland* also appears to exemplify how the female body, as opposed to the male, has become a default site for projecting national pride—an idealized representation of a Chinese citizen who is patriotic, affluent, poised, physically beautiful, and at the same time unthreatening and hospitable. However, as Benedict

Anderson theorizes in his book on the illusion of nationalism, *Imagined Communities*, “Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.”^{vii} Anderson stresses that manifestations of nationalism, especially in print and image, are to be judged by the way they are created rather than their existence within reality. Thus, depictions of nationalism can reveal the artist’s perspectives and contestations. In this case, an analysis of Chen’s series will reveal how the artist challenges the perceived apolitical and frivolous nature of China’s female citizens and fledgling fashion industry.

The Female Body: A Political Figure

Chen’s *Long Live the Motherland* series addresses this new emerging image of femininity in China by highlighting how previous notions of feminine ideals were unrealistic. Specifically, Chen addresses the “Iron Girl” (*tie guniang* 铁姑娘) ideal: images of a strong, woman laborer promoted during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), whose sun-tanned face and Mao suit uniform indicated her status as a member of the working class who labored in order to make her nation great.^{viii} *Long Live the Motherland—Beijing 3* (Figure 2) features Beijing’s 798 art district as a large metal architectural backdrop, which was common in Chinese propaganda posters featuring Iron Girls, such as *Women hold up half the sky* (1975) (Figure 3). These Cultural Revolution posters, encouraging women to work in industrial professions in response to the great need for physical laborers, were primarily crafted using Socialist Realism. Mao Zedong favored this highly romanticized style of art because this way of heroicizing political figures and everyday people fulfilled his opinion that art should serve the working class and advance Socialist ideologies.^{ix} Like the protagonist in *Women hold up half the sky*, Chen makes Du Juan’s figure nearly as tall as the buildings behind her, which exaggerates her acts as monumental in the typical Socialist Realist style. She even reddens Du Juan’s cheeks with *yanzhi* (胭脂), a very particular shade of red-pink blush that symbolizes youth and vitality, even more evident in *Long Live the Motherland—Beijing 1* (Figure 4). This was a significant part of standards for art promoted by Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong’s wife, to depict people “flushed, light, and bright” (*bong, guang, liang* 红光亮).^x

In these homages to the Iron Girl, Chen also critiques the idealism and optimism of that time period. Chen makes abundantly clear that the idea of a woman who is simultaneously beautiful and able to take on strenuous work is pure fantasy—a vision conjured by the government-employed artists with national production quotas in mind. In *Beijing 3*, Du Juan’s posture and attributes evokes feelings of absurdity. She also holds the tool that (falsely) implicates her contributions to its building. Du Juan tucks her chin downward, points her toes inward, and bites her lip, which

communicates a level of naïve uncertainty. Chen emphasizes the theatricality of Du Juan acting in a role that is separate from her real person.

Moreover, Chen’s contemporary modifications to the historical Iron Girl image emphasize the conflicts between past and present realities. The heading recalls with nostalgia, “In those days, the figure of the worker was absolutely the most fashionable, along with the most comfortable and durable clothing that could withstand lively industrious work.”^{xi} However, the model wears minimal clothing that serves no utilitarian value in terms of protection for the manual labor. Du Juan’s bare legs are covered in soot, and yet she holds a pair of spotless white gloves in her right hand. This refers to how women are imbued with the pressure to feign belonging to the elite class, projecting wealth through clothing choice regardless of realities. In these paradoxical binaries, Chen highlights the emerging contradictory expectations placed on contemporary Chinese women. Women are simultaneously expected to be sexualized objects of visual interest and yet also be productive servants of society. Although images of the Iron Girl promoted tan skin as a sign of an outdoor laborer, the model here has white skin, a contemporary ideal achieved by compulsively avoiding the sun and sometimes resorting to whitening or bleaching creams. Despite the Iron Girl image being replaced in contemporary times by consumerist imagery, Chen’s image reveals how the contemporary woman is built upon existing expectations of women laid by the Cultural Revolution rather than a replacement of it. Both time periods placed pressures on women to make active contributions to the economy. However, women are now doubly burdened with the added pressures of maintaining perfect appearances that defy the natural effects of their careers.

The Right to Fashion

Despite Chen’s criticisms of historical expectations of women and wariness of contemporary beauty ideals, she does not attribute the objectification of women’s bodies to fashion or the fashion industry—on the contrary, she emphasizes personal style as an essential part of women’s agency. Although in existing interviews, Chen prefers to leave her associations with the terms “feminism” and “feminist” ambiguous, her work reveals her dedication to reinstating women’s control over their own bodies through reinstating the acceptance of fashion and commercialism as socially permissible. The ban on extravagant clothes, vivid colors, cosmetics, and certain hairstyles began during the Nationalist government of the Republic of China (1912–49) and continued into the founding of the People’s Republic of China (1949), in which fashion was seen as frivolous attention to one’s personal appearance with no practical use.^{xii} Chen’s parents would have no doubt experienced the uniformed era,

and *Long Live the Motherland* reveals Chen's skepticism that uniform, uniformity, and the theory that imposing asexuality on women will somehow garner their equality.

Chen created *Long Live the Motherland—Beijing 5* (Figure 5) for the section dedicated to years 1969–1979. Even though this time span overlaps with the Cultural Revolution, Chen omits genderless uniforms and instead styles the models in opposing color schemes and silhouettes. Du Juan is the exclusive wearer of red, the kind of intensely saturated red that dominates the Chinese national flag and can symbolize communism. Yet, red can also symbolize individuality and daring in the midst of conformity.^{xiii} Even when appearing amongst a group of men, Du Juan stands solemnly wearing a red sheath dress, highlighting her hourglass figure, while the men are uniformly dressed in blue stripes. Chen's use of the color red therefore serves multiple uses. On one hand, it identifies the female body as the bearer of cultural tradition and national pride. On the other hand, the visual distinctions between male and female models emphasize physical differences between male and female form. Her deliberate decision to polarize differences in dress creates a concentration on women's biology for affirmation of femininity and might be interpreted by some as a problematic essentialization of the female body. However, in the context of China's historical restrictions on women's fashion, *Long Live the Motherland* calls for a future of embracing biological gender differences contrary to a past that confined women's sexuality. Later, pages 174–176 even have a caption that reads, “[1979–1989:] Women of China who love beauty are, at long last, able to dress up!”^{xiv} In creating this narrative of decreasing restraints on fashion but unwavering nationalism, Chen asserts that fashion affords women new agency in their sexuality and femininity that is not necessarily accompanied by the moral depravity and cultural alienation that fashion was once assumed to incite.

Perhaps the most deliberately transgressive aspect of *Long Live the Motherland* is the fact that it places women's bodies directly in front of symbols of the old leading male order that decided the difference between decency and indecency. A curvaceous model in provocative clothing accompanied by a milieu of men in an otherwise abandoned alleyway (*Beijing 5*, Figure 5) would have been scandalous just a few decades ago. The woman wearing bright red nail polish and bangles in front of Mao Zedong's portrait at Tiananmen (*Beijing 1*, Figure 4) would have been declared bourgeois; indeed, the woman dominates the picture plane, rendering the national landmark small and nondescript in the distance. The subtle, yet noticeable historical inaccuracies are precisely how these two photographs make a quiet homage to the accomplishments of women, having destroyed patriarchal control of women's bodies in the past. As a comparison, one might take a look Ai Weiwei's compositionally similar *June*

1994 (1994) (Figure 6), in which Ai Weiwei's wife, Liu Qing, provocatively lifts her skirt up to the camera in front of Tiananmen Square in a spiteful gesture of social defiance. This public display of unabashed female deviancy, with Mao's portrait and on-duty official guards in the background, is one of the ultimate forms of political dissenting because it rejects the government's control of the citizen's body. Though far less directly insulting, Chen Man nonetheless attempted to restore to fashion a site for women's agency that aims to contest its historical connotations with narcissism and vanity.

Chen's work is subversive because, although fashion advocates in the mass media helped transform Chinese fashion from “a vain and petty lifestyle issue into a legitimate industry” in the 1990s, it has not yet successfully dispelled all social stigma associated with female vanity in current-day society.^{xv} Her work forms a counter-narrative to those who often directly blame the loss of social citizenship on the rise of commercialism. Female consumerism, in particular, has not only been problematized by the Chinese government and media outlets but also by artists as well. Wang Guangyi's *Great Criticism* series juxtaposes images from Cultural Revolution propaganda posters with Western logos such as Chanel No. 5 in *Great Criticism—Chanel* (2005) (Figure 7), in order to compare the language of corporate advertising to the persuasive techniques motivated by political agendas. This collapses the perceived difference between two icons of socialism and capitalism, stressing that they both similarly manipulate public perception. However, Wang simultaneously implies that the coexistence of the two ideologies is contradictory, and the female worker from the Revolutionary Era has succumbed to capitalist desires. This casts doubt on the integrity of the female citizen and defines these corporate brands as the inverse of romanticized national ideals.

Conclusion

Dressing models in feminine cuts, tightened waistlines, and shorter hemlines, Chen softens the militancy of original Socialist Realist styles in order to reclaim women's rights to modify and determine for themselves what comprises the ideal female citizen. Her nostalgia for an idealized past embodies a utopian vision of modernity that allows for embracing gendered differences. In this way, it aligns with the ideologies of third-wave, Lipstick Feminism in its reclamations of sexual behavior previously interpreted by patriarchal systems to denote moral depravity, particularly female adornment such as cosmetics and high-heels.^{xvi} *Long Live the Motherland's* depictions of a lone woman, whose sense of individuality and citizenship are both almost wholly dependent on the color of her dress and its feminine silhouette, challenges the social boundaries of fashion in contemporary China—namely, the fear of female sexuality that informs governmental politics, and, ultimately, the historical subjugation of

women's rights to national interests. The very title *Long Live the Motherland* is a play on words. The phrase comes from *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, a mass-distributed book treated with religious importance during Mao Zedong's time as the country's leader.^{xvii} However, her decision to title this very series with the quote emphasizes the matriarchal, maternal aspect of nationhood, that all citizens are dependent on a motherland. In this way, Chen's work can be seen as a contemporary criticism of the idealized woman in China.



Figure 1. Pages 182–183 of *Vogue China*, October 2009, feature Chen Man's *Long Live the Motherland—Beijing 6*.



Figure 2. Chen Man, *Long Live the Motherland—Beijing 3*, 2009. ©Chen Man, courtesy of Studio 6, Beijing.



Figure 3. Wang Dawei, *Women bold up half the sky, they force mountains and rivers to change colors* (*Funü neng ding banbiantian, guan jiao shan he huan xin yan* 婦女能頂半邊天 管教山河換新顏), 1975. Published by People's Fine Art Publishing House. Print no. 8027.6014.



Figure 4. Chen Man, *Long Live the Motherland—Beijing 1*, 2009. ©Chen Man, courtesy of Studio 6, Beijing.



Figure 5. Chen Man, *Long Live the Motherland—Beijing 5*, 2009. ©Chen Man, courtesy of Studio 6, Beijing.



Figure 6. Ai Weiwei, *June 1994, 1994*. Black-and-white print, 47.6" x 61".
©Ai Weiwei



Figure 7. Wang Guangyi, *Chanel*, 2005. Oil on canvas, 58" x 47".
©Wang Guangyi.

Footnotes (Chicago Style)

- i Interview with Chen Man by Danielle Wu, Studio 6, Beijing, June 11, 2013.
- ii "Q&A: Photographer Chen Man on China's Developing Fashion Industry, Bridging East and West," *The Cut*, February 24, 2014, <http://nymag.com/thecut/2012/02/qa-photographer-chen-man.html>.
- iii Karen Smith, *Chen Man: Works 2003–2010* (Hong Kong: 3030 Press, 2010), 12.
- iv Translated from "CCTV 新地拔地而起，成为了中国时尚新地标。让我们清心装扮，迎接即将到来的不眠狂欢夜。" *Vogue China*, October 2009, 182–183.
- v Smith, 6; "Beijing Spitters Do Their Part for 'Green Olympics,'" *The Age*, November 29, 2007, <http://www.theage.com.au/news/world/bchinab-beijing-spitters-do-their-part-for-green-olympics/2007/11/28/1196036974192.html>.

- vi Frédéric Godart, "Is there a fashion capital of the world? Is Paris over?" *Unveiling Fashion: Business, Culture, and Identity in the Most Glamorous Industry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 53–63.
- vii Benedict R. Anderson O'G., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 6.
- viii Dorothy Ko and Zheng Wang, *Translating Feminisms in China: a Special Issue of Gender & History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub. Ltd.), 70.
- ix Mao Zedong, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967).
- x Melissa Chiu and Sheng Tian Zheng, *Art and China's Revolution* (New York: Asia Society; in association with Yale University Press, 2008), 6.
- xi Translated from "在那个年代，工人的形象绝对是最时尚的，舒适耐穿的服装让辛勤工作的姿态更生。" *Vogue China*, October 2009, 166–167.
- xii Ko and Wang.
- xiii Wu Juanjuan notes in *Chinese Fashion: From Mao to Now* that in 1984, two iconic films entitled *Girl in Red* (*Hongyi shaonv*) and *Red Dresses Are in Fashion* (*jieshang liuxing hong qunzi*) premiered and reflected the emerging uncertainty towards fashion within the mainstream. Both centered on female protagonists who met conflict with their peers because of their decision to wear red. *Red Dresses Are in Fashion* ultimately denounced fashion as vain, and in *Girl in Red*, her red shirt symbolized her rebellious character who stood up to authority.
- xiv Translated from "爱美的中国女性终于又可以打扮了!" *Vogue China*, October 2009, 174–176.
- xv Juanjuan Wu, n.p.

- xvi Joanne Hollows and Rachel Moseley, *Feminism in Popular Culture* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2006), 84. Also see: Linda M. Scott, *Fresh Lipstick: Redressing Fashion and Feminism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- xvii Mao Zedong, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967).

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Reconquista o(r) Assimilation: Los Angeles Schools and Defining Citizenship

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Abstract

Is there a recipe for American citizenship? If a Mexican child packs “one glass milk, one minced meat or egg sandwich, one lettuce sandwich, one piece sponge cake, one cookie,” and “one peach or orange” for school, does this make the child more American?ⁱ At the turn of the twentieth century, proponents of Americanization programs in Los Angeles believed assimilation into American culture was possible for the Mexican community, beginning with children’s education. Similarly, the Mexican Consulate erected schools in Los Angeles to inculcate Mexican patriotism among those same students. This article assesses how schools segregated Mexican students and defined citizenship in Los Angeles from 1913 to 1931. By examining two competing school systems, the Americanization schools and the Mexican Consulate schools, I clarify how educational institutions molded racial identity: in this case, American, Mexican, or Mexican-American. Utilizing a transnational framework, I argue students, families, and educators on both sides of the border shaped the perception and definition of race and citizenship in Los Angeles.

Introduction

Pearl Idelia Ellis, an early twentieth-century elementary school teacher and a staunch Americanization proponent, wrote in 1929:

As an economic proposition in the Southwest, they [Mexicans] are a necessity. We [Americans] who employ [Mexicans] are challenged to raise their standards of living, improve sanitation, and control disease. Strenuous efforts in that direction will redound to the public good. If we expect them to adopt our customs, our ideals, and our country, let us set them a most worthy example.ⁱⁱ

Ellis ended her preface to *Americanization through Homemaking* with the above passage to indicate citizenship requires cooperation between Americanizers and immigrants. She was not alone in this belief; in fact, Americanization programs throughout the United States manifested themselves through special schools that segregated non-white children. While Americanization schools nationwide focused their efforts on such demographics as Black, Native American, and Japanese children, my research explores the particular condition and identity of Mexican children in

segregated schools across Southern California from 1913 to 1931.

Perhaps because the Mexican flag once flew simultaneously over both lands, Mexican segregated schools became hotly contested sites of Americanization efforts in Southern California. Parents entered this contested space through the formation of the South Raymond School in Pasadena, CA, in 1913. The South Raymond School formed because white parents did not want Mexican children interacting and learning alongside their white children. Historian David Torres-Rouff claims that the South Raymond School was the first segregated school spearheaded by parents in Los Angeles.ⁱⁱⁱ By 1928, sixty-four segregated schools populated the Los Angeles area.^{iv} Technically, school segregation in California was illegal according to section 1662 of the 1880 California State school code, which states “schools must be open for the admission of all children.”^v To get around this legal hurdle, school board members gerrymandered school zones to separate Mexican from white students. However, the creation of a segregated school system had ramifications far greater than simply separating students within a district according to the color of their skin. The justification for segregation became a moral issue when many Anglo parents felt that the perceived burden of Americanizing Mexican students should not impede the academic progress of their own Anglo children.^{vi} In establishing such a division between students, Americanizers essentially provided their answer to the question, “Who is an American citizen?”

“Our Eyes Are on Them”—The Anatomy of an American Citizen

Deliberations over citizenship and identity plagued Americanizers. My research focuses on the crucial role education played during this time. While I am interested in the assumptions and categories Americanizers crafted about Mexican immigrants, I endeavor to expand the historical narrative of Mexican schools by including an alternative set of schools targeting Mexican immigrants: schools run by the Mexican Consul General. The Mexican Consulate opened its first school in Belvedere, CA, on May 2, 1926. Through these schools, the Consulate inculcated Mexican patriotism through Spanish instruction.^{vii} Because Mexican Consulate schools attempted to undo the work of Americanization schools, I argue both institutions competed with each other to influence Mexican immigrants, but neither succeeded in Americanizing or Mexicanizing these students. However, historians have traditionally emphasized the racial categories Americanizers created to identify citizens and foreigners. Effectively, education defined citizenship for Mexican-American students.

One camp of historians focuses on institutions: white teachers, school board members, and social scientists. They emphasize how California's Americanization program shaped the image of Mexicans in Los Angeles. Torres-Rouff argues that Americanization teachers taught Mexican children vocational skills such as sewing, washing, farming, or factory work and not reading or writing.^{viii} This practical-over-intellectual pedagogy capped the economic and intellectual success of Mexican students, establishing an intelligence quotient gap between Anglo and Mexican children. Social scientists like Emory Bogardus noted this difference and advocated segregation to help Americanize Mexicans.^{ix} By preparing a separate, unequal curriculum for Mexican children, Americanizers essentially placed Mexicans in a separate class.

Another camp of historians focuses on the Mexican community's response to Americanization and emphasizes communal networks. These historians explore how Americanization affected the Mexican community and why Americanization failed. Historian George Sánchez criticizes Americanization schools because teachers never developed an "optimistic ideological approach that might have attracted Mexican immigrant women."^x Similarly, historian Gilbert Gonzalez draws upon evidence of school board records to show that Mexican parents repeatedly opposed school segregation.^{xi} Finding that Mexicans were not the pawns of Americanization institutions such as the Santa Ana Board of Education, Gonzalez and Sánchez emphasize Mexican agency and resilience.

The institutional and communal viewpoints concentrate on the same setting, Americanization schools, but differ on perspective: Americanizers or the Mexican community. On one hand, Torres-Rouff examines the influence of teachers and school board members and the race, class, and gender dynamics of the Mexican schools.^{xii} On the other hand, Sánchez portrays Mexicans as active participants who navigated and rejected school segregation. While the conclusions might be different, they only include one site of citizenship formation.

Instead of directing my research solely to Americanization schools, I aim to incorporate schools run by the Mexican Consulate in Los Angeles, thus working within a transnational framework. My research explores the years between 1913 and 1931 because these twenty years encompass the heyday of the Americanization and Mexicanization programs. I limit my research to 1931 because the American and Mexican governments began working together to repatriate Mexican immigrants around this time. This narrative of school segregation in Los Angeles needs to be expanded to include Mexican Consulate schools because there were two institutions vying for the identity and allegiance of Mexican immigrants in Los

Angeles. Americanizers wanted Mexican immigrants to become more "American" in mind and body. Their primary goal was effective instruction of the English language. Other lessons centered on maintaining a diet consisting of "body regulators and energy-givers" that have "the right varieties of foods containing constituents favorable to growth and development."^{xiii} Similarly, Consulate schools wanted to instill Mexican patriotism into the students so that a second generation would return to Mexico and "produce a level of superior life."^{xiv} Both school systems wanted to fashion citizens for a new world. Their battleground was Los Angeles.

¡Por la Patria!—The War between Schools

The Mexican Consulate contested Americanization school segregation through correspondence between Consul General Rafael De Negrís and California Governor William D. Stephens. De Negrís wrote a passionate letter to Stephens outlining that the "same rights and considerations given to Anglo-Americans" should be given to Mexican immigrants.^{xv} Governor Stephens must have taken notice, because he requested a response from state superintendent of public instruction Will C. Wood. Wood, however, remained adamant in his segregated brand of Americanization. Wood's justification was that the separation "is a natural one, being due to the fact that Mexicans live in a settlement by themselves" and to teach English.^{xvi} While segregation of any kind was outlawed in California in 1880, Wood reasoned that a separate school was necessary to help Mexican immigrants become American citizens, acknowledging that Mexican students were a separate, "in between" class of Americans.

Americanization schools aimed to wash away Mexican culture within Mexican immigrants and supplant it with American customs. The *Pasadena Star* defended the South Raymond School by claiming, "The needs of the Mexican children are not adequately met in the ordinary public school" and Americanization schools "teach good housekeeping and domestic science, give instruction in health and sanitation, and other things in this connection."^{xvii} Teacher Pearl Ellis would have agreed with the *Pasadena Star* because her book included chapters on "Sewing," "Home Nursing," and "the Mexican Home."^{xviii} It is clear that Americanizers focused on manual and domestic tasks rather than reading, writing, or arithmetic. Americanization programs wanted Mexican immigrants to be loyal and act like Anglo-Americans. Thus, tortillas should be replaced by white bread. Interestingly, the Mexican Consulate used the same platform of nationalism as the cornerstone of Consulate schools.

Mexican officials built schools around Los Angeles with the express purpose of creating a more modern Mexico.

La Opinión lauded the initial success of the Consulate schools and wrote, “The ultimate goal which is to one day, when the conditions of our country improve, reincorporate [consulate students] as factors in real progress; for they will carry with them the advantage of having two languages and the experience of two social mediums,” which would directly benefit Mexico.^{xix} This pro-Mexican nationalist message is similar to the message Americanizers used to justify segregation. The difference was which country would eventually benefit from the new citizens. However, each institution encountered fatal problems under the strain of a depressed economy. The American schools saw Mexican students as burdens, while the Consulate schools viewed them as an asset to Mexico’s future.

Mexican Consulate schools were underfunded and under attack by Americanizers. They also inspired little faith among some high-level Mexican officials. The Mexican Consulate initially planned to build fifty schools, but no more than ten ever materialized. To make matters worse, the state of California began denying teacher accreditations in 1928 to limit the number of Spanish teaching Consulate schools.^{xx} These external pressures wore out the confidence of several Mexican officials like Consul General Adolfo De La Huerta and Vice Consul Ernesto Romero. These high-ranking officials recommended to numerous Mexican immigrants that they renounce their Mexican citizenship and become naturalized Americans. As historian Francisco Balderrama argues, though “only a few consuls gave unofficial and confidential advice of this type, their status lent an aura of authority to their recommendations.”^{xxi} External and internal factors led to the short life of the Consulate schools. Ultimately, however, the pressures of the Great Depression repatriated more Mexican immigrants than the Consulate schools ever did.

The weight of the Great Depression also burdened and dismantled the Americanization schools. Americanization schools became ineffective in the bad economy of the 1930s, because many Mexican families migrated to other parts of the United States in search of a new job. Americanization teacher Amanda Chase highlighted this issue by writing, “I have had in my class record book this year the names of about half as many Mexican women as there are Mexican families in the district. But a third of them moved to other districts.”^{xxii} This increased mobility made it difficult for Americanization schools to foster any kind of American nationalism within Mexican immigrants or communities.

Americanization schools and Mexican Consulate schools battled against each other to define the citizenship status of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles. The education of Mexican-American children became their weapon of choice. It remains imperative that historians consider both

school systems when researching Los Angeles school segregation, because the traditional narrative only examines “the assumptions made about both Mexican and American culture by progressive Californians during the 1920s.”^{xxiii} While it is important to understand the justification for the segregation of Mexican children from Anglo children, it is equally vital to acknowledge the conversation over citizenship between Americanizers and Mexican Consulate officials. Both institutions vied for the allegiance of pupils caught in a transnational bind. Ultimately, however, the American promise of opportunity trumped the Mexican dream of modernity. The Mexican Consulate schools disappeared with the Great Depression, leaving a generation of children to determine where they belonged. By default, they became American. By circumstance, they remained hyphenated.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Pearl Idelia Ellis, *Americanization through Homemaking* (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co., 1929), 27.
- ⁱⁱ Pearl Idelia Ellis, *Americanization through Homemaking* (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co., 1929), 11.
- ⁱⁱⁱ David Torres-Rouff, “Becoming Mexican: Segregated Schools and Social Scientists in Southern California, 1913–1946,” *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 94, No. 1 (Spring 2012): 91.
- ^{iv} Mary Peters, “The Segregation of Mexican American Children in the Elementary Schools of California: Its Legal and Administrative Aspects” (MA Thesis: UCLA, 1948), 35.
- ^v *General School Law of California* (San Francisco: 1880), 14.
- ^{vi} Board of Education of Los Angeles City School District, Minutes, June 23, 1927.
- ^{vii} *La Opinión*, Feb. 17, 1927.
- ^{viii} Torres-Rouff, “Becoming Mexican,” 115.
- ^{ix} *Ibid.*, 112.
- ^x George J. Sánchez, “‘Go After the Women’: Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman 1915–1929,” *Stanford Center for Chicano Research*, no. 6, (1984), 22–23.
- ^{xi} Gilbert G. Gonzalez, “Segregation of Mexican Children in a Southern California City: The Legacy of Expansionism and the American Southwest,” *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Jan. 1985), 64.
- ^{xii} Torres-Rouff, “Becoming Mexican,” 93.
- ^{xiii} Ellis, *Americanization through Homemaking*, 19.
- ^{xiv} *La Opinión* editorial, June 21, 1930.

^{xv} Rafael De Negrís to William D. Stephens, June 7, 1919, in National Archives, Department of State, Record Group 59, 311.12/422, quoted in Francisco Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929 to 1936*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), 56.

^{xvi} *Ibid.*, 56–57.

^{xvii} *The Pasadena Star*, April 15, 1913.

^{xviii} Ellis, *Americanization through Homemaking*, 10.

^{xix} *La Opinión*, June 21, 1930.

^{xx} Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 118.

^{xxi} Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza*, 68.

^{xxii} California, Commission of Immigration and Housing, *The Home Teacher; Immigrant Education Leaflet No. 5* (San Francisco: State Printing Office, 1916), 3.

^{xxiii} George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 106.

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Llaguepulli and the Mapuche Resistance: The Dynamics of “El Indio Permitido”

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Marlen is currently interested in focusing her research on indigenous peoples' land rights movements, with particular interest in educational systems within indigenous political organizations and the relationship between indigenous education and ideas about resistance. She began her PhD in history at the University of Pennsylvania in the fall of 2014. Through her research, she hopes to accomplish a better understanding of indigenous peoples' social and political activism, their positions on civil and land rights issues, and the potential for the development of class and ethnic equality throughout Latin America.

Abstract

The purpose of this project was to understand the perspectives of a single indigenous Mapuche community on the current shape of the Mapuche movement's resistance strategies, within a historical context. This paper presents only a fraction of my interviews, a segment of their perspectives focused on elucidating the significance of an autonomous education system to the resistance strategies of this community, as well as its implications to the sustenance of an enduring resistance of the Mapuche movement.

My research aims to reveal the challenges of demanding a deepening of democracy inside of an unbalanced democratic state. Where top-down political institutions determine the parameters within which citizens can engage in policies of social justice, marginalized groups often establish alternative institutions in an effort to combat their exclusion from the more formal processes of democratization. Within this context, access to land has arisen as a critical point of contention among marginalized groups. Scholarship on indigenous movements often focuses on the amount of land gained or lost as a measure of a movement's success. My study goes further than a quantitative analysis, providing an historical analysis of the conflictive dynamics of the indigenous Mapuche movement as its members have strategically maneuvered their political space within the neoliberal Chilean state to gain rights to territory and autonomy.

Through an ethnographic study of the Mapuche community of Llaguepulli in southern Chile, I was able to understand the various perspectives of cultural resistance that exist within the community as its members interweave demands for autonomy with those for land.¹ I found that the strategic use of the space of the “permitted Indian” by the Mapuche illuminates a time- and place-driven concept of resistance that accounts for a balance between the wider cultural aims of the Mapuche movement and the pragmatic goals of a single community. I argue that this particular concept of resistance is rooted in the desire to revive traditional land use practices and has been reinforced by the unbalanced and

unsatisfactory results of Mapuche-state relations that have led to strategies for autonomy through projects such as the revitalization of an indigenous education system.

The *indio permitido*, or “permitted Indian,” is a category through which neoliberal states attempt to confine an indigenous political voice. This space, as defined by anthropologists Charles R. Hale and Rosamel Millán, is a product of the rhetoric of multiculturalism created by various neoliberal Latin American states with the goal of integrating indigenous populations into the dominant economic, political, and social systems (2005). As democratic regimes followed the end of the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship (1973–1988) in Chile, they continued the market-oriented policies for large-scale development on indigenous territories that defined neoliberalism's growth in the 1980s. The “Indian problem” therefore remained an issue as governments sought to remove indigenous peoples' ties to their territories by integrating them into Chilean society. For Hale and Millán, the “permitted Indian” is modernized in that it distances itself from the category of the traditional Indian—from the culture embedded in territorial autonomy—and, rather, adapts to the structural relations established by the national culture. Chile, in step with neoliberal policies throughout Latin America, adopted the rhetoric of multiculturalism as a way to appease indigenous populations such as the Mapuche, even as indigenous rights remained subjugated.

The idea of multiculturalism did not begin in Chile, but rather emerged in various Latin American countries with neoliberal states as a strategy to control and regularize their respective indigenous populations. In many cases, governments recognized that allowing some concessions to indigenous communities would be beneficial if those communities conformed to the state's economic model. Hale explains:

The core of neoliberalism's cultural project is not radical individualism, but the creation of subjects who govern themselves in accordance with the logic of globalized capitalism. (17)

Rather than challenge the prescriptions of the state, the “permitted Indian” would ideally work within state structure to achieve greater autonomy. The state used such a category to funnel the surge of protests and demands for land and territorial autonomy from indigenous peoples into institutionalized channels of contention.

After the land expropriation policies of the Pinochet regime that marginalized Chile's indigenous communities both physically and politically, the subsequent democratic governments sought to integrate Chile's indigenous peoples into the fabric of national culture. Boundary lines were drawn and *titulos de merced* (land titles) were granted to force

the Mapuche to resettle in unfamiliar regions, often with unfertile land (Mallon 40). What is more, boundaries drawn during the demarcation process were sometimes unclear and the state often neglected to defend the already-insufficient land titles granted to the Mapuche against territorial claims made by wealthy landowners (52). Thus, the Mapuche continued in a state of repression, as they were forcibly resettled in lands that barely allowed them sustenance. Despite the increasing physical separation of the communities resulting from the resettlements, Mapuche members initiated a collective of cultural events that would unite the communities every few months to a year to engage in traditional Mapuche rituals and practices, such as feasts and sporting events. In establishing this unique relationship among community members, the Mapuche formed a network of solidarity based on the traditions of their indigenous culture—a solidarity that would unite them as the Chilean state continued its land expropriations in the years to come.

In the current Chilean state, the rhetorical use of the term “multiculturalism” has aimed to generate a space within which the Mapuche can demand the recuperation of territories that the state has seized (Hale and Millamán 2005, 301). The state envisaged this limited political voice to pacify the most violent sectors of the Mapuche movement through the creation of the state organ CONADI (the National Corporation for the Development of the Indian), whose supposed aim has been to include the indigenous peoples in positions of political power. CONADI was noted for corruption in many regards and lost much of its legitimacy with the Mapuche people after only a few years of failed intercession (Tricot 2013, personal interview). CONADI often lacked the financial resources and political power to recuperate sufficient land for the communities within which it worked. Individual members of CONADI had little power to change government policy and, instead, would be co-opted to make deals with community leaders in which they would grant special favors such as land and resources to certain communities in exchange for personal profit. In other instances, CONADI members who did attempt to challenge government deals with extraction companies would simply be fired (Mallon 2005).

Its limited position within the governmental hierarchy meant that indigenous leaders often had to compete to attain resources from the subservient agency at the expense of other indigenous communities. Ruth Millañir of Llaguepulli explains the disillusionment as such: “‘CONADI’—in quotation marks—is an entity that helps the people, but in practice it is not so. So the people don’t want anything to do with CONADI anymore. For us, CONADI practically does not exist” (2013, personal interview). With the failure of this state-sponsored organization to achieve the Mapuche movement’s most fundamental

goals, various internal conflicts arose among the Mapuche, who began to make distinct uses of CONADI to strategically achieve small concessions for their communities.

While the division of the once-militant Mapuche movement might signal the state’s success with CONADI, current Mapuche resistance continues its struggle to maintain unity in resolving its members’ ideological discourses with each community’s distinct relationship with the state. Therefore, the questions arise: What dynamics are created from the community’s lack of consensus about their relations to the state? How do the Mapuche define successful resistance as they struggle for their most valued resource: land? My study attempts to answer these questions by examining how the relations among the Mapuche have changed and how they aim to sustain Mapuche resistance. Llaguepulli exemplifies the reality of the distinct subjectivities that revolve around the relations between this community and the Chilean state—subtle complexities that strongly influence the relations among the people of the community itself and, consequently, the relations of this community with all that the resistance of the Mapuche movement signifies.

Camilo, the *logko*—or head—of Llaguepulli maintains the community’s negotiations with CONADI. As director of the community, Camilo must consider the needs of community members when he brings his demands to the dialogue table with CONADI, and he understands that this system has its pros and cons. While he himself is bound to negotiations with the government, he is not against the more radical resistance methods that other Mapuche sectors have manifested. On the contrary, to him there is a strong connection between the distinct strategies used, and he believes that there can be a network among the groups that employ different methods of resistance:

... if there did not also exist an upfront resistance, neither would a less direct manner actually gain concessions. But when someone is enacting force, political pressure through mobilization, along with negotiating through less forceful means, the methods together can be very effective. So there has to be both. (Camilo Millañir, 2013, personal interview; all translations are mine.)

For years, Camilo’s community has struggled to gain land titles from negotiations with CONADI, submitting a proposal year after year but always receiving a negative response. However, he understands that other communities face greater obstacles and still others have other ways of attempting to gain more land and resources.

Ruth Millañir similarly struggles with an ideology that consists of goals wider than those that can be achieved through limited dialogue with CONADI. She believes

Llaguepulli's current relationship with the government is futile, yet she distinguishes herself from those Mapuche who believe the Mapuche movement itself to be futile. She explains, "Today, globalization has affected us a lot. The people, too, to try to live a better life . . . are leaving to one side the cultural aspect [of their Mapuche identity]" (Ruth Millañir 2013, personal interview). Like Ruth's own siblings, many Mapuche in recent years prefer to move to the cities for the better educational and work opportunities they offer, yet in the process they risk losing their relationship to their Mapuche identity.

That their community continues to defend its goal of territory gains for cooperative use is a significant aspect of my interviewees' belief that they are maintaining a strong Mapuche resistance. For them, the recuperation of land should be a recuperation of communal territory; that is to say, if some work to obtain land through CONADI, that land should be utilized collectively, not for the benefit of only a few. In this way, they remain conscious of the struggle to recuperate the collectivist Mapuche territory of their ancestors in the face of developmentalist land extraction projects. Camilo explains the significance of the Mapuches' understanding of their traditional land use: "The importance is that we as Mapuche coexist with our space. And so because of that, our ancestors loved the land, they respected the land and took care of the space. It was not just a determinate space." (Camilo Millañir 2013, personal interview). One of Llaguepulli's greatest successes—the community school—illustrates the significant link between territorial autonomy, cultural knowledge, and sustained resistance.

Once owned by the Catholic Church, Llaguepulli succeeded in converting it into an autonomous Mapuche school in which the community members have taken control. After years of trying to negotiate with the bishops in charge of the school, the community finally put enough pressure on the church to successfully attain control of the school and additional church-owned land in Llaguepulli. Now, even families from surrounding communities bring their children to this school for an autonomous Mapuche education. In addition to traditional subjects such as math and literature, students can now study the Mapuche language, Mapunzugun, and the cultural history of the Mapuche. Surprisingly, students even learn English, a sign that the community is looking strategically to ways in which they can pursue long-term opportunities for global alliances to support the Mapuche movement.

The new generation of Mapuche in the community is vital to the continuation of the Mapuche culture, and the distinct strategies of resistance that are used in any moment are not as important as the communities' alliance with the ongoing resistance that lies in the passing on of traditions.

The elementary school in Llaguepulli is an exemplary success in this regard. Camilo explains this as the significance of Mapuche education to the Mapuche resistance front: "That is why I say that I have a lot of hope for the young people. Because they will have much more [Mapuche] understanding, so they will have many more arguments to use when negotiating with the Chilean state" (Camilo Millañir 2013, personal interview). For him, the understanding of Mapuche history is also the understanding of how the Chilean system functions to restrain the Mapuche, and the new generation of Mapuche can resist those limitations through education.

For the interviewees, the limited space of the "permitted Indian" is neither static nor impermeable. Many Mapuche are conscious of the state's motivations for this space and recognize the risk they run by working within it. To fight this, they do not allow the space of the "permitted Indian" to erase their understanding of how the Mapuche people could or should live, even while the negative effects of their repressive relationship with the government remains tangible in their lack of resources. They do not believe that they will always be limited—neither physically nor politically—by the space of the "permitted Indian." All of the interviewees support in some way a more direct Mapuche resistance and the mobilizations outside of Llaguepulli, but they understand that currently some communities are more able to resist directly and others, due to issues of resources, cannot. Even so, they support a continued Mapuche education among the communities as a strategy for a sustained future resistance.

The space of the "permitted Indian" has put Mapuche communities in a potentially dangerous position for the movement, as it has co-opted the members who could not resist putting aside their alliance to the movement for the economic benefits offered to them by the state. Nevertheless, there still persist those Mapuche—as is exemplified in Llaguepulli—who recognize the importance of maintaining solidarity through the Mapuche tradition of land use and cultural practices that drives the resistance outside of the space of the "permitted Indian." The continuation of neoliberal developmentalist policies produced an unbalanced institutionalization of rights to political participation. Where these political institutions have failed to legitimize the marginalized actors struggling for rights such as those to land, the identity claims of the Mapuche exemplify the pervasive force behind these movements' continual ability to forge alliances, influence governments, and maintain leverage on the basis of their own ideals and ideas for democracy.

Endnotes

- ⁱ My contact with the community was facilitated by the School for International Training. Over the course of a week, I interviewed various community members about their participation in the Mapuche resistance and their opinions about the community's relationship with the Chilean state. While living with a family in the community, I conducted semi-structured interviews of about one to two hours in length. All interviews were conducted in Spanish and then translated into English. All names have been changed to protect identity.

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Indian, Mixed, or African: The Metamorphosis of Tituba, Woman, Slave, and Witch of Salem— A Historiographical Examination

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Sherri is completing her degree in Africana studies, with minors in history and English, at Brooklyn College. This past summer, she was part of the inaugural Mellon Scholars Intern Program at the Library Company of Philadelphia, where her research focused on the African American response to the Saint Domingue (Haitian) Revolution, placing the black community in a transnational context actively responding to global events. She plans to continue her studies in seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and early nineteenth-century Atlantic world history and the African diaspora by pursuing a PhD degree.

Abstract

The confession of Tituba, a slave in the household of the Reverend Parris in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1692, sparked one of the most renowned periods in American colonial history that was marked by fear and paranoia—the Salem Witch Trials. However, many historians dispute her racial identity. This paper traces the historiography of Tituba's metamorphosis from Indian to mixed race to African, a topic that scholars of colonial American history continue to grapple with today.

Tituba. For some, her name conjures up feelings of resiliency and resistance, brought to life within the pages of Maryse Condé's *I, Tituba: Black Witch of Salem*, a fictitious account based on historical events and Tituba's imagined life.ⁱ She was at the center of one of the most renowned incidents in colonial America—the Salem Witch Trials of 1692. In the small, Puritan community of Salem Village, Tituba was a woman of mystery who brought tales of the supernatural from her homeland far away. In judicial records, Tituba is labeled as “Indian,” but it is unclear if she is defined as such because of Puritan beliefs, her contested geographical origins, or her marriage to another slave, John Indian. Subsequent historiography has complicated this mystery further. As different scholars penned their version of historical events surrounding the Salem Witch Trials, they often borrowed elements from popular culture and were influenced by global occurrences as well as social attitudes prevalent in the United States. This essay seeks to examine the historiography of the Salem Witch Trials, tracing Tituba's transformation from an “Indian” to mixed with African and Indian parentage to an African. I will also explore the possibility of Tituba being of mixed European and African ancestry by outlining specific social factors prevalent in seventeenth-century Barbados and New England.

Life in the rural New England hamlet of Salem Village was precarious for the Puritan settlers, who were often at odds with the Wampanoag peoples. Hence, New England Puritan ideology began to associate the devil, and his diabolical deeds, with the Native Americans of the area.

Additionally, women who occupied the lowest strata of society, were middle aged, or who had few or no children, were subjected to suspicion and ridicule.ⁱⁱ Tituba was possibly identified as Indian in the small village because of her “otherness,” since she was an outsider and a slave. During the nineteenth century, the perception of Tituba's identity began to change as tensions between the United States and Britain escalated in the Caribbean. It is likely these events influenced Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who created a half-Indian, half-African visage of Tituba. Many late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians writing about the Salem Witch Trials used Longfellow's depiction of Tituba in their own accounts, with at least one using the ideology of Social Darwinism to portray Tituba's “Africanness” as inferior. This ubiquitous notion of (Tituba's) racial inferiority would continue into the 1950s, reflecting the racial divide prevalent in American society during the early twentieth century. By the 1970s, Tituba's identity transformed again into an image of a black woman, perhaps influenced by the play *The Crucible* that debuted on Broadway in 1953 and enhanced by the stereotypes and struggles plaguing black women during the 1960s and '70s. Scholars in the 1990s grappled with the identity of the woman at the center of the Salem Witch Trials using historical data and interdisciplinary methods to ascertain if she was of Indian, mixed, or African ancestry. It is their research that influences present-day scholars writing about the Salem Witch Trials of 1692.

Tituba's narrative begins in Barbados, where she was enslaved and bought by Samuel Parris, a young Harvard student who was born in England and moved to Barbados with his merchant/plantation-owning father. Upon his father's death in 1671, Parris left the university to assume his inheritance on the island. After a series of failed attempts and natural disasters, Parris returned to Boston with two slaves, Tituba and John. Unsure about his life as a merchant, he “offered himself as a candidate for the ministry” and, in 1689, accepted a ministerial post in Salem Village.ⁱⁱⁱ In his historical tome, *Salem Witchcraft*, Charles Upham notes, “Mr. Parris appears to have had in his family several slaves, probably brought by him from the West Indies . . . one of them, whom he calls, in his church-record book, ‘my negro lad,’ had died, a year or two before, at the age of nineteen.”^{iv} The other two slaves listed were John Indian and Tituba, who Upham assumes to be a married couple.

In the fall of 1691, tales of the supernatural spurred the hysterics of two young girls in the Parris household. Nine-year-old Betty Parris, Samuel Parris' daughter, and eleven-year-old Abigail Williams, his niece, began to exhibit strange behavior accompanied by unexplained marks on their bodies. A doctor, unable to determine the cause behind the girls' illnesses, attributed their behavior to the work of the devil. A neighbor, Mary Sibley, instructed Tituba on

how to make a witch cake utilizing rye meal and urine collected from the girls. The cake would then be fed to a dog in order to reveal the name of the witch affecting the girls.^v The girls' symptoms worsened. Betty and Abigail, along with two teenaged girls and two women (all close to the Parris family), began exhibiting similar symptoms attributed to the tormenting of specters. Through prayer, Parris demanded to know the identity of the witches tormenting the children and women. Blame was cast upon Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne, two women who were outcasts in the Puritan community, and upon Tituba. On February 29, 1692, Tituba was arrested on the suspicion of practicing witchcraft. Her (forced) confession was the spark that ignited one of the most fanatical, duplicitous, and paranoid eras in American history.

In the judicial records of the Salem Witch Trials of 1692, Tituba is referred to as "Titube, an Indian woman," "Titibe, an Indian woman," or simply "Titibe Indian."^{vi} It was also recorded that she was a slave originating from Barbados and practiced "hoodoo." Cotton Mather, a Puritan priest who had experience in the occult (having witnessed similar events in Boston in 1688), was the only person recording the trial to make note of Tituba's racial transformation "from African to Indian just like the devil," as the testimony of her accusers were recorded.^{vii} Another explanation for Tituba's perceived Indian ethnicity can be traced to Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, written in 1700. Calef chronicled the events of the Salem Witch Trials through the first-hand account of sea captain Nathaniel Carey. Carey, whose wife, Mary, was accused of being a witch, recalled an unnamed Indian male and his wife who were slaves and imprisoned for witchcraft. Historian Bernard Rosenthal believes Carey was referencing Tituba and her husband, John. Because John was known as John Indian, Tituba would have taken his last name and hence been known as "Tituba Indian."

Looking at the social constructions of seventeenth-century New England, historian John McWilliams offers another explanation for Tituba's assumed Indian ethnicity. According to McWilliams, racial identities among those of lower classes were not usual or considered necessary, especially for slaves. He goes on to explain that the racial categories of Indian, African, and slave were blended and derived from Christopher Columbus' misnaming and creating catchall references for those he encountered.^{viii} Historian Richard Bailey disagrees, arguing that Puritan society was very aware of racial identities. In his book *Race and Redemption in Puritan New England*, Bailey explains that Puritans were very aware of physical differences, describing Native Americans as "tawny," "copper," or "tanned." People of mixed parentage were usually referred to as "mustee" or "mulatto," and Africans were described as "black" or

"negro," which was usually denoted as a last name.^{ix} In one judicial account, Candy, a "negro woman" from Barbados, was accused of practicing witchcraft. It is puzzling why Candy's racial identity was noted and Tituba's was not.^x

Historian Richard S. Dunn offers a suggestion for the possibility of Tituba being Native American. Dunn explains the Wampanoags and Nipmuck peoples of Massachusetts were sold into slavery and destined for the West Indies at the end of King Philip's War in 1676. However, by that time, the importation of American Indians to plantations in Barbados and Jamaica were banned, hence making Tituba's American Indian origins unlikely.^{xi}

For a century, Tituba's supposed Indian ancestry remained uncontested, and in the 1800s, historians revisiting the subject of the Salem Witch Trials borrowed elements from popular literature and plays produced during this time. In 1832, John Neal wrote the fictitious novel *Rachel Dyer*, depicting Tituba as an Indian slave woman with demonic powers. It is this narrative that influenced Charles W. Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*, published in 1867. Upham, repeating the imagery of John Neal, described Tituba (and John Indian) as being "conversant with the Indians of Mexico, and on both sides of the Isthmus" and implicates her in exciting young Puritan girls with tales of superstition and black magic from the West Indies.^{xii} A year later, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote the play *Giles Corey of Salem Farms*. In the play, Tituba is of mixed ancestry, her mother Indian and her father "... a man all black and fierce ... he was an obi man and taught her magic."^{xiii} According to Chadwick Hansen, historians preferred Longfellow's depiction of Tituba and utilized it to pen their version of historical events. George Bancroft's *History of the United States* (1876), John Gorham Palfrey's *History of New England* (1877), and Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Puritan Pronaos* (1936), all described Tituba as being of mixed parentage with ties back to West Africa through her father. However, it is in the depiction of Tituba by historian and philosopher John Fiske that we begin to see a characterization of Tituba synonymous with the sociological belief of racial inferiority. In his book *New France and New England*, published in 1902, Fiske wrote:

In the household at the parsonage were two coloured servants whom Parris had brought with him from the West Indies. The man was known as John Indian; the coloured hag Tituba, who passed for his wife, was half-Indian and half-negro. Their intelligence was of a low grade, but it sufficed to make them experts in palmistry, fortune telling, magic, second-sight, and incantations.^{xiv}

A supporter of the theories of Social Darwinism and the first president of the Immigration Restriction League,

Fiske's belittling portrayal would go on to influence future historical identifications of Tituba, advanced by the prejudicial tones that were increasing in the United States.

The twentieth century would provide new insights into the identity of Tituba, and, once again, popular culture would influence a change in her racial characterization. Marion L. Starkey's historical reference to the Salem Witch Trials, published in 1950, replicated and expanded upon the negative racial stereotypes first explored by John Fiske at the turn of the century. In *The Devil in Massachusetts*, Tituba became a "half savage with slurred southern speech and tricky ways."^{xv} She went on to describe Tituba as lazy, spending her time entertaining the girls with "hoodoo" tricks she learned in Barbados. Starkey's racialized depiction of Tituba is problematic. Her focus on racial stereotypes (of southern blacks) disconnects Tituba from seventeenth-century New England and distorts the historical record. In the preface of her book, Starkey admitted to taking "slight liberties" with chronicled events of the Salem Witch Trials in order to make her narrative more interesting.^{xvi}

Disregarding her possible mixed Indian and African origins, John Putnam Demos, writing in the 1970s, transformed Tituba into a black woman in his article "Underlying Themes in the Witchcraft of Seventeenth Century New England." By racially identifying Tituba as a black woman, Demos supported his argument that witches in New England came from the lower social strata of society, but he gives no other reason for identifying her as such. It is possible that Demos was influenced by the play *The Crucible* that debuted on Broadway in 1953. An African-American woman played the role of Tituba, and the "magic" she practiced was sensationalized. One can speculate that this was due to artistic interpretation rather than historical accuracy.

The scholarship of the past eighteen years, particularly that of historians Elaine Breslaw and Peter Charles Hoffer, continues to grapple with the racial identity of the woman at the center of the Salem Witch Trials of 1692. Breslaw revisits the idea of Tituba's Indian ancestry in her book, *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies*, published in 1996. Breslaw recounts the mission of Captain Peter Wroth, an English sea captain who set out for the northeast coast of South America in 1674. His mission was to spy on the Dutch and to search for Arawak women and children to enslave for sale in Barbados.^{xvii} According to Wroth's account, eight Arawak women and two Arawak children were captured off the northeast coast of South America (present-day Venezuela). Breslaw believes this is where Tituba's story begins, referencing back to Upham's reference of Tituba and John Indian coming from New Spain.

While researching Barbadian colonial records, Breslaw found an inventory document from the plantation owned by Samuel Thompson in St. Thomas Parish, located a few miles from Bridgetown, Barbados. The document lists a child named "Tattuba." Variants in spelling notwithstanding, Breslaw believes the child, who was between the ages of nine and fourteen, was the same Tituba who arrived with the Reverend Parris in the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1680. She also found additional bills of sale for goods to sustain Barbadian plantation life linking Thompson and Parris. Lastly, by tracing the historical origin of the name "Tituba," Breslaw concludes that Tituba's name is a Spanish derivative of an Arawak name, thus solidifying her argument of Tituba's Amerindian ancestry.

In *The Devil's Disciples: Makers of the Salem Witchcraft Trials*, also published in 1996, Peter Charles Hoffer refutes the claims made by Elaine Breslaw by globalizing the rural New England community of Salem Village. Hoffer explains that the Puritan community was not as cut off from the rest of the world as some historians have suggested. Because of Atlantic colonial trade, there was a constant connection between England and her colonies in North America and the Caribbean. Additionally, he asserts that Tituba was a victim of the transatlantic slave trade.^{xviii}

To begin, Hoffer examined the record discovered by Elaine Breslaw, noting that nineteen Negro children's names are listed on the document; the youngest one listed was "Tattuba." Next to her name was the mark "Tity," a notation perhaps Anglicizing her name for ease of pronunciation. Using etymological methodology like Breslaw, Hoffer traced the historical origin of Tituba's name to the Yoruba of West Africa. He clarifies, "in Yoruba, 'Titi' means 'endless,' 'never ending' and is a common component of Yoruba female names."^{xix}

In the case of Tituba's knowledge of "magic," Hoffer explains, as a child in Barbados, Tituba entered a world composed of many African peoples blending traditional spiritual and medicinal practices. It was a necessary part of a slave's survival. Tituba was knowledgeable in the medicinal and spiritual practices rooted in Africa, not because of black magic or ill will, but because her health and well being as a slave depended on it. In turn, these techniques were beneficial to the Parris family, who called upon Tituba's medicinal skills with herbs and plants when the need arose.

The Salem Witch Trials of 1692 continue to fascinate scholars of colonial American history. Within the past five years, a number of historians have focused on the women who were accused of being witches, offering insight into the intersectionality of religion, gender, and social construction in the small New England village.^{xx}

With the speculation about Tituba's racial identity pointing to Indian, mixed (Indian and African), and African origins, I propose one more consideration for historical review. Understanding British Atlantic world history and colonial American history, why have historians overlooked, or dismissed, the possibility of Tituba being of mixed African and European ancestry? It is plausible, especially when examining specific factors of seventeenth-century Barbadian society, as well as the religious and social constructions found in the seventeenth century Massachusetts Bay colony. I will outline some of these factors pointing to the possibility of Tituba's mixed European and African parentage.

In 1627, the colony of Barbados was established by the British to compete with European rivals in the lucrative Atlantic economy. This opportunity attracted many fortune-seeking English men who would later become the island's elite planter class. Because of the uncertainty of their future in the Caribbean, many English women opted to remain in England. The European women who did wind up in Barbados were usually indentured servants who either married immediately or returned home once the conditions of their servitude was fulfilled. Hence, enslaved African and Amerindian women were in high demand on the island, with many forced into domestic/sexual relationships with white planters.

By the 1650s, the population of Barbados reflected the unions between European slave masters and African slaves. In 1652, Heinrich Von Uchteritz, a German mercenary who was captured during the Battle of Worcester in 1651 and sentenced to forced indenture servitude in Barbados, noted in his journal the "sallow" complexions of the slaves he worked alongside.^{xxi} In the 1660s, British colonial officials instituted slave codes dictating the governing of slaves in the British West Indies. One such law stated a child born of a slave mother was also a slave, allowing many English planters to capitalize on their sexual relations with enslaved women. A decade later, because of increased sugar cultivation, the enslaved population on the island of Barbados, primarily from the West African coast, reached approximately 27,000. In his essay "The Amerindian Slave Population of Barbados in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," historian Jerome Handler explains that there are generally few details about how Indian slaves were acquired and brought to Barbados, unlike the meticulous records of the British Atlantic African slave trade.^{xxii}

If Tituba's mother were a slave from West Africa (or if Tituba came from West Africa as Hoffer suggests), Tituba would have learned traditional African medicinal and spiritual practices from her mother or another slave woman entrusted with her care on the plantation until she was old

enough to do fieldwork or work in the big house. The traditional and spiritual education of daughters is reminiscent of many West African societies and continued in the slave quarters of Caribbean plantations. Furthermore, in judicial records, Tituba states she learned the "magic" from her "mistress" in Barbados, not her father, as Longfellow and popular knowledge have suggested. In seventeenth-century British lexicon, a mistress denoted a female head of household, a woman in a position of authority, or a female employer in charge of domestic staff.^{xxiii} Historian Elaine Breslaw believes Tituba received her lessons in domestic servitude and English witchcraft from Elizabeth Reid Thompson Lane Pearsehouse, the mother of Samuel Thompson, the planter who had business dealings with Samuel Parris when he resided in Barbados. Additionally, slaves of mixed parentage were deemed to be less hostile than their African mothers and were preferred for domestic servitude. Breslaw also suggests Tituba, who was between the ages of nine and fourteen, may have been the concubine of Samuel Thompson, a relationship not uncommon on many British West Indian plantations.

In New England, the Puritans in the Massachusetts Bay colony were very aware of racial differences; however, it is the way they defined variances in skin color that posed social challenges. According to Richard Bailey, nonwhites (in seventeenth-century New England) could never be certain exactly how their skin tone might be interpreted.^{xxiv} Evidence of this can be seen in the testimonies of the Witch Trials where the devil was referred to as a black man, or a black man resembling an Indian. Additionally, Puritans felt racial mixing between European and Africans was taboo. They believed the blood of those marked for slavery (Africans) would contaminate God's chosen people (Puritans).^{xxv} Although Tituba may have been of mixed European and African parentage, she was possibly defined as Indian because of the inconceivable union of her parents, the ambiguity of the color of her skin, and the social classification seventeenth-century Puritan society used to degrade and denounce people of color.

Today, Tituba's identity and subsequent history remain elusive. She spent thirteen months in jail because Samuel Parris refused to pay her jail fees. Yet, her fees were mysteriously paid in full, and, afterwards, Tituba disappeared. As an explanation, some historians believe Tituba was sold and taken away from the small Puritan community. Expanding on this theory, I would like to add the possibility of Tituba being sent back to Barbados. After all, Samuel Parris and his family owned and operated plantations on the Caribbean island.^{xxvi} Moreover, because of his religious post in Salem Village, Parris needed to distance himself as far as possible from the woman whose testimony sparked the most renowned witch-hunt in American colonial history.

As I continue my scholarly journey focusing on Atlantic world history, the African diaspora, and the narratives of women of color in colonial societies, I would like to expand on Tituba's narrative exploring the possibility of her confession as a form of resistance against the peculiar institution and religious social construction that deemed her inferior. Until then, I will be content with Conde's fictional suggestion that Tituba returned to her island home to live out the rest of her days in peace.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Maryse Condé, *I, Tituba, Black Witch of Salem*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992). Written in 1986 by Guadeloupean author Maryse Condé, Tituba is depicted as a mixed race (African and English) woman well versed in the art of obeah. The novel traces Tituba's life from Barbados to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and back to Barbados. Despite her using her medicinal skills to assist the family she lives with, she is accused and tried for witchcraft. In the novel, Tituba emerges as a heroine resisting the social constructions of her time.
- ⁱⁱ See: Elizabeth Reis, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).
- ⁱⁱⁱ Samuel Page Fowler, *An Account of the Life, Character, &c., of the Rev. Samuel Parris, of Salem Village, and of His Connection with the Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, Read Before the Essex Institute, Nov'r 14, 1856* (Salem: 1856), 3.
- ^{iv} Charles W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft. Volume II* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1867), 2.
- ^v George Lincoln Burr, *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648–1706* (Barnes and Noble ed. New York: C. Scribner's Sons: 1914), 162–163.
- ^{vi} *Ibid.*, 162.
- ^{vii} Veta Smith Tucker, "Purloined Identity: The Racial Metamorphosis of Tituba of Salem Village." *Journal of Black Studies* 30 (2000), 627.
- ^{viii} John McWilliams, "Indian John and the Northern Tawnies." *New England Quarterly* 69 (1996), 586.
- ^{ix} Richard A. Bailey, "When Image Unmakes the Man: The Consequences of Thinking about the Colors and Capabilities of 'Others'" in *Race and Redemption in Puritan New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 39–72.

- ^x In the judicial records of the Salem Witch Trials of 1692, two enslaved black women were accused of witchcraft. Mary Black was a servant in the household of Nathaniel Putnam, a respected leader in the community. His younger nieces and nephews accused many in the village of being witches, including Mary. However, Mary held steadfast to her innocence. Because no one else came forward to accuse her, Mary was released on January 11, 1693 and returned to Nathaniel Putnam's home. Candy, an enslaved woman from Barbados, was accused along with her mistress, Margaret Hawkes, of practicing witchcraft. Unlike Mary Black, Candy confessed to being a witch and implicated Margaret Hawkes for turning her into one. Despite her demonstrations in court during her trial, Candy, as well as Margaret, was found not guilty on January 6, 1693. See: Benjamin C. Ray, "Candy No Witch." Carter G. Woodson Institute for African American Studies. April 2, 2009. <http://news.clas.virginia.edu/woodson/x15296.xml>.
- ^{xi} John McWilliams, "Indian John and the Northern Tawnies," 586.
- ^{xii} Charles Wentworth Upham, *Salem Witchcraft; With an Account of Salem Village and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects* (New York: F. Ungar Pub. Co., 1959), 2.
- ^{xiii} Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The New England Tragedies* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868), 113.

In addition to describing Tituba's father as an African man who practiced obeah, Longfellow also names Tituba's birthplace as San Salvador, a small island in the Bahamas. In doing so, Longfellow, a devout abolitionist, was perhaps inspired by events transpiring in the Caribbean between the U.S. and Britain over the slave trade and slavery. One well-known incident occurred in 1841, when slaves onboard the American slave ship the *Creole*, sailing from Virginia to New Orleans, revolted. The ship was ordered into Nassau, where British officials freed 128 slaves. The success of the revolt on board the *Creole* worried those who supported slavery in the United States, fearing more revolts onboard merchant ships. See: Gerald Home, *Negro Comrades of the Crown: African Americans and the British Empire Fight the U.S. before Emancipation* (New York, New York University Press, 2012).
- ^{xiv} John Fiske, *New France and New England* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1902), 159.
- ^{xv} Marion L. Starkey, *The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Enquiry into the Salem Witch Trials* (New York: Time Life, 1950) 9–11.
- ^{xvi} *Ibid.*, xii.
- ^{xvii} Elaine Breslaw, *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 5.
- ^{xviii} Peter Charles Hoffer, *The Devil's Disciples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996) 1–2.
- ^{xix} *Ibid.*, 3.

^{xx} For instance, Marilynn K. Roach, author of *Six Women of Salem: The Untold Story of the Accused and Their Accusers in the Salem Witch Trials* (2013), offers readers a glimpse of the world Tituba may have inhabited before being enslaved and sold in Barbados. However, to achieve this, she relies heavily on the research of Elaine Breslaw, identifying Tituba as an Arawak child enslaved off the coast of Venezuela and sold to Samuel Parris in Barbados.

^{xxi} Alexander Gunkel and Jerome S. Handler, editors, "A German Indentured Servant in Barbados in 1652: The Account of Heinrich Von Uchteritz," *Journal of BMH*, 33 (1970): 93.

^{xxii} Jerome S. Handler, "The Amerindian Slave Population of Barbados in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of Caribbean Studies*, 8 (2009): 47, 56.

^{xxiii} "Definition of mistress in English": mistress: definition of mistress in Oxford dictionary (American English) (U.S.). http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/mistress.

^{xxiv} Richard A. Bailey, "When Image Unmakes the Man," 44.

^{xxv} This belief also provided an "explanation" for the practice of slavery among Puritans. See: Douglas Harper, "Slavery in the North" 2003, <http://slavenorth.com/slavenorth.htm>.

^{xxvi} Paul S. Boyer, Stephen Nissenbaum, "Salem-village Witchcraft: A Documentary Record of Local Conflict in Colonial New England" (Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1972), 195.

Bloodlines: The Significance of Blood in the Battle Royal

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Abstract

This research paper is a semiotic analysis of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*. With a focus on the Battle Royal scene, the signifier "blood" is analyzed in order to determine its signified within the context of the story. Syntagmatic relations, associative relations, and examination of semantics are used in this study.

There is no shortage of studies of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, a text rich in symbolism and layers of meaning. However, relatively few scholars have fully explored Ellison's prophetic use of blood as both a symbol and a marker of identity. Through color imagery and literal illustrations, from reminiscences of the protagonist's younger years to surreal visions from the protagonist's present, blood flows through the every aspect of the novel. This essay uses semiotic analysis in order to break down and find deeper meaning in Ellison's use of blood in the famous "Battle Royal" scene. I will argue that Ellison uses blood to investigate the making, unmaking, and remaking of African-American identity.

Henry Louis Gates, Jr., using and revising the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, validates semiotic analysis in relation to African American literature, writing, "... the literary work of art is a system of signs that may be decoded with various methods, all of which assume the fundamental unity of form and content and all of which demand close reading" (1905). Saussure explains two of these decoding methods as *syntagmatic relations* and *associative relations*. The former describes words limited by contextual meaning, while the latter describes words having unrestricted relations to other words (in structure, meaning, and otherwise). Through analyzing syntagmatic and associative relations to the sign blood, this essay illustrates the protagonist's early experiences of the making of his identity in the Battle Royal scene.

The Battle Royal depicts the invisible man as a talented-tenth-type high school graduate in the Deep South who fights other Black boys from his community for the entertainment of the elite White men. The quotation below illuminates the disconnect between what the protagonist expects as a burgeoning scholar and what actually happens to him:

I wanted to deliver my speech more than anything else in the world, because I felt that only these men could judge truly my ability, and now this stupid clown was ruining my chances. . . . I was confused: Should I try to win against the voice out there? Would this go against my speech, and was not this a moment for humility, for nonresistance? A blow to my head as I danced about sent my right eye popping like a jack-in-the-box and settled my dilemma. The room went red as I fell. (25)

This passage concludes with the associative relation of the color red, which the brain links to several meanings produced by signs. The sign is composed of two parts: the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the symbol's tangible image, and the signified is the concept understood by that image. In relation to the associative relation of the color red, one of the most common associations links red to the color of blood. Here, red acts as the visual signifier, while blood is the signified. Yet, blood has more meaning than simply the red liquid that flows through the body, for it, too, is a signifier. If "blood" functions as the signifier, then what concept does it represent in the story of *Invisible Man*?

As Saussure writes, "A particular word is like the center of a constellation: it is the point of convergence of a [sic] indefinite number of coordinated terms" ("Nature . . . Sign" 851). Therefore, red also has an indefinite number of related terms, one being genetic material. Blood serves as one of the richest sources of genetic material. For example, blood type, an inherited trait, is determined by agglutinogens attached to the surface of red blood cells. And, white blood cells have an organelle called the nucleus that contains one's DNA—the blueprint of one's composition (Bell). Ancestry gives more than genetic traits: shared histories with family, places of origin, practices and traditions, heirlooms and properties, common language, and habits are components that create a shared culture. The environmental impact of one's genealogy makes inheritance, within itself, multifactorial, incorporating genetics as well as experience. Hence, one's genealogy follows in this associative chain. The code of genealogy links the individual through blood to "... a family, group, or person from an ancestor or ancestors; lineage; pedigree" (King, Mulligan, Stansfield).

Traits pass down from generation to generation and often express themselves in a person's phenotype. For example, the invisible man, having ginger-colored skin, makes him light enough to indicate possible race-mixing and the possibility of having White ancestry but a definite indicator of African heritage. A person's physical ancestors form the fundamental basis of a descendant's genetic structure. Cultural ancestors pass down more than biological traits. This prompts the last code in this associative series example: identity. The depth of the protagonist's identity bolsters itself in more than his ginger-colored skin or any other superficial feature (although these are still factors). His lack of comradery with the other fighters, his eloquent speech, his desire to please and impress the White male elite, and more, as the story continues, factor into his understanding and making of self. The invisible man recounts throughout the text his difficulty with balancing the understanding of his identity to outsiders within certain social groups and his own intimate understanding of identity.

While "identity" *can* signify "blood," it does not fully explain the concept in context. The invisible man's battle with his identity acts as the major conflict that moves the story along. Still, this explanation remains too general. What part of the invisible man's identity causes his intra- and interpersonal problems? The word "identity" moves from general to specific by applying cultural allusions from the text in order to determine a more precise signified. This first move from general to specific occurs in the Battle Royal scene.

Before delivering his graduation speech to the hegemonic assembly of his townsfolk, the invisible man agrees to first fight blindfolded against other blindfolded Black boys from his community. One of the audience members notices him among the group of boys and says, "I want to get at that ginger-colored nigger. Tear him limb from limb" (Ellison 21). Despite his light complexion, the White audience member still classifies the invisible man using a racial epithet. As the idiom *blood will tell* denotes, "family characteristics cannot be concealed" (Ayto). Dr. Yaba Blay provides this history lesson in discussing the content of her book *(1)ne Drop: Shifting the Lens on Race*:

In the United States, a Black person has come to be defined as any person with any known Black ancestry. Statutorily referred to as "the rule of hypodescent," this definition of Blackness is more popularly known as the "one-drop rule," meaning that one solitary drop of Black blood is enough to render a person Black. Said differently, the one-drop rule holds that a person with any trace of Black ancestry, however small or (in)visible, cannot be considered White.

In a later scene, the Liberty paint factory boss asks the invisible man to mix white paint using drops of black dope, comparable symbolically to drops of Black blood. This episode elucidates the metaphor of blood seen in the Battle Royal. During the Battle Royal, the factor that places the invisible man inside the ring with the other Black boys (one of whom he devalues and calls a clown) rather than outside of the ring with his audience is his blood. Despite his brighter skin, his Black features still mark him. This slight yet unmistakable Blackness makes him worthy of mistreatment equal to that shown to the darker boys who fight in the ring.

Another idiom, *in your blood*, also integrates blood and identity. This idiom refers to something "ingrained in or fundamental to your character" (Ayto). The invisible man implies to readers that what follows the Prologue will aid them in understanding what causes brought him to his underground existence: "What did *I* do to be so blue?" (Ellison 14). What thing existing in his blood, ingrained in him, makes him invisible in society and so despondent with his state of living?

Because the Prologue, referenced above, temporally places readers in the protagonist's present, this beginning provides the insight to answer the invisible man's question of "what did *I* do?" In the Prologue, the invisible man recalls a time when he was "tripping" on marijuana and imagined a Black Southern preacher delivering a sermon entitled the "Blackness of Blackness" to a responsive congregation. The preacher says, "Now Black is . . ." and the congregation responds, "Bloody . . ." If Black is bloody, then Blackness correlates as the unidentified "fundamental" characteristic of the idiom *in your blood* within this context. "Black will make you . . . or black will un-make you," says the preacher (Ellison 9–10). The vision refers to the invisible man's blood, his Blackness, and the making of his identity.

In his recorded reflections, the invisible man uses this perspective from the dream in order to understand the making, unmaking, and remaking of his identity. As displayed in the Battle Royal scene, blood "makes" the invisible man and it "unmakes" him. It makes him by identifying him as a sub-altern, a person without authority within this specific social group (hence the White men degrade and objectify him by calling him "nigger" instead of calling him by his name, his title of student, or anything else that could be deemed as respectable). The spilling of his blood also "unmakes" him. Falling from a final blow to the head, the invisible man sees red, associating him with losing but also with struggling with his personal desires to be an educated Black man and respected by the dominant White class. But it once again *remakes* the protagonist. This crucial scene serves as an

awakening—it allows the invisible man to understand the social constructs of being a Black man in America.

While these associative relations examined above provide evidence of “Blackness” being the signified for the signifier “blood,” such relations are infinite. Therefore, the following syntagmatic relations are examined to provide more restrictive evidence. The syntagms examined are the idioms *in your blood* and *blood will tell*. These chains are fixed in mental links to ideas about identity. Within the context of *Invisible Man*, they specifically refer to being identified through Blackness, providing sounder support for the asserted signifier.

However, “blood” does not simply signify “Blackness” in general but, within the story, the Blackness of the *invisible man*, the Blackness surrounding him, or the lack thereof. Therefore, the blood in the story symbolizes the invisible man’s Blackness. And in the representation of his identity, the invisible man symbolizes the Black man. Reading the sign more critically as interchangeable provides a profound answer to the figurative representation of the character as well. As the invisible man tells the readers in the Prologue, his invisibility is not “exactly a matter of a biochemical accident to my epidermis,” or saying that he is actually invisible: “. . . That occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their *inner* eyes, those eyes which they look through their physical eyes upon reality” (Ellison 3).

This explains why the audience behaves disrespectfully when he delivers his speech after the Battle Royal. The audience’s lack of respect towards the protagonist makes him invisible, a subject without authority, because their ideology promotes the prejudices and injustices of society. The audience of white elite “talked and laughed, as though deaf with cotton in dirty ears” because, as a Black man, the invisible man is too socially insignificant to be seen or heard, making his presentation also trivial and perceived as only another source of Black entertainment in their eyes. All the while, though, the invisible man swallows his blood, which fills his mouth because of the injuries he received from the Battle Royal. His Blackness unmakes him based on the ideology of the audience into a person of inconsequence, but it also remakes him. “The room filled with the uproar of laughter until no doubt distracted by having to gulp down my blood, I made a mistake and yelled a phrase I had often seen denounced in newspaper editorials, heard debated in private. ‘Social . . . equality—.’ The laughter hung smokelike in the sudden stillness” (31). At this time, the invisible man finally has his audience’s attention, their eyes and ears. Speaking about “social responsibility” only maintains his status of invisibility in front of the crowd and as a Black man

in society, keeping the White elites comfortable and relaxed in an environment of their social normativity. When swallowing blood causes the invisible man to mistakenly replace “social responsibility” with “social equality,” the invisible man challenges the social structure, challenging the authority of the Whites and confronting the issue of his figurative invisibility, removing the Whites from their comfort zone and calling them out on their ideology.

“Should I try to win against the voice out there?” asks the invisible man to himself. Should he allow himself to speak out against the forces of power using, naming, and abusing him and reclaim his identity? Or, as Ellison writes, “Was this not a moment for humility, for nonresistance?” (25). The protagonist reflects that, even as a youth, he struggled with his subaltern status. The shedding and swallowing of his blood causes him to recognize his invisibility and decide to reclaim his identity, even if just for this moment. The blow to his head that made him see red, see his blood, and recognize his Blackness, settled this dilemma.

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Hair Cortisol Concentrations in the Brown-throated Sloth (*Bradypus variegatus*) and Hoffmann's Two-toed Sloth (*Choloepus hoffmanni*)

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Megan Nathan is a twenty-two-year-old California native with a degree in biological sciences at the University of Southern California. Megan's interest in ecology was first sparked via family camping trips in the Sierra Nevada mountains. She is an avid backpacker and was a guide in her university's outdoors club. She has traveled to over twenty countries, including Australia and New Zealand, where she studied during her sophomore and senior years of college. Megan is a USC Trustee Scholar, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, a Mellon Mays Scholar, a Gold Family Scholar, and has been on the Dean's list all four years of university. Megan recently graduated magna cum laude and intends to enter a genetics master's program in the fall. However, before that, she will backpack the entire John Muir Trail, travel to Israel, and enjoy a four-month road trip exploring various U.S. national parks!

This article was written under the supervision of her advisor, Professor Gerald J. Bakus. This paper is dedicated to Dr. Bakus, who passed away this past summer.

Abstract

Chronic stress is believed to decrease organism vitality, thus it is desirable for wildlife rehabilitation centers to minimize unnecessary stress. Hair cortisol concentration has been validated as a measure of long-term stress in mammals. This study measured hair cortisol levels in the brown-throated sloth (*Bradypus variegatus*) and Hoffmann's two-toed sloth (*Choloepus hoffmanni*). In June of 2013, hair was collected from five sloths of each species in Costa Rica. Hair cortisol concentrations were measured using methods based on Davenport et al. (2006) and Macbeth et al. (2010). *Choloepus hoffmanni* was found to have an average hair cortisol concentration of 0.2051 ± 0.004779 ng/mg (mean \pm SEM), and *Bradypus variegatus* was found to have an average hair cortisol concentration of 0.01054 ± 0.0001 ng/mg (mean \pm SEM). The difference between species was found to be highly significant ($P \leq 0.0001$). The dissimilar cortisol levels may be related to the species' different propensities for aggression (whether this is a cause or effect relationship is unknown), their different diets in captivity, or differences in territoriality. It is recommended that future studies measure hair cortisol concentrations in wild sloths and investigate which, if any, of these proposals are true.

Introduction

The stress response is an evolutionarily conserved process in vertebrates (Reeder and Kramer, 2005). It is controlled by the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis and allows organisms to react to changes in their environments (McEwen and Wingfield, 2003). Glucocorticoids—

cortisol being the primary glucocorticoid in most mammals—are released from the adrenal cortex when stimuli that threaten homeostasis are detected by higher brain centers (Habib et al., 2001; Staufenbiel et al., 2013).

Secreted cortisol has been successfully measured in the plasma, saliva, urine, and feces of many species (Millsbaugh et al., 2002; Cattet et al., 2003; Constable et al., 2006; Keay et al., 2006). However, the cortisol levels obtained via these media vary and only reflect short-term stress levels—meaning individuals must be repeatedly sampled to measure long-term stress (Staufenbiel et al., 2013). Conversely, hair is believed to incorporate cortisol into its shaft in direct proportion to the hormone's free concentration in the blood (Davenport et al., 2006; Pragst and Balikova 2006). Thus, hair cortisol concentration (HCC) should more accurately portray long-term HPA activity levels than the previously mentioned media.

Long-term stress, characterized as stress occurring for weeks to months, is thought to lead to immunosuppressive, antireproductive, and antigrowth effects (Charmandari et al., 2005). Thus, chronic stress is considered especially detrimental to organism vitality. As such, it is an important consideration for the treatment of mammals in captivity, especially the treatment of those residing in wildlife rehabilitation centers.

There is currently no information on *C. hoffmanni* or *B. variegatus* cortisol levels. However, data on each species' average HCC would be valuable for a number of reasons. Outside of captivity, HCC tests could be used to appraise each species' risk of endangerment and population decline. Additionally, once basal ranges are determined, HCC could provide feedback on general organism vitality and serve a diagnostic purpose in determining appropriate treatment in captivity. Sloths that enter eco-sanctuaries do so because they have experienced a recent traumatic event (e.g., electrocution by telephone wires, abandonment, or broken limbs). Since patients have already endured substantial trauma, it is particularly important that stress be minimized in rehabilitation centers. Further, hair cortisol concentration measurements would allow quantitative assessments of the effects of different captive environments on stress levels and, thus, would help rehabilitation centers to optimize facility conditions. However, it is impossible to implement any of these suggestions without knowledge of each species' average HCC.

This study endeavors to measure HCC in *B. variegatus* and *C. hoffmanni*. Although sloth cortisol levels have never been measured, past studies have found the blood pressure of *B. variegatus* to be higher than that of *C. hoffmanni* (Duarte et al., 2007; Haneley et al., 2008; Kinney et al.,

2013). A positive correlation between stress and blood pressure has been demonstrated in a number of studies (i.e., Henry and Cassel, 1969; Bobrovskaya et al., 2013). Thus, it is hypothesized that *B. variegatus* will have a higher HCC than *C. hoffmanni*.

Materials and Methods

Collection Site Conditions, Methods of Collection, and Sample Storage

Hair was collected from five individuals from each species in June of 2013, at sloth eco-sanctuaries in Costa Rica. Sloths sampled were housed in adjacent outdoor cages made of mesh wire and approximately 3 m³ in size. Members of the different species were housed in cages clustered together, and all individuals had views of other captive sloths. Sloths were fed twice daily. *Bradypus variegatus* was fed a diet of raw green beans and almond leaves, whereas *C. hoffmanni* consumed almond leaves, raw green beans, sliced green mango, boiled carrots, boiled Costa Rican sweet potatoes, Chayote, hibiscus flowers, and soggy dog food.

Past studies have demonstrated that HCC varies among body regions, thus hair was consistently collected from each individual's shoulder. Variation in animal age, sex, and hair color were not accounted for, because past studies have demonstrated they do not affect HCC (Macbeth et al., 2010). Hair was collected by shaving close to the skin with electric clippers. The amount of hair collected ranged from 30.0 mg to 140.0 mg. Samples were stored in dry paper envelopes at room temperature in the dark for nine months. Past studies have demonstrated that HCC is not altered by laboratory storage of less than one year (Macbeth et al., 2010).

Sample Preparation

The methods of HCC measurement used in this study were based on Davenport et al. (2006) and Macbeth et al. (2010). The surface of hair may be covered by a variety of cortisol containing media, including blood, feces, urine, and saliva. Further, it is believed that the number of washes sufficient to remove surface contaminants varies by species (Macbeth et al., 2010). Wash kinetics were studied in two samples randomly selected from each species—half of each selected sample was used in the wash kinetics experiment, and the remaining half was set aside for HCC measurement. Selected samples were washed nine times with 0.04 mL methanol/mg hair for 3 min./wash. The amount of cortisol in each wash was measured. External contaminants were considered sufficiently removed when wash cortisol concentration dropped below the limit of the detection assay. If the cortisol concentration in successive washes rose above the detection limit, after having previously been

below it, it was assumed the hair shaft had been penetrated (Kidwell and Smith, 2007).

A wash procedure of five methanol washes using 0.04 mL methanol/mg hair for three min./wash on a slow rotator was used. Methanol solutions were changed, and hair samples were blotted between washings. The clean hair samples were placed in plastic dishes and allowed to air dry at room temperature for three days. Washed hair samples were ground for three minutes using a coffee grinder. Ground samples were stored in 1.5 mL plastic vials at room temperature in the dark.

Steroid Extraction and Measurement

Ground samples were immersed in 1.0 mL of high-resolution gas chromatography grade methanol and gently vortexed (10 s). Samples were placed on a slow spinning rotator (24 h) for steroid extraction. Samples were centrifuged (15 min. at 4,500 rev./min. at 20°C), and the supernatant was collected then transferred to 12mm glass test tubes. To ensure all extracted steroids were recovered, hair samples were rinsed with 0.5 mL of fresh methanol, gently vortexed (40 s), centrifuged (15 min. at 4,500 rev./min. at 20°C), and the second supernatant was collected. This procedure was repeated twice for a total of three collections.

The pooled supernatants were dried at 60°C. Steroids were concentrated at the bottom of test tubes by rinsing the sides with five consecutive methanol washes (0.4, 0.3, 0.2, 0.18, and 0.15 mL). Samples were dried at 60°C between washings.

Samples were reconstituted in 0.2 mL of phosphate buffer (12 h at 4°C) in the dark. The reconstituted samples were gently vortexed (40 s) and transferred to 1.5 mL plastic vials. To remove any remaining particulates, samples were centrifuged (15 min at 4,500 rev./min. at 20°C). Duplicate 50 µL aliquots of extract were analyzed using an enzyme-linked immunoassay kit (Oxford EA-65 Cortisol EIA kit; Oxford Biomedical, Lansing, Michigan).

Data analysis

A simple linear regression, with logarithmic transformations, was used to assess the relationship between hair extracts and cortisol standards provided in the EIA kit. Raw data for HCC were winsorized (20%) and bootstrapped (n = 500). A parametric one-way ANOVA was performed with a level of significance set at $P \leq 0.05$.

Results

The results of this study are presented in Figure 1. *Choloepus hoffmanni* was found to have an average HCC of

0.2051 ± 0.004779 ng/mg (mean ± SEM). *Bradypus variegatus* was found to have an average HCC of 0.01054 ± 0.0001 ng/mg (mean ± SEM). The difference was found to be highly significant (parametric one-way ANOVA, $P \leq 0.0001$).

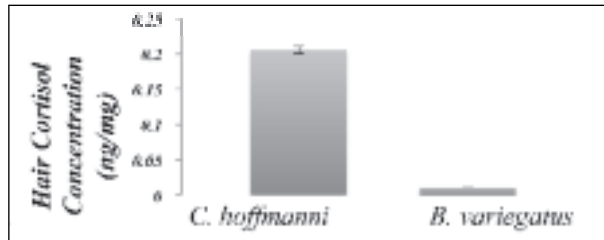


Figure 1. Average HCC by species. *C. hoffmanni* was found to have a significantly higher average HCC than *B. variegatus*. Error bars represent standard errors.

Discussion

Contrary to the initial hypothesis, *C. hoffmanni* was found to have a significantly higher HCC than *B. variegatus*. There are a number of potential explanations for this difference.

First, it is possible that *C. hoffmanni* has an intrinsically higher HCC than *B. variegatus*, and this relationship is unaffected by captive conditions. *Choloepus hoffmanni* is known to be aggressive and will hiss, bare teeth, and thrash with its claws when disturbed (Enders and Davis, 1936; Britton, 1941; Hill and Tenney, 1974). Since much of the neurocircuitry for aggression and stress overlap, there is an accepted connection between the two (Summers and Winberg, 2006). Thus, HCC may be inherently higher in *C. hoffmanni* due to their aggressive nature. Conversely, a higher HCC may lead to the more aggressive behaviors displayed by *C. hoffmanni*. Future studies are recommended to test these theories and measure HCC in wild sloths.

The potential for *C. hoffmanni*'s aggressive nature leading to higher HCC (or vice versa) is in contrast to the higher blood pressures previously noted in *B. variegatus* and predicted to result in higher HCCs. Adding to the confounding nature of this relationship, there is evidence for a positive association between anger level and blood pressure (Starmer and Peters, 2004). However, blood pressure is not only affected by anger. Diet, age, kidney disease, tumors, weight, level of physical activity, and, as noted, stress have been shown to affect blood pressure (WebMD, 2014). It is possible that the connection between aggression and stress is stronger than the connection between stress and high blood pressure resulting from sources not related to aggression. Future studies are advised to investigate this relationship.

Assuming captivity affects HCC, the higher level in *C. hoffmanni* could indicate that the eco-sanctuaries are designed less optimally for *C. hoffmanni* than *B. variegatus*. Although all sloths are typically solitary mammals (the exception being mothers with dependent young), male two-toed sloths have been noted to display territoriality (Britton, 1941; Peery and Pauli, 2012). Thus, it is possible that the close proximity to others, inherent to the nature of captivity, is more stressful for *C. hoffmanni*. Future studies are recommended to compare HCC measured in captive sloths located adjacent to, or in sight of, other sloths, with HCC measured in captive sloths in isolation and HCC measured in wild sloths. Although past studies have claimed HCC is unaffected by gender, future studies should investigate if HCC is higher in more territorial males (Macbeth et al., 2010).

A link between nutrition and stress has long been established (Howell and Loeb, 1969). One major difference in the captive conditions of the two species was diet. Notably, *B. variegatus* was fed green beans and almond leaves, as they appear in the wild—raw. Conversely, *C. hoffmanni*'s diet included boiled vegetables and soggy dog food, neither of which reflect their diet in the wild. Thus, it is possible that an unnatural diet contributed to higher HCC in *C. hoffmanni*. Future studies are recommended to determine if different diets affect HCC in captive sloths.

Hair cortisol concentration is believed to provide an integrated estimate of long-term stress. Since organism vitality is significantly impacted by stress, knowledge of HCC has useful applications for monitoring an individual's condition. It is hoped that the preliminary data on HCC in *B. variegatus* and *C. hoffmanni* provided in this paper will help to generate protocol to maximize each species' vitality, both in captivity and in the wild.

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Transgressive Bodies: Racial Passing as Subversion in *Imitation of Life* and *X-Men*

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Krystal is a recent graduate of Bryn Mawr College, where she received her BA in English under the guidance of Professor Linda Susan Beard. While she is interested in the phenomenon of passing, her work specifically examines the narrative around racial passing and ways it can be reconceptualized. She plans to attend graduate school, where she hopes to expand her research on racial passing.

Abstract

This research challenges the conception of passing as betrayal, and instead pictures it as a transgressive act that simultaneously brings to light lingering social ills and undermines the systems that keep these ills in place. By conducting a deconstructed reading of Fannie Hurst's *Imitation of Life* and Marvel's *X-Men* using a psychoanalytical lens, this research attempts to understand how passing is set up as an act of treason and as an escape, and how it exposes the fractures in the seemingly post-racial world.

In his review of Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929), W.E.B. Du Bois said that while Larsen wrote "one of the finest novels . . . if it did not treat a forbidden subject . . . it would have an excellent chance to be hailed . . . as it is, it will probably be given the silence, with only the commendation of word of mouth" (Du Bois 1929). Du Bois takes issue with the depiction of passing, stating that it "is all a petty, silly matter of no real importance which another generation will comprehend with great difficulty" (521). Du Bois believed that our cultural fascination with the sensationalism of passing would fade; almost a century later, however, narratives about passing remain a global obsession. Passing is frequently depicted as an act of deception and betrayal, a selfish desire that drives one to abandon his or her loved ones and lived histories in order to attain a better life. However, it is this view that hinders the ways in which passing should also be read as a transgressive, revolutionary, and progressive act. While morality remains at the center of much of the discourse, little time is spent looking at how passing brings to light the immorality of the spaces we inhabit or leave behind or its uncanny ability to erode society's unjust rule. In a world that is considered post-racial, those who live in the margins and who are able to occupy multiple racial and ethnic worlds often mark the limits of cultural tolerance. Passing is a drama about the existence, injustice, and hypocrisy of binaries.

To argue this, I will compare Fannie Hurst's *Imitation of Life*, its film adaptations, and Marvel's *X-Men* as representative examples of the revolutionary act of passing. These works complicate and challenge the lenses that equate passing with treason and betrayal rather than something that

points out the lingering social ills that still exist and frame our lives. Thought of as an overwrought melodrama by critics such as Sterling Allen Brown, *Imitation of Life* documents the despair and destruction triggered by passing. However, it is also a story in which characters constantly contradict their statements on race relations and in which the protagonist's own passage is relegated to the shadows, while Peola, a minor character throughout most of the novel's arc, is suddenly thrust center stage. Deconstructing *Imitation of Life* allows for an alternative reading that sees Peola's betrayal as one of liberation and as one that asks the reader to struggle over why a woman who is not white has to risk her life for a fraction of the benefits liberally given to others.

Although at first glance *X-Men* appears to be an odd choice, an argument can be made that it also works as a kind of *Imitation of Life*, where the reader recognizes the injustices playing out in front of him or her and must grapple with that oppression. The *X-Men* universe is divided amongst human and mutant lines; humanoid mutants can assimilate or hide their own powers in hopes of being seen as non-threatening. However, this universe is also inhabited by mutants who are visually different and for whom the choice to assimilate is impossible because they so perfectly embody the physical manifestation of the "other." The world in this universe may not be as obviously engaged with passing, but the relationship with humans and mutants remains structured by the phenomenon. Humans may be repulsed by the visual otherness of mutants like Beast and Nightcrawler, who have to carve out a space for themselves in a world where they lack mobility, but at the core of anti-mutant sentiment is the fear of those who have the ability to pass: mutants who look and act just like humans but are different.

While these two texts belong to different genres, each work challenges our conceptions of passing by asking the reader to understand the passer and question why people still feel the need to take these journeys. These narratives are more than shock value; they question the physical reality of passing and point out that this process works only because of the way society categorizes and assigns value to bodies.

In *Imitation of Life*, Peola is the embodiment of a transgressor. She refuses to accept the life she is handed and attempts to pass whenever she is able to, not out of the belief that being white is better but that her mobility is limited by being black. She asks those around her why they are so invested in patrolling her identity and her body. *X-Men* reveals that superheroes, too, must pass. Like the body of Peola, they possess bodies that are read and assigned value. However, their mere existence shatters, rather than fractures, the schemas established. The *X-Men* universe is full of people who physically change their appearance and hide

their otherness to be allowed to fulfill their desires. By using their bodies in such a way, they, too, are able to transgress the very systems that do not allow them to live normal lives.

These works also insist that bodies are situated in schemas, which are the intersection and culmination of a distinct time and location. Frantz Fanon refers to what I call a schema as the historico-racial schema which he defines as “a composition of . . . self as a body in the middle of a special and temporal world . . . it does not impose itself . . . it is rather a definitive structuring of the self and of the world—definitive because it creates a dialectic between my body and the world” (Fanon 1952 111). Fanon contextualizes this in a traumatic moment he experienced when the schema he had been occupying—in this case, a train where he was sitting down innocently—suddenly ruptured and changed on him, when a young boy looked at him and shouted, “Look, a Negro!” Fanon documents the feeling of reforming and reshaping to fit this new space, when his blackness became something those around him pretended did not exist but managed to be keenly aware of. The definition of schema I use here is a distillation of Fanon’s. I believe that schema determines the worth of a body based on what categories (race, gender, nationality, sexuality) and values it holds. The way a body is perceived and assigned worth changes according to the changes in the schema, as what is considered valuable is *conditional* and fluid. Again, this realization cuts across genres: The comedian Louis C.K. in one of his most popular sketches, provides a counterexample: “I could get in a time machine and go to any time, and it would be . . . awesome when I get there! That is exclusively a white privilege . . . A black guy in a time machine . . . before 1980, no thank you . . . But I can go to any time . . . It is great, and I’m a man. How many advantages can one person have?” (Chewed Up 2008 YouTube). Across time and space, whiteness and maleness are often recognized as valuable and good. Here, Louis C.K. recognizes the way his body has value and worth in ways that the bodies of people of color have never had extended to them. It must be recognized that there is not a singular entity or institution responsible for this; rather, the assignment of value is maintained, carefully guarded, and perpetuated by people.

In order to understand passing, one must understand that it depends on markers society keeps in place, and these markers are manmade. They are not intuitive, although they are often internalized. The passer must be attuned to the world around him or her. The person needs to be conscious of the body and the way it exists in the world. To pass requires more than a person or group of people to pretend to be a part of another group. Passing is both a passive and active action. On a fundamental level, passing inherently complicates our views of identity. It is the one who passes who simultaneously embraces and rejects the binaries

through which bodies are read and assigned value. This can only be done through understanding how particular bodies are perceived and how other bodies are perceived in comparison. It is the awareness of the body and the meanings encoded in it that allow the passer to make a conscious decision to turn the schema against those who keep it in place and subsequently breach the system by using his or her body against it. The passer complicates the ways we read physical markers. In part, it is a deceptive act. But it is also counteractive—a way to expose the ugly parts of society. It is an act of defiant agency. The passer subverts the boundaries that reinforce hierarchies and oppression. To read it solely as an act of betrayal is limiting. Passing transgresses the confines we are all placed in.

Lastly, it must be understood that these markers change depending on the space in which the body is located. This awareness, according to Fanon, stems from his historico-racial schema and is called third-person consciousness. Third-person consciousness is an awareness of one’s body, the ways one’s body can be read, and how other bodies are read in comparison. Simply put, a third-person consciousness is a perspective in which a person is not only aware of his or her bodily difference but the ways it exists in multiple spaces. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon writes that third-person consciousness emerges when the reading of the body and the way one views his or her own body in time and space is disrupted or fractured. This fracture is triggered by realizing that the simulacra is not the simulacrum. This means that the image you have been told is you is in reality a copy attempting to stand in for the original—a distillation of your true self. (bell hooks, similarly, discusses this in *Black Looks* when she talks about a moment of recognition she had when she realized that the dominant images of black people on the screen were poor, stereotypical distillations of black people and did not reflect who she or her community actually were). This fracture also occurs when one sees the way his or her body is looked at/perceived and recognizes the lens that is being used to evaluate and determine the worth of his or her body. Passing both disrupts these readings by challenging these categories and confusing the gaze that evaluates based off of visual signifiers. Yet, it cannot exist without them, as in order to pass there needs to be fixed locations, in this case pure racial categories to pass to and from. It is these complexities and nuances that appear throughout *Imitation of Life* and the *X-Men* universe.

This thesis is grounded in Homi Bhabha’s discussion of the concepts hybridity and “third person” in his work *The Location of Culture* (1991). What I have noticed in *Imitation of Life* and *X-Men* is this insistence that there are people whose existences fracture and further complicate the binaries that structure the world we live in. It is these people who

challenge the idea of a singular identity or culture. Bhabha writes:

My stand on the shifting margins of cultural displacement [is one] that confounds any profound or 'authentic' sense of a 'national' culture . . . and ask[s] what the function of a committed theoretical perspective might be, once the cultural and historical hybridity of the postcolonial world is taken as the paradigmatic place of departure. (2381)

Those who are incapable or unwilling to be placed into binaries often suffer at the cost of maintaining these narrow and exclusionary spaces. It is difficult to see *Imitation of Life* and *X-Men* as world-building texts, but I believe they exemplify the necessity for a hybrid world—not simply one that tolerates difference but one structured around all lived experiences. I am invested in exploring passing as something that necessitates hybridity, as passing cannot exist without it and liminality. Liminality is conceptualized as an “interstitial passage between fixed identifications [that] opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy” (Liminality 2014 1). Passing is simultaneously a state of movement, an indeterminate and transitory space, and exemplary of the fractures that hybridity triggers. Choosing to look at these definitions of liminality and hybridity as a kind of framework to examine the phenomena of passing, I claim that passing is a transgressive and subversive act because it highlights the ruptures in our understanding of race and contests post-racial narratives. It challenges the neat binaries set up in society by pointing out the existence of an object/place/body that does not solely conform to one category or another and thus eschews the dominant conventions.

In this thesis, the passing body is conceptualized as a kind of “third person,” someone who occupies multiple spaces and whose presence works to reject and subvert the structure of the world. Historically, the passer has been criticized for his/her decision to pass, and in many melodrama and tragic mulatta narratives, the inevitable tragic end is both sorrowful and justified. The passer is simultaneously the perpetrator and the victim. However, by blaming the passer, the role society and people play in reinforcing the systems that oppress people goes unnoticed. Blaming the passer creates a culture of silence. It is easy to blame the passer and situate his/her actions in language that evokes fierce emotional reactions, and it is just as easy to look at racial passing (in particular, black-to-white passing) as a desire for whiteness and a rejection of blackness. However, it is far harder to interrogate the ways in which societies create, maintain, and perpetuate systems of oppression.

Thinking about passing becomes even more important when we realize that it exists because society still clings to the idea that pure racial and ethnic categories exist. The passing body forces society to recognize that the markers used to categorize and prescribe worth to people are not just artificial, they are alienating. The contemporary post-racial narrative proclaims that “race no longer matters”; however, the presence of those who live within that space of hybridity and choose to pass between them causes anxiety, an anxiety rooted in the knowledge that what are distinct, racial boundaries are constantly, unknowingly transgressed by those who do not belong there. I aim to conceptualize the body of the passer as a kind of third person, someone who occupies multiple spaces and whose presence works to reject and subvert the ways the world is structured. Bhabha begins to conceptualize the “Third Person” as a “representative of the people.” This Third Person “opens up a space of translation, a place of hybridity . . . where the construction of a political object that is neither the one nor the other” (2381). The person who occupies this space sits both in opposition and relation to the dichotomies and binaries that exist, simultaneously avoiding, embracing, and replacing the binaries that are used to structure the world. This person’s existence “destabilizes [colonialism’s] claim [of] absolute authority or . . . authenticity” (Beya 2). Although Bhabha’s piece discusses issues that deal with more than identity, I apply many of the concepts he used here to how I think about passing overall. Passing remains current because it is integral to the way society runs. We all pass every day, whether it is pretending to be of a different religion, nationality, class, or something far less innocuous. In everyday occurrences, we code-switch and adopt certain mannerisms and markers associated with a particular identity in order to position or align ourselves in certain ways. Racial passing complicates conceptions of race, identity, and the body.

Through challenging the conception of passing as an act of betrayal, we can begin to complicate narratives of passing and see its potential to bring to light lingering social ills and undermine the systems that keep them in place. Understanding how passing is set up as an act of treason and as an escape adds much needed nuance to the discourse on passing. Although graphic narratives and melodramas share little in common, they lend varied depictions of passing that are missed when exclusively discussing one over the other. However, it is important to understand the ways in which the world of *Imitation of Life* and the *X-Men* universe coincide. What is achieved by looking exclusively at these two seemingly unrelated worlds? The construction of these universes needs to be better understood in order to face the challenges of race and identity that we all confront today.

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The Teleology of Interiority in “Sonny’s Blues”

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Abstract

James Baldwin’s 1957 short story “Sonny’s Blues” deals first and foremost with the broken relationship between two brothers: the story’s narrator and the eponymous character, Sonny. But, through a combination of first-person narration and manifestations of body language, Baldwin delves beneath the everyday lives of his characters, revealing the depth and richness of their interiors. Using scholar Kevin Quashie’s theory of interiority in the black subject, this paper examines representations of interiority in “Sonny’s Blues,” particularly in regard to their narratologic functions in the text. In doing so, it demonstrates the ways in which the brothers’ awareness of their interior lives serves to bridge the emotional gap between them.

In the culminating scene of James Baldwin’s short story “Sonny’s Blues,” the narrator declares:

All I know about music is that not many people ever really hear it. And even then, on the rare occasions when something opens within, and the music enters, what we mainly hear, or hear corroborated, are personal, private, vanishing evocations. But the man who creates the music is hearing something else. . . . What is evoked in him, then, is of another order, more terrible because it has no words. (Baldwin 83)

These references to “evocations” and something wordless “opening within” allude to a broader narratological concept in the story: that of interiority, or a character’s “inner life or psychological existence” (Merriam-Webster). Written as the interior monologue of a first-person limited omniscient narrator, “Sonny’s Blues” works throughout its narrative to articulate the full range of emotions present in its characters’ inner lives through the divulgements and observations of its narrator. This is to say that the reader is at once privy to the narrator’s interior as well as his conclusions regarding the interiors of his fellow characters.

“Sonny’s Blues” is undeniably replete with representations of interiority in its characters, and it is this device on which I will focus. However, as cultural theorist Kevin Quashie notes in his most recent work, *The Sovereignty of Quiet*, “The interior is not really discursive—it cannot be represented fully (or even fully accessed) and is largely indescribable” (Quashie 21). For this reason, our understanding

of interiority in “Sonny’s Blues” comes from alternate channels: though there are moments of verbalized interiority, one finds the device most plainly in body language and musical performances, such as the instance of “evocations” in which music is the articulation of interiority that the audience works to comprehend. This method of expressing interiority is underscored by Quashie’s observation that “the interior is mostly known through language or behavior, through exterior manifestations, and is therefore hard to know on its own terms” (Quashie 22). To that end, I intend to examine concrete examples of interiority within “Sonny’s Blues,” particularly as it concerns the narrator and his brother, Sonny, using the theoretical framework put forth in *The Sovereignty of Quiet*. In doing so, I will demonstrate how “Sonny’s Blues” functions as a story of interiority and the ways in which the inner life is used to complicate or shape communication between narrator and audience as well as between the story’s own characters.

Scholars of literature have historically grappled with defining the interior, particularly with defining it as distinct from the exterior, a debate perhaps best synthesized in the essay collection *Interiors: Interiority/Exteriority in Literary and Cultural Discourse*. In the introduction to this collection, editors Sonia Front and Katarzyna Nowak posit, “It is the bodily dimension that provides the scope of vision and hence the point of reference, that at the same time necessitates and enables drawing the borders of the interior versus the exterior” (Front and Nowak xiii). This statement essentially reiterates Quashie’s note of clarification that “the interior is not . . . an exact antonym for exterior. Instead, the interior shifts in regard to life’s stimuli” (Quashie 21). Taking this relationship into consideration, the interior and exterior can be distinguished in two key ways: (1) The exterior has a defined, public, and corporeal shape; and (2) The interior is marked by its expansiveness, emotionality, privacy, and intangibility—though, ultimately, we find they work in tandem. Quashie distinguishes the interior even further as “not to be confused with intentionality or consciousness, since it is something more chaotic than that, more akin to hunger, memory, forgetting, the edges of all the humanness one has” (Quashie 21). In essence, if consciousness denotes the mind’s phenomenological state of awareness, the interior denotes the mind’s emotional inner workings.

Though there is little mention of the inner life in the literature surrounding “Sonny’s Blues,” a scholarly awareness of interiority in Baldwin’s work is not new. Indeed, critic C.W.E. Bigsby noted in his 1979 essay “The Divided Mind of James Baldwin” that “Baldwin’s characters are highly self-conscious, reflecting not only upon their social situation but on the nature of their consciousness itself” (Bigsby 328). Here, Bigsby equates the interior with self-consciousness, or an awareness of one’s self. He, too, argues

for the sovereignty of the interior, remarking that in the case of Baldwin's fictional characters, "Though assailed from within and without by a corrosive mythology"—i.e., the constant menace of institutionalized racism in the United States—"the individual consciousness contains resources entirely adequate to the task of distilling meaning from social chaos" (Bigsby 327). However, while Bigsby promotes the notion of an independent and indomitable inner self, he can also be seen as concurring with a reading of "Sonny's Blues" that focuses on interiority when he observes that Baldwin's "use of the internal monologue itself implies the existence of a . . . self which is apart from and not contained by the externalities which otherwise seem to define the limits of action and character," which Bigsby calls the "functioning imagination" of Baldwin's characters (Bigsby 328). I cite this scholar in particular to demonstrate that, while interiority in and of itself is a "slippery concept" (Quashie 21) subject to as many representations as it is to interpretations, others have noted its presence in Baldwin's work, suggesting that it is a recurring device in his literary corpus.

Bigsby furthermore raises narratological concerns surrounding the narrative's posturing as the interior monologue of an unnamed narrator/protagonist—the sole form of narration in "Sonny's Blues." The narrator's voice is, in Uri Margolin's words, "one general, primary, or global textual narrating voice, such that (a) the text as a whole can be seen as a macro speech act or utterance emanating from that voice, and (b) all textually occurring utterances originating with other speakers are embedded within this macro speech act" (Margolin 354). That is, the narrator—or, in this case, the narrator's interior—is assumed to be an unbiased authority on the events of the story, as his is the sole voice imparting those events, and all dialogue is shared from his supposedly accurate recollections. Implicit in this assumption is a tension between the subjectivity of the interior and the supposed objectivity of the narrator—the use of interior monologue, then, is intended to ease this tension through its implied positioning as the unfiltered perceptions of the narrator.

Interestingly, "Sonny's Blues" plays on this idea of narrative authority through the narrator's stance as the "story-teller, a visible, fictive 'I' who interferes in his/her account as much as s/he likes, or even participates as a character in the action" (Bal 17–18). This stance is expressed through the narrator's running interior monologue beginning in the text's first paragraph—"I read it, and I couldn't believe it, and I read it again" (Baldwin 63). But this stance also raises questions of narrative veracity, as the story begins *in medias res*: "I read about it in the paper, in the subway, on my way to work" (Baldwin 63). While this opening sentence adds a sense of urgency to our reading, it also compels us, who have only just been made aware of this sequence of

events, to rely on the narrator for information, despite unconsciously knowing that his version of events ultimately comes through the filter of his interior. "It," we eventually discover, refers to his brother Sonny's recent arrest for "peddling and using heroin," a crime that has already happened yet was so unforeseeable for the narrator that it "was not to be believed" (Baldwin 64, 63). As the story progresses, the narrator discloses the fact that he is almost completely out of touch with his brother, even going so far as to divulge that he "hadn't wanted to know" (Baldwin 64) about his brother's addiction. With these disclosures the narrator establishes his own limitations as a storyteller early in the text while simultaneously gaining the sympathy of his audience by describing his plight.

Additionally, "Sonny's Blues" is told in the past tense as a series of recollections. For much of the text, rather than interacting with Sonny himself, we are given access to the narrator's personal memories of him. These memories begin with the narrator encountering a nameless childhood friend who acts as a kind of stand-in for Sonny. They are subsequently followed by a memory of Sonny announcing his pursuit of a music career (Baldwin 72); the narrator's wife relating the story of living with Sonny as he learned to play the piano (Baldwin 76); and the narrator's memory of the last time he saw his brother (Baldwin 77). In each case, Sonny looms in the narrative distance as a kind of formless specter infused with each character's fears and concerns. The narrator's fear is in large part derived from the sense that he has failed his brother and is partly responsible for this outcome. Indeed, upon discovering the news of his brother's arrest, the narrator reveals, "I was scared, scared for Sonny. He became real to me again" (Baldwin 63), indicating that he, too, had perceived his brother as a specter but is now forced to acknowledge his existence. These recollections, in addition to the narrator's early disclosure, "I couldn't believe it: but what I mean by that is that I couldn't find any room for it anywhere inside me. I had kept it outside me for a long time" (Baldwin 64), work to demonstrate the notion of a sovereign interior as distinct from the exterior. Here, the exterior functions as a protective barrier for his more vulnerable interior, or his internal reserve of emotions. Moreover, rather than simply reading an explanation of this sequence of events, we are given the opportunity to experience them, creating a sense of intimacy between narrator and audience.

When Sonny finally does enter as a primary character, we assume that the narrator's memories already informed us of the important details of Sonny's life: that he is a convict and a drug addict, that he is the narrator's brother, and that he is a musician (Baldwin 64, 67). This assumption is proven incorrect, however, with the introduction of Sonny's voice in the narrative in the form of a letter,

and we are forced to suspend our presumptive understanding of Sonny because Sonny “becomes real to us” as well. Sonny even shares parts of his own interior life with his brother through his letter, complete with resonances that appear to have their origins in Plato’s *Allegory of the Cave*: “I feel like a man who’s been trying to climb up out of some deep, real deep and funky hole and just saw the sun up there, outside. I got to get outside” (Baldwin 67). Consequently, both the narrator and his audience are reminded that Sonny, too, possesses the “inner reservoir of thoughts, feelings, desires, fears, [and] ambitions that shape a human self” (Quashie 21). Essentially, we are forced to “wonder about Sonny, about the life that Sonny lived inside” (Baldwin 68) while acknowledging that Sonny is more than his problems and that we may not have gotten a full picture from the narrator.

It is with the narrator’s reflection that “when [Sonny] smiled, when we shook hands, the baby brother I’d never known looked out from the depths of his private life” (Baldwin 68) that Sonny’s inner life becomes the main focus of the narrator’s attention for the remainder of the text. When he notes that “Sonny has never been talkative” (Baldwin 69), we come to understand that much of the narrator’s supposed understanding of Sonny comes from Sonny’s exterior motions—such as body language and facial expressions—which the narrator perceives to be articulations of his interior. In a particularly notable scene, Sonny shares with the narrator his desire to pursue a career as a musician, to which the narrator reacts with skepticism. Sonny’s subsequent reply is perceived through a combination of facial expressions and verbal responses:

“No,” he was very sober now, and afraid, perhaps, that he’d hurt me, “I don’t want to be a classical pianist. That isn’t what interests me. I mean”—he paused, looking hard at me, as though his eyes would help me to understand, and then gestured helplessly, as though perhaps his hand would help—“I mean, I’ll have a lot of studying to do, and I’ll have to study *everything*, but, I mean, I want to play *with*—jazz musicians.” He stopped. “I want to play jazz,” he said. (Baldwin 73)

Through this combination of movement and dialogue, Baldwin represents what Quashie calls the “expressiveness of the inner life,” which is “unable to be expressed fully but [is] nonetheless articulate and informing of one’s humanity” (Quashie 24). In this instance, the interior is manifested through bodily gestures: Sonny, with the aid of his eyes and hands, is able to work through his fear of being judged by his brother in order to express his aspirations of a music career.

But while the interior is an expressive agent, it is concurrently difficult to articulate, a difficulty best demonstrated in the story’s penultimate scene. In this scene, Sonny and the narrator reconcile their differences—the narrator having finally disclosed to his audience that “something told me that I should curb my tongue, that Sonny was doing his best to talk, that I should listen” (Baldwin 80) rather than try to interpret Sonny’s words. Sonny, meanwhile, attempts to vocalize his own experiences with emotional pain as they affect his interior:

“It’s terrible sometimes, inside . . . that’s what’s the trouble. You walk these streets, black and funky and cold, and there’s not really a living ass to talk to, and there’s nothing shaking, and there’s no way of getting it out—that storm inside. You can’t talk it and you can’t make love with it, and when you finally try to get with it and play it, you realize nobody’s listening. So you’ve got to listen. You got to find a way to listen.” (Baldwin 81)

In return for deciding to “curb his tongue,” the narrator is given a glimpse into Sonny’s inner life, one characterized by suffering or “that storm inside.” When Sonny announces, “No, there’s no way not to suffer. But you try all kinds of ways to keep from drowning in it,” both the narrator and his audience experience a moment of understanding: that “*Everybody* tries not to [suffer]” and that we are “just hung up on the *way* some people try.” (Baldwin 80)

Sonny’s method of articulating his interior is a key difference between the narrator and Sonny: while Sonny tries to express his own emotional pain through playing jazz, for the narrator, who internalizes his suffering, expression took the form of this interior-centric narrative. The story’s concluding scene, which takes place in a Harlem jazz club, acts as Sonny’s loudest articulation of his inner life. Attempting to reach out, Sonny invites the narrator to his latest performance, where the narrator is introduced to “Sonny’s world. Or, rather: his kingdom” (Baldwin 82), which includes the members of Sonny’s band, namely the bandleader “Creole.” The devices and overall tone used in the narration change dramatically when Sonny’s jazz band begins to perform. As the text becomes filled with metaphorical and figurative language, the prose begins to adopt a new musicality, mirroring the musical performance taking place on the diegetic level. We get the impression that the narrator, by virtue of the language he uses to describe his experience, is likewise being flooded with music: “Then Creole stepped forward to remind them that what they were playing was the blues. He hit something in all of them, he hit something in me, myself, and the music tightened and deepened, apprehension began to beat the air” (Baldwin 84). The narrator’s response to the music exemplifies what Susanna Lee calls “the symbiotic relationship

between music and narrative” in “Sonny’s Blues,” or how “music takes up where narrative leaves off” (Lee 285, 296). That is, music operates as a form of narrative, doing much of the narrator’s work in his recounting of events. Lee adds, “Verbal production and music production are not so much opposed as situated on a continuum. More than this, words and music blend into one another” (Lee 296).

As there is very little dialogue in this scene, much of the action is told through the narrator’s interior and through the narrator’s observations of others’ facial expressions: “Watching Creole’s face as they neared the end of the first set, I had the feeling that something had happened, something I hadn’t heard” (Baldwin 83). However, he simultaneously interprets the music as a kind of language, hearing how “the dry, low, black man said something awful on the drums, Creole answered, and the drums talked back. Then the horn insisted, sweet and high, and Creole listened, commenting now and then, dry, and driving” (Baldwin 84). In conjunction, both facial expressions as well as the music itself work to convey interiority. Finally, when “Sonny’s fingers [fill] the air with life, his life” (Baldwin 84), he is finally able to put a sound to his private life in terms the narrator can understand; he is finally able to give voice to his interior, his blues (Lee 296). “In this sense,” Lee writes, “the movement into the performance serves to underscore that music is a primordial enactment of feeling, a door to the unrepresentable” (Lee 296) (i.e., the interior world).

Though few have written about interiority in James Baldwin’s work, I contend that an interior-centric reading of “Sonny’s Blues” enables readers to appreciate the distance between the narrator and Sonny as well as the journey these characters take to cross it. Moreover, it potentially suggests Baldwin’s authorial attitude toward the inner lives of his characters—that is, for Baldwin’s characters, the interior functions as a louder and more powerful means of expression than words alone. “All I know about music is that not many people ever really hear it,” his narrator declares. “And even then . . . when something opens within, and the music enters, what we mainly hear, or hear corroborated, are personal, private, vanishing evocations” (Baldwin 83). For the narrator, these evocations are just that: personal, private—they are the sounds of Sonny’s interior life, and they engender a much deeper empathy than the narrator had been able to experience prior to hearing them. Music serves as the narrator’s gateway to his brother’s interior. In terms of Sonny, as Quashie concludes in *The Sovereignty of Quiet*, “Every human being has to encounter humility, has to be able to feel and countenance fear—an inner life depends on having an awareness of what it is to feel small and wreckable and desperate (as well as what it is to feel brave, strong, and capable)” (Quashie 122). For Sonny, then, whose inner life is characterized by vulnerability and pain, the interior truly

functions as a “stay against the social world” (Quashie 6). This is the teleology of the interior, where interiority is examined by its function rather than what caused it to exist. For “Sonny’s Blues,” a story entirely told from an interior perspective, the inner life is the point of connection between seemingly dissimilar characters and between narrator and audience.

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Men Ain't Boys: Black Baptist Churches as Free Spaces for the Formation of Black Masculinities

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Brandon Alston recently graduated from Haverford College with a degree in sociology and religion, a concentration in Africana studies, and a minor in gender and sexuality studies. Brandon is passionate about race, gender, class, sexuality, and the intersection of all the aforementioned identity attributes. Growing up in a Black church and observing the way in which the space provided a way for Black men to affirm themselves inspired his current research interests on the relationship between religion and masculinity. He recently completed a summer research fellowship in Ghana, where he studied Ghanaian masculinities in a rural area of Dalun, Ghana. He currently works as a project associate at a research and evaluation corporation in Philadelphia.

Abstract

I engaged in a five-month, historic ethnographic study of seven urban, Black Baptist churches in Philadelphia. Relying on semi-structured interviews and focus groups with participants from the 1970s, I investigated how these seven Black churches influenced the masculine identity formation of seven Black men during the 1970s, a part of the Black consciousness era. It is my contention that during the '70s, male respondents formed portions of their masculinities in relation to their social status and positionality in their churches' organizational structure. These Black churchmen men's ministries were *free spaces* because they were distinctive from the larger American society; Black men aimed to adapt to hegemonic forms of masculinities, including patriarchal masculinities, during the '70s. As a sociopolitical center of numerous Black communities, Black churches played a fundamental role in the formation of Black masculine identity because of the consistent structures and practices which provided a space for some men to ascend to a form of protector, provider, and overall benevolent patriarch.

Introduction

During the Black consciousness era, and the '70s specifically, Black churchmen launched a response to systematic emasculationⁱ with the release of the *Black Declaration of Independence*. As a result, many Black men anticipated being restored to their "rightful" role as head of Black families and communities. Black churches served as *free spaces* for the male participants I interviewed. Specifically, the men's ministries played a fundamental role in the formation of their Black masculine identities because of the consistent space it afforded them. Here, they could abjure the title of "boys" and attain and exercise their manhood in tandem with the hegemonic expectations of manhood—that is, expectations to be a protector and provider.

Methodology

I conducted this historic ethnography as a twenty-two-year-old Black, male, college student from Philadelphia who was raised in a Black church. Thus, I maintained a significant number of insider statuses. However, due to my different denominational background, along with my age, and my positionality as researcher, I was also an outsider. The combination of my statuses rendered participants apprehensive, although after directly stating my goals, some of their fears were mollified. The participants I interviewed attended seven different, medium-sized Black Baptist churches in the Philadelphia area within the National Baptist Convention, which did not officially prohibit the ordainment of women in the '70s. During my data collection period, I interviewed participantsⁱⁱ individually or in a focus group setting with participants who were already acquainted. I interviewed laymen Daniel Wing and Isaiah Campbell together as well as Reverend Black and Reverend Cleaver together. I interviewed all participants at their respective churches in a private setting and asked open-ended questions about their worldviews, perceptions of their manhood or womanhood, their work inside and outside of their churches, and perspective about their lives during the '70s. Field notes were taken throughout each visit as well as recordings. Interviews ranged from thirty minutes to two hours.

I focused on the experiences of nine participants, including four male clergy, two female clergy, a deacon, and two laymen. The clergy members self-identified as American, Black, and lower middle-class. They attended vocational school or some college. Their occupations were: salesperson, mailperson, and retail managers, in the '70s and currently. Conversely, the Deacon and laymen identified as American, Black, and working-class; they were high school graduates with occupations in janitorial, railroad, and carpentry. The names of all participants quoted in the text are pseudonyms to protect their identities. For the purposes of brevity, individual participants' views are presented, which were reflective of the male participants interviewed. The views of the female participants are not the focus of this paper.

Men's Spaces/Ministries:

Free Spaces to Construct Black Manhood

Men's spaces within these Black Baptist churchesⁱⁱⁱ endowed Black men with a space to not only express their solidarity but also to train the next generation of boys to become men. These spaces became lotuses of power within Black churches because they offered pulpit-men^{iv} a space to lead and perform their patriarchal^v masculinities. Pulpit-men then utilized men's spaces and ministries as places in which they could shed the dishonor experienced in what participants referred to as the "white world" and refute the egregious social status of *boyhood*.^{vi}

Participants emphasized the importance of men's ministries, thus the information about them tremendously shaped my research process. Men's ministries were free spaces for Black men to grow and develop a deeper understanding of selfhood, while simultaneously were places for consuming patriarchal ideals. Yet, an individual's social status as preacher, deacon, or layman also negotiated how this was accomplished. I offer a definition of the *free space*^{vii} framework relying on Harry Boyte and Sara Evans, demonstrate how it applies the churches I examined, and present participants' views of men's ministries during the '70s and how the spaces were utilized to refute boyhood for Black men.

Boyte and Evans observe three facets that mediate free spaces: public space, autonomy, and communal roots.^{viii} Along with these features, Black churches possess oppositional identity or racial uplift resources. According to Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham's research on Black Baptist churches, Black churches also serve as *counter-public spaces* for Black Americans, an idea first identified by E. Franklin Frazier when he termed Black churches "surrogate societies" and asserted they represented "a nation within a nation."^{ix}

Boyte and Evans' framework applies to the seven Black churches I studied, since these churches serve as independent public and communal spaces for their congregants. Reverend Arthur Black, acting senior pastor at a local Philadelphia Black Baptist church, characterized his church as a free institution: "Black folks have that free space, and *we* own it."^x He specifically uses "we" to refer to his Black congregation and community, but "we" also indicates the leaders of his congregation as they maintained governance over the space. Additionally, Reverend Black referenced the overt role of racial uplift in his church: "Racial uplift meant that the church was community to make each Black person feel like they were, indeed, somebody—involved and community minded."^{xi} In this way, Reverend Black asserted that church members work assiduously to aver the dignity and humanity of Black communities as well as working on behalf of Black communities. In addition, the oppositional discourse, or what participants referred to as "racial uplift," enabled Black churches to continue as communal spaces in the '70s. Participants articulated similar sentiments about their churches functioning with communal service components supporting organizations, such as Concerned Black Men. These seven Black churches offered free spaces for the formation of positive Black masculinities, contrary to negative stereotypes and images of Black males as indolent or bestial. Churches worked to affirm racially uplifted identity. They maintained their communal roots throughout the '70s at the same time that they encompassed a multiplicity of masculinities.

Within these Black churches, men's spaces were crafted through the dual-political sex system,^{xii} which

marked some roles and spaces for men and others for women. Many of my participants identified men's spaces, such as basements, as communal rooms in their churches. These spaces were thought of by male participants as separate from women's areas, such as the kitchen. Reverend Cleaver best illustrated the dual-political sex system:

"You didn't find any men in the kitchen. You would see the women in their role, and you'd see men in their [respective] roles, fixing doors, [heating] radiators and that kind of stuff. They wouldn't mop a floor; they might dust off that TV [television] before the game."^{xiii}

From Reverend Cleaver's perspective, men's spaces were constructed through the separation of spheres. The separation of men's spheres and women's spheres enabled gender roles to be clearly distinguished. Men provided maintenance services to assist their churches' functioning. Yet, there were individuals, such as Minister Jacqueline Hall and Minister Lucretia Scott (both assistant female preachers), who crossed the gendered spheres to gain entrance into ministry and the pulpit. There were consequences for their actions, such as being neglected by visiting preachers or confined to speaking at the female lectern with the laywomen. Nonetheless, the dual-political sex system clearly delineated gender roles and spaces within these Black churches.

Men's ministries were spaces where boys embraced their masculinities and responsibilities as future fathers, husbands, and providers. Isaiah, a lifetime layman, best demonstrated the role of men's ministries in the '70s:

"We had an active men's ministry. The men's ministry held events throughout the year just for men. We ran a trip for many men, and we did it as "father/son" time. After the trip, we'd stop and eat somewhere, and that was our fellowship. We had men's breakfast, about four to five times a year; we ate and enjoyed preaching and fellowship. Once a year, we did a men's retreat three days Friday into Sunday; there were classes each day, basketball, and a time everyone looked forward to because it's different from the everyday things. There was a men's class; it dealt with fatherhood, marriage, and providing for one's family."^{xiv}

In this way, men's ministries held activities aimed to prepare boys for fulfilling the male role within the congregation. Michelle Fine and Lois Weis (1998) discuss Black churches generally and suggest men's ministries were spaces where "counter-hegemonic Black masculinities [were formed, as they were] Black masculinities rooted in Black men as fathers, as leaders of young men, and as patrollers of the borders of community."^{xv} Fine and Weis neglect noting that the facets they interpret as "counter-hegemonic" also

reflect the hegemonic factors of masculinity and manhood. The hegemonic facets of masculinity include man as protector, provider, and overall benevolent patriarch of family and community. Fine and Weiss affirm the negative stereotypes of Black masculinities and Black men as the dominant norms in order to present the patriarchal norms as counter to the masculinities exhibited by Black men. However, these masculinities cultivated within men's ministries promoted the dominant factors traditionally associated with *the male role*. Moreover, despite Black males' marginalized role in American society, they still strove to demonstrate their manhood as in tandem with the hegemonic expectations for manhood, thus serving as protector, provider, and overall benevolent patriarch within their churches and communities. The masculinity respondents crafted within men's ministries was not counter-hegemonic but, instead, reflected patriarchal masculinity, which is a form of hegemonic masculinity.^{xvi} Previous scholarly accounts of Black men have assumed that Black men represent defective and divergent masculinities, where they do not attempt to attain the dominant norms or social scripts; however, the participants I interviewed worked to achieve and sustain their patriarchal status.

Male respondents utilized their men's ministries during the '70s to express themselves and refute the social association with Black men as boys by striving to attain a hegemonic form of masculinity. Still, their social status and role positionality in the church mediated how this was achieved. Reverend Black explains why Black churches were necessary for Black men to express themselves: "We had to be a part of the church because your voice was not muzzled at the church."^{xvii} Yet, Reverend Black refers to pulpit-men, who controlled and structured the space and had authority to speak freely. Daniel and Isaiah did not feel free to express their convictions about their turmoil within the church.^{xviii} Reverend Black also asserts that men's ministries provided a "*freeing* kind of experience, self-affirming kind of experience [to respond and say] I am not that *boy*."^{xix} Again, Reverend Black refers to those in leadership positions, as their ability to lead disavowed their social status of boyhood. It is assumed boys are not mature enough or otherwise able to serve as effective leaders. However, Isaiah and Daniel noted they were only able to observe Black men as leaders. Isaiah stated: "During men's ministries, I saw the pastor and deacons preach to us for our community's sake; he told and showed us *men ain't boys*."^{xx} For Isaiah and Daniel, the pulpit-men modeled^{xxi} to them that Black men were indeed able to be men, and modeled to them how to lead. Likewise, Reverend Johnson contended about his congregation:

"The ministries assisted in helping boys become men, there were men bringing their sons to church. And as the father was involved in certain things, the son was involved in certain things. Got to see dad in a role he probably would've never seen him because there was no other venue, whether it be employment or any other structure that we had at that time, that would allow a Black man to be in charge of anything. Not gonna see a Black man as a police officer, a judge, a teacher, as anything. And yet, when you come to church, you can see a Black man in all those different kinds of leadership roles. So I think it helped to raise the self-image and, in some cases, self-esteem of the young boys that would come as well."^{xxii}

Reverend Johnson explained the positive impact role modeling has on the identity formation process. Being a pulpit-man endowed some Black men with the opportunity to demonstrate their enhanced situational social statuses to their sons and children. Black male leaders role-modeled their existential realities to young men to prompt them to follow the patriarchal pathway. These targeted men's ministries were employed to respond to and negate the abject social status attached to Black men in the larger American society. Thus, male respondents "struggle[d] to topple hegemonic and unilateral cultural representations of Black masculinity"^{xxiii} as reflecting social boyhood. Private men's ministries acted as restorative agents for male participants because their humanity was affirmed free from the white world.^{xxiv}

Men's ministries created a place for these respondents to exhale the toxins of racism and inhale the *transformative* power of Jesus Christ. Both groups of male participants identities were avowed, but social status and positionality in the church negotiated their perspective and thus the function of men's ministries for male respondents. These free spaces affirmed normative patriarchal masculine identity of Black pulpit-men and projected this role for all Black men. This occurred in Black churches because Black masculinity was no longer measured against white manhood but, instead, was contrasted against that of the senior pastors.

Historical ethnographies pose benefits for Black communities specifically, as a great deal of histories are transmitted orally. However, there are constraints in conducting historical ethnographies. Participants often suffer from hindsight bias, wherein they project an idealized version of their lives. Furthermore, the faultiness of memory contributes to less reliable information, which I tried to avoid by triangulating—that is, by confirming participants' viewpoints with secondary sources and other perspectives. Overall, there needs to be more research on the relationship between religion and Black masculinities formation to unpack the religious institutionalization of masculinities.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- i Utilizing this term has weaknesses. As bell hooks writes in *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism*, the term was developed by white sociologists to further denigrate Black men. Yet, when she wrote this critique, she assumed Black men would not feel less manly because they were not involved in the economic sector. However, this word most closely captures the experiences of the respondents in my study as conveyed to me.
- ii My approach for choosing interview subjects was an amalgamated purposive, convenience, and snowball process. I gathered my sample purposively since I was interested in a specific historical moment, so I sought participants who were at least eighteen years of age in a Black Baptist church during the '70s. As a result, participants' ages ranged from 44–62. I also pursued participants in closest proximity, hence convenience sampling, as well as met new participants through previous contacts; thus I relied on snowball sampling.
- iii I follow in the scholarly footsteps of Demetrius Williams, who utilizes the term "Black churches" without losing the historical factors that have cohered the vision and identity of Black American religious institutions. Thus, I refer to my participants' churches as Black churches to recognize the plurality of formations and experiences. See Williams, Demetrius K. *An end to this strife: The politics of gender in African American churches*. Fortress Press, 2004.
- iv Also, I use the term pulpit-men to refer to all ministers, preachers, and deacons situated in the pulpit.
- v Refers to the social system of patriarchy, which is a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that dominance through various forms of psychological terrorism and violence (hooks).
- vi I use boyhood to refer to an intense feminization of men. Boys are dependent and not yet possessing masculinities, thus they reflect emasculation. Because Black men were conceptualized as boys throughout chattel enslavement and the subsequent junctures being alienated at work and from their work, boyhood re-conjured these images and experiences for the male respondents. Boyhood is, then, a state of denigration for these men.
- vii Gilkes, Cheryl Townsend. "Plenty good room: Adaptation in a changing black church." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 558.1 (1998): 101–121. Black churches served as free spaces for Black women as they were able to develop prominent Black female imagery and models to support positive self-identities. Thus, while I focus on Black men, the free space framework applies to Black women as well.
- viii Boyte, Harry, and Sara Evans. "Free spaces: The sources of democratic change in America." (1986).
- ix Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. *Righteous discontent: The women's movement in the Black Baptist church, 1880–1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- x Black, Arthur. Personal interview. 3 Mar. 2014.
- xi Ibid.
- xii Gilkes, Cheryl. *If it wasn't for the women—: Black women's experience and womanist culture in church and community*. Orbis Books, 2001. The dual-political sex organization refers to each sex managing their respective affairs, with some roles intended for men and others meant for women. Cheryl Gilkes writes that this organization is prevalent within the continent of Africa, yet it contrasts against European single-sex systems. In the single-sex system, women achieve recognition by taking on the roles of men in public life and performing them well. Furthermore, in the single sex system, women's roles are not valued. Ultimately, this dual-political sex system offered both Black men and women a pathway to prestige, authority, and enhanced social status although in different ways.
- xiii Ibid.
- xiv Campbell, Isaiah. Personal interview. 16 Mar. 2014.
- xv Cleaver, James. Personal interview. 3 Mar. 2014.
- xvi Fine, Michelle, and Lois Weis. *The unknown city: The lives of poor and working-class young adults*. Beacon Press, 1998: 253.
- xvii The concept of "hegemony," deriving from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations, refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life. At any given time, one form of masculinity rather than others is culturally exalted. Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practices which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which *guarantees* (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. Connell, Robert W., and James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic masculinity rethinking the concept." *Gender & Society* 19.6 (2005): 77.
- xviii Black, Arthur. Personal interview. 3 Mar. 2014.
- xix Wing, Daniel. Personal interview. 16 Mar. 2014. Campbell, Isaiah. Personal interview. 16 Mar. 2014.
- xx Ibid.
- xxi Wing, Daniel. Personal interview. 16 Mar. 2014. Campbell, Isaiah. Personal interview. 16 Mar. 2014.
- xxii Much of the socialization of children and youth generally and specifically relating to gender and gendered practices is achieved through the process of role modeling—observing, evaluating, emulating, and filing away for later use the behavior, examples, and values of others (Lincoln 312–3).
- xxiii Johnson, Michael. Personal interview. 10 Mar. 2014.
- xxiv Fine, Michelle, and Lois Weis. *The unknown city: The lives of poor and working-class young adults*. Beacon Press, 1998: 253.
- xxv Lawson, Alvin. Personal interview. 10 Mar. 2014. Cleaver, James. Personal interview. 3 Mar. 2014. Williams, Eric. Personal interview. 3 Nov. 2013. Johnson, Michael. Personal interview. 10 Mar. 2014.

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Queer Latino Experience in Education: The Influence and Perception of “Machismo” on Young Men

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Originally from Los Angeles, Christina is a senior pursuing her degree in sociology with a certificate in gender and sexuality studies at Princeton University. Her current research addresses the formation and utility of transnational queer identities in negotiating social position with state actors. After taking time to complete a fellowship or explore other opportunities, she plans to pursue a PhD in sociology.

Abstract

This excerpt from my junior independent work examines the influence of sexual identity, ethnicity, traditional gender roles, and concepts of masculinity on the education experiences of Latino men. While my larger project also examines correlations among gender roles, sexuality, and educational attainment using data from the General Social Survey, this article focuses on my qualitative findings of in-depth interviews with college students. These findings led me to conclude that non-heterosexual identity in college men increased ambition and a desire to do well in school in order to seek positive reinforcement and overcompensate for carrying an undesirable social identity. For many interviewees, identifying as an outsider contributed to the ability to disconnect themselves from certain social expectations (i.e., traditional gender roles) that helped them escape negative situations (i.e., poverty, violent neighborhoods, unsupportive family) through educational advancement.

Introduction

Are traditional concepts of masculinity in Latino men complicated by sexual orientation? Is there a relationship between one's perspective on gender roles and educational achievement and/or attainment? In this study, I am interested in the unique ways that socialized concepts of masculinity and gender could be interacting with other social identities to affect Latino men's educational attainment and experience. Considerable light has been shed on the ways in which class and racial/ethnic identities intersect with gendered socialization and different internalized masculinities to influence educational experience in male students. Certain performances and embodiments of masculinity are privileged in a school setting, while others are stigmatized and viewed as incompatible with obtaining the skills for success as increasingly defined by twenty-first-century global economic needs (Haywood & Mac An Ghail, 2013). Masculinities associated with Black and Latino men are especially stigmatized. Perhaps due to an emphasis on comparative research on white and Black populations, the educational challenges that face Latino men are underanalyzed—even though Latinos as a group continue to underperform in school, drop out, and experience discrimination and stigmatization on par with their black peers (Noguera, Hurtado & Fergus, 2012).

While the relationship of Latino masculinities and gender-role attitudes to educational success lacks sufficient exploration, questions of sexual orientation in relation to educational attainment are largely absent. It is important to understand how issues that affect Latino men as a group could be leading to different educational results in heterosexual and non-heterosexual sub-groups, especially if we intend to focus on the way gendered experience, which operates on certain internalized notions about masculinity, has led to different educational outcomes. Although gender and sexual orientation are two different categories of identity and expression, people describe and experience sexuality in gendered terms, and, therefore, they should be analyzed as connected. This article explores the relationship among the cultural influence of “machismo,” traditional gender roles, sexuality, and educational achievement among Latino college men. My work seeks to further shed light on the ways in which multiple identities interact to produce different educational outcomes within specific marginalized groups of people. For example, my findings suggest that non-heterosexual men experience educational spaces as places of refuge, positive reinforcement, and escape from both their marginalized identities and potentially harmful home environments.

Literature Review

Many scholars of Latino masculinities and Latin American experience as well as Latino/Hispanic-identified people have used the term “machismo” to stereotype Latino men as “hypermasculine” and rigid in their ways of thinking about gender roles (Noguera, Hurtado & Fergus, 2012). However, it is important to attend to the concept of “machismo” in the discussion of Latino masculinity, because it still influences Latino experience in a variety of contexts, including in school and at home. Friends and family often pressure Latino men to engage in early sexual experiences, to project a “know-it-all” demeanor; therefore, Latino men become socialized not to emotionally engage fathers or male friends (Noguera, Hurtado & Fergus, 2012). These pressures discourage seeking help when struggling in school or experiencing harassment from police and other authorities (López, 2012). It is interesting to imagine how queer identity may or may not push against notions of Latino masculinity that also presume heterosexuality. Perhaps the individuals who feel the most pressure to uphold rigid and hegemonic masculinities are the ones having the most trouble in school.

Reasonably, one might think non-heterosexual men would feel less pressure to conform to “machismo” than their heterosexual peers because its brand of masculinity functions on a presumed heterosexuality. In fact, the perception of acceptable displays of masculinity may have more to do with one's education than one's sexual orientation. Anthony

Ocampo's ethnographic study of U.S.-born Latino gay men in Los Angeles "examines how gay Latino men negotiate boundaries of masculinity," which are shaped by racialized notions of gay spaces, thought of as "white," and gendered notions of Latino spaces, thought of as "masculine." He provides insight on non-heterosexual Latino men's understanding of "appropriate" expressions of masculinity. Ocampo's findings demonstrate many non-heterosexual Latino men both look down on and are not attracted to men they read as too feminine and therefore too "gay." These perceptions of masculinity contrast with those of working-class Latino men who have higher levels of education. In their interviews with thirty-six working-class self-identified Latino feminists, thirty-three of whom were heterosexual men, Aída Hurtado and Mrinal Sinha demonstrate that one's education plays a large role in forming non-patriarchal perspectives on gender roles and not just one's sexual orientation.

Although level of education may play a larger role than sexual orientation in forming perceptions of masculinity, sexual orientation might have an important influence on educational attainment. The Williams Institute reports that 4.3% of Latino/a adults living the United States identify as LGBT. However, Latino/as in same-sex couples make up 26% of the Latino/as who have completed a college degree, while those in different-sex couples make up 14% (Kastanis & Gate, 2013). The report is consistent with previous findings that show higher levels of education for individuals in gay-partnered relationships than in heterosexual-partnered, not-partnered, and married relationships (Black, Gates, Sanders & Taylor, 2000). John E. Pachankis and Mark L. Hatzenbuehler explore the relationship between sexual orientation and educational attainment in a social-psychology study of college students based on the "best little boy in the world hypothesis," a common trope of "good behavior," and excelling in school during one's youth spread among homosexual men. They tell us that in order to find validation and increase their self-esteem, many non-heterosexual men will put their energies into methods of earning positive reinforcement by achieving within socially acceptable arenas (Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler, 2013).

Methods, Data, and Research Design

My larger project includes a quantitative section that draws on data from the General Social Survey to explore correlations among gender roles, sexuality, and educational attainment. This data collection source is used to conduct research on the structure and development of American society with special attention to social trends since 1972. However, this article concentrates on my qualitative findings.

I conducted thirteen guided interviews of approximately an hour in length with participants recruited through

snowball sampling.ⁱ All of the participants were college students representing all four years who attend(ed) universities in southern California, New York City, and Princeton. Eight of the thirteen participants self-identified as Latino/Hispanic, while five self-identified as white, non-Hispanic. All participants self-identified as non-heterosexual men. In including interviews in the larger study, I work to learn more about the "dimensions of experience" present in individual narratives of people whose lives are shaped by multiple identities (Bowleg, 2008). These interviews were coded thematically and analyzed according to emerging patterns.

Findings and Discussion

Machismo, traditional gender roles, education as refuge, and education as a source of self-worth, emerged as four significant themes in the interviews I conducted.

Machismo and traditional gender roles:

The concept of "machismo" continues to influence and, in many ways, characterize male experience and notions of masculinity within Latino communities, often functioning as an abstract idea that need not be imposed by a man or group of men. The following interviewee describes his mother's role in forming his understanding of appropriate displays of masculinity.

C: "I was a more flamboyant child, and so I remember one time, there's a talent show at our school, and I like, I performed bye bye like with the dance and everything. And she was just like, well boys aren't suppose to like dance that way, they're suppose to be very like straight . . . not dance as much with your hips. So I think, those are some ways where she's influenced me. . . ."

Another interviewee described his stepfather's perception of homosexuality as directly linked to gender expression—an example of the conflation of sexual orientation and gender that often occurs when conceptualizing non-heterosexuality. He provides a similar account of his family and how they have influenced his perception of masculinity, what it means to be a "man," and how that perception of masculinity is inextricably linked to the performance of heterosexuality. Failure to identify with heterosexuality or characteristics associated with traditional forms of masculinity is considered failure to be a "real man."

J: "Growing up, there were certain expectations of like a man in a Mexican culture like very, very definitive things of what men have to do and what men have to be like, like you have to be breadwinner, you have to be constantly surrounded by girls, and like I had my older brother as like the stereotypical Mexican man. . . . And I feel like I had to live up to

that stereotype and then realized like fundamentally that like I couldn't because like in like Mexican culture being like a man, being like a macho, like a real man and being a homosexual man are two things that can't coincide."

My research supports Ocampo's finding that traditional notions of masculinity can lead to internalized homophobia and also have negative effects on one's interest in romantic partners and on one's acceptance of others who display gender in less traditional ways (Ocampo, 2012). The following quote reflects one such moment of explicit discomfort with outward demonstrations of what is perceived to be feminine behavior by non-heterosexual men.

L: "Like just be, just act like a dude, or just be a guy, just because you like guys it doesn't mean you have to go and act like a girl about it, so that's the way I see it."

Almost all participants explicitly described the ways in which their parents did and did not adhere to traditional gender roles. Two Latino participants revealed that their mothers earn twice as much money as their fathers but still fulfill expectations to do the housekeeping. In most cases, both parents worked and contributed to supporting the household economically yet would maintain a traditional power dynamic when in the home and in relating to one another. For some parents, adherence to the expression of traditional gender roles came from their internalization of machismo, for others from their Christian or specifically Catholic values, which dictate appropriate behavior for men and women. Interestingly, the interviewee who seemed the least critical of his parents was also one of the most traditionally masculine-presenting, experienced the least amount of teasing growing up, and was the only respondent who revealed having a majority of straight male friends:

E: "I think largely my parents are content with the way the home is run . . . it worked out for me you know what I'm saying, so on a selfish level, I don't have a problem with it. . . . From a larger perspective, it's a little (ick) God, the gender roles, I roll my eyes at them, but you know it's hard to, sort of. It's hard to critique your own family."

Education as Refuge, Education as a Source of Self-worth

Almost all participants discussed a love for learning and the importance of the act of learning, if not the physical location of school and the classroom, as sources of comfort and possibility. Three interviewees directly used the word "escape" to express their desire to remove themselves from negative situations such as troubling home lives or a dangerous neighborhood. An example is provided below:

J: "As a kid, oh yeah, I loved school. School's great. Like I loved learning and I still do and I think that part of that was because it was an *escape* for me, like *escaping* from my really shitty neighborhood or whatever."

Participants who experienced the most teasing and/or felt the most discomfort in their home context more firmly expressed the significance of activities such as reading, doing homework, and their love of learning as spaces of refuge and positive reinforcement.

Consistent with Pachankis and Hatzenbuehler's "best little boy in the world" theory, many interviewees shared that their desire to do well in school was directly linked to the amount of positive reinforcement and praise they received from teachers and parents. A few students even explicitly linked their focus on achievement to winning the approval of their peers and distracting themselves from socially unacceptable desires for other boys and/or alternative forms of gender expression.

D: "I instead fueled all that energy and all that time and motivation into my academics, into sports. . . . I wasn't getting that with anything romantic. . . . I kind of overcompensated by trying to be the best in school, number one in this, the best kid on the tennis team. . . . I got to do this, this and this. . . . I think it's, it stems from early on as a young child feeling different from other kids and I think part of it, a lot of it has to do with being gay. I felt ashamed of it, and I felt that if people found out they wouldn't like me or they wouldn't respect me, so therefore I had to be so much better. . . . so much more successful."

All participants at some point or another expressed feelings of shame directed toward their homosexual desires and spoke about the ways these desires created feelings of distance from others and a sense of being an "outsider" in one's family and in larger social groups. However, this sense of alienation only motivated them further to succeed academically and work to gather positive reinforcement from those around them.

Conclusions

In conducting quantitative data analysis, I encountered difficulties stemming from small sample sizes of non-heterosexual and Hispanic respondents. However, findings did reveal a positive correlation between more years of schooling and less traditional perspectives on gender roles. Many results demonstrated positive linear relationships between more years of schooling and non-heterosexuality as well. My qualitative interviews revealed the significance of machismo for Latino participants in shaping self-image and their perception of others, and the association of education

with escape and self-worth. Interviewees also demonstrated signs of internalized racism, classism, sexism, and/or homophobia along with hyperawareness of external presentation. My qualitative findings are also consistent with the hypothesis I explore in the larger work that non-heterosexuality pushes against traditional gender roles and patriarchal/hegemonic masculinities. However, in Latino participants some of these traditional perspectives regarding masculinity remained more strongly internalized than in non-Hispanic participants. Latinos were more likely to express discomfort with and distaste for men who displayed feminine characteristics even if they too displayed similar traits.

The results of my research also support the so-called “best little boy in the world” hypothesis. Interviewees described a love for learning and/or ambition to do well in school, which were connected to their position as outsiders and a desire to receive positive reinforcement from teachers, parents, and peers. Some treated schoolwork and extracurricular activities as an outlet for energies that could not be directed toward romantic interests, others as a way to escape their precarious family and socio-economic situations. Ultimately, it seems that feeling like an “outsider,” even within already marginalized groups, can lead to increased ambition and a desire to do well in school in order to seek positive reinforcement and overcompensate for carrying an undesirable social identity. The position of outsider may contribute to the ability to disconnect oneself from certain social expectations (traditional gender roles) that would in turn help remove one from negative situations (poverty, violent neighborhoods, unsupportive family) through educational advancement.

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Endnote

- ⁱ For my guided interviews, I prepared a list of thematic questions that were used and modified when relevant to each informant’s background, individual experiences, and perspectives. Each interview progressed in an informal, conversational style. Informants were encouraged to ask me questions as well. Snowball sampling refers to interviewing an initial group of targeted individuals and then relying on these individuals to nominate others who meet the criteria for a study and providing them with the researcher’s contact information (Morgan, 2008).

Known (Not): *Kindred* and the Crisis of Intimacy across Epistemologies

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Abstract

In her 1979 novel *Kindred*, Octavia Butler explores the subtlety of slavery's sexual violence that cannot be accounted for within the historical record. As a traveler to the past, the narrator Dana may understand her ancestor's and narrative double's conflicts with intimacy to a point. However, Dana will never truly know the sexual violence felt within the bodies of Black slave women.

There is something akin to freedom in having a lover who has no control over you, except that which he gains by kindness and attachment. A master may treat you as rudely as he please, and you dare not speak [. . .]. There may be sophistry in all this; but the condition of a slave confuses all principles of morality, and, in fact, renders the practice of them impossible. (Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* 59)

Born from the haunt of rape by white slave owners, there exists an epistemological crisis of love, sexuality, and violence for Black women within the slave narrative genre. Harriet Jacobs, speaking through her pen name, Linda Brent, named this crisis of intimacy a sophistry in her 1861 book, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Linda worries that being a slave distorts her ability to recognize a loving relationship with a white man who is not her slave master. Even in her description, slavery distorts the language around Linda's love, contextualizing it within the language of "freedom" as an explicit antithesis to how her sexually terrifying master treats her. She is left with only her own frustratingly limited perspective on sexuality because the very framework of slavery "renders the practice of [a loving or sexual morality] impossible" (*Incidents* 89).

As if responding to the countless apostrophes in *Incidents*, Octavia Butler returns to this epistemological crisis 118 years later in her 1979 novel, *Kindred*. The novel follows the character of Dana Franklin, a modern Black woman aspiring to be a writer, as she travels through time to nineteenth-century Maryland. Dana travels back in time whenever her white ancestor, Rufus, is in danger, and she only returns to the present when her own life is endangered.

As Dana learns more about Rufus and his violence over his partnered slave (and also Dana's ancestor), Alice, Butler brings to the novel a century of history and an epistemology created outside the immediate conditions of slavery. The shift from the nineteenth to the twentieth century creates tensions in the characters as they face knowledge remembered, researched, and rewritten. Instead of ignoring the conflict between times, Butler foregrounds it by structuring her novel through time travel. The vessel for the narrative, Dana, and her narrative double, Alice, together create an opportunity to address the crisis of intimacy seen in *Incidents*. However, as Jacobs supposes and the arc of *Kindred* proves, epistemology may change over time, but it remains temporally immediate. As a traveler to the past, Dana may understand Alice's conflicts with intimacy to a point, but she will never truly know the sexual violence felt within the bodies of Black slave women.

The distance between Dana and Alice exists before Dana even meets her, seen during the first reference to their kinship. During her second trip to the past, Dana questions Rufus to ascertain to where and when she has traveled. Rufus tells her that they are on the Weylin plantation, which belonged to his father. The name triggers her memory of the family tree in her family's heirloom bible. The earliest entry listed a Hagar Weylin, whose parents were "Rufus Weylin and Alice Green-something Weylin" (*Kindred* 28). Dana pushes Rufus to confirm that he is the Rufus from the bible and that he knows of Alice Greenwood. Curious, Rufus wonders why she wants to know, and Dana diverts his questions by saying she is not sure if she actually knows Alice or one of her family members. Her ambiguous answer acts a ruse, a confession, and a prophecy for the disunity between Dana and Alice, despite their apparent doubleness. After learning about Alice, Dana thinks: "Alice Greenwood. How would she marry this boy? Or would it be marriage? And why hadn't someone in my family mentioned that Rufus Weylin was white? If they knew. Probably, they didn't" (*Kindred* 28). Reflecting her understanding of intimacy and relationships in and outside of slavery, Dana's first thought is that Alice and Rufus were married. Dana imagines the familial unit as a husband, wife, and child(ren) within a loving commitment. Her second question, "Or would it be marriage?", configures the possibility for alternatives to marriage, but the reality of sexual violence rests imperfectly within her probing questions. Even should she have considered rape a possibility within her cautious second question, making it implicit rather than explicit dangerously masks the violence experienced by Alice. At least for now, she cannot fully imagine rape producing her genealogy. Not knowing if her family knew about Rufus' whiteness adds to the epistemological conflict across time. Someone in her family could have known this information, or perhaps the knowledge was long lost; either way, the rupture of knowledge distances

Dana and Alice across generations. Even with textual proof of their relationship, the subtlety of slavery's sexual violence cannot be accounted for within the historical record.

Once she realizes the true nature of Rufus and Alice's relationship, sexual violence takes on a new meaning for Dana. Even as she identifies the trap of Rufus' violent obsession for Alice, Dana cannot and does not fully understand Alice's trauma. In one of the most confessional passages in the novel, Dana's introspection reveals how distant her experience with Rufus is from Alice's reality of sexual violence:

It was that destructive single-minded love of his. He loved me. Not the way he loved Alice, thank God. He didn't seem to want to sleep with me. But he wanted me around—someone to talk to, someone who would listen to him and care what he said, care about him.

And I did. [. . .] I stared out the window guilty, feeling that I should have been more like Alice. She forgave him nothing, forgot nothing, hated him as deeply as she had loved Isaac. But what good did her hating do? [. . .] She couldn't do anything at all except make herself more miserable. She said, "My stomach just turns every time he puts his hands on me!" But she endured. Eventually, she would bear him at least one child. And as much as I cared for him, I would not have done that. I couldn't. [. . .] If he ever raped me, it wasn't likely that either of us would survive. (*Kindred* 179–80)

While Dana recognizes Rufus' destructive love, she is deeply relieved that she experiences it differently from Alice. She establishes a valuation of violence intensity with her "thank God" aside. Admittedly, Rufus' control over Dana can be read as a kind of intimate violence, but at least to Dana, surviving her rape would be the ultimate unimaginable offense. He can abuse her, control her, and put her to work, and she still maintains her care for him because it exists within her limits of how to know and understand intimacy. While alarming that she can include such a capacity for mistreatment in her definition of intimacy, sexual and—in this case—reproductive violence is an epistemological crisis: she cannot know, she must not know, and she will not know what Alice and other slave women really endured. That Dana sets up this distinction as she stares out a window is no coincidence. She experiences Alice's violence with a transparent barrier between them, where she observes but cannot participate. Ironically, Dana here is an insider looking out rather than an outsider peering in. She could use her unique position to access the inner emotional life of a Black woman in slavery times. Instead, she constructs a narrative frame to the violence, sexuality, and survival Alice experiences, a frame which excludes herself as a potential victim.

Considering Dana's rightful repulsion to sexual violence, it seems hypocritical that Dana judges Alice for her hatred of Rufus. Alice's bodily revulsion to continuous assault may not be "good" for her "except make herself more miserable," nor does it ease her long-term experience. But, she simply cannot comfortably combine sexual violence and love into one intimacy. In fact, the budding collapse between the two spheres leads to Alice's later escape attempt: Alice cannot allow the two to be united, and the only way to end the crisis is to leave Rufus. Dana similarly refuses to combine reproductive violence, rape, and love, warning: "As much as I cared for him, I would not have done that" [produce a child]. But Dana does not use her disgust for violence to sympathize with Alice's, because she expects more from Alice and from women living during slavery. She distances herself from Alice by valuing their ability to know, survive, and experience after sexual violence differently: Alice can endure while Dana cannot and will not, even if that means death. While she means to show how much stronger her ancestors were to manage the trauma, Dana forces a distinction between the amount of violence a Black woman from the past (Alice) and a Black woman from the future (herself) can experience. This artificial division undermines Alice's pain and agency as she navigates survival, love, and rape because it reduces her struggle to a mere deterministic ability to simply endure more.

The logic of Dana's hypocrisy rests in the framework of Dana's belief in the inevitability of Alice's rape. Rufus and Alice's relationship must produce Hagar, the first ancestor named in Alice's family line. Hagar lives within the text as the constant proof of this inevitability. But Dana cannot comprehend the reproductive violence outside of how it affects her. Whenever Dana sees Alice is pregnant or hears about her violent relationship with Rufus, Dana thinks of only Hagar and herself. Even hearing that Alice lost "white babies" and still has one living child who "is even red-headed" (*Kindred* 207), Dana thinks: "No Hagar yet. I was tired of this going back and forth; I wanted so much for it to be over. I couldn't even feel sorry for the friend who had fought for me and taken care of me when I was hurt. I was too busy feeling sorry for myself" (*Kindred* 208). Dana uses Hagar to contain the sexual violence Dana cannot and must not know. With her knowledge from the family bible, Dana knows Alice must produce Hagar to start her family line, but she cannot comprehend the other consequences of Alice's assault, like hatred, pain, and dead children.

While still centered on Dana's inability to access the full extent of Alice's sexual violence, the disconnection that Butler develops in the novel depends not entirely on Dana. Instead, it occurs through a conflict between 1976 and 1815 epistemologies. The past cannot safely contain the difference evident in Dana's expressions of intimacy with Kevin, her white husband who travels through time with her in later

trips. This conflict is seen through Rufus' reaction to Dana and Kevin's relationship. Rufus compares his love for Alice to Dana's love with Kevin: "I know you, Dana. You want Kevin the way I want Alice. And you had more luck than I did because no matter what happens now, for a while he wanted you, too. Maybe I can't ever have that—both wanting, both loving. But I'm not going to give up what I have" (*Kindred*, 163). Dana and Kevin's loving relationship is only possible through the infinite historical and ideological shifts between Rufus' time and theirs. Yet, despite all their differences, Rufus grasps the interracial component in both relationships, and he defines his and Alice's relationship as loving based off of the success of Dana and Kevin's interracial relationship.

Interestingly, he does not parallel himself with Kevin (as another white man in love with a Black woman), but instead with Dana. The unstable Rufus/Dana comparison shows the finely balanced contradictions of Rufus' knowing of Black worthiness. For just this instance, he can compare himself to Dana, but only through the love/lust of another. He "know[s]" Dana, knows the extent of her, but he cannot understand all that she is in context. He cannot respect Alice in this way because Alice resonates too well with slavery's crisis of intimacy. Thus, two disparate times hold Dana and Rufus apart despite their physical proximity. And, as such, when Dana and Kevin's relationship inspires Rufus, Rufus understands only what he wants and already knows. He wants and loves Alice, who he so desperately refuses to "give up" what he does have. Rufus uses Dana and Kevin to justify his violent greed over Alice; he fetishizes the hypothetical within Dana's epistemological access and "luck" to maintain a future interracial relationship. Rufus' attempt to correlate the two relationships ahistoricizes both, and he excuses his continued sexual violence as merely a product of his time, rather than on his own actions.

In this way, the immediate conditions of slavery pervert any equivalence made between the experiences of intimacy for Dana and Alice. Rufus collapses the two women together through his greed for their presence, but the identical nature of their doubleness reveals how distinct their experiences truly are. After Rufus calls Dana and Alice "one woman," Alice reflects on their twinned relationships with Rufus: "I know what he means. He likes me in bed, and you out of bed, and you and I look alike if you can believe what people say. [. . .] We're two halves of the same woman—at least in his crazy head" (*Kindred*, 228). Alice is not Dana's double because they mirror one another. Instead, they form a violent dichotomy of intimacy where the extent of one's relationship with Rufus informs the relationship of the other, and vice versa. Rufus' rape of Alice and his tenuous friendship with Dana coalesce as a function of Rufus' demanding intimate needs: together, Alice and Dana address

everything from his sexual appetite to his obsession for affection, his constant reassertion of ownership over slaves, his need for empathetic attention, and his refusal to be abandoned. Vitrally, the divisions between Dana and Alice's intimate labor are not incidental. They occur along the differences created through the temporal, epistemological distance between Dana and Alice. What Dana does not elaborate on here but does so in other places, is the extent to which Rufus treats her differently because of her education. Their friendship is based on her ability to write and read and to establish herself as an equal. These are all protections Dana forever has that Alice does not. And so, even when she is attacked herself by Rufus in an attempted rape, Dana still cannot know all of Alice's trauma because of these hugely important material differences between them. Dana's final act in the past—to kill Rufus—proves that she cannot have "endured," just as she said by the window (*Kindred* 180).

Although the novel returns to the topic, *Kindred* does not seek to answer the crisis of intimacy within Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents*. Linda could not fully resolve her question because of the limits of her epistemology, and Dana's inability to fully comprehend Alice's situation shows how even with more concepts and vocabulary, returning to the confusion later only introduces more miscommunications. Jacobs expects this conclusion when she writes:

Pity me, and pardon me, O virtuous reader! You never knew what it is to be a slave; to be entirely unprotected by law and custom; to have the laws reduce you to the condition of a chattel, entirely subject to the will of another. You never exhausted your ingenuity in avoiding the snares, and eluding the power of a hated tyrant; you never shuddered at the sound of his footsteps, and trembled within hearing of his voice. (*Incidents* 60)

Jacobs wrote to her contemporary white women, but her "O virtuous reader" spans across over a hundred years to address Octavia Butler, Dana, me as reader, and any other who reads these lines. We cannot know what sexual violence was like in the context of slavery. But, as illustrated through Butler's novel, the urgency to try to understand slavery pulses in the historical recollection of genealogy and violence. It is the same pull that takes Dana through time to discover her own family history. Even as our failure to completely comprehend exists, reading and reflecting on the sexual violence survived by women like Linda and Alice makes these stories real.

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Working with Words: The Place of Mythological Language in Platonic Philosophy

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Christopher-Marcus Gibson is a Cuban American from North Carolina, where he recently graduated summa cum laude at Duke University as a University Scholar and Mellon Mays Research Fellow. His undergraduate honors thesis, which examines whether ethics can be made scientific, was recently featured online by the Huffington Post as a part of their thesis project. This academic year, he joins the philosophy department at Princeton University, where he is beginning his doctoral studies in the classical philosophy program.

Abstract

This essay examines key passages in several works attributed to Plato (*The Phaedrus*, *The Seventh Letter*, and *The Republic*) in order to portray how such passages conceive of the nature and work of philosophy, in particular how Platonic philosophy relates to the religious and mythological spheres. On the basis of these passages, I argue that the Platonic philosopher stands apart from other traditional Greek claimants to wisdom (poets, speechwriters, legislators) because the philosopher is unconditionally committed to examining and tailoring her words according to her pursuit of the ultimately real. While this means that the Platonic philosopher must remain critical of traditional Greek piety and myth, it nevertheless opens the possibility of deploying mythological and poetic language in philosophy's service. This art of philosophical rhetoric and the vision of philosophy which it accompanies, therefore, provide an illuminating contrast to philosophy as understood and practiced today.

The prevailing view of philosophy in the Western world since the Enlightenment has been a secular one, according to which human reason and its work can be well understood without reference to the divine or to the tenets of a religious tradition. In the beginnings of Western philosophy in classical Greece, however, philosophy's relation to the religious and mythological was less clearly defined. Nowhere is this ambivalence more forcefully displayed than in the dialogues of Plato, where the voice of philosophy spoke often in criticism of traditional Greek religion and myth yet also sometimes spoke of itself as a divinely sanctioned enterprise. In the analysis that follows, I propose to read together key passages from Plato's *The Phaedrus*, *The Seventh Letter*, and *The Republic* in order to illustrate how the dialogues' protagonist, Socrates, personifies a creative tension between philosophical and mythological language, and with it an understanding of philosophy quite different from that which prevails in our own time—one which, to the extent of that difference, may illuminatingly and challengingly contrast with the practice of philosophy today.

In the closing exchange of Plato's *The Phaedrus*, Socrates gives us a valuable description (278b7–d1) of what the Platonic philosopher does. Three features of this description provide us with clues about how to understand Platonic philosophy, particularly in its nuanced relationship to religion and myth: the description's source, its addressees, and its content. First, Socrates tells Phaedrus, his interlocutor, that they have heard this message in “*to numphon nama te kai mouseion*” (278b8–9)—the font and Museum of Nymphs—thus giving divine warrant and patronage to what the philosopher does, in much the same way that Socrates undertakes his philosophical work on the basis of “the Delphic injunction to know myself” (*to Delphikon gramma gnonai emauton* 229e5–6). Second, the message is for speechwriters like Lysias, poets like Homer, and legislators like Solon—in a word, all those belonging to social roles which were at the time traditional candidates for the status of *sophos* or wiseman. The speeches inspired by the Muses are therefore meant for those who work with words as an indicator of how this work should be conducted. If they compose their words with a serious commitment to knowing the truth, their work makes them more than speechwriters, poets, or legislators. Since they take their work seriously, they are not *sophos* or wise (a description befitting gods alone, says Socrates) but *philosophos*, friends or lovers of wisdom. The philosopher, the one who yearns for wisdom and to be wise (without ever actually becoming wise), is, therefore, the one whose work with words is based on genuine knowledge about ultimate questions and who, therefore, has the ability to come to the defense of his speeches. Moreover, this understanding of philosophy appropriates for itself the warrant of the Muses and the Delphic Oracle, couched in the language of mythology.

Platonic philosophy, therefore, identifies itself as a distinct way of human knowing precisely insofar as it longs for but never realizes what it takes to be the divine way of knowing. Its work with words flows from this essential tension. In what, then, does this way of knowing and working with words consist, and what are the ultimate questions that the philosopher thereby longs to address? *The Seventh Letter* of Plato proves in this regard instructive, since it describes what Plato suggests is the work of a serious person in parallel with how *The Phaedrus* describes what the philosopher does. As *The Phaedrus* describes the work of the philosopher in contrast to speechwriters, poets, or legislators who might pretend to wisdom, so, too, does the letter's author set up his account of the ultimate questions in contrast to how a pretender to wisdom, the tyrant Dionysius, presumes to already have adequate knowledge of the greatest things, even to have written about them (*The Seventh Letter* 341b1–3). This cannot be, writes the letter's author—and here we must infer that the claims to wisdom of the speechwriter, poet, and

legislator must be false for the same reason. For what the philosopher is serious and ultimately concerned about are things he could not ever put in writings, nor could it ever in any way be worded (*oukoun emon ge peri auton estin suggramma oude mepote genetai; reton gar oudamos estin*, 341c4–5). Unlike the ordinary logographers, poets, and legislators—and unlike Dionysius—the philosopher recognizes that his words cannot capture the ultimate matters that concern him.

Yet, there is still a place for working with words in the approach to these serious matters: one which the letter's content and Plato's own practice suggest is much broader than dialectic and definition—commonly recognized philosophical tools—and which makes the philosopher a figure far more closely related to the sophist and rhetorician than a superficial reading would suggest. The philosopher understands his words cannot capture wisdom because for him they are but one step in his continual asymptotic approach to that wisdom. The letter's author describes this approach as traversing a variety of items that, deployed time and again, jointly and serially lead the philosopher's soul to whatever cognitive grasp of ultimate truth is attainable. The steps on this approach, for any matter of serious pursuit, are: the subject's name, *logos* (literally, word, but also account, argument, or definition), *eidolon* (a visual or conceptual image, an object of apprehension), and, finally, the soul's belief, knowledge, and understanding. What makes the philosopher different from the pretenders to wisdom is that he does not identify any item in this series—in particular, *logoi* or words—with wisdom itself, which only these together can approach but which always exceeds them. Rather than consisting in wisdom, these tools are the instruments of initiation that philosophers deploy to lead souls toward wisdom as far as possible for them.

What philosophers do, and how they use words to do it, thus turns out to resemble what Socrates in *The Phaedrus* says the expert rhetorician does: knowing the truth and looking to the souls of their audience, they craft their words with care, like a doctor prescribing dosage to patient. To take these words to be wisdom itself would be as catastrophically confused as to take a drug to be health itself; one soul's cure is another soul's poison. For this reason, the philosopher has no definitive account of the ultimate questions. There just is no such thing, but rather as many varieties of propaedeutic *logoi* as there are conditions of soul. For the same reason, philosophizing requires of us a certain amount of detachment from the *logoi* we exchange anyway, since these divorced from their use in philosophy will produce not wise people (*sophoi*) but people who merely seem wise (*doxosophoi*), as the Myth of Theuth indicates (*The Phaedrus* 274c1–275b2). Nor is this the only place where Socrates, in his role as a wisdom-lover (*philosophos*), offers a mythological account concerning wisdom and the serious matters. Far

from it: the Platonic corpus is full of examples that suggest philosophical mythologizing plays some part in the philosophical use of words. After all, the *logos* and *eidolon* mentioned in *The Seventh Letter* need not refer to definitions and visible images alone. The ambiguity of the terms leaves room for other kinds of verbal accounts and representations. Since such tools apply even to justice and beauty, the conceptual tools at the philosopher's disposal are likely to be just as expansive.

Thus, to return to the account of philosophy with which we began, it turns out that the philosopher stands in a far more nuanced relationship to the divine and the mythological than the manner of the pretenders to wisdom. The philosopher adopts neither the skeptical, rationalizing bent of the sophists nor the straightforward, traditional attitude of the poets and their kin. A close reading of key passages in *The Phaedrus* and *The Republic* supports this picture. Socrates's discussion with Phaedrus about attempts to rationalize traditional myths (*mythologema* 239c5) suggests that, far from demanding skepticism toward religious narratives, what the philosopher does leaves room for them: concerning such matters, Socrates allows the conventional accounts to be enough for himself (*peithomenos de toi nomizomenoi peri auton* 230a2). *The Phaedrus* seems to turn the matter on its head: it is not the traditional myths or belief in them which is truly ridiculous and unserious but idle speculation about them, coupled with an indifference to their rhetorical role in the pursuit of wisdom. To spend his time rationalizing (*sophizomenos*) such matters would make Socrates just like the (counterfeit) “wise ones” (*bosper oi sophoi*) who pretend to the wisdom that the philosopher alone recognizes is approachable for humans only asymptotically (229c6–7). Here we find one example of the rhetorical insight that the same stories (*logoi, mythoi*) have different effects on different souls: for some, the traditional myths appear only as troublesome puzzles to be teased out by historicizing rationalizations; for others, they may yet serve as promptings toward the serious pursuit of wisdom. What makes the former response truly laughable (*geloion*) according to Socrates is how it misses investigating the serious matters, above all the examination of one's own life and soul (229e6). Moreover, what motivates this search for the matters of serious value is itself an element of traditional Greek piety: the Delphic oracle's injunction to know oneself (229e6). The Socratic mission of the self-examined life—or to say the same thing, the search of the philosopher for wisdom about the ultimately real—on Socrates's description, in fact springs directly from Greek religious narrative and practice, as *The Phaedrus*'s concluding description of the philosopher first suggested.

A parallel passage in *The Republic* cements this affinity between religious narrative and the Socratic life of the

philosopher. When asked to name the greatest blessing brought by his wealth, Cephalus answers Socrates with another unfavorable description of those who dismiss traditional mythic narrative. Death's approach, he says, makes people take very seriously the mythic stories (*legomenoi muthoi*) they once found so laughable (*katagelomenoi*) (*The Republic* 330d7–e1). Then they begin to look back on their lives and count up the injustices they have committed, hounded by the fear that, as the myths say, they will receive punishment in Hades (330d7–e5). Here we have another occasion to verify the rhetorical insight: the same people, at different times in life, might respond in radically different ways toward the same stories. In youth, when death seems an impossibility and passions are strong and many, the myths of judgment are a matter for indifference or contempt; but a little later on, when death looms large, the myths' subject lies close enough at hand to inspire a range of responses, from apprehension and uncertainty to dread and regret. Though Cephalus rightly recognizes that those who scorn the traditional myths, like the rationalizers, have missed the point, the irony is that Cephalus has missed it himself, drifting into the opposite danger of credulous acceptance. Like poets or rhapsodes sticking to their Homer and Hesiod, Cephalus never takes serious notice of how the traditional myths miss the mark concerning the ultimately real, and so he never develops a drive to philosophize which would prompt him to develop worthier *logoi*.

Thus, neither the connection between skepticism and injustice, nor Socrates's willingness to accept the received opinions on such matters, amounts to advocacy of mere credulity. They do, however, suggest a relation between philosophizing and mythologizing more nuanced than mere antagonism. Cephalus's implication—that myths like the punishments of Hades can serve for some souls as motives to act virtuously—indicates that myth does have a purpose to serve in the philosopher's work with *words*. The issue appears, not as one of the historical accuracy of mythic narratives but the potential they have to bear the surfeits of meaning and truth which would otherwise elude language altogether. Here at the fringes of reason's reach, the dialogues often depict philosophical perspectives through mythic accounts or likely stories, as with the Palinode and the Myth of Theuth in *The Phaedrus*, or the Noble Lie and the Myth of Er in *The Republic*. As in the case Boreas and Orityhia in *The Phaedrus*, or the fate of the dead in the *The Republic*, those who take myths as mere history miss the point, whether they, therefore, laugh the stories off as nonsense or accept them with lazy credulity. Both of these reactions, after all, are a kind of indifference, leading to no serious activity. Rather, the relevance of such *muthologema* lies in their potential to bring about certain changes in the souls of their listeners, changes in the drives and visions of souls that prompt them to pursue wisdom and virtue.

For the philosopher looking for worthy partners on the road, myth-telling thus serves a twofold purpose. At the limits of language, myths express insights for which other forms of speech might be inadequate, serving as *The Seventh Letter's logoi* and *eidola* on the path of wisdom. So, too, can they communicate the fruits of that inquiry in a persuasive fashion, serving as a propaedeutic to philosophical study or an exhortation to virtue. The relation between myth and philosophy thus cuts to the heart of *The Phaedrus's* meaning, because the use of myth belongs to the Platonic art of philosophical rhetoric, through which the philosopher tailors his speech to persuade his non-philosophical audience to seek wisdom and virtue. In just this manner, Socrates tailors his own conduct and the content of his *logoi* according to the condition of Phaedrus's speech-loving soul; thus, Socrates shows how myth can serve as a means of conversion to the philosophical life.

This connection between traditional mythic narrative and philosophy becomes all the clearer in light of what prompts Socrates' finest *logos* in *The Phaedrus*, the Palinode: a fear that he has committed an impiety against the god Eros, prompted by his daemonic sign. The sort of myth-making in which Socrates engages, evoked by and evoking a desire to philosophize, is thus itself an act of piety. By mythically depicting erotic passion as the greatest of divine gifts and the force that inspires philosophy itself, Socrates subverts in advance any facile dichotomies between reason and myth or between wisdom and the non-rational. The task for philosophy is, therefore, not to repudiate mythologizing altogether but rather to mythologize in ways suited to particular listeners for disclosing, however imperfectly, truths that break upon human awareness in excess of its conceptual categories. Thus we end where we began: the mark of the Platonic philosopher, distinguishing him from the traditional pretenders to wisdom, is how he or she works with words, in particular with myth. Unlike the work of the traditional poets and rhapsodes, this will typically involve considerable revision of conventional accounts of the gods and their affairs; but, unlike what rationalizing logographers or sophists do, this revisionist mythology springs from a philosophical piety and a serious commitment to the ultimately real: a commitment, claims Socrates, made under the patronage of the gods—the Nymphs and the Muses, Apollo and Eros—themselves.

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A Survey of Divisibility Properties of the Partition Function and Related Functions

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Abstract

The partition function, $p(n)$, counts the number of ways a positive integer n can be represented as a sum of nonincreasing positive integers. Over the years, Euler, Ramanujan, and, most recently, Ono have studied this function. We survey divisibility results of the partition function and of several related functions, such as $Q(n)$: the partitions of n into distinct parts, $b_\ell(n)$: partitions of n with no part of size ℓ , $p(n, m)$: the partitions of n into exactly m parts (which includes some of our results [22]), and $spt(n)$: Andrews's smallest part function.

Introduction

A *partition* of a positive integer n is a nonincreasing sequence of positive integers whose sum is n . We call the elements of a partition *parts*, and denote by $p(n)$ the number of partitions of n . For example $p(4) = 5$ as $4 = 4$, $4 = 3 + 1$, $4 = 2 + 2$, $4 = 2 + 1 + 1$, and $4 = 1 + 1 + 1 + 1$. The generating function for $p(n)$ is given by

$$\sum_{n=0}^{\infty} p(n)q^n = \prod_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{1}{1-q^i}. \quad (1)$$

We survey the divisibility properties of the partition function and related functions. First, we recall results about the divisibility of partition function by primes. Subsequently, we recall results about the divisibility of the partition function by prime powers. Likewise, functions related to the partition function also have divisibility properties similar to the partition function, although the extent of what divisibility properties are known varies from function to function.

This survey includes $Q(n)$: the partitions of n into distinct parts, $b_\ell(n)$: partitions of n with no part of size ℓ , $p(n, m)$: the partitions of n into exactly m parts, and $spt(n)$: Andrews' smallest part function. Our goal is to show some of the similarities between the divisibility properties of the partition function and related functions.

Divisibility of the Partition Function

Ramanujan [30] proved the following partition congruences:

$$p(5n + 4) \equiv 0 \pmod{5}, \quad (2)$$

$$p(7n + 5) \equiv 0 \pmod{7}, \quad (3)$$

and

$$p(11n + 6) \equiv 0 \pmod{11}. \quad (4)$$

for any integer $n \geq 0$. To illustrate these congruences, for $n \in \{1, 2, 3\}$, we have $p(4) = 5$, $p(9) = 30$, and $p(14) = 135$, which are divisible by 5; $p(5) = 7$, $p(12) = 77$, and $p(19) = 490$, which are divisible by 7; and $p(6) = 11$, $p(17) = 297$, and $p(28) = 3718$, which are divisible by 11. Unfortunately, the pattern of Equations 2, 3, and 4 does not hold, as $p(13(0) + 7) = 15 \not\equiv 0 \pmod{13}$. During the 1960s, Atkin [9] showed that for any non-negative integer n

$$p(17303n + 237) \equiv 0 \pmod{13}. \quad (5)$$

No other congruences of the form $p(An + B) \equiv 0 \pmod{m}$ for some prime m were known until 2000, when Ono [27] proved the following theorem.

Theorem 2.1

Let $m \geq 5$ be prime and k be a positive integer. Then a positive proportion of primes ℓ have the property that

$$p\left(\frac{m^k \ell^3 n + 1}{24}\right) \equiv 0 \pmod{m} \quad (6)$$

for every non-negative integer n coprime to ℓ .

Ramanujan [3] also conjectured that if $x = 5^a 7^b 11^c$ and $24y \equiv 1 \pmod{x}$, then $p(xn + y) \equiv 0 \pmod{x}$. Although Gupta and Chowla [16] showed $p(243) \not\equiv 0 \pmod{7^3}$, we can prove $p(xn + y) \equiv 0 \pmod{5^a 7^{\lfloor \frac{a}{2} \rfloor + 1} 11^c}$ [3], a modified version of Ramanujan's conjecture. First, Watson [32] showed that if $24n \equiv 1 \pmod{5^m}$, then

$$p(n) \equiv 0 \pmod{5^m}. \quad (7)$$

A few years later, Lehmer [23] proved that if $24n \equiv 1 \pmod{7^{\lfloor \frac{m}{2} \rfloor + 1}}$, then

$$p(n) \equiv 0 \pmod{7^{\lfloor \frac{m}{2} \rfloor + 1}}. \quad (8)$$

In 1954, Lehner [24] showed that for $n \geq 0$,

$$p(1331n + 721) \equiv 0 \pmod{11^3}. \quad (9)$$

Lastly, Atkin [8] showed that if $24n \equiv 1 \pmod{11^m}$, then

$$p(n) \equiv 0 \pmod{11^m}. \quad (10)$$

Building on previous work and Ono's result, Ahlgren [1] proved the following theorems.

Theorem 2.2

For a prime $\ell \geq 5$, there exist infinitely many congruences in which for all n ,

$$p(\ell n + B) \equiv 0 \pmod{\ell^m}. \quad (11)$$

Theorem 2.3

For every integer M coprime to 6, there are infinitely many congruences in which for all n ,

$$p(\ell n + B) \equiv 0 \pmod{M}. \quad (12)$$

Ahlgren and Ono [4] give explicit conditions for Theorem 2.2.

Theorem 2.4

For $\ell \geq 5$ an odd prime, let $\delta_\ell = \frac{\ell^2-1}{24}$, $\epsilon_\ell = (\frac{-6}{\ell}) \pmod{\ell} (\in \ell\{\pm 1\})$, and $S_\ell = \{ \beta \in \{0, 1, \dots, \ell-1\} : (\frac{\beta+\delta_\ell}{\ell}) = 0 \text{ or } -\epsilon_\ell \}$. If $\ell \geq 5$ is prime, m is a positive integer, and $\beta \in S_\ell$, then a positive proportion of primes $Q \equiv -1 \pmod{24\ell}$ have the property that

$$p\left(\frac{Q^3 n + 1}{24}\right) \equiv 0 \pmod{\ell^m} \quad (13)$$

for $n \equiv 1 - 24\beta \pmod{24\ell}$ and $\gcd(Q, n) = 1$.

While Theorem 2.4 shows a broad result about the divisibility of $p(n)$, there is still more work to be done, in particular about the parity of $p(n)$ and the divisibility of $p(n)$ by 3. Ono [28] gave some insight into the parity of $p(n)$. It is conjectured that there are no congruences like Equations 2, 3, and 4 for the moduli 2 and 3.

Divisibility of Partitions into Distinct Parts

A function which is related to $p(n)$ is $Q(n)$, the number of partitions of n with distinct parts. For example, $Q(6) = 4$ as $6 = 6$, $6 = 5 + 1$, $6 = 4 + 2$, $6 = 3 + 2 + 1$. The generating function for $Q(n)$ is given by

$$\sum_{n=0}^{\infty} Q(n)q^n = \prod_{i=1}^{\infty} (1 + q^i).$$

Like $p(n)$, $Q(n)$ also exhibits nice divisibility properties. Lovejoy [25] proves some congruences for $Q(n)$.

Theorem 3.1

For any prime $p \geq 5$, there are infinitely many distinct arithmetic progressions $an + b$ such that for all non-negative integers n

$$Q(\ell n + B) \equiv 0 \pmod{p}. \quad (14)$$

Additionally, Lovejoy explicitly gives the following congruences for $Q(n)$:

$$Q(26645n + 76) \equiv 0 \pmod{5}, \quad (15)$$

$$Q(47045n + 101) \equiv 0 \pmod{5}, \quad (16)$$

$$Q(186245n + 201) \equiv 0 \pmod{5}, \quad (17)$$

$$Q(489845n + 326) \equiv 0 \pmod{5}, \quad (18)$$

$$Q(567845n + 351) \equiv 0 \pmod{5}, \quad (19)$$

$$Q(3170503n + 1374) \equiv 0 \pmod{7}. \quad (20)$$

Similar to $p(n)$, $Q(n)$ has congruences for prime power modulus powers. In particular, Rødseth [31] proved that if n is a positive solution for $24n \equiv -1 \pmod{5^m}$, then

$$Q(n) \equiv 0 \pmod{5^{\frac{m-1}{2} + \epsilon_m}}, \quad (21)$$

where

$$\epsilon_m = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } m \equiv 0 \pmod{10} \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}.$$

The results in [26] are extended by Ahlgren and Lovejoy [2].

Theorem 3.2

For a prime $p \geq 5$, let

$$S_p = \left\{ n \in \mathbb{N} : n \equiv 0 \pmod{p} \text{ or } \left(\frac{n}{p}\right) = -\left(\frac{-2}{p}\right) \right\}. \quad (22)$$

For m a positive integer, and for almost all $n \in S_p$ we have

$$Q\left(\frac{n-1}{24}\right) \equiv 0 \pmod{p^m}. \quad (23)$$

Theorem 3.2 is analogous to Theorem 2.4.

Divisibility of ℓ -regular Partitions

Changing gears, let $b_\ell(n)$ be the number of partitions of n with no part of size ℓ . We call such partitions ℓ -regular. For example, $b_4(4) = 4$ as $4 = 3 + 1$, $4 = 2 + 2$, $4 = 2 + 1 + 1$, and $4 = 1 + 1 + 1 + 1$. The generating function for $b_\ell(n)$ is given by

$$\sum_{n=0}^{\infty} b_\ell(n)q^n = \prod_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{(1-q^{\ell i})}{(1-q^i)}.$$

We see that $b_\ell(n)$ also exhibits behavior similar to $p(n)$ and $Q(n)$. Euler [5] noted that $b_2(n) = Q(n)$ for all n . Gordon and Ono [15] showed the set of integers in which $b_\ell(n) \equiv 0 \pmod{p^j}$ has arithmetic density one for p a prime and j an integer. Andrews, Hirschhorn, and Sellers [7] gave the following congruences for $b_4(n)$:

$$b_4(9n + 4) \equiv 0 \pmod{4}, \quad (24)$$

$$b_4(9n + 7) \equiv 0 \pmod{12}. \quad (25)$$

For $b_5(n)$, Calkin et al. [11] as well as Hirschhorn and Sellers [17] found

$$b_5(20n + 5) \equiv 0 \pmod{2}, \quad (26)$$

$$b_5(20n + 13) \equiv 0 \pmod{2}. \quad (27)$$

For 9-regular partitions modulo 3, Keith [18] found

$$b_9(4n + 3) \equiv 0 \pmod{3}. \quad (28)$$

Furthermore, Xia and Yao [34] found for $n, k \geq 0$ that

$$b_9 \left(2^{6k+7} + \frac{2^{6k+6} - 1}{3} \right) \equiv 0 \pmod{2}, \quad (29)$$

as well as many more. Also, Webb [33] showed that for integer $\ell \geq 2$ and $n \geq 0$

$$b_{13}(3^\ell n + \frac{(5)3^{\ell-1} - 1}{2}) \equiv 0 \pmod{3}. \quad (30)$$

For more results about ℓ -regular partitions, see [29], [12], and [13]. However, there is still much work to be done in this area.

Divisibility of Partitions into Exactly ℓ Parts

Let $p(n, m)$ be the number of partitions of n into exactly m parts. For example,

$p(7, 3) = 4$ as $7 = 5 + 1 + 1, 7 = 4 + 2 + 1, 3 + 3 + 1$, as $7 = 3 + 2 + 2$. The generating function for $p(n, m)$ is given by

$$\sum_{i=0}^{\infty} p(n, m) q^n = q^m \prod_{i=1}^m \frac{1}{(1-q^i)}.$$

Like $Q(n)$ and $b_\ell(n)$, it restricts what partitions of n are allowed and also has nice divisibility properties. Let $lcm(n)$ be the least common multiple of the numbers $\{1, \dots, n\}$. Kronholm [19] proved for ℓ an odd prime and $n \geq lcm(\ell - 1) - \frac{\ell-3}{2}$, then

$$p(n\ell, \ell) - p(n\ell - lcm(\ell), \ell) \equiv 0 \pmod{\ell}. \quad (31)$$

An immediate corollary of Equation 31 is for n a positive integer and $0 \leq t \leq \frac{\ell-3}{2}$,

$$p(n\ell - t\ell, \ell) \equiv 0 \pmod{\ell}. \quad (32)$$

Furthermore, Kronholm [20] showed that for ℓ an odd prime and $m \geq 0$, if $2 \leq t \leq \ell$, then

$$p(m \cdot lcm(\ell), t) \equiv 0 \pmod{\ell}. \quad (33)$$

Also, Kronholm [21] proved that for an ℓ an odd prime, k a non-negative integer, and $n = lcm(\ell)\ell^{\alpha-1}j + \ell k$ and $n' = lcm(\ell)\ell^{\alpha-1}(j+1) - \frac{\ell^2-3\ell}{2} - \ell k$, if $\min\{n, n'\} \geq \frac{\ell^2-3\ell}{2}$ and $\alpha \geq 1$, then

$$p(n, \ell) - p(n', \ell) \equiv 0 \pmod{\ell}. \quad (34)$$

For ℓ an odd prime and $0 \leq m \leq \frac{\ell-3}{2}$, then let $x_\ell(m) = \frac{\ell+1-|\ell-4m-3|}{4}$. Kronholm and Larsen [22] found for ℓ an odd prime, $-\ell \cdot x_\ell(m) \leq n \leq \ell - 1$ and $k \geq 0$;

$$p(lcm(\ell)k - \ell m - [\ell x_\ell(m) + n], \ell) + p(lcm(\ell)k - \ell m + [\ell x_\ell(m) + n], \ell) \equiv p(n) \pmod{\ell}, \quad (35)$$

unless $m = \frac{\ell-3}{4}$ is an integer, then

$$p(lcm(\ell)k - \ell m - [\ell x_\ell(m) + n], \ell) + p(lcm(\ell)k - \ell m + [\ell x_\ell(m) + n], \ell) \equiv 2p(n) \pmod{\ell}.$$

We conjecture for ℓ an odd prime, $\ell \equiv 3 \pmod{4}$, and $k \geq 0$, then

$$p(lcm(\ell)k + \frac{lcm(\ell)}{2} - \ell m - [\ell x_\ell(m) + n], \ell) + p(lcm(\ell)k + \frac{lcm(\ell)}{2} - \ell m + [\ell x_\ell(m) + n], \ell) \equiv p(n) \pmod{\ell}. \quad (36)$$

Unlike other congruences for $p(n)$ and related functions, proofs for congruences regarding $p(n, m)$ do not rely on the theory of modular forms.

Divisibility of Properties of Andrews' Smallest Parts Function

Andrews' smallest parts function, $spt(n)$, is the number of total number of appearances of the smallest part in each partition. We underline the smallest part of each partition of 4 to illustrate that $spt(4) = 10$ as $4 = \underline{4}, 4 = 3 + \underline{1}, 4 = \underline{2} + \underline{2}, 4 = 2 + \underline{1} + \underline{1}$, and $4 = \underline{1} + \underline{1} + \underline{1} + \underline{1}$. The generating function for $spt(n)$ is given by

$$\sum_{n=1}^{\infty} spt(n) q^n = \prod_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{1}{1-q^i} \sum_{n=1}^{\infty} \frac{nq^n}{1-q^n} + \prod_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{1}{1-q^i} \sum_{n=1}^{\infty} \frac{(-1)^n q^{\frac{n(3n+1)}{2}} (1+q^n)}{(1-q^n)^2}.$$

Fortunately, $spt(n)$ has divisibility properties like $p(n)$, $Q(n)$, $b_\ell(n)$ and $p(n, m)$. Unlike $Q(n)$, $b_\ell(n)$, and $p(n, m)$, which are restrictions of the partition function, Andrews' smallest parts function, $spt(n)$, determines a property of the partitions of n . Andrews [6] proves the following congruences:

$$spt(5n + 4) \equiv 0 \pmod{5}, \quad (37)$$

$$spt(7n + 5) \equiv 0 \pmod{7}, \quad (38)$$

$$spt(13n + 6) \equiv 0 \pmod{13}. \quad (39)$$

These are remarkably similar to Equations 2, 3, and 4. According to Folsom and Ono [14], Bringmann [10] proves that for a prime $p \geq 5$, a and b integers, there are infinitely many congruences of the form

$$spt(an + b) \equiv 0 \pmod{p}. \quad (40)$$

Folsom and Ono established congruences for $p = 2$ and $p = 3$. They prove

Theorem 6.1

For an integer m and for p a prime such that $p \equiv 23 \pmod{24}$, $spt(n)$ is odd if and only if $24n - 1 = pm^2$.

Conclusion

The partition function and related functions exhibit many divisibility properties. While we do not cover all related functions to $p(n)$ nor all congruences, this survey gives a sense of the vastness of the world of partitions. There are many congruences yet to be discovered for functions related to $p(n)$.

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Endnotes

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“¡La Negra Que Lo Menea!”: Amara La Negra and Afro-Dominican Self-Affirmation

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Isabelia Herrera graduated summa cum laude from Barnard College in 2014, where she majored in sociology and minored in race and ethnicity. Her research interests include identity construction practices in musical communities and the intersection of race and gender in the performance of hip-hop, Latin music, and other urban music cultures. She is currently a full-time research assistant at the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute at the City College of New York. In the future, she plans to pursue a PhD in performance studies.

Abstract

This paper analyzes the music of Amara La Negra, a twenty-three-year-old Dominican artist born in Miami. In this text, I reveal how discourses constructed by elites during colonization, nationalism, U.S. imperialism, and dictatorship have concealed the Dominican people's African ancestry, foreclosed narratives of black liberation and empowerment, and used anti-Haitian sentiment to construct Dominican national identity. I argue that Amara La Negra recuperates her African heritage in her performance of black female desirability. I also examine the ways in which Amara La Negra creates a public image of Afro-Dominican self-affirmation and subverts normative beauty standards.

Scholarship on black racial identity in the Dominican Republic has focused on the popular denial of blackness and the presumed failure to claim African heritage (Howard; Sagas; Simmons; Candelario). In this essay, I use the music of Amara La Negra as evidence of a burgeoning movement of black self-affirmation and public recognition of African ancestry. Amara La Negra, *née* Diana De Los Santos, is a dark-skinned, twenty-three-year-old, second-generation performer from Miami who provides a rich case for the analysis of black beauty and femininity on the island. By examining lyrics and De Los Santos's personal accounts of discrimination, I will explore her assertion of Afro-Dominican femininity. Grounding this analysis in a brief review of the whitening of Dominican genres and the transnational, hybrid nature of her music, I argue that her recuperation of black femininity subverts traditional Dominican beauty standards and contributes to an emerging movement of black female empowerment and recognition of African heritage. Many scholars of blackness in the Dominican Republic adopt U.S. and Western interpretative frameworks that overlook the nuances of local racial hierarchies and island history (Howard; Simmons; Sagas). I challenge this approach by illuminating the importance of public acknowledgement of African heritage without adopting a U.S.-based critique of anti-blackness rooted in Western narratives of modernization.

Dominican conceptions of blackness emerged from a series of hegemonic, anti-Haitian, and nationalist ideologies forged by the white upper class in the colonial period, the transition to independence, U.S. occupation in the early twentieth century, and the Trujillo dictatorship (Torres-Saillant; Sagas; Candelario). During the 1844 struggle for independence, white *criollo* elites used the political discourse of *antihaitianismo* to construct national identity. Elites sought to establish the Dominican people as “not black” and not Haitian through political propaganda, a tactic that was central to *independentista* efforts; the Haitian side of Hispaniola was considered a primarily black republic that had undergone far less racial mixture than the east side (Candelario; Sagas). As Silvio Torres-Saillant explains, the nation-building ideology of white elites “included an element of self-differentiation with respect to Haitians” and “self-differentiation seldom failed to contain a racial component” (28).

In this way, the hegemonic conception of Dominican national identity as antithetical to Haiti and blackness was born. From 1916 to 1924, a series of U.S. military invasions reinforced the myth that Dominicans lacked African heritage. As Ginetta Candelario describes, U.S. observers figured Haitians “as primitive, dirty, animalistic, black, and ugly” and Dominicans as “clean, courtly, white, and generally welcoming of white Americans” (259). Elites rejected Anglo traditions as a consequence of U.S. occupation and instead hoped to carve a space between whiteness and blackness, giving rise to the powerful narrative of Indo-Hispanicity, or mixed indigenous and Spanish heritage (Torres-Saillant 29).

These ideologies culminated in the Trujillo dictatorship, wherein state-sponsored *antihaitianismo* and indigeneity were rearticulated to foster support for the regime. Authoritarian racial projects, including the 1937 Parsley Massacre and the implementation of the *cédula de identidad nacional* in 1947 (which created the legal racial category of *indio*), institutionalized national identity as incompatible with blackness and whiteness and instead embraced the racial mixture of Indo-Hispanicity as essential to the heritage of the Dominican people (Sagas 45–59; Candelario 19, 259; Torres-Saillant 45). The culmination of these myths during the *Trujillato* produced powerful cultural legacies that persisted into the democratic era.

These ideologies spawned anti-black attitudes in the cultural sphere, creating a hierarchy of beauty standards based on skin color, facial features, and hair texture that favored characteristics purportedly linked to mixed people and viewed Afro-Dominican women as physically undesirable (Candelario 235). In her study of hair salons in Washington Heights, Candelario examines how these ideals

have been codified and enacted. She explains, “Hair was a fundamental marker for Dominican women’s racial ascription discourses and identity displays,” an essential part of which is the narrative of *pelo malo/pelo bueno* (19). This dichotomy constructs African-origin hair textures as bad and straight hair as good (182). *Pelo malo/pelo bueno* points to the enormous historical impact of ideologies of national identity, and will figure strongly in the analysis of Amara La Negra’s music.

These deeply inscribed myths of *dominicanidad* ultimately prevented movements of black self-affirmation on the island. Torres-Saillant and Flores argue that the social and cultural exchange accompanying the diaspora have reversed this trend and that Dominicans are now confronting their African ancestry in transformative ways. Flores argues that one of the major cultural remittances of the diaspora is the destabilizing power of black consciousness among youth, which de-centers racial identities and challenges dominant ways of thinking about blackness on the island (47). Considering the absence of black self-affirmation and the dangerous menace of racialized beauty standards, it is now fruitful to consider the case of Amara La Negra, who poses a challenge to anti-black discourses in the Dominican Republic.

In her most widely viewed music video, “Ayy,” De Los Santos gleefully dances around Santo Domingo’s Zona Colonial in colorful clothing and an Afro (see image 1). She sings, “I am Amara La Negra/Boys chase me/I don’t know if it’s because of my hair or the way I dance.” In the video, a traffic jam motivates several drivers and passengers to exit their cars and dance with her on the street. During the chorus, Amara and two back-up dancers turn around and twerk in unison in the direction of the camera. In only the first minute of the video, De Los Santos offers an uncommon representation of femininity in Dominican media. She imputes the wealth of male attention to her Afro and her dance style. Candelario’s study of Dominican hair culture suggests that *pelo malo*, or “hair that is perceived to be tightly curled, coarse, and kinky” is routinely disparaged and rejected by Dominican women (182). Furthermore, Candelario explains that African-Americans have found empowerment through “Afrocentric hair-styling techniques and styles such as braiding, corn rowing, and dreadlocking,” but these trends are uncommon among Afro-Dominicans (183). Thus, Amara’s suggestion that she is attractive specifically because of her hairstyle is powerful—by embracing her allegedly “ugly” black features, she challenges normative beauty ideals.

It is also significant that De Los Santos emphasizes her *blackness* rather than a *mixed* ancestry. Candelario suggests that “the preference is not for whiteness but for

‘Hispanic’ or mixed looks” and that Indo-Hispanicity represents the ideal form of Dominican beauty (235). Therefore, De Los Santos’s assertion of her African roots through the construction of her hair as attractive challenges standards that valorize mixed people over those with black or white features.

While Amara La Negra has garnered an impressive fan base, her career has been marked by some criticism. Many of her 215,000 followers on Facebook and Twitter are consumers of the *urbano* genre, a popular commercial radio category that encompasses *reggaeton*, *dembow*, and other “urban” styles, according to Richard Hernández of the Dominican newspaper *Listin Diario*. Hernández’s April 2014 report of the Top 100 Tracks of the Week revealed that urban artists have begun to dominate the charts, with over twenty-five on the Top 100—Amara La Negra among them. Despite her popularity, De Los Santos has experienced significant online criticism via scathing comments on her music videos, which include statements such as, “For a black woman, she’s way too provocative” and, “That damn black woman, the only thing you can see of hers in the darkness is her teeth” (EDBvision). In an interview with Emelyn Baldera of *Listin Diario*, De Los Santos also explains that many of her critics believe “her dance style is vulgar and it is inappropriate,” a view that has undoubtedly been shaped by her race—as evidenced by the commentator above who believes she is too provocative “for a *black* woman.”

However, De Los Santos often mocks her detractors in her music and in TV interviews. In a satirical skit on “Agua,” an infantile, high-pitched voice yells, “Who does that black woman think she is? That ass is injected (i.e., augmented through plastic surgery). . . . Have you seen her hair? She doesn’t even get it done or comb it. Forget that ugly girl!” Here, De Los Santos ridicules critiques of her perceived presumptuousness, alleged plastic surgeries, and natural hair. By boldly satirizing these critiques, Amara La Negra asserts herself as a beautiful black woman. Rather than minimizing her blackness or “whitening” her style, Amara demands that listeners contend with her experiences of discrimination. Furthermore, she presents herself as a desirable sexual being with agency, disrupting normative standards of Dominican beauty that eschew black femininity.

In television interviews, De Los Santos expands on this reclaiming of Afro-Dominican beauty. In late 2013, she appeared on the national variety program *Sábado Extraordinario*. The host asked De Los Santos to elaborate on her previous experiences of discrimination:

On certain channels and TV programs, my skin color was a problem for them, as well as my hair. They have this misconception that for a black woman to be beautiful or pretty she has to have

straightened, limp, knee-length, almost blonde hair. . . . A lot of people want to ignore reality and say that racism doesn't exist, but it persists. . . . I've always been very proud of my skin color and my roots. . . . But I've experienced a lot of discrimination. Things like, "she's too black," "her hair is too coarse." (Cachica.com)

Elaborating on the belief that black women must straighten their hair to be considered beautiful, De Los Santos added, "It's a lie; our hair is naturally not like that. So what's the problem?" These quotations demonstrate her strong opposition to anti-black attitudes in Dominican hair culture. In her *Listin Diario* interview with Baldera, she even argues that she refuses to chemically treat her hair "as a form of rebellion." Because De Los Santos is a second-generation immigrant born in the U.S., African-American natural hair culture and Dominican national identity discourses intersect in her condemnation of Dominican beauty norms. Torres-Saillant has suggested that, "The diaspora will render an inestimable service to the Dominican people if it can help to rid the country of white supremacist thought and negrophobic discourse" (56). As a transnational, diasporic artist, I argue that Amara La Negra is positioned to disrupt anti-black narratives of Dominican beauty. However, I do not wish to exalt the influence of U.S. racial ideologies on the sociocultural exchange of ideas that accompanies the diaspora. I do not intend to frame the U.S. as a progressive, anti-racist entity that wholly accepts and embraces blackness and the Dominican Republic as politically backwards. I simply suggest that the intersection of these racial systems can potentially produce a dialogue about self-affirmation on the island. As Juan Flores argues, cultural remittances, or "customs and practices, ideological orientations, forms of artistic expression, and ideas of group identity acquired in diaspora settings" have the potential to destabilize and shift conceptions of racial identities (44). Artistic expression and new ideas of group identity "may well generate a culture of resistance to national elite domination and complicity" (Flores 49). Rather than reinforcing hegemonic notions of national identity through her music, De Los Santos uses recognizable forms of racial representation that could provide a platform for popular reconsideration of beauty norms. At the minimum, she has presented the opportunity for other dark-skinned Dominican performers to embrace their identities publicly. She has exposed fans to images of black female self-affirmation in the media heretofore unavailable to Afro-Dominicans.

Although I have addressed the racial and gender implications of De Los Santos's music, I have not considered her work stylistically. I argue that Amara La Negra joins other second-generation, diasporic Dominican artists by using global electronic music and mixing it with urban

Dominican aesthetics. Her intervention is that she foregrounds the assertion of Afro-Dominican femininity in this endeavor. Given the historical whitening of Dominican music,¹ De Los Santos's recuperation of black feminine sexuality is significant. Pacini Hernández has suggested that transnational fields have allowed:

U.S.-based immigrants, their U.S.-born children, and their island-based counterparts to simultaneously experience and participate in musical developments in both locations . . . by moving beyond the more traditional sonorities of *merengue* and *bachata* retained by their first-generation parents, it is clear that these youths are also seeking newer, more nuanced, and layered ways of "being Dominican." (*Oye Como Va!* 79; 83)

Hybridized genres provide new platforms for rearticulating Dominican identities—once again pointing to the potential of the diaspora to upend hegemonic conceptions of national identity. This concept of the hybrid is useful for thinking about De Los Santos's music, which I categorize as a blend of pop, *dembow*, and electronic music. Because De Los Santos combines these styles rather than adopting a more traditional form, she can assert her blackness. That is, she can perform a particular black feminine sexuality because she is "Dominicanizing" a global style rather than working within the traditional space of *merengue* and *bachata*. Her most popular song, "Ayy," is a cover of a song by Brazilian artist Melher Melancia, but she inserts Dominican aesthetics through an added horn section (which would typically be found in *merengue*) and a *dembow* beat (essential to *reggaeton* and *dembow* music). While *bachata* and *merengue* first became popular because of their minimized African influences, Amara La Negra has asserted her blackness and simultaneously experienced widespread popularity. Thus, her hybrid style might make her performance of black female sexuality more acceptable and palatable to listeners.

Amara La Negra's assertion of black female desirability has provided a complex case for analyzing racialized discourses of beauty and narratives of national identity in the Dominican Republic. She represents a crucial force in the burgeoning movement of Afro-Dominican women's empowerment, and points to the importance of self-affirmation in cultural and public contexts. As one Dominican author writes about Amara La Negra: "Our youth are demanding black leaders and stars that they can follow and emulate for their public racial identification" ("Nuevos Tiempos Demandan De Una Sociedad Plural: El Fenómeno de Amara"). Amara La Negra is breaking important ground in a context where black self-affirmation is absent in the media. Her career points to the powerful role that diaspora youth play in destabilizing dominant ideas of race and racial identities in the Dominican Republic.



Figure 1. Still from “Ayy” music video. Amara La Negra dances around the Zona Colonial in bright clothing and an Afro.

Endnotes

- ⁱ Both *merengue* and *bachata* have significant rhythmic and percussive African influences but have been manipulated in popular and scholarly memory as a tool of nationalist mythology. Under Trujillo, government support for *merengue* soared, and its ideological connection to Dominican nationalism became essential. To gain regional support, Trujillo appropriated *merengue* from the poor, black Cibao countryside, minimizing its African percussive elements and hiring composers to pen anthems supporting the dictatorship (Austerlitz). For many years, the roots of *bachata* as Spanish guitar music and the prominence of lyrics and melody associated with Spain were favored over the smaller role of percussion, which was linked to African musical traditions (Hernández, *Bachata* 135). *Bachata*’s African-derived aesthetics were recognized only as it became commercially successful and tied to Dominican identity in the 1990s (Hernández, *Bachata* 135). Thus, *bachata* and *merengue* have been historically “whitened” as they have each been linked to national identity.

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The Politics of Melancholia in Latina Literature

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Abstract

In this excerpt from my larger project, I propose that the concept of melancholia as a psychical response to loss is useful in understanding the experiences of subjects racialized and gendered as Latina. Rather than viewing melancholia as immobilizing and incapacitating, as Freud does, I argue that melancholia can be politically mobilized in its identification of losses of language, culture, ideals and other disenfranchisements that may be wrought by systems of oppression. To explore melancholia and its relation to subjectivity and resistance, I offer an interpretative analysis of Patricia Engel's *Vida*.

Freudian psychoanalysis has long had a tenuous relationship with historically marginalized ethno-racialized groups, including Latinos and Latinas. This uneasiness has arisen out of a confluence of factors. That Freudian psychoanalytic theory is built upon a presumption of an inherently, naturally arising subjectivity with little acknowledgement of the historical contingencies through which subjectivity is socially constructed in a given society is perhaps the most salient factor. Here, subjectivity refers to a sort of interiority that is produced by, but not limited to, one's experiences, perceptions, desires, and feelings; subjectivity also include consciousness of that interiority and agency that is grounded in one's understanding of self.

However, historically speaking, various socio-political-cultural institutions, structures, and norms seek or have sought to delegitimize the subjectivity of marginalized groups through processes of dehumanization. For instance, in her "Melancholia as Resistance in Contemporary African American Literature," Eva Tettenborn points to the ways in which chattel slavery sought to "obliterate" the subjectivity of African Americans (107). By reducing African Americans to property, chattel slavery made the humanity of African Americans socially inconceivable and thus precluded even the possibility of their possession of a subjectivity recognizable to the white hegemonic gaze. Thus, for ethno-racialized subjects and other marginalized subjects, Freudian psychoanalysis and its subsequent iterations prove problematic in their focus on subjectivity only as matter of individual expression without attending to the social processes that permit and sanction that individual expression as legitimate (Ganim 225).

While wariness remains around the applicability of psychoanalysis to historically marginalized subjects, recent revisionist work has sought to reconcile psychoanalysis with ethnic/cultural studies of marginalized groups. In this endeavor for reconciliation, reconsideration of the Freudian framework of mourning and melancholia as responses to loss has been especially important. Scholars such as Judith Butler,ⁱ Éva Tettenborn, and José Esteban Muñozⁱⁱ have mapped out ways in which the psychoanalytic concept of melancholia may have applicability to the experiences of marginalized peoples. However, the work that is most relevant for the purposes of this article is David Eng and Shinhee Han's "A Dialogue on Racial Melancholia," which revisits Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia." To further clarify the key conceptual points that my argument puts forth, a brief summary of Eng and Han's revisiting of the Freudian conceptualization of mourning and melancholia follows.

In "Mourning and Melancholia," Freud proposes a binary, individual-centered conceptualization of grief in which melancholia represents an abnormal, indefinite process of grieving a loss as opposed to the normal, finite process of mourning that results in an attachment to a new object (161–165). For Freud, the loss can take the form of objects, places, and ideals. Eng and Han find Freud's theory an evocative option with which to consider "both the material and psychic process of Asian American immigration, assimilation, and racialization" and offer a model of racial melancholia that revises the Freudian model of melancholia in the following ways:

- Racial melancholia is a depathologized structure of feeling that is present in the quotidian experiences of Asian Americans;
- Racial melancholia is conceived as a group experience rather than an individual one; and
- The processes of assimilation, immigration, and racialization can be viewed as actors within this framework of melancholia as they often involve "lost ideals of whiteness, Asianness, home, and language" (666).

Eng and Han's revision of melancholia is significant in that their theory calls for a depathologization of melancholia and thus removes the subjectivities of marginalized groups from the realm of damage or victimization (692). Furthermore, this depathologization touches upon the politicized capacity of melancholia. In other words, if marginalized peoples' experience of melancholia is non-pathological, then it is possible for melancholia to operate as a space in which resistance can emerge as well as a space in

which to navigate identities complicated by the minority status attached to them (693).ⁱⁱⁱ

Even though racial melancholia was originally formulated to describe and explain the plight of Asian Americans, its attention to immigration, assimilation, and racialization writ large renders it compelling as a concept for understanding the experiences of other ethno-racialized groups as well. For instance, in this time of political anxieties surrounding the brown body that is racialized as Latino/a, we have seen an intersection of political discourses that surround and often pathologize Latino/a immigration, reproduction, and health (Gúzman and Valdivia 211, 225–226). That these political discourses ironically converge with popular discourses that seemingly celebrate the marketability of Latino/as underscores an experience of partial citizenship to which many ethno-racialized groups are subject. In the words of cultural anthropologist Arlene Dávila, “[Simply] put, Latino’s marketing power may be amply discussed in mainstream media, but their political power is yet to parallel the exuberant excitement they currently trigger among marketers” (13). These tensions place Latinos and Latinas in a precarious position of partial citizenship in which a full citizenship that includes political power is surrendered for the recognition of power as consumers. Furthermore, this forfeiture of political power can be understood as a loss of sorts that informs Latino/a subjectivity as imbricated with a sort of melancholia. My project seeks to expand upon Eng and Han’s investigation by offering a consideration of melancholia, resistance, and its relationship to Latina literature.

As José Alberto Reichart’s points out in his dissertation *Crossing Borders: Voices from the “Margins,”* “literature represents a privileged space of analysis and investigation of cultural identities as well as the relation between the social, historical, and cultural contexts and the construction of a sense of self” (10). In my quest to investigate how melancholia imbricates the quotidian experiences of Latinas, literary productions offer a rich site to begin such mappings. Furthermore, Reichart’s remark about literature as a space to consider “the construction of a sense of self” is especially significant when considering Latina literature. As I will return to later in greater detail, selfhood and subjectivity have been historically denied to Latinas who occupy a status as the racialized and gendered other. Therefore, an articulation of selfhood in literature is not only symptomatic of melancholia but resistant to normative structures of power as well.

Moreover, in contemporary Latino/a literature, some of the social, historical, and the cultural factors to which Reichart refers are constituted by “a distinctive relationship to questions of citizenship (given the long-term debates about noncitizen workers dividing US Americans), nationalism (since so many Latino/as come from deterritorialized or col-

onized nations), and transnationalism (given the histories of migration and immigration behind the formation of identity)” as Suzanne Bost and Frances R. Aparicio note (5). These “questions” suggest processes of immigration, racialization, and assimilation can belong to a melancholic framework in that all of these processes involve losses that can never be adequately mourned (i.e., of homelands, status in former communities, of the attainability of the white ideal, etc.). Keeping in mind the observation of “literature as privileged space” supplemented by Bost and Aparicio’s contextualization, it would be useful to identify moments of melancholia in Latina literature. In this essay, I offer an interpretative analysis of excerpts from Colombian American author Patricia Engel’s *Vida*.^{iv}

In “Madre Patria,” the last chapter of *Vida*, the protagonist Sabina and her family return to Colombia to visit. This chapter provides particular insight into the melancholic aspect of immigration, as the emigration of Sabina’s parents from Colombia does not simply signify a loss of homeland, identity, status in former community, and family. The losses experienced through immigration to the United States are compounded by the fact that the immigration itself is predicated upon political chaos in Colombia that resulted in the loss of thousands of accounted and unaccounted lives. As Eng and Han point out, Freud’s model of mourning would entail obtaining closure through the emotional attachment to another object. That this object as aforementioned can take the form of an ideal is especially significant for ethno-racialized subjects, for whom the ideal of the American Dream often becomes the new love object. Indeed, an investment in the American Dream is evident as Sabina’s father has a profitable business that allows him and his family to live a middle-class existence in New Jersey suburbia. Even so, it is clear from Sabina’s narration that her parents—particularly her mother—have not completely mourned the losses of former attachments.

Returning to Colombia means for Sabina’s family re-grieving the deaths of all those who her mother had loved as “every visit to Bogotá was marked by a full day of leaving flowers at the tombstones of relatives [Sabina] never met, including Mami’s parents” (160). Revisiting Colombia also means revisiting the loss of identity and loss of status in a former community: Upon their visit, Sabina’s aunt accuses Sabina’s mother of changing; her relatives are displeased that Sabina’s mother “left Colombia to live *como una cualquiera* [as a nobody] in New Jersey”; and the relatives further question how can happiness be achieved in a country where one is invisible (169, 170). These failed renegotiations and reconciliations with a “country that does not want [them] back” further complicate this melancholia, as these failures only seem to compel further futile attempts to reclaim that which has been lost (161). Thus, when Sabina’s father says of Colombia

that the “country is a cemetery,” his words are not only alluding to the physical deaths of people but also the abstract loss and abandonment of former lives and affiliations (160).

Therefore, although Sabina’s family has established some sort of emotional attachment to the U.S. based on economic integration, it does not appear to be enough to permit a complete mourning of the lost object. This inadequacy of the new object to replace the old object suggests that the interminability of mourning resides in the way that the new object points towards more losses. For instance, for Eng and Han, the “model minority” stereotype often applied to Asian Americans requires the discarding of “political representation and cultural voice,” thereby pointing to a failure of attaining “full” subjectivity (692). Similarly, economic integration seems to have analogous implications for Sabina’s family as they, too, are relegated to “partial subjectivities” and are thus rendered invisible in terms of status and political representation.

Moreover, these forfeitures that contribute to partial subjectivities and invisibility in exchange for economic integration are embedded in the processes of racialization, which may be thought of as an ironic process that manages the hypervisibility of the “other.” We can take the second paragraph of the book as an example in which Sabina narrates:

We were foreigners, spics, in a town of blancos. I don’t know how we ended up there. There’s tons of Latinos in New Jersey, but somehow we ended up in the one town that only kept them as maids. All the kids called me brownie on account of my permanent tan, or Indian because all the Indians they saw on TV were dark like me. (3)

In this passage, Sabina demonstrates a profound cognizance of her ethno-racial otherness as she identifies her family as the “foreigners,” which also points to a conflicted relationship to citizenship. Her self-identification as a foreigner is inevitably symptomatic of an interiorization of epithets like “brownie” and “Indian.”

Additionally, she shows an intensified sense of displacement when she remarks, “I don’t know how we ended up there,” indicating that the family could not even find solace among other “others.” That Sabina’s family occupies a class status that allows her family to be the neighbors—rather than the maids—of their white counterparts further marks them as unintelligible. Therefore, racialization acts as a process to treat the hypervisibility of the other as a spectacle by excluding them from the possibility of a structural visibility, which has historically been reserved for white heterosexual men. In this way, the investment in the American Dream turns void in a sense, suspending Sabina and her family in melancholia. This suspension is the result

of the disruption of mourning of former attachments by processes such as racialization that point to new losses, such as the loss of an attainable ideal of whiteness (marked by, for example, “a permanent tan”) which is coterminous with the loss of a structural visibility in terms of socio-political-cultural representation.

Similarly, these passages from *Vida* seem to resonate with Eng and Han’s point about intergenerational conflict. Eng and Han write that, “If the losses suffered by first-generation immigrants are not resolved and mourned in the process of assimilation . . . the melancholia that ensues from this condition can be transferred to the second generation” (679). Indeed, the unease that Sabina feels about her and her family’s place within the New Jersey community seems to indicate that she inherited the melancholic conflict that arose in her parents as a result of immigration and was left unresolved by assimilation and investment in the American Dream.

This inherited melancholic conflict is also evident in the losses that Sabina herself suffers (i.e., the deaths of Lucho or Maureen and the loss of relationships) as they are more palpable reminders of the abstract losses of her parents. Here, the relationship between trauma and melancholia becomes apparent when we consider that Freud theorizes that trauma becomes a fixation for the traumatized and re-manifests throughout the life of the traumatized (13). Therefore, with the understanding that Sabina’s inheritance of loss is an original trauma that repeats itself in the manifestation of other losses, melancholia can be viewed as recourse to preserve history and memory. In other words, Sabina will never forget the losses of her parents since she inherited them as her original trauma and they re-manifest in her life as other losses. It is, then, interesting to consider a construction of melancholia operating as a preservation of history and memory, which in turn acts as means to assert selfhood and subjectivity though limited in a society that seeks to efface it (Eng and Han 681–683).

In this sense, melancholia is not immobilizing, as Freud suggests, but has a politicized capacity, as Eng and Han and others have suggested. Indeed, I would argue that melancholia as an affective space allows the literary works of Latinas to function counter-hegemonically in the white-masculine-dominated domain of literature (as suggested by scholars such as Lourdes Torres). Indeed, it is relevant that in *Vida* the experience of loss and resulting melancholia is narrated through the subjectivity of Sabina, a young woman of color. Because such position as a speaking subject has been historically denied to Latinas (or *lost* in a sense), I would argue that literature then permits a melancholic rendering of the self.

Torres speaks of the significance of this investment in the subject by Latina authors amidst white patriarchal theoretical claims that the subject and author are no longer relevant and are experiencing a death of sorts. She explains that, “It is important to note that as people of color have begun to define and construct their subjectivity, the construction of a ‘subject’ suddenly has become antitheoretical and problematic according to the dictates of current critical theory,” leading to the assertions of the death of the subject (273). Latina literary productions’ refusal to accept this “death” of the subject can be seen as a counter-hegemonic articulation of a racialized and gendered melancholia, since subjectivity has been historically denied to them as a result of their also racialized and gendered positions. Instead of accepting white male theorizations as fact, they insist upon the idea of the subject to the point of incorporation into the self.

To elaborate, even though mainstream white hegemonic culture disavows the subjectivity and the construction of self for a woman of color, that subjectivity—though not externally recognized, legitimized, or sanctioned—is still internalized by Latina writers. A Latina writer’s psychic internalization of self then capacitates her to articulate and project a construction of herself, even if it is one that has been institutionally disavowed. Their refusal to recognize their subjectivity as permanently lost or dead then produces literature that functions counter-hegemonically to de-center whiteness and masculinity as normative values. In other words, melancholia provides an affective space in which to challenge forms of gender and racial oppression as exemplified, for instance, in the notion of subjectivity as only being able to accommodate whiteness and masculinity.

Because melancholia points to losses of ideals, culture, language, and disenfranchisements, it can be useful in identifying and contesting systems of oppression. The melancholia that informs the experiences of Latinas and other racialized groups, rather than only being incapacitating and immobilizing as initially theorized by Freud, has the capacity to spur collective counter-hegemonic activity as illustrated by Latina literature.

Endnotes

- ⁱ See Judith Butler. “Melancholy Gender—Refused Identification” in *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 5 (January 1995): 165–180.
- ⁱⁱ See José Esteban Muñoz. “Photographies of Mourning: Melancholia and Ambivalence in Van Der Zee, Mapplethorpe, and *Looking for Langston*” in *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999). Muñoz suggests the capacities of melancholia to be a nonpathological “structure of feeling” that is “identity-affirming.” Because of these qualities, he identifies melancholia as particularly useful in “[mapping] the ambivalences of identification and conditions of (im)possibility that shape the minority identities under consideration” and conducive to a “space of hybridization between necessary militancy and indispensable mourning” in times of collective struggle (74).

- ⁱⁱⁱ The other scholars to which I have alluded also have stakes in outlining the politicized possibilities of melancholia. See also Tettenborn 107 and Muñoz 74.
- ^{iv} See Traise Yamamoto. “In In/Visible Difference: Asian American Women and the Politics of the Spectacle” in *Race, Gender, and Class* 7 (2000): 43–55.

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George Benson's Bebop Roots: Placing Smooth Jazz within the Jazz Narrative

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Abstract

Many jazz scholars and musicians believe that smooth jazz is not jazz. Such arguments rely on the incorrect assumption that “authentic” jazz has always existed separately from consumer society and popular music. By examining the music of smooth jazz guitarist George Benson, I argue that smooth jazz can be understood historically and stylistically as a popular iteration of jazz and may not be so simple to classify.

Introduction

Love it or hate it, smooth jazz is here to stay. From relaxation CDs to hospital waiting rooms, this genre of music has become an inescapable part of the modern sonic landscape. The genre is immensely popular. In 1992, twenty-eight percent of adult Americans (about 60 million people) listened to smooth jazz radio stations. By 2004, the genre was responsible for over \$190 million in advertising revenue annually (Barber, 2010). Yet, despite its ubiquity, little scholarship exists on this musical genre. The genre may have the word “jazz” in it, but many in the jazz community do not believe that smooth jazz is worthy of any attention at all. Why is smooth jazz so reviled by the jazz community, but well loved by millions of listeners?

The conversation surrounding smooth jazz in the jazz community is, on the whole, extremely negative. When guitarist Pat Metheny called smooth jazz saxophonist Kenny G’s playing “lame ass, jive, pseudo bluesy, out-of-tune noodling,” the jazz community sided with his attack (Washburne, 2004). In their seminal scholarly work on jazz history, musicologists DeVeaux and Giddins (2009) put their feelings towards the genre simply: “There are many things to dislike about smooth jazz—for example, everything” (DeVeaux and Giddins 2009, 560). Clearly, calling smooth jazz a form of jazz is widely contested—maybe even blasphemous. But does smooth jazz truly represent a historical, cultural, and stylistic break from the jazz tradition? If the genre does not count as jazz, how, then, do musicians and scholars define jazz?

Jazz as a genre is built on notions of authenticity, independence from the commercial apparatus, and artistic spontaneity—qualities smooth jazz has been accused of lacking. Because so many derisive comments about smooth jazz are related to its lack of stylistic roots in the jazz vernacular, I argue that smooth jazz must be understood through an

analysis of its music as well as the broader history of jazz. Using the career and music of George Benson as a case study, I argue that smooth jazz does not represent a complete rejection of the aesthetics and history of the jazz tradition; rather, the genre may offer a different, popularly oriented vision for jazz’s place in society.

Historical Background

Attempts to legitimize jazz as a high artistic form began as early as the swing era. Paul Whiteman’s attempt to “make a lady out of jazz” by placing jazz music and the “evolution” of black culture on stage at Carnegie Hall in 1924 was perhaps one of the earliest efforts to turn jazz into high art. As swing became the predominant form of jazz, the boundary between high and low became unclear as sophisticated white New Yorkers went to Harlem to dance to Duke Ellington. The swing era was the first (and perhaps the only time) jazz was a popular music enjoyed by a wide audience.

The 1940s were a critical turning point in the history of jazz. World War II broke apart big bands, and swing’s dominance was undermined due to dwindling record manufacturing. As swing began to decline, big band musicians challenged swing conventions, forming smaller groups and creating what is known today as bebop. This form of jazz was a reaction to swing, not necessarily an evolution. Bebop is characterized by extended improvisation, chromatically inflected harmonies, serpentine melodies, and an active rhythm section. These features made bebop music for listeners, not dance hall-goers. The music, typically performed by small groups, found a home in small clubs designed for listening rather than dancing. Bebop’s emphasis on artistic freedom laid the foundation for jazz to turn away from the public.

Unlike bebop and swing, smooth jazz was not originally music created by jazz musicians. Though jazz musicians had begun to experiment with fusing jazz with R&B and rock as early as the late ’60s (some of which could be called “smooth” in sound), smooth jazz as a genre came into being later. Its birth was both a musical and marketing innovation. In 1976, WHUR 96.3 in Washington, DC, began airing a program called “Quiet Storm.” This program sought to evoke the tranquility of an incoming storm, using everything from “lighter” jazz to R&B (2010). Frank Cody, the co-founder of radio consulting firm Broadcast Architecture, saw commercial potential in this format and teamed up with KMET radio in 1986 to revamp the station’s sound. Using audience research, Cody rebranded KMET as “The Wave,” a station aimed at 25- to 35-year-old “upscale” adult professionals interested in an easy-listening jazz format (2010).

Realizing the limitations of picking existing music for his mix, Cody began to create the perfect smooth music based on focus group feedback. The sound of smooth jazz was defined through a subtractive process, based on focus groups' distaste for long improvisatory passages, jarring timbres, and opaque melodies. In the words of one of Cody's focus group members, it was jazz without the "hard edges" (Barber 2010, 55). To achieve the "smooth" sound, smooth jazz is recorded in a fashion similar to pop music. Musicians are recorded separately in soundproof booths, playing over previously recorded tracks. This process allowed audio engineers to precisely control the timbre of each instrument. At its core, smooth jazz is music that is designed to appeal to this segment's desire for a relaxing, sophisticated lifestyle—some might say a mood rather than a music, products rather than performances.

The "Problems" with Smooth Jazz: Smooth Sounds and Commercialism

Fundamentally, jazz musicians and scholars are rankled by the sound of smooth jazz. For many, it lacks stylistic connections to the modern jazz vernacular's roots (DeVeaux and Giddins 2009). Smooth jazz tracks are often edited together after the moment of performance, leading some to argue that such a process *always* destroys the live spontaneity of jazz (DeVeaux and Giddins, 2009). However, Miles Davis and Weather Report, unquestionably admired figures in jazz, have also employed this method.¹ Smooth jazz's offense then, is more than musical. The problem, to some, is that the genre is designed to be accessible mood music, an approach that necessitates a uniform musical product with no sonic surprises.

Present-day hatred towards smooth jazz can also be explained by the ongoing debate over the role of commercialism in jazz music (Carson 2008, Washburne 2010). Though the community often derides smooth jazz for being too manufactured, it willfully ignores the fact that jazz has always been dependent on consumer desires. In the 1920s, jazz music was deeply intertwined with the emergence of a new cosmopolitan lifestyle. Young urban sophisticates were interested in *consuming* jazz for its exciting, danceable rhythms, not as an artistic object to be appreciated from a distance. When bebop came onto the scene in the early 1940s, audiences were enthralled by the image of the hip black jazz musician sporting a goatee, beret, glasses, and zoot suit (Monson, 1995). The commodified image of black artistic sophistication and hipness was just as much a part of bebop as its daring challenges to swing-era stylistic conventions.

Since the bebop era, jazz musicians, performance venues, and educational institutions have relied on a small, dedicated audience and the patronage of private donors and

government grants to sustain the music. Jazz is not as independent from the influence of capital as the community would like to think, but smooth jazz is perhaps too cozy with the prerogatives of the marketplace. Its unabashed commercialism (and success) runs counter to the narrative of jazz as struggling, under-consumed art music.

George Benson: Jazz Guitarist, Smooth Jazz Musician, and Cross-Over Pop Artist

George Benson is one of the most commercially successful performers in the smooth jazz genre today. Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1943, Benson was inspired to pick up jazz guitar at an early age, recording his first jazz album when he was twenty-one.² He is best known for crossing into smooth jazz, pop, and R&B, recording hit songs like "Give Me the Night" (1980) with Bill Withers. Benson's commercial success and interest in a listener-friendly, popular context for jazz places him clearly within the genre of smooth jazz, as defined earlier. Stylistically, Benson veers away from the "hard edges" of jazz, using pop chord progressions, instrumentation from popular music, and a "smooth" timbre. Far from "betraying" jazz in his smooth jazz albums, Benson, with his focus on improvisation and covering popular songs with jazz influences, is able to bring the jazz vernacular in dialogue with contemporary popular music.

In the 1970s, Benson played a pivotal role as a session musician with Creed Taylor's fusion label CTI. CTI mixed post-bop jazz with contemporary popular music to create a style that had the potential to cross over to mainstream audiences (Carson 2008). The label offered many releases that are stylistic precursors to smooth jazz (Carson 2008, Fellezs 2011). Benson's move to CTI did not represent a break from his bebop roots; rather, he was one of many musicians who, when faced with the reality of dwindling jazz record sales in the 1960s, chose to change his work to adapt to changes in the marketplace and find connections between jazz and contemporary popular music (Washburne, 2010). Benson's recordings from this period like *White Rabbit* (1972) offered innovative renditions of pop songs like "California Dreaming" with lush orchestration and jazz comping and improvisation.

In 1976, George Benson released *Breezin'*, his first album on Warner Brothers Records. Abiding by definitions of smooth jazz proposed earlier, *Breezin'* can be considered smooth jazz because it was (and continues to be) commercially successful—the album was certified triple platinum by the RIAA in 1984 (RIAA, 1984). Stylistically, it fits the criteria for smooth jazz. As demonstrated by the song "Affirmation," the album was also designed to have a smooth, breezy sound. In this track, producer Tommy

LiPuma integrates a variety of influences from popular music. The song features a forty-piece string section, clavinet, and electric piano, adding funk and disco influenced layers behind Benson's guitar playing. Though there is a rhythm section, there is no sense of live interaction with Benson due to the cumulative assemblage of individually recorded tracks. Unlike jazz recordings of the past, the recording has no sense of acoustic space. The recording is generously enhanced with reverb, creating the signature "smooth" sound.

Though many signs point to this song being "purely" smooth jazz, Benson's guitar playing incorporates familiar stylistic elements from jazz. "Affirmation" shows stylistic continuity in Benson's playing from *The New Boss Guitar* (1964) and *White Rabbit* (1971). Soloing over layers of clavinet and strings, Benson brings jazz improvisation in dialogue with innovations in popular music. Benson embellishes the melody on the second time through the composition's chord progression—a common practice in jazz. Benson strips Feliciano's composition down to its fundamental harmonic structures for the purposes of improvisation. The solo itself has clear blues inflections and uses traditional bebop improvisation techniques like encirclement and chromatic approach.

Benson's music and career challenges concepts of smooth jazz as a historical, cultural, and stylistic break from the jazz tradition. His albums from *The New Boss Guitar* to *Breezin'* show a clear stylistic evolution from jazz's bop roots to smooth jazz—far from a stylistic schism. Though his music may have a "smooth" sound, it can also be heard as pop, R&B jazz-fusion, or a historically traceable evolution of straight-ahead jazz. In fact, it is nearly impossible to say when fusion ends and smooth begins. Indeed, George Benson has always been a musician who has existed in between genres. Benson promotes himself as the musician who made the "first platinum jazz album," citing jazz singer Nat King Cole as an early inspiration (Benson, 2014). He has been interviewed by *AllAboutJazz.com*, a website geared towards serious jazz aficionados, about his love of Nat King Cole. Yet, Benson was also a featured performer in a festival called The Smooth Jazz Cruise Peachtree City Jazz Series. If George Benson can exist as both a jazz musician and a smooth jazz musician, it seems smooth jazz cannot be truly defined as distinctly "not jazz." Who then is responsible for constructing and enforcing the boundary between jazz and smooth jazz? What purpose does the denigration of smooth jazz serve?

Conclusion

Ultimately, smooth jazz is excluded from the history of jazz for reasons that are as much political as they are personal. As keepers of the tradition, jazz elites like Pat Metheny, Scott DeVeaux, and Gary Giddins are interested in maintaining jazz's high art status (Washburne, 2010). For those who subscribe to this position, popular music is feared as a corrupting influence that must be kept at a distance—dangerous both because of its interest in appealing to the tastes of a large, general audience and in its dedication to maintaining profitability. That position is strange, considering that jazz has been open to popular influences from bebop era renditions of Tin Pan Alley tunes to Herbie Hancock's "Watermelon Man" (1962).

In his review of George Benson's *Breezin'*, jazz critic Mark Corroto expresses the profound impact Benson's music had on his life:

Thanks to George Benson, sometime in 1977 I became a jazz fan . . . this Bruce Springsteen rock fan fell for Benson's bluesy guitar sound and wordless vocals . . . musicians [like Benson] provided the sounds of my college years, but also directed me to my future studies in the respected churches of Thelonious Monk, John Coltrane, and Miles Davis. (Corroto, 2001)

Smooth jazz should not be reduced to "jazz in its most commodified form" (Washburne 2010, 139). George Benson's music challenges conceptions of jazz as distant art music and critiques of smooth jazz as "jazz gone bad." Benson's music is able to walk the line between commercial success and artistic integrity. From his CTI years to "Breezin'," Benson retained his links to the jazz guitar tradition even in an album that went platinum. His pop sound has the potential to introduce new listeners to the vast world of jazz music, creating new connections between current popular audiences and the celebrated "jazz greats." Critiquing the jazz canon via smooth jazz confirms that jazz has never been (and never will be) autonomous art music. Ignoring the existence of smooth jazz shuts out an important popular manifestation of jazz, one that offers new possibilities for connecting jazz with the general public and a broader view of jazz history.

Endnotes

- ⁱ DeVeaux and Giddins (2009) cite Weather Report's "Teen Town" from *Heavy Weather* (1997) and Miles Davis's "Tutu" from *Tutu* (1986) as examples of how pop recording techniques have enabled spontaneity in the jazz world. Though DeVeaux and Giddins argue that technology is not to blame for smooth jazz's aesthetic failures, it seems modern production techniques may only be harnessed for good by artists who have earned their place in the jazz canon.
- ⁱⁱ Benson's first album was titled *The New Boss Guitar* (1964), a standards album that makes a clear allusion to guitarist Wes Montgomery's *Boss Guitar* (1963). This album led to a record deal with Columbia records and work as a sideman on sessions with musicians, including one with Miles Davis.

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Losing Iran: *Argo*, the Hostage Crisis, and the Politics of Reconciliation

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Abstract

This paper is part of a larger research project on the 2012 film *Argo*. The project explores how *Argo* functions as a modern-day historical narrative and retelling of the 1979 American Hostage Crisis in Iran. Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, it looks more broadly at the relationship between contemporary American film narratives and foreign affairs. The approach involves using history-based techniques as well as film theory and approaches developed in the emerging field of film and history to explore the relationship between “objective” historical fact and the process of putting those facts into a cohesive narrative. This particular submission describes how, despite its flaws, *Argo* offers a critical lens for exploring how historical narratives regarding the Hostage Crisis have been shaped and reshaped.

Ben Affleck’s *Argo* (2012) is as much a nostalgic period piece as it is a geopolitical thriller. Affleck’s late 1970s America—personified best in the lead character of Tony Mendez—is, scarcely a decade after the worst years in Vietnam, visibly weary. So it is that *Argo*, in its depiction of America’s “first encounter with radical Islam”ⁱ (to use David Farber’s phrase) in the form of the 1979–1981 American Hostage Crisis in Iran, allows us to sit witness to the ushering in of a new era of “us versus them,” one which solidified even before Communism’s collapse. The movie offers us a means of accessing the inauguration of this era, providing a new lens with which to critically re-examine these events in our past. Because it refuses to make moralistic arguments about the Hostage Crisis and instead focuses on a lamentation of the events themselves and the American inability and refusal to prevent them, I describe *Argo* as a political elegy. It is a meditation on events that the U.S. could have conceivably prevented but was too blind to do so; it mourns both for the loss of a friend in the Pahlavi regime as much as it does for the realization that this alliance was built at the expense of the Iranian people. The movie, despite taking various historical liberties, recreates the Hostage Crisis as an event that the U.S. found itself hopelessly unable to deal with.

Our need to understand and reinterpret the past makes wide-reaching films like *Argo* important to analyze critically. Over three decades after the events of the Iran Hostage Crisis, American-Iranian diplomatic relations remain nonexistent,

and the handling of the crisis by the Carter administration is generally credited with being one of the major reasons for his failure at re-election. However, since the release of Ben Affleck’s political caper about those events, popular interest in the crisis and Iran itself have skyrocketed in the United States,ⁱⁱ opening debates about the history and future of American-Iranian diplomacy. This dialogue is particularly salient in light of Iran’s nuclear development programs and ongoing international attempts at brokering nuclear agreements, the recent election of President Rouhani in Iran, and the tumult gripping the Middle East since Iran’s Green Revolution and the events of the Arab Spring.

It is then counterintuitive that *Argo*, a movie presumably “about the Hostage Crisis,” only tangentially handles the events of that crisis. Rather, its focus is on the real-life rescue (or “exfiltration”) of six American embassy workers (Joseph and Kathleen Stafford, Robert Anders, Mark and Cora Lijek, and Henry Lee Schatz) who eluded capture during the takeover and eventually took shelter in Canadian ambassador Ken Taylor’s home in Tehran. The mission was orchestrated and executed largely by the Canadian government, with the aid of the CIA, and for decades has been known as the “Canadian Caper.” Affleck plays Tony Mendez, the CIA operative who crafted the Hollywood production team cover identities that the Americans assumed in case of interrogation. Among the players conspicuously absent from Affleck’s film are President Carter, whose re-election campaign failure is infamously tied to the crisis; most key Iranian figures, including Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the last shah of Iran; the leader of the revolution that ousted him, Ayatollah Khomeini; and, most glaringly, the hostages themselves.

Indeed, despite the film’s focus on what has been called a “footnote”ⁱⁱⁱ in history, *Argo* found itself riding a wave of both praise and controversy regarding its depiction of events. An article in the *Harvard International Review*, despite a lackluster final rating, is emblematic of most positive reviews when it states that “few films have done as well as this one at capturing the raw power of a politically motivated mob, or the sadly all-encompassing role suspicion plays in the aftermath of revolution . . . the film has opened audiences up to new perspectives of the United States’ relationship with Iran.”^{iv} On the other end of the spectrum are critics such as Juan Cole, who writes that “*Argo* could have been a moment when Americans could come to terms with their Cold War role as villains in places like Iran . . . instead, it plays into a ‘war on terror’ narrative of innocent Americans victimized by essentially deranged foreign mobs.”^v

Another major point of contention has centered on the film’s portrayal of Iranians, the history of Iranian-American relations, and the politics of the Iranian Revolution and of the

embassy takeover. In this respect, the film takes on much larger proportions as political commentary. As Hamid Dabashi points out in his criticism of the film (as well as on 2012's other Middle-Eastern-themed geopolitical thriller, *Zero Dark Thirty*), "Writing or filming events of historical magnitude is always a precarious, invariably thankless, and, at all times, perilous proposition."^{vi} This is particularly true in the case of a big-budget Hollywood production. Dabashi's criticism becomes particularly vitriolic after his commentary on the global ramifications of America's film industry: He writes that *Argo*, described as "a movie about the Hostage Crisis of 1979–1980" filmed "on a massive budget that in effect has a global audience in mind," is part of a "cinema industry which is, by definition, integral to [America's] global militarism."^{vii} The passionate debate that this film has inspired from both its defenders and its critics presents a compelling case for approaching *Argo* from a critical point of view, and, indeed, for considering it seriously as a historical text.

Take the following scene from the movie: Upon flying into Iran, Affleck's Mendez must obtain a film permit from the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. He wishes to visit the country under the pretense of scouting locations for the *Star Wars* knock-off that lends Affleck's film its name. The Deputy Minister, skimming the script, skeptically asks Mendez: "You'd like to film at the bazaar?" Mendez explains that he wants to scout various landmark locations such as the bazaar and the national palace, to which the Minister dryly responds: "I see. The exotic Orient. Snake charmers and flying carpets." Mendez is left silent in a scene reminiscent of King Faisal's reprimand of T.E. Lawrence in David Lean's *Lawrence of Arabia*: "I think you are another of these desert-loving English. . . . No Arab loves the desert."^{viii}

This scene represents the first time in the film that Mendez, and maybe the audience, realizes that the absurdity of the "*Argo*" cover doesn't lie in its novel whimsy or clever ingenuity, both of which seem to melt away under the Minister's scrutiny and offense. What hits hardest is instead the fact that Mendez's entire plan relies on the strength of caricature. Small scenes like this one weave in and out of Affleck's film, hinting at the friction caused by notions of American exceptionalism and very real American obliviousness to the world outside its borders. Like Lean's epic before it, *Argo* is at least ostensibly aware of the implicit Orientalism that permeates typical Western points of view, including its own—in this case, specifically towards Persian culture and history. The extent to which this self-awareness is made explicit and whether or not *Argo* succeeds in countering (or even fully addressing) the accusations made by the Deputy Minister forces close consideration of what *Argo* has to offer audiences as a reflection on this chapter in America's past. After all, even with its nuanced depiction of this critical

period in American-Iranian relations and despite often-sincere attempts to avoid a biased point of view, *Argo* at times looms dangerously close to actually strengthening the historical preconceptions it tries to subvert.

Argo's opening sequence similarly demands a nuanced and balanced reading. *Argo* provides a two-minute brief history of modern Iran, beginning at the 1953 joint CIA and British coup deposing Prime Minister Mossadeq. The sequence combines storyboard-style animation (in keeping with the movie's film-within-a-film theme) with historical footage such as photographs and video clips to portray the 1953 coup, the Shah's ascension to power and subsequent reign, and human rights violations enforced by the CIA-trained SAVAK. It ends with the Ayatollah Khomeini-led revolution and eventual storming of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in 1979, where the events of the film begin. The introduction, a sympathetic portrayal of the grievances of Iranians during the reign of American-backed Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, is one of the most often-mentioned scenes in commentaries on the film. Many, in particular film critics, have praised the sequence for succinctly familiarizing audiences with pre-Revolution Iranian history without shying away from condemning American policies towards Iran during that time period. The *Harvard International Review* claims that "through the depiction of the countless murders and rampant suffering of Iranian civilians under the rule of Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, it reveals them as a people then under a cruel dictator" and even suggests that "to a close observer, Iran is the film's true victim."^{ix} However, many others have taken contention with the partially animated format of the sequence, various small historical liberties taken with the portrayal, and, most importantly, with the scene's perceived inadequacy in establishing context for the film. Among the factual inaccuracies: the film's referral to the Shah as "Reza Pahlavi" (the name of his son); the implication that Mossadeq was elected by the masses, rather than by the Majles, or Iranian parliament; the implication that America's primary motivation in the coup was the loss of oil revenue (Iran was much more damaged by America's boycott of the nationalized oil industry than either America or Britain were by Iran's nationalization); and the claim that the U.S. "installed" Mohammad Reza as shah, when by 1953 he had already been ruling for over a decade.

Others have also questioned the sincerity of the prologue's pro-Iranian sentiment, calling its self-assumed "understanding" of the past hypocritical. They argue it instills misguided sympathy when the two-hour film that follows has been charged with racism and stereotyping Iranians. Jian Ghomeshi writes that the attempts at contextualization are "soon undone," as he claims that we are "treated to hordes of hysterical, screaming, untrustworthy, irrational, bearded, and lethal antagonists."^x The introduc-

tion does, in fact, fade into a brutally violent and shocking live-action depiction of the student mob that stormed the American embassy in response to America's admission of the Shah for cancer treatment. Despite the opening subversion of the Revolution as a radical outbreak victimizing America, *Argo's* subsequent portrayal of the takeover of the embassy from an American perspective lends itself to a stereotypic depiction. The crowd chants "death to America" and "death to Carter" while burning American flags and effigies of the president and holding posters bearing the Ayatollah Khomeini's face. Affleck succeeds in creating a tense sense of foreboding as the embassy workers find themselves unable to cope with the chaos as student protestors break through the embassy gates. The scene captures the brutality of the event while portraying Americans as innocent victims. Coming immediately after the sympathetic introduction, the anger in the mob may seem justified; however, the debate centers on whether or not this depiction of the mob—realistic as it may be—is balanced by any positive depictions of Iranians to create a more comprehensive and realistic insight into the nation's Revolutionary years. One instance where Affleck missed the chance to do this occurs during his depiction of the six Americans escaping through a back door in the embassy. They run onto a street alone, visibly frightened and lost. He does not depict the Iranians who escaped alongside them, among them an Iranian woman who had been at the embassy applying for a visa and steered the Americans away from a demonstration they encountered en route to the British embassy, as described by Joshua Bearman in the article on which Affleck based his movie.^{xiii} This small detail could have changed much in the film's tone and would have created a heroic Iranian figure early on in the film without sacrificing the film's sense of urgency and alienation.

Many have criticized the takeover as portraying Iranians as barbaric, uncontrolled, and violent and accuse the film of using the takeover to essentialize the Revolution and generalize all Iranians. These are powerful images, but they also result in a portrayal that, even if somewhat sympathetic, can be misconstrued as monolithic. Professor Mohsen Milani writes that the film misses "a subtle distinction between the government and the people of Iran, and between the hostage takers and ordinary Iranians," explaining that:

The Hostage Crisis was strongly supported by a vocal and highly mobilized minority, while it was vehemently condemned by Grand Ayatollah Kazem Shariatmadari, secular and Islamic nationalists, and the government in power, which resigned in protest over the hostage-taking. Nor, it seemed to me at the time, did the overwhelming majority of Iranians support the violence. This silent majority remained passive observers, but not supporters, of the Hostage Crisis. Many Iranians also considered themselves

hostages of the Revolution as it turned frighteningly violent and devoured its own children.^{xiii}

Milani's review, though a criticism of the film, enlightens it and alters our perceptions of the narrative it has to offer. Similarly, Shiva Balaghi writes that many Iranians viewed the takeover as "a most ignominious episode, a clear violation of international law, and an abrogation of accepted norms of decency."^{xiv} Milani's words about American perceptions of the Revolution as a result of the storming of the embassy—"With one stroke, the militants took hostages and hijacked the Revolution"—may also stand true for *Argo*. Though the Hostage Crisis is widely recognized as an act of violence and a breach of international law, in *Argo*, the United States, if not the individual embassy workers themselves, is characterized as the primary antagonist. The film takes an almost neutral tone in that it regards the Hostage Crisis as an event with two victims. The film takes on almost tragic proportions as our sympathy for the hostages and the six escapees becomes tempered by the realization that the events were largely the results of America's own doing. Without condoning or condemning it, *Argo* portrays the crisis with equal parts solemnity and tragic—almost noble—fatalism. Affleck does nuance the way he handles the American response to the Hostage Crisis and the manner in which he contextualizes it, refraining from portraying it as either an *American* tragedy, Iranian triumph, or even, surprisingly, an Iranian mistake or breach of international law.

Given that much of the American public conceptualizes Iran in the context of anti-Semitism and nuclear arsenals (a 2013 Gallup poll reveals that 83% of Americans believe the nation's development of nuclear weapons is a "critical" threat, and 32% believe Iran is our greatest enemy—more so than any other country), the film's subtext regarding American inadequacies stands in danger of falling short by virtue of its focus on American ingenuity and heroism. However, honing in on this America-centric focus does offer some reconciliation between the "American story" and the "Iranian story," because it refrains from shifting blame away from America herself. *Argo* mythologizes the past in such a way that it clearly demarcates the abilities and sentiment from individuals (i.e., Tony Mendez, the Iranian housemaid, Sahar) versus mob mentality and, especially, government and other power hierarchies, beginning with the American government and Hollywood itself.

As one of the rare American films that has taken as its subject the Iranian Revolution, *Argo* very nearly appropriates a complex event by providing us with a story about an essentially American triumph—not to mention the grievances held by Canadians for what *is*, after all, called *their* caper. Though the mission worked, throughout the movie, we become more and more painfully aware of how com-

pletely lost the protagonists are. *Argo* manages to turn the escapees and Americans such as Mendez not into victims but into individuals who have no idea how to fix the problems inextricably tied to America's own history in the region. The images of American streets lined with yellow ribbons takes on a new meaning, feeling much smaller in comparison to the greater story of an entire nation which the American story barely scrapes the tip of. The American characters are at once lost and caught up in forces beyond their control but also painfully aware of their own culpabilities.

Even though by the end of the film America "triumphs" (and rather spectacularly at that), the film's ending brings us back to the assertion that Iran is the film's, and history's, true victim throughout the ordeal. As the embassy workers celebrate their escape while flying out of Iran, Affleck turns us to Sahar, an Iranian maid who worked at Ken Taylor's house and knew about the hostages' identities. A fictional character, halfway through the film, she covers for the Americans—at the risk of imprisonment, and, possibly, execution—while being questioned by the Revolutionary Guard. After the ambassador leaves and the world finds out about Canada's Caper (and thus the harboring of Americans during the Hostage Crisis), we assume that Sahar cannot stay in Iran because it would be known she had lived with the hostages. In one of the most somber and poignant scenes in the film, we see Sahar at the border to Iraq, preparing to leave Iran. Sharply contrasted with the celebrations of Mendez and the escapees and of the American media itself, Sahar's self-exile feels weighted and morose. As during several other scenes, we must rely on our knowledge of history to feel the full impact of the depiction. The houseguests flew out of Iran in early 1980; just a few months after Sahar's emigration to Iraq, that nation would invade Iran and instigate an eight-year-long bloody war.

Unfortunately, Sahar's scenes are extremely limited, and as one of the film's only Iranian characters with any speaking roles (let alone sympathetic Iranians), it is difficult to assign too much weight to her story. In a sense, however, her anonymity contributes to the story's overall sense of not "knowing" Iran or its citizens: we end up with the feeling that we have somehow "lost" Iran. It is because of this that *Argo*, though far from a perfect film in terms of its political commentary, offers an opportunity to open dialogue about our relations with Iran. It falls short of portraying Iranians without mostly "otherizing" them, but it also does not hold back from criticizing America's own faults. Shiva Balaghi has rightly criticized the film for introducing a new generation to the Hostage Crisis without giving details of the full story. However, the film provides a significantly alternative sentiment regarding that narrative. Though not particularly groundbreaking, the film's meta-commentary on how we tell and memorialize stories and myths may possibly open new

ways by which we can tell stories of the past and offer some important lessons in how we do this.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- i Farber, David R. *Taken Hostage: The Iran Hostage Crisis and America's First Encounter with Radical Islam*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2005.
- ii GOOGLE, "Google Trends: 'Iran' Searches," (2013).
- iii Matthew Wald, "Halting a Slow Fade to History: *Argo*, as seen by the Iran Hostage Crisis Survivors," *New York Times*, October 16, 2012.
- iv Eric Guajardo and Ben Kassahun Josh Barthel, "Commercializing Crisis: *Argo* Employs Familiar Hollywood Tropes," *Harvard International Review* 34, no. 4 (2013).
- v Juan Cole to *Informed Comment*, 2013.
- vi Hamid Dabashi, "Hollywood Loses the Plot: The 'Culture Industry' of Hollywood Is Deluding Itself," *Aljazeera* (2013).
- vii Ibid.
- viii David Lean, "*Lawrence of Arabia* [Videorecording]/Columbia Pictures Presents the Sam Spiegel/David Lean Production; Produced by Sam Spiegel; Directed by David Lean," ed. David Lean, et al. ([United States]: Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment, 2008).
- ix Eric Guajardo and Ben Kassahun Josh Barthel, "Commercializing Crisis: *Argo* Employs Familiar Hollywood Tropes," *Harvard International Review* 34, no. 4 (2013).
- x Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- xi Jian Ghomeshi, "Argo Is Crowd-Pleasing, Entertaining—and Unfair to Iranians," *The Globe and Mail* (2012).
- xii Bearman, Joshua. "How the CIA Used a Fake Sci-Fi Flick to Rescue Americans from Tehran." *Wired*, April 24, 2007. http://www.wired.com/2007/04/feat_cia/all/.
- xiii Mohsen Milani, "Scholar of Iran Hostage Crisis Puts *Argo* in Historical Context," Article, *Al-Monitor* (2012).
- xiv Shiva Balaghi, "Jingoism as History," *Frontline* 30, no. 4 (2013).

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An Apache Middle Passage: Exile from Northern New Spain, 1729–1816

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Abstract

This excerpt is taken from my larger MMUF thesis, “‘Removed from where they can be dangerous’: The Spanish Policy and Practice of Indigenous Exile from Northern New Spain.” Spanning the mid-eighteenth to early-nineteenth centuries, my larger work is a political history of the policy and practice of exiling Apache peoples and a cultural history of the manner in which the “Apaches”—a diverse set of autonomous nations—were constructed to be the official enemy of the Spanish crown on the far northern frontier. Using a mixture of archival and published colonial documents ranging from receipts and reports to royal instructions and other correspondence, the paper shows the progression of the policy and its manifestation on the fringes of empire. By weaving these documents together, the paper illustrates the changing landscape of the Native Southwest; the Apache experience among the broader history of forced migrations; and the contingencies that made the mass exile of Apache prisoners possible. Noteworthy discussions include the shifting landscape of Spain’s presidio system, the disorganized contours of Spanish-Apache policy on the northern frontier, the Apache experience on their journey south, and their variegated means of escape. In this excerpt, I trace the creation of the policy, chart its practice, and map the subsequent diaspora of Apache peoples throughout the Atlantic world. The research is done within colonial borderlands history but also contributes to our understanding of Atlantic and Latin American history as well.

Introduction

In March of 1792, Sergeant Valentín Moreno set off from the presidio in the Villa de Chihuahua and began a journey that would take him and those under his charge sixty-five days to complete. Moreno and twenty-four other soldiers were to guard a group of eighty-one Apache prisoners of war bound for exile in Havana as they journeyed south from the northern reaches of the Spanish empire. Their orders allowed them to use “any physical restraints necessary” to prevent escape. Moreover, if the soldiers found

themselves surrounded, they were to “kill [the prisoners], beginning with the big ones, sparing if possible all the medium and little ones.” As the soldiers led the convoy of forty-eight women, sixteen men, and seventeen children south, those orders would prove prescient.ⁱ One night, while camping in a remote region, several prisoners attempted to escape. During the frenzy, Apache men and women began hurling stones at their captors; at least one soldier was wounded “by a thrown stone that struck him in the head.” However, since the Spaniards had surrounded the convoy with their horses and gear for security, the Apaches were never truly able to break their cordon. When Sergeant Moreno gave the order to kill, “in less than a quarter of an hour” twelve of the Apache men were killed.

Because the deaths of prisoners had to be verified upon their arrival in Mexico City, Moreno “ordered the ears [be] cut from the twelve dead Indians.” They were strung together on a leather cord and unceremoniously stuffed into a saddlebag. Seven weeks later, as the convoy approached the outskirts of Mexico City and the soldiers dreamt of rest and relief from the ardors of their journey, the Apache experience in exile was merely just beginning. The women and children who had survived would most likely be distributed to families across the city as domestic laborers. The two men who survived would be imprisoned until the next chain gang was ready to transport them to the port of Veracruz, where they would be shipped to Havana and “removed from land where they can be dangerous.”ⁱⁱ

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the Spanish empire instituted a policy and practice of exiling Apache peoples that would banish over 2,000 people from their lands in the North American Southwest to Mexico City, where the viceroy of New Spain would distribute them as house servants or exile them to a life of labor in Cuba. Thus, the story of the above convoy raises the central questions of this essay. Why were Apache prisoners to be removed? Were they prisoners of war or closer to slaves? Why were they sent to Cuba, and what were their experiences in transit and in diaspora? How does this story fit into the larger historiography of captivity and slavery in the colonial Americas? This essay traces the creation of the Apache exile policy, charts its practice, and maps the subsequent diaspora of Apache peoples throughout the Atlantic world.ⁱⁱⁱ

Although Jace Weaver notes that Natives were “enslaved and shipped abroad in numbers that are startling to most,” and even though David J. Weber notes that Apaches “suffered banishment to distant islands more than any other group of unyielding Indians,” this policy and practice is still understudied.^{iv} If Weber is correct in claiming that the Apache exile experience constitutes the largest

banishment of Natives from the Southwest during the colonial period, the contours of this historical moment deserve further study, considering that 2,000 to 4,000 Apaches were exiled when their population probably never exceeded more than 10,000 in total.^v

Building upon Paul Conrad's important study of the broader practice of exile from the Rio Grande basin, I argue that Spanish officers who inspected the frontier targeted Apaches in the latter half of the eighteenth century despite the clear evidence that proved Indian raiding involved many more Native groups than just the Apaches.^{vi} Further, using the "middle passage" framework employed by Christopher, Pybus, and Rediker, I frame the forced migration of up to a quarter of the Apache population in terms of a "middle passage." By charting the *many middle passages* that colonized peoples were subjected to, we can learn of the many ways that forced migrations were integral to the making of the colonial world. By charting how and why Apaches were thrust into the Atlantic, I seek to connect the often ignored North American Southwest to the larger Atlantic world and the processes which made it.^{vii}

The Policy

Exile policy developed over the course of three regulations that were instituted by the Spanish crown during the eighteenth century: the Regulations of 1729 and 1772, and the Instructions of 1786. The Regulations of 1729 were designed to reorganize the "costly, inefficient, undermanned, and unwieldy" line of presidios that had protected Spanish settlers from Natives and served as a geopolitical buffer to the encroachment from other imperial powers. Among the document's many provisions, an official policy of exiling natives from the northern frontier to Mexico City was delineated: "Officers who happen, by plunder, to capture Indians . . . shall send them under guard to the outskirts of Mexico." Though the provision for exile was carried out at least as early as 1739, during the next three decades, no records of other Apache captives being sent south are extant.^{viii}

By 1772, Apaches occupied a vast swathe of land spanning 750 miles in breadth and 550 miles in depth. These lands blanketed a variety of Spanish settlements that Apaches would raid to supply themselves and northern markets with Spanish cattle and horses.^{ix} Between 1771 and 1776 alone, raids in the province of Nueva Vizcaya killed 1,963 Spanish colonists, captured 155 others, and made off with 68,873 head of cattle (not counting horses).^x Thus, the new Regulation of 1772 and the Instructions of 1786 ordered that an "active and incessant war" be waged against enemy Natives. Ultimately, the new provisions reiterated that "the prisoners . . . taken in war . . . shall be sent to the vicinity of

Mexico City, where [the] viceroy may dispose of them as seems convenient."^{xi}

The raids which leached resources from the empire were not choreographed by Apaches alone. Rather, a myriad of Native and Hispanic groups clashed and cooperated in the perpetuation of the raids. Indeed, Sara Ortelli has shown that the Apache threat was largely a rhetorical tool that settlers used to assert their needs and cover up their involvement in the rustling economy. Before Spaniards escalated violence, raids were more likely focused on goods and livestock rather than retribution, and, even then, Ortelli has argued that the economic impacts were not severe. Instead, corruption and other inefficiencies caused royal expenditures to skyrocket over the eighteenth century.^{xii}

Thus, the Apache threat was largely a created enemy that was explicitly targeted a decade later in 1786.^{xiii} Indeed, the author of the Instructions of 1786 was "very much in favor of the special ruination of the Apaches" because he thought that the Apaches alone had "destroyed [the northern] provinces." Thus, only in their "forced submission [or] their total extermination" could the "happiness of the Provincias Internas" be attained.^{xiv} Accordingly, the new set of Instructions for the northern frontier was designed to bring about a "deceitful peace" by offering Apaches peace or plunder.^{xv} Those who chose not to submit, convert, and assimilate into Spanish life were killed or exiled, even though the Instructions did not contain an explicit stipulation for exile. However, this omission did not abrogate the practice, because by this time, "The question was not so much whether the Apache prisoners should be sent to Mexico City but how they were to be prevented from escaping, returning from the interior, and renewing their depredations."^{xvi}

The Policy in Practice and the Apache Middle Passage

The primary Apache groups affected by exile policies after 1772 were "Chiricahua, Lipan, Mescalero, and Gila Apaches from the central frontier." Fifty-six percent of those sent south were women; twenty-seven percent were men over the age of fourteen; and sixteen percent were children of both sexes. The gender skew reflects both that men were more likely to resist to the death and that Spaniards were less willing to kill Indian women and children in their campaigns.^{xvii} Captives were sent south in convoys called *colleras* or *cuerdos*—the colloquial terms for the halters tied around their necks or the chains linking the prisoners together.^{xviii} Captives were to march south on foot with iron shackles around their legs, or they were sometimes provided with mules. When the convoys arrived in the capital, Apaches were imprisoned until the departure of the next chain gang to Veracruz. Although the possibility of traveling on mule existed for the first part of their journey, captives sent to

Veracruz always made the 250-mile trip on foot. Conditions were so appalling that captives were said to have a “die first, walk tomorrow” demeanor. They would often throw themselves on the ground in exhaustion and endure repeated beatings because they could not or would not move. Ultimately, when they arrived on the coast, the captives would again be imprisoned until they could be sent to Havana.^{xxix}

Those sent south suffered various fates; only half of the 3,000 exiles recorded ever reached Mexico City, since death rates were so high. Deaths stemmed most often from long periods of confinement that would foster disease rather than direct confrontation between guards and prisoners.^{xxx} Indeed, a *collera* of Apaches sent south in October of 1787 lost over a third of its seventy-nine prisoners to disease in just a few weeks.^{xxxi} In 1789, one of the largest *colleras* ever recorded lost a third of its population before it even embarked “due to the inevitable corruption of a place where many people live confined for some time.”^{xxxii} Nearly a decade later, a *collera* composed of fifty-eight women and twelve men arrived in Mexico City just as it was experiencing “one of its worst epidemics of smallpox.” Seventeen days after the women had been sent to the poor house, nine of them had died, two more were dying, and another three had been transferred to another location. No mention of the men was made, but, since only a month later, nineteen of the original fifty-eight women were well enough to march to Veracruz and embark towards Havana, the men had probably all died.^{xxxiii}

As Christopher, Pybus, and Rediker note, “Captivity, cruelty, torture, terror, and death . . . created a history of resistance.”^{xxxiv} Only a small percentage of captives ever managed to escape, yet this was enough to spur the removal of Apaches to Havana.^{xxxv} In 1787, Viceroy Flores noted that he was dispatching “Apaches . . . to destinations overseas” because one captive on a recent convoy had mentioned that Apache house servants in the capital would “guide him in his return” through a system that made it “very easy to be freed.”^{xxxvi} The existence of such a network is not unlikely, considering that a *collera* dispatched in November of 1797 was tasked with transporting a man named Polito who had previously escaped another convoy bound for Veracruz and had returned home. For these depredations, much care was to be taken during the journey, and the convoy was to be sent “overseas to ensure they could never return to their land.”^{xxxvii}

Those prisoners who survived the violence, disease, and incarceration but were not able to escape lived a life of labor that was dictated by their age and gender. Women were to be distributed as domestic laborers in Mexico City, Veracruz, or Havana. Men were assigned a life of grueling physical labor alongside convicts and African slaves in

Veracruz or Havana.^{xxxviii} They were to work on port and castle fortifications for their rest of their lives, because Apaches “were never to be returned to New Spain regardless of the pretexts.”^{xxxix} Thus, Apaches were thrust into the Atlantic world permanently upon their departure from Veracruz. They were among the thousands of Native captives sent to the Caribbean from “New England, New France, South-eastern North America, Central America, and South America.” Though they were officially prisoners of war, in a slave society like Cuba, Apaches and their labor were often viewed through the lens of slavery regardless of their gender. Though it is certain that some were able to resist Spanish interests by fleeing and creating fugitive communities, only a small percentage were able to.^{xxx}

To find Apaches from the North American Southwest in the heart of the Spanish empire reveals that the peripheries of empire were never as far from the metropolises as the distance would have one believe. Their fates speak to the “spectrum of bondage” that characterized histories of colonialism in the Americas—and especially Cuba, due to its status as a slave society and island prison. Apache captives were among thousands of enslaved Africans and hundreds of convicts sent to Cuba during the turn of the nineteenth century. Global imperial and commercial networks drew diverse people from far-off places to Cuba, where they lived and died in similar and substantively different ways. Ultimately, “The people who made the voyage were acted upon, as objects of violence and discipline, but they were also actors in their own right; they were subjects of rebellion, agents of history making. They were transformed by the actions of others and by their own, as they made the oceanic voyage, with enormous consequences for world history.”^{xxxi}

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

ⁱ Pedro de Nava, “Estado que manifiesta los Prisioneros que ha de recibir en el Cuartel del Pilar de Conchos, el Sargento de la Compañía de san Carlos Valentin Moreno para conducirlos hasta la Cuidad de Mexico,” March 12, 1792, Reel 175, Legajo 142, Expediente 13, Documents from the Archivo General de La Nación de México and other related archives, Center for Southwest Research, UNM Albuquerque; Mark Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands: Spanish Deportation of Apache Prisoners of War, 1770–1810* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2011), 152–154.

ⁱⁱ Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, 150–151.

ⁱⁱⁱ Paul T. Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” n.d., 8–9; Richard John Perry, *Western Apache Heritage: People of the Mountain Corridor*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 1–10. Apaches, as Southern-Athapaskan peoples, were loosely bound by linguistic and cultural traits, but they were hardly a cohesive entity, preferring familial and regional clusters rather than overarching agglomeration. However, the “Apaches” extant in Spanish documents “warrant collective analysis precisely because their mobility, dispersal, and divisions helped make them such frequent targets for capture and enslavement.”

- ^{iv} Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000–1927* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 15; David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 150; Max L. Moorhead, “Spanish Deportation of Hostile Apaches: The Policy and the Practice,” 1975, 218, 205; Christon I. Archer, “The Deportation of Barbarian Indians from the Internal Provinces of New Spain, 1789–1810,” *The Americas* 29, no. 3 (January 1, 1973): 376–377, doi:10.2307/980059; Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, 196–197; Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” 15. Max L. Moorhead illustrates that exile policy had two purposes: First, “to rid the northern frontier of a dangerous element.” And second, to foster “more humane treatment and, hopefully, more effective conversion” of the most ferocious, vindictive, and irreconcilable Native nation the Spaniards had encountered in the borderlands. In this light, Christon I. Archer argues that such a practice was logical and that by 1789, “deportation of Apache and other Indian prisoners of war to Havana was a generally accepted policy.” However, to Mark Santiago, the policy was a result of trial, error, accommodation, and pragmatism, which linked global contingencies to local contexts. Thus, deportation constituted the “cheapest, easiest, and quickest” mode of destroying the Apaches and clearing the northern reaches of the empire. Ultimately, Paul Conrad argues it was only after royal officials inspecting the frontier blamed Apache groups for being the sole creators of a livestock-rustling economy that war was created and exile recommended.
- ^v Matthew Babcock, “Blurred Borders: North America’s Forgotten Apache Reservations,” in *Contested Spaces of Early America*, ed. Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 171–172; Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” 212, 256–261; Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Indian Southwest, 1580–1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 96; Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, 201–203.
- ^{vi} Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800.”
- ^{vii} Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus, and Marcus Rediker, eds., *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 1–15.
- ^{viii} Moorhead, “Spanish Deportation of Hostile Apaches: The Policy and the Practice,” 206; Max L. Moorhead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 7–10; Pedro de Rivera, *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain, 1724–1729: A Documentary History of His Frontier Inspection and the Reglamento de 1729*, ed. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 8, 235–287, 279. *Presidio* is the Spanish word for garrisoned fort. Article 190 contains the provision for exile.
- ^{ix} David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, Yale Western Americana Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 206; Max L. Moorhead, *The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769–1791* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 3.
- ^x Moorhead, *The Presidio*, 74.
- ^{xi} Sidney Brinckerhoff and Odie Faulk, trans., *Lancers for the King: A Study of the Frontier Military System of Northern New Spain, with a Translation of the Royal Regulations of 1772* (Phoenix, AZ: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965), 31.
- ^{xii} Sara Ortelli, *Trama de una guerra conveniente* (El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2007); Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 205.
- ^{xiii} Moorhead, *The Presidio*, 60, 68–74.
- ^{xiv} Bernardo Galvez, *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786*, trans. Donald Worcester, Quivira Society Publications (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1967), 43. Art. 51.
- ^{xv} *Ibid.*, 41.
- ^{xvi} Moorhead, “Spanish Deportation of Hostile Apaches: The Policy and the Practice,” 209.
- ^{xvii} Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” 220; Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, 203.
- ^{xviii} Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, 40–41.
- ^{xix} Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” 222–224; Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, 150–151.
- ^{xx} Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” 224.
- ^{xxi} Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, 70.
- ^{xxii} *Ibid.*, 89.
- ^{xxiii} Pedro de Nava, “Commandant General Pedro de Nava to Branciforte, Chihuahua,” November 14, 1797, Reel 217, Legajo 208, Expediente 13, Documents from the Archivo General de La Nación de México and other related archives, Center for Southwest Research, UNM Albuquerque; Juan Antonio Araujo, *Administrator of the Hospicio Juan Antonio Araujo, Estado, Mexico*, January 22, 1798, Reel 217, Legajo 208, Expediente 13, Documents from the Archivo General de La Nación de México and other related archives, Center for Southwest Research, UNM Albuquerque; Luis Valencia, *Administrator of the Hospital Luis Valencia, affidavit, Mexico*, January 12, 1798, Reel 217, Legajo 208, Expediente 13, Documents from the Archivo General de La Nación de México and other related archives, Center for Southwest Research, UNM Albuquerque; Moorhead, “Spanish Deportation of Hostile Apaches: The Policy and the Practice,” 216–217.
- ^{xxiv} Christopher, Pybus, and Rediker, *Many Middle Passages*, 2.
- ^{xxv} Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” 226.
- ^{xxvi} Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Hands*, 71.
- ^{xxvii} Nava, “Commandant General Pedro de Nava to Branciforte, Chihuahua.”
- ^{xxviii} Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” 232.
- ^{xxix} Archer, “The Deportation of Barbarian Indians from the Internal Provinces of New Spain, 1789–1810,” 384.
- ^{xxx} Conrad, “Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500–1800,” 244, 255; Paul T. Conrad, “Indians, Convicts, and Slaves: An Apache Diaspora to Cuba at the Turn of the Nineteenth-Century” (Colorado State University-Pueblo, 2013); Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Brett Rushforth, “‘A Little Flesh We Offer You’: The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 60, no. 4 (October 1, 2003): 777–808, doi:10.2307/3491699; Gabino La Rosa Corzo, *Runaway Slave Settlements in Cuba: Resistance and Repression*, trans. Mary Todd (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 1–33. Galloway examines the links between Indian slavery and the rise of the English empire in the Southeast. He cites that from 1670 to 1715, as many as 51,000 Indian slaves passed through markets in South Carolina en route to various destinations including the Caribbean. Further, Rushforth claims that these numbers are likely to be much higher considering that Galloway’s numbers do not include Indians sent to Carolina from New France.
- ^{xxxi} Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, eds., *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1–14; Christopher, Pybus, and Rediker, *Many Middle Passages*, 1–14; Juliana Barr, “From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands,” *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (June 1, 2005): 19–46; Alan Galloway, ed., *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 277–308.

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¡Salva la Madre! Gender and Reform in Ecuador during the Spanish Civil War

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Abstract

This paper will explore the writings of men and women in Ecuador in order to re-evaluate the experiences of Latin Americans during the Spanish Civil War. When the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936, almost every nation in Latin America was also experiencing a wave of crises due to the Great Depression and the breakdown of Liberal democracy. As the Second Republic of Spain, which had been a beacon of democracy for Latin America, came under attack, supporters of the Republic grappled with the crisis of democracy sweeping over the globe, while Franco sympathizers attempted to capitalize on the shift to conservatism. Latin American intellectuals and politicians wrote poems and gave speeches either lamenting the fall of the madre country or denouncing the rise of Communism. As a microcosm of these debates, Ecuador provides an interesting lens from which to observe the battles between social reformers and conservative politicians who hoped to utilize the Spanish Civil War as a catalyst for domestic reform or the preservation of traditional structures of power in Ecuador. Additionally, marginalized groups of Ecuadorians used the crisis to insert their voices in the international sphere of political debate and garner support for reform at home.

In May of 1937, the Ecuadorian reporter Jaime Sánchez Andrade made the following comment on Ecuador's role in supporting the Republic during the Spanish Civil War:

Lost in the chain of the Andes and under the Tropic [of Cancer], ripened by sun and hope, Ecuador—my country—rarely, if ever, has let her voice be heard. . . . It is true that, economically, we have not responded with the same enthusiasm that other countries of America have responded. . . . But on the other hand, the country [pueblo] of Ecuador has repeatedly given its contribution in pain. . . .ⁱ

At the time of its publication, Jaime Sánchez Andrade was in political exile in Argentina due to his opposition to the government of Federico Paéz—Ecuador's right-wing president and known supporter of the Nationalists in the

Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). His comments, including his emphasis of Ecuador's "contribution in pain," drew a direct connection between sympathy for the Spanish Republic and the persecution of Ecuador's leftist parties by Federico Paéz. While the volunteer brigades and international declarations of solidarity for Republicans during the Spanish Civil War have been thoroughly analyzed by scholars, the study of the war's repercussions on Latin American nations, especially in an overlooked country such as Ecuador, is rather recent. Latin Americans like Jaime Sánchez Andrade simultaneously experienced the war as foreign observers and as metaphoric children of the *madre patria* (homeland). For Ecuadorians of the early twentieth century, whose country had never played a decisive role on the world stage, a war in Spain provided a new outlet for their voices to be heard beyond the valleys of the Andes.

To contemporary Ecuadorian observers, the Spanish Civil War served as the primary example of global shifts in politics and ideology around the world. Supporters of either Republican or Nationalist camps could point to Spain and find an easy scapegoat to criticize the red terror of Communism or amplify fears about the rise of fascism. At the same time, the war in Spain opened new spaces of debate that gave traditionally marginalized groups, such as women and indigenous peoples, an arena to voice their longstanding grievances against Ecuador's structural inequalities in the hopes of domestic reform. The Spanish Civil War, thus, served as a rare moment of opportunity for leftists, women, and indigenous groups in Ecuador due to its ideological underpinnings, international breadth, and potential for domestic impact.

During the 1930s, as Italian Fascism, Spanish Falangism, and German Nazism gained traction in Europe, the fascist and nationalist ideologies also gained a foothold throughout Latin America. In Ecuador, a presidential coup in 1935 catalyzed the rise of right-wing extremism when the Ecuadorian military removed the populist José María Velasco Ibarra. The military junta then installed an obscure engineer by the name of Federico Paéz as supreme chief, largely thanks to the political maneuvering of his nephew, Alberto Enríquez Gallo. Early in his career, Paéz was seen to be an ally of leftists, but he made a rapid shift to the right as the Spanish Civil War began due to an attempted coup d'état by radical members of the Socialist Party in 1936. The botched coup catalyzed the beginning of Paéz's persecution of the left, sending many of Ecuador's vocal reformers, like Jaime Sánchez Andrade, into exile. Paéz's policies converted Ecuador into a police state that fomented Spanish Nationalist support. Fortunately for the country's Communist and Socialist Parties, Paéz was removed by a coup in 1937. Paéz's nephew and successor, Alberto Enríquez Gallo, lifted the restrictions and censorship of leftist parties

and restored many of the civil liberties that were banned under his uncle's administration. Gallo's regime was also short lived, and in 1938, the Liberal Aurelio Mosquera Narvaéz ascended to the presidency. Another Liberal, Carlos Arroyo del Río, followed Mosquera Narvaéz in 1940. Interestingly, like Paéz's, Arroyo del Río's presidency would also be marked by fascist sympathies, government oppression, and eventual removal by coup.ⁱⁱ

Thus, by the end of the 1930s, Ecuadorian Socialists, Communists, and Vanguard Revolutionaries (a coalition of military leftists) had developed a nascent antifascist stance due to the regime of Paéz and the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Antifascism in Ecuador, as elsewhere, provided a doctrine that allowed for the formation of new alliances between leftists, Liberals, Conservatives, and indigenous groups. However, these alliances were underdeveloped, at best, between 1936 and 1939, and only became tangible during World War II. Only during the period of the Spanish Civil War can one observe the irreconcilable divide between Ecuador's leftist parties and members of the Conservative right who sympathized with Franco, the Nationalists, and Falangism—a divide that antifascism in World War II would temporarily suspend but never erase. Additionally, in Ecuador, the application of an international ideology like antifascism manifested more concretely in men and women's engagement with distinctly Ecuadorian realities. The contestation of democracy in the midst of the Spanish Civil War produced an arena of debate for domestic democratic reform that, at its core, pitted traditional oligarchical monopolization against the redistribution of political and economic power.

As the scholar Niall Binns has noted, Ecuadorian anti- and pro-Franco sentiment appeared in quotidian forms. Through art exhibits, parades, letters, and pamphlets, Ecuadorian intellectuals denounced the acts of Franco, and in a more discreet manner, demanded reform at home. Additionally, thanks to its historical and cultural ties with the region, leftists, women, and indigenous groups were able to utilize Spain as a metaphoric base from which to critique their exclusion from traditional forms of political authority at home.ⁱⁱⁱ Ecuador serves as an important site for the history of the Spanish Civil War due to the politics of exclusion deployed by elites throughout its history and its peripheral position on the world stage during the early twentieth century. Ecuador provides a lens for the study of fascist theories of race and gender in a highly stratified context. For example, most indigenous peoples in Ecuador continued to labor on the highland haciendas of the landholding elite in similar conditions to their colonial ancestors. Additionally, women, who had long gained political rights like suffrage, paradoxically struggled for basic labor and social rights. If we follow the methods of the Ecuadorian scholar Kim Clark, "It is

more useful to consider how state projects changed the terrain on which individuals could act, enabling certain possibilities and constraining others."^{iv} By the twentieth century, Ecuadorian political parties, who advanced marginalization and exclusion in the state, were faced with rapidly growing social movements and leftist parties that threatened to derail their grip on Ecuador's landholdings, politics, and economy. These movements opened new sites for the contestation of power by women, indigenous groups, the poor, and working classes, but they also catalyzed members of Liberal and Conservative parties to embrace more extreme ideologies of labor repression and racial superiority like those developing in Europe. Thus, the Spanish Civil War serves as an example of the intersection of international conflicts and domestic movements that could force open spaces at home for individuals to demand greater inclusion in the state.

A member of these new and radical social movements, the Communist militant Nela Martínez directed the publication of the indigenous magazine *Ñucanchic Allpa*, founded by Communists in the early 1930s. A revolutionary publication for Ecuador, Allpa printed abuses by landowners, uprisings on haciendas, and updates on the Spanish Civil War and World War II—all in the indigenous language Quechua. Allpa connected Ecuador's indigenous groups, especially around the highland region of Cayambe, to a global exchange of information previously unavailable to them. In turn, indigenous groups in Cayambe and elsewhere pledged their allegiance to antifascism and the Spanish Republic.^v In February of 1939, Martínez wrote an article in Allpa titled "The Fight in Spain" that stated:

All the Indigenous peoples in Ecuador know that in Spain the fight to the death is developing between the rich who live to exploit the poor and the poor who work for the rich. . . . Ecuador's working class has identified its destiny with the destiny of Spain's working class, and that explains the great emotion that is experienced when Spain is discussed. . . . The voice of Ecuadorian peasants and Indigenous peoples is missing. We hope that they will respond and we call to them to write to *Ñucanchic Allpa* expressing their sentiments in respect to this fight that concerns us all. We want an authentic voice of our Indigenous colleagues that we will make reach the Spanish workers.^{vi}

Martínez's article reveals the way in which Communists connected the struggle in Spain with those of indigenous laborers and Ecuador's working class. Even as it was coming to a close in 1939, Martínez still used the war in order to rouse indigenous support for the Spanish Republic and, indirectly, the Communist Party. Due to their historical ties, the development of Liberal democracy in Spain became tied to the success of democracy in Latin America.

For Communists and Socialists in Ecuador, the establishment of the Popular Front that incorporated the voices of the left and the destruction of authoritarianism hopefully meant a similar fate for their own country.^{vii} In order to save Ecuador's tenuous democracy, laborers and indigenous groups needed to come together under the helm of leftists. Militants like Martínez wanted *Ñucanchic Allpa* and the Communist Party to be the vehicles of reform for Ecuador's working class and indigenous peoples. Their united allegiance to the Spanish Republic also meant unanimous support for democratic reform and economic redistribution. For Communists, this unified front was key for the future of leftist politics in Ecuador.

Women from Ecuador's urban elite class and those affiliated with the country's Liberal and Conservative parties also engaged in political dialogue during the years of the Spanish Civil War. Unlike their Communist and Socialist counterparts, many elite urban women usually rejected leftist politics and discussions of economic redistribution in favor of political integration and citizenship. Hipatia Cárdenas de Bustamante, a Liberal writer, political activist, and advocate of women's political rights, founded the intellectual circle called Grupo "America" (Organization "America") upon the triumph of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931.^{viii} In 1939, the same month that Martínez published her article, Cárdenas de Bustamante wrote to a fellow board member of Grupo "America":

From the newspapers I know that you all have received a cable from the Argentine intellectuals directing you to go to call upon the Ministry of that country to ask that they not recognize the government of Franco. I think you all need to meditate on this heavily before you make a decision for your own international benefit, if you do not want to be snubbed by the Government of Argentina, which would not even take your solution into account if it has resolved to recognize the Government of Franco.^{ix}

Unlike Martínez, who championed the Republic even as Catalonia fell to Franco, Cárdenas de Bustamante expressed a pragmatic position of survival in the face of Nationalist triumph. In her letter, she argued that Grupo "America" ought to diverge from the Latin American intellectual network of Republican support. It was not a change of heart but, rather, the shifting terrain of national politics and international diplomacy that elicited her letter. Despite the appeals of Argentine intellectuals and writers, the Argentine government was set to recognize the Franco regime (and, in fact, did so the day after Cárdenas de Bustamante published her letter). Thus, Cárdenas de Bustamante hoped to steer Grupo "America" away from a political quagmire and keep the intellectuals of Ecuador out

of the precarious position in which their Argentine counterparts found themselves vis-à-vis their own government. On March 29, 1939, one month after her letter, the Ecuadorian government recognized the Franco regime.

Other than attesting to her familiarity with international diplomacy, Cárdenas de Bustamante's letter attests to the international intellectual network in which women could operate at the time. This established network among Latin Americans, expanded by the Spanish Civil War, gave educated women like Cárdenas de Bustamante the chance to introduce criticisms of the liberal democratic system at home. "I find it very infantile to insist on maintaining relations with a Government that no longer exists, or in fact more than infantile, but romantic . . .," she wrote, "We ought to be happy to be democratic Republicans and attempt to make that dream a reality because, between us, dear poet, Ecuadorians understand democracy like I know Chinese or you know Russian."^x According to activists like Cárdenas de Bustamante, the Popular Front in Spain had fallen, and the time had come to focus on Ecuador's tenuous hold on Liberal democracy that still marginalized the majority of the population.

The deep connection to Spain that Ecuadorians cited in their writings largely resulted from what Niall Binns has termed a psychological "obsession."^{xi} Additionally, this relation to Spain as the child of the *madre patria* became a new tool for the Ecuadorian right to prevent social change, particularly in gender roles and customs—symptoms of greater movements that threatened traditional political and economic control. In February of 1937, the Catholic magazine *Dios y Patria* printed an article on Nationalist Spanish women and traditional values that argued:

It has fallen upon the Spanish woman to stop the avalanche of foul fashion that, from France to the United States, has spread throughout the world, staining delicate femininity and forcing women to renounce their condition. . . . And Hispanic women, especially Ecuadorian, ought to make theirs this agreement, because pleasures, manners, customs, soul, and heart they have inherited from the Spanish woman and not from the Yankee nor the Saxon. It would be a demonstration of racial solidarity for the Ecuadorian woman to join in this crusade of decency. . . .^{vii}

The writers of *Dios y Patria*, like many staunch Ecuadorian Catholics, sought to debase burgeoning feminist movements, often labeling them as Marxist ploys. In an attempt to craft a domestic policy for Ecuador in line with Nationalist Spain, Conservatives and Catholics utilized coded racial language, like Hispanic solidarity, to emphasize the relationship between both countries. Patrolling the bodies of women thus became the means for elites to maintain

structural inequalities and prevent agrarian, political, and economic reform.

The Spanish Civil War served as the precursor to the ideological conflict between Fascism, Communism, and Liberal Democracy that shaped the 1940s. Throughout Latin America, the war in Spain played a decisive role in the course of action for reformers and politicians. Despite its indirect participation, the connections to the *madre patria* during the Spanish Civil War made the initial rupture for marginalized groups in Ecuador, like women, to engage in international political dialogue alongside campaigns for domestic reform. Although 1939 marked the official end of the war in Spain, Ecuadorians like Nela Martínez took the networks, rhetoric and experience from the Spanish Civil War and continued antifascist campaigning into World War II.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Jaime Sánchez Andrade, “El Ecuador ante la Revolución española,” *La Nueva España*, May 2, 1937, Ecuador y la Guerra Civil Española, ed. Niall Binns (Madrid: Calambur, 2012), 502.
- ⁱⁱ Niall Binns, introduction to Ecuador y la Guerra Civil Española, ed. Niall Binns (Madrid: Calambur, 2012), 32–39.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Binns, introduction, 46–47.
- ^{iv} Kim Clark, *Gender, State, and Medicine in Highland Ecuador: Modernizing Women, Modernizing the State, 1895–1950* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2012), 3.
- ^v Nela Martínez, foreword to *Antinazismo en Ecuador, Años 1941–1944: Autobiografía del Movimiento Antinazi de Ecuador (MPAE-MAE)*, ed. Raymond Mériguet Cousségal (Quito: Aquiles Henríquez López, 1988), i–iii; *Nucancbic Allpa* 6, Quito, March 1935; *Nucancbic Allpa* 8, Quito, March 17, 1936; *Nucancbic Allpa* 10, Quito, February 11, 1939; *Nucancbic Allpa* 11, Quito, April 27, 1939; *Nucancbic Allpa* 14, Quito, February 25, 1940; *Nucancbic Allpa* 15, Quito, May 28, 1940; *Nucancbic Allpa* 16, Quito, November 5, 1944.
- ^{vi} Nela Martínez, “La lucha en España,” *Nucancbic Allpa*, February 11, 1939, in Ecuador y la Guerra Civil Española, ed. Niall Binns (Madrid: Calambur, 2012), 354.
- ^{vii} *Ibid.*, 355
- ^{viii} Binns, introduction, 176.
- ^{ix} Hipatia Cárdenas de Bustamante “Valiosa opinión de prominente dama ecuatoriana sobre el reconocimiento al Gobierno de Franco. Hipatia Cárdenas de Bustamante y el ‘Grupo America,’” *El Debate*, February 24, 1939, in Ecuador y la Guerra Civil Española, ed. Niall Binns (Madrid: Calambur, 2012), 177–178.
- ^x *Ibid.*, 178.
- ^{xi} Binns, introduction, 54.
- ^{xii} “La Mujer Española,” *Dios y Patria*, February 28, 1939, in Ecuador y la Guerra Civil Española, ed. Niall Binns (Madrid: Calambur, 2012), 230.

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The Struggle between Feminism and Patriarchy in the Writings of Mary Wollstonecraft: *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and *Maria: or, The Wrongs of Woman*

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Abstract

For over two centuries, there has been a tradition of reading Mary Wollstonecraft's treatise *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) (hereafter *A Vindication*) and unfinished novella *Maria: or, The Wrongs of Woman* (1797) (hereafter *Maria*) as foundational feminist texts. In this essay, I will examine the equivocal nature of the "mother of feminism[s]" strategies in transforming women's rights. By exploring journals, historical research, and two of Wollstonecraft's well-known works, *A Vindication* and *Maria*, I illustrate the apparent difference between both texts and how her later work remains uncompromisingly feminocentric. I will demonstrate that there exists a paradoxical relationship between Wollstonecraft's personal beliefs and her published assessments on women. That is, within the five years that *A Vindication* and *Maria* were written, not only did the women in her texts remain "trapped in the ideology of femininity," but that Wollstonecraft, the representation of the nascent feminist cause, also fell victim to the gender discriminatory and domestic despotic legal system that she sought to eradicate. More specifically, I demonstrate that while Wollstonecraft's first work was used to empower women, *Maria* fails to provide any sense of faith to her female readers of the likelihood of escaping the litany of horrendous feminine abjection experiences. As a result, this essay, ultimately, explores the way in which the paradoxes and inconsistencies in Wollstonecraft's work highlight her beliefs regarding the disparity between reality and the ideal in a male-dominated society.

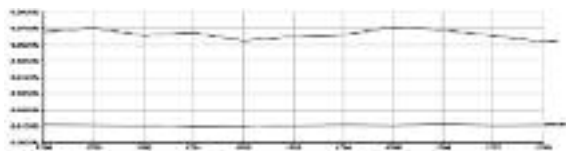


Figure 1. The Google Ngram graph displays the trend in how many times "women" and "men" were used within the corpus of books in England during Wollstonecraft's time. Was there any slight change for women in the chart?

Introduction

The Bank of England's recent decision to modify the British currency to portray Jane Austen not only emphasizes contemporary society's increasing commitment to social justice for women but also demonstrates the social and political impediments women continue to endure in a "third-wave, post-sexist" society (Pomerantz 1). Austen is only the second woman to ever appear on British currency aside from Queen Elizabeth II. While many feminist political and theoretical studies emphasize women's upward educational, political, and social mobility, I am interested in studying the difficulties that late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century female British authors endured in a patriarchal society. I do this in order to try to understand why social progress and equality for women still remains so slow and difficult to achieve and to underscore that contemporary women still suffer sex-based tribulations that reveal "post-feminism" as simply fatuous.

I will try to understand why Wollstonecraft herself was often so pessimistic about achieving equality for women in a male-dominated society. I will argue that her pessimism was the result of the ways in which she remained a "hostage" to the repressive gender inequalities of her era. I will demonstrate that neglecting to provide any form of solution or redemption to the tyrannical hold of patriarchy in *Maria*, Wollstonecraft underscores that even if all the reforms that she advocated for in *A Vindication* were to happen, women will still remain as the subordinate helpmate of men.

Even those scholars who discuss Wollstonecraft's skepticism regarding the transformation of women's rights do not assign it the importance that it has in my analysis. Ashley Tauchert's "Mary Wollstonecraft and Jane Austen: 'Rape' and 'Love' as (Feminist) Social Realism and Romance," Mary Poovey's *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer*, and Claudia Johnson's *Equivocal Beings*, for example, all illustrate Wollstonecraft's skepticism regarding the revolution of female rights. Although all three authors mention how Wollstonecraft's novels depict female autonomy and subjectivity as impossible, they briefly mention *Maria* in their arguments and spend very little time discussing how and why Wollstonecraft utilized these strategies during a period of profound political and gender conflict. Building off of these works, I conclude that, rather than altering the system that she highly desired to eradicate during her early life, Wollstonecraft eventually succumbed and participated.

My research is in no way intended to disparage or diminish her successes but is, rather, meant to offer an alternative view to the narrative that depicts *Maria* as a continuation of Wollstonecraft's feminism. In contrast, I seek to position *Maria* in the context of the oppressive, violent, and mistreated life that Mary Wollstonecraft endured before and during the time that she worked on *Maria*.

1788–1792

It is important to note that Wollstonecraft was not entirely optimistic about women's rights before and while writing *A Vindication*. This section briefly reflects on the difficulties Wollstonecraft endured before writing *A Vindication*. Between 1772 and 1787, two of the schools that Wollstonecraft opened to increase girls' education closed down. She had also become estranged from her family, blamed for the death of her sister's son, and dismissed from various occupations. How could someone who endured so many tribulations be confident about the future of women's rights and gender equality?

However, a revolution was near, something that brought Wollstonecraft hopes for the future. In order to enact the successful regulations, it would take fifty years before they could be passed and implemented. And, as time progressed, it became apparent that the French Revolution, which began as a movement of optimism and general eagerness, soon developed into a disaster and heartbreak for not only Wollstonecraft but for millions of citizens across Europe. Yet, with a regaining sense of self-confidence, on October 1791, Wollstonecraft shortly proceeded to the composition of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.

A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792)

In her "founding text or manifesto of Western feminism[s]" 1792 introduction, Wollstonecraft responded to French minister of education's Charles M. Talleyrand-Périgord's offensive 1791 pamphlet on education in France. Appalled by his distasteful proposition against women's education, Wollstonecraft induced him to respect the rights of national education and women. As a result, she called for a "REVOLUTION in female manners" and published a passionate defense of women's political, educational, and parliamentary advancement (65). Her central claim that women deserve an education equivalent to their male counterparts was rooted in the idea that humans are obliged to utilize God's respectful gift of reason. She argued that the negligence of females' education was the primary cause for adult women's conditions. In order to contribute to society, women needed to be educated reasonably. Women, during this time, however, were taught only to depend on and cultivate their beauty. They were subjugated to docility and rendered "wretched by a variety of concurring causes, originating from the one hasty conclusion that their minds [were] not in a healthy state" (Mellor 16).

In continuation, Wollstonecraft believed that, to deny an education to women was tantamount to "denying their personhood, even their divine soul, as well as participation in the natural and the civil rights of mankind" (8). She vehemently deemed that when given an education, women would

be able to vindicate their fundamental rights and successfully administer their families with judgment, become better mothers, wives, companions, and prevail in properly rearing and nurturing their newborn babies (Wollstonecraft 27). She implied that if society were to educate women, rather than encouraging them to focus on their beauty, then women would achieve so much more. Rather than becoming mere propagators of "fools," by reading her treatise on education, women would become more reputable citizens of society, and the men would concomitantly become better husbands (27). Wollstonecraft confirmed that when her principles on education were respected, they would fully prove that women deserved the same fundamental rights as men.

1792–1797

Yet, despite her vehement arguments against women's oppression, Wollstonecraft went against her own callings. The French Revolution proved to be a failure, and after publishing *A Vindication*, Wollstonecraft's short-time lover, Henry Fuseli, refused to partake in a relationship after Wollstonecraft approached his wife and propositioned for them to live together. Shortly after, Wollstonecraft began an affair with radical American Gilbert Imlay, who eventually led her to a very dark path. After partaking in two failed suicide attempts, learning of Imlay's constant love affairs with other women, and being a pawn of his manipulation for four years, Wollstonecraft vowed to never see him again.

However, regardless of Imlay's infidelity and depraved behavior, Wollstonecraft still continued contact with him and maintained emotional dependence until March 1796. A month later, she began to write *Maria*. As C. Kegan Paul observes, *Maria* is a fictional representation of how a woman "so good and great could have fallen into so terrible an error" (Hickok 12). We are told through *Maria* how the five years between *A Vindication* and *Maria* altered her perception of improving the status of women, but, more importantly, how society permitted the social injustices against women during this time.

Maria (1797)

Wollstonecraft's unfinished novella concentrates on the narration of a woman named Maria, who has been imprisoned in a madhouse by her sexually and emotionally abusive husband, George Venables. As mentioned in the author's preface, Maria's story is a representation of the system that protected the legalization of married British wives' oppression. Unlike her optimistic *A Vindication*, Wollstonecraft does not criticize the negligence of girls' education but now blames the ubiquitous oppressive legal British patriarchal institution of marriage for the inevitable condition of women. As a result, Wollstonecraft's altered

view, five years after *A Vindication* was written, leaves various unrequited questions on how her unfinished novella supports women's liberation.

The ways in which Wollstonecraft grants Maria the education that she yearned for in *A Vindication* is one of the most curious aspects of Wollstonecraft's final work. Maria's inability to rise above her subaltern status—even though she has an education—as the novel concludes may be thought of as linked to her skepticism toward liberal thought. Intended to be a realistic novel, Wollstonecraft portrays the financially stable, twenty-six-year-old Maria as one of the most intellectually refined women in society. The “woman was no fool, that is, she was superior to her class” and had the “strength of mind” (Wollstonecraft 252; 270). After being legally and forcefully entered into an insane asylum by her husband, Maria constantly peruses the parcels of books provided and given to her by her male and female friends. She reads John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Rousseau's *Heloise*, John Dryden's poetical works and *Fables*, and several other modern productions that composed “a comparative view of the politics of Europe and America . . . perfectly in unison with Maria's mode of thinking” (258).

By depicting Maria as a woman in society who has become educated in history, learned various liberal principles as taking the task of “conducting Darnford's defense upon herself,” and educated in the subject of politics, such as Judas Maccabaeus (Handel) and his liberty calls, Wollstonecraft develops a character who can rise above the despotism in society through an education. Through the course of the novel, Maria has learned how to prevent the “enablement of men to tyrannize over women,” been allowed by her husband to interchangeably take up some work in reading literature while in her study room, and has been “governed by decision[s] of judgment . . . proof of [her] superior understanding”(326; 329). Thus, it can be inferred that Wollstonecraft situates Maria in an environment where her husband has respected the rights of women's access to an education. Through this, Wollstonecraft substantiates her belief that the root of women's oppressed, docile state has been because of their lack of education.

However, through a close inspection, the novel's ending has been another one of the most questionable aspects of Wollstonecraft's text. Although Wollstonecraft confirmed in *A Vindication* that once women were given an education similar to their male counterparts, it would prove that women deserved the same rights as men, Maria's presence in the courtroom further validates my argument regarding Wollstonecraft's pessimism for women's rights. Until the ending of the unfinished novel, the story had been narrated by Maria. However, as Maria attempts to reassess the classifications of women entrenched in patriarchal law and utilizes

her education to defend her lover in the courtroom, the judge rejects her testimony and demands “legal” silence from her, further maintaining a male-dominated tyrannical system (354). He asserts that if he were to allow Maria the right to “plead her feelings” and argue against her husband, it would “open a floodgate for immorality,” causing a revolution (354). By the judge disallowing Maria's claim, regardless of her wealth and education, there exists an inconsistency in Wollstonecraft's writings. More importantly, this contradiction emphasizes Wollstonecraft's belief regarding women's inability to cause a change in the conventions entrenched in society regardless of how educated, wealthy, or autonomous they are.

In continuation, the novel's change of narration from female to male in the last scene again underscores Wollstonecraft's skepticism regarding women's rights. By incorporating a female narrator within the storyline, Wollstonecraft empowers the role of women in the novel. Yet, in the courtroom scene, the change of narration leaves the reader with the impression of the male gender's dominative superiority in both the public and private realms of relationships. In the scene, the male judge not only strips Maria of her powerful, cogent voice but also of her narration, as he is the last one to speak in the unfinished novel. The abrupt change of narration from female to male supports the idea of the social, educational, and political impediments for women and the patriarchal laws legalization of oppression against women.

Conclusion

Throughout this essay, I have illustrated the paradoxical relationship between Wollstonecraft's personal beliefs and her published assessments on women. By examining historical research, her diaries, and analyzing two of her famous texts, I have demonstrated that within the five years that both texts were written, Wollstonecraft became “trapped in the ideology of femininity” and fell victim to the system she highly sought to eradicate. Through a close inspection of *Maria*, we learn that as Wollstonecraft's life came to a close, she became skeptical in believing that women could escape the litany of horrendous feminine abjection experiences in such a strict male-dominated environment.

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Deciphering Multistage Metamorphic Events in the Northern Region of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Tennessee

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Virginia Isava is a senior earth and ocean sciences major at Duke University. Her research interests include structural geology, petrology, and tectonics. Upon graduation, she hopes to enroll in a geology PhD program with the ultimate goal of becoming a professor. In her spare time, Virginia sings in as many choirs as she can fit into her schedule.

Abstract

Three metamorphic events have been identified from field relationships in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Using optical petrology, this study classified and explained rock samples in the context of the park's greater geologic history. A microprobe case study on garnet compositional zoning from the Anakeesta Formation suggested that prograde metamorphism occurred as a single event, likely during the Alleghanian orogeny when North America collided with the African section of Gondwana. This paper is part of a larger study on the metamorphic history of the park.

Introduction

Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GSMNP) is located in the western Blue Ridge province of the southern Appalachian Mountains. Previous work has suggested that the region shows extensive faulting and involvement with multiple tectonic, metamorphic, and erosional events occurring over the past 1.1 billion years. Most rocks in this area range from 800 to 450 million years in age and have been affected by three major mountain-building (orogenic) events caused by the closing of the Iapetus Ocean: 1) the Ordovician-Silurian Taconic orogeny at 485–420 m.y., caused by the collision of the eastern region of the supercontinent Laurasia (in what is now eastern North America) with a volcanic island arc; 2) the Devonian-Mississippian Acadian orogeny at 419–324 m.y., caused by the same region of Laurentia colliding with a microcontinent called Avalonia, which today makes up part of England and central Europe; and 3) the Permian Alleghanian orogeny at 299–253 m.y., caused by the collision of North America with the African section of Gondwana, another supercontinent. All three events have resulted in variable metamorphic overprint of a sedimentary protolith. Understanding the tectonothermal setting for metamorphism in areas of multiple deformation events is often difficult due to obfuscation of early alteration events by later events. In an attempt to overcome this difficulty, this study covers the first two of a variety of diagnostic methods—optical mineralogy, electron microprobe, and bulk chemical analysis—to describe and analyze formations found within GSMNP. Additionally, a case study of garnet compositional zoning from the Anakeesta Formation suggests a simple prograde metamorphic event.

Regional Geology

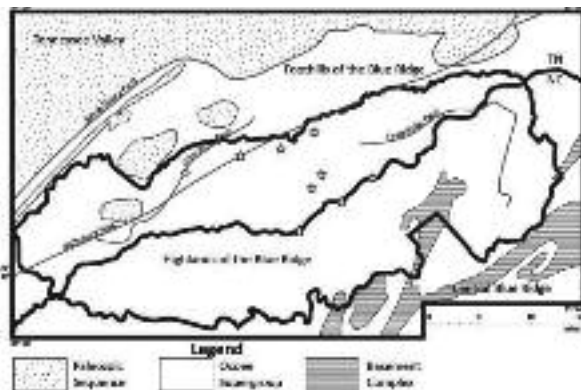


Figure 1. Simplified regional geology map of GSMNP. Stars mark studied localities. Adapted from Moore, 1988, and Southworth et al., 2012.

Three groups of rocks make up GSMNP and its surrounding region: a basement complex of Precambrian (>1000 m.y.) paragneiss, migmatite, and metagranitoids, which is the result of deep burial and metamorphism followed by uplift and exposure; the Ocoee Supergroup, a late Precambrian sequence of metasedimentary rocks that make up the majority of the park's surficial geology; and a Paleozoic sequence of mostly sedimentary rocks that is generally found outside of the park (Harris and Tuttle, 1990) (see Figure 1). Southworth et al. (2012) identifies the four major structural systems that control the landscape: the Greenbrier and associated Dunn Creek faults, the Great Smoky and associated Miller Cove faults, the Gatlinburg and associated Pigeon Forge faults, and the thrust sheets of the Tennessee Valley. Faulting occurred at different times, as evidenced by the faults' interactions with specific rock groups. Most faults in this region are thrust faults. The Greenbrier fault, which is the oldest, only altered the Ocoee Supergroup and can thus be dated to the late Precambrian. The Great Smoky Fault is related to the Taconic orogeny of the Ordovician period (Harris and Kiver, 1985). The Gatlinburg fault is the newest of the group and dates back 285 million years to the Permian period, associating it with the Alleghanian orogeny (Southworth et al., 2012). The faults generally run in the east-northeast direction. The more intensely metamorphosed rocks (amphibolite facies) are found in the southeastern region of the Blue Ridge Province; there is a gradual decrease in metamorphic grade in the northwest direction to the greenschist facies (Harris and Tuttle, 1990).

The Ocoee Supergroup, from which all samples in this study were collected, is divided chronologically (oldest–youngest) into the Snowbird Group, Great Smoky Group, and Walden Creek Group. Only formations from the first two groups were sampled for this study.

Methods

Rock samples were collected from ten locations within GSMNP, which included trails, roads, and parking lot outcrops. Stratigraphic units were identified and classified based on Southworth et al. (2012). Each sample was prepared into thin section, analyzed, and photographed under petrographic microscope. This paper describes these rocks.

For the case study, the compositional profile in cross-section scans of individual garnets from the Anakeesta Formation were obtained using the Duke University electron microprobe. End member ratios for each point were calculated using freely available mineral formulae recalculation software from the Science Education Resource Center at Carleton College. Changes in end member ratios were compared to those published by Vance, Strachan, and Jones (1998), in order to discern general patterns in pressure and temperature changes over time.

Results

Great Smoky Group

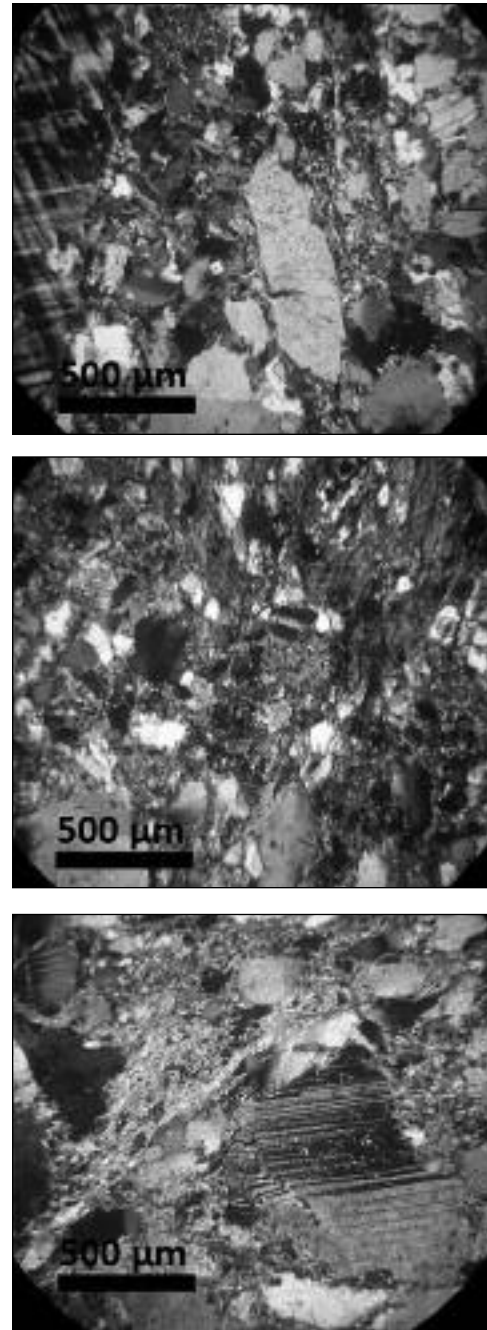
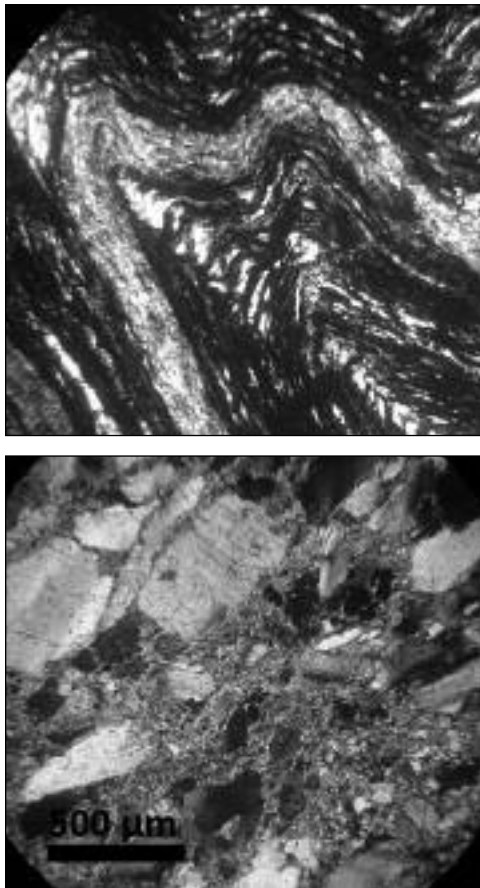


Figure 2. Rocks from the Great Smoky Group under crosspolarized light. Magnification: 100x. 2.1: Anakeesta formation; 2.2: Cades sandstone; 2.3: Copperhill formation; 2.4: Elkmont sandstone; 2.5: Thunderhead sandstone.

The Anakeesta formation is a group of metasiltstone, slate, phyllite, and schist found on the Appalachian Trail, Newfound Gap, Chimney Tops Trail, and Alum Cave Trail. As with all rock formations in this study, it was likely deposited during the Neoproterozoic Era (1000–542 m.y.). It can be identified in the field by its oxidized coloring (black

with deep purple and orange staining), as well as its friable nature and very thin laminae. The rocks of this formation are extremely fine-grained and well sorted. Its dark colors are due to its graphite content; weathered sulfide minerals result in staining. Most non-opaque minerals that make up the matrix are mica, which can be identified by their high refraction index and are common in metamorphic rocks. Porphyroblasts of zoned garnets appear in some samples, ranging from 0.1 to 0.6 mm in diameter.

The Cades sandstone is usually exposed along faults (Southworth et al., 2012). The samples of this formation in this study were collected along Laurel Creek Road, which runs along the Gatlinburg fault and its derivatives. This rock type is made up of medium- to coarse-grained metasandstone and metagraywacke, with a matrix of quartz, feldspar, and muscovite (mica) sand. The grains are moderately sorted and mostly angular in shape, indicating a fast deposition, and their high feldspar content suggests that older granitic rock was eroded to create the sedimentary material that was later metamorphosed by orogenies.

The Copperhill formation is a set of metasiltstone and metagraywacke interbedded with schist and phyllite found on an outcrop adjacent to the Clingman's Dome parking lot. It is similar to the Cades Sandstone formation in its medium- to coarse-grained size and angular grain shape but can be distinguished by its relatively large, semi-round mineral clasts (up to 15 mm). Additionally, its grains are more poorly sorted. This formation is interbedded with quartz-muscovite schist and phyllite. It contains little to no graphite or sulfide opaques in its schists, indicating that aerobic conditions were present at least temporarily during sedimentation (Southworth et al., 2012). This rock type was collected from boulders which featured subspherical concretion rings, which could not be sampled due to park collection rules.

Elkmont sandstone is found on the Laurel Falls Trail. Its metasandstone and metasiltstone are identified by very fine, rounded grains, very thin beds, chalk-like texture, and rusty weathering bands. This formation is extremely fine-grained and well sorted. A layering interaction between argillaceous metastandstone (gray colored) and finer metasiltstone (lighter yellow) is present. Some minor stratification and cross-stratification can be seen in hand samples.

The Thunderhead sandstone consists of coarse-grained conglomerate and metasandstone interbedded with metasiltstone and slate. It can be found on the Alum Cave Trail, Laurel Falls Trail, and Laurel Creek Road and can be identified in the field by its massive, thick beds and the boudinage formed by the interaction between the lighter colored metasandstone and darker metasiltstone and slate. The metasandstone of this formation is made up of poorly

sorted, angular grains. The rock itself is somewhat resistant to chemical weathering (although not deformation), resulting in huge cliff and ledge exposures.

Snowbird Group

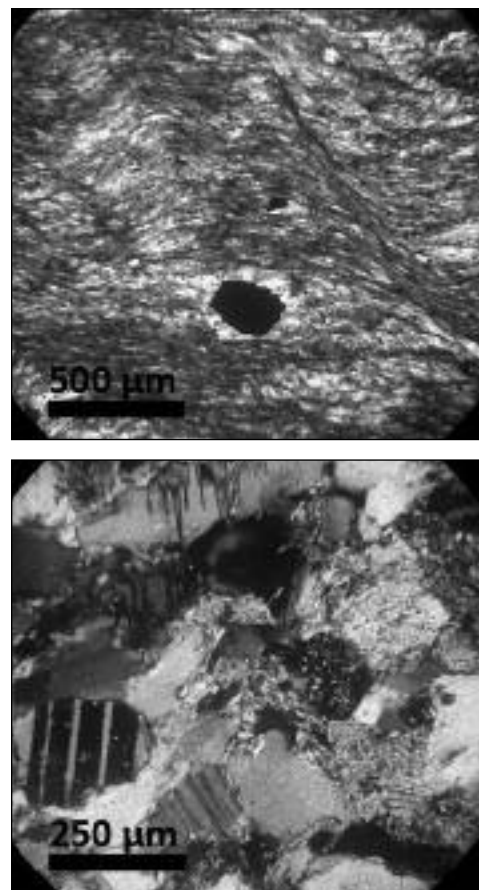


Figure 3. Rocks from the Snowbird Group under XPL. Magnification: 100x (top) and 200x (bottom). Metcalf phyllite (top), Roaring Fork sandstone (bottom).

Metcalf phyllite is found on the Lumber Ridge Trail and can be identified by its appreciable mineral foliation and shearing. It is rich in chlorite and sericite, resulting in its light green color. Grains are rounded, very fine, and well sorted.

Roaring Fork sandstone formation is made of medium- to fine-grained feldspathic metasandstone, interbedded with some metasiltstone. Due to its high feldspar content, the formation was useful for road construction during the creation of GSMNP and was quarried from what is now the start of the Old Sugarlands Trail (Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association). Its greenish color in hand sample and under the microscope is due to chlorite (Southworth et al., 2012).

Most formations from the Great Smoky Group in this study were initially formed as a result of rapid turbidity current deposits interbedded with siltstone and mudstone that formed by long periods of slow accumulation. Notable exceptions to turbidity current origin include the Anakeesta Formation, Wehuty Formation, and Ammons Formation of the Great Smoky Group. These formations were deposited during low-energy, oxygen-poor conditions between turbidite-forming episodes (Southworth et al., 2012). Changes in grain size and bedding indicate changes in depositional environment through time, possibly caused by shifts in water depth, currents, or sediment origins (Harris and Tuttle, 1990).

During post-depositional tectonic events, these sedimentary rocks underwent variable degrees of metamorphism. The appearance of biotite and garnet and the absence of aluminosilicate polymorphs (kayaite, andalusite, sillimanite) in samples from the Anakeesta formation indicate maximum grade of metamorphism in the upper greenschist to lower amphibolite facies.

Metamorphic Overprint and Case Study: Garnets from the Anakeesta Formation

Composition changes (compositional zoning) in garnet minerals reflect changes in the pressure and temperature conditions as the garnet grew. The plot in Figure 4 shows the changes in end member components that make up the garnet in a cross-section from the Anakeesta formation at Newfound Gap, GSMNP.

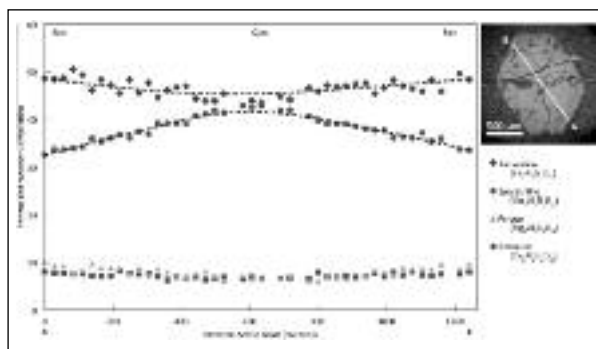


Figure 4. Graph of end member components in garnet as a function of distance across the grain. Image of garnet used for scan in top right; line on garnet indicates path. Uvarovite ($\text{Ca}_3\text{Cr}_2\text{Si}_3\text{O}_{12}$) and andradite ($\text{Ca}_3\text{Fe}_2\text{Si}_3\text{O}_{12}$) components of the garnet were low (<1%) and are not shown.

As shown, iron, magnesium, and calcium composition increased from core to rim, as indicated by the increase in the almandine, pyrope, and grossular components from core outward. Spessartine's decrease toward the rims corresponded with a decrease in manganese. At approximately 200 microns from the edge of the garnet, end member

compositions cease changing, suggesting that garnet grew under uniform P-T conditions toward the end of growth.

Comparing the results of the case study in this report with those of Vance, Strachan, and Jones (1998), it can be determined that during the period of garnet growth, both temperature and pressure initially increased with time and then plateaued. Given the extreme environment that would be required for such growth, the strongest and most recent orogeny—the Alleghanian orogeny—is likely the metamorphic event that formed these garnets.

Conclusions and Future Plans

GSMNP presents a unique challenge in the field of geology precisely because its formations are so difficult to decipher. Unlike other regions, like the southwestern U.S., rocks in the Smokies range from sedimentary to metasedimentary to metamorphic and intertongue with each other in ways that make hand sample and field observations insufficient in terms of information for interpretation. This study attempted to begin tackling the problem by analyzing at a smaller scale using optical mineralogy with a petrographic microscope. However, even at this scale, formations yield little information about the environment in which they formed and were deformed aside from the minerals that make up most of the grains. To reach a better understanding, further analysis at the grain-scale level is needed. The data collected by microprobe analysis of garnets in the case study, coupled with bulk chemical compositions acquired through DCP-OES analysis—yet to be completed—have the potential to not only describe the metamorphic history of each formation but discriminate between differences of the same formations in separate regions of the park, such as from the hanging wall and foot wall of a fault.

Acknowledgements

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Slaughterhouse Rule: Environments of the Bitter Earth

Laurel O'Connor, *Williams College*

Laurel O'Connor is a senior American studies and studio art major at Williams College in Massachusetts. Laurel's latest Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship research explores the visual politics of climate justice in Oakland (West), CA. Someday, Laurel hopes to make a nice film about this research.

Abstract

This paper explores director Charles Burnett's 1979 filmic masterpiece, *Killer of Sheep*. Specifically, this paper analyzes the ways in which Burnett connects the protagonist's meatpacking job with dynamics of race, class, and gender in his community of Watts, Los Angeles.

This is a paper about killing—and how killing became a way of life for many African American men throughout the twentieth century. It is about the work within slaughterhouses, those meatpacking jobs that were symbolic of respectability and success for many living in black, urban communities.ⁱ Killing paid the bills. Killing put food on the table. In this way, killing was good. While in many ways stockyard work provided upward economic and political mobility for thousands of African Americans living in cities, the complex environmental conditions of this type of work are often overlooked. Perhaps no work illustrates these complexities better than Charles Burnett's 1979 film *Killer of Sheep*. Set in post-"rebellion" Watts, Los Angeles, Burnett's neorealist masterpiece gives an episodic glimpse into urban life for blacks during the latter part of the century. The film intimately follows the daily life of Stan, a father, husband, and employee at the local sheep stockyard whose story is not only reflective of internal crises but also demonstrative of crises within his community. This essay explores how the portrayal of Stan's working environment at the stockyard informs an understanding of life in his community.

Burnett grounds Stan's character as a black man of the working class. We are first introduced to Stan as his family's provider—the man who fixes things around the house and works hard every day. Stan is a man of respectability. Historically, meatpacking was a revered position for many African Americans because it provided decent union pay and job security; however, it was far from a "clean" position. As St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton, two African American sociologists from Chicago University, explain in their 1945 landmark work *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, the work available to most African Americans in cities, although industrial, was low to the earth:

... the bulk of the employed adult Negroes, with a minimum of education and still betraying their Southern origin, were toilers, working close to the soil, the animals, and the machinery that undergird Chicago's economy.ⁱⁱ

However, Burnett does not focus on the hardship described here in the introductory scenes of Stan. In no way is Stan depicted as toiling, forced to dirty his hands as a mule of the system. Instead, Burnett introduces Stan's work as engaging, organized, clean, and even prideful. In this initial scene depicting the slaughterhouse, Stan is busy at work, his eyes attentively scanning the floor while he washes it down with a commanding hose. He is both engaged and in control. The camera pans to show a white man angled to the floor as he shovels up a huge pile of entrails on the ground, the cleaned carcass of an animal hanging limply nearby. Not only is Stan working alongside a white man, but his task is actually cleaner than his white coworker's. The next shot shows Stan carrying a large metal tray filled with beautifully butchered meat cutlets. Burnett places Stan and his tray within a stationary frame, delivering the clean meat to the audience. Stan then calmly picks up the handles of a cart filled with entrails and wheels it at arm's length offscreen. His erect and comfortable stance positions him as a commanding figure. The scene then cuts to a shot of Stan at a sink as he soaps and rubs his hands together under a gushing stream of water. He then takes off his apron and leaves work, walking out into the bright daylight. As he exits, Stan wipes off his hands onto his pants. The sound of children singing "This Old Man" plays as the scene cuts to the still and shell-like exterior of the meatpacking building. The song works structurally and lyrically to deepen the meaning of this scene. The sound of the children's voices, while not an actual part of the landscape, take on a similar symbolic status: these are the happy sounds that we can imagine Stan to be working for when he is on the killing floor. Burnett thus seamlessly relates the context for Stan's work as well as the stakes—this is not just a job for him but a position to help support future generations.

This scene challenges the toil that Drake and Cayton describe of a kind of urban agrarianism that constituted the majority of employment opportunities for African Americans throughout the twentieth century. What we see of Stan is not a man oppressed by his environment, practically an animal, but instead a man who works with dignity. Here, the work of the meatpacker—while certainly not an office job—is not "dirty." On the contrary, the position "could serve, for African Americans, as an avenue for economic advancement and male responsibility."ⁱⁱⁱ Black meatpackers did not necessarily see themselves as slaves to the industry but rather as men in search of economic autonomy, social respectability, and political agency.^{iv} This promise was not embedded in the work itself but, rather, the surrounding union structures that offered a political platform for working black meatpackers, significantly after the 1930s.^v Unions such as the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC) and United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA) established strong bargaining leverage because

they “rested on unity in action by white and black packinghouse workers . . . organizers consistently stressed that the only way all packinghouse workers could attain a better life was by working together, regardless of differences due to ethnicity, religion, race, or sex.”^{vi} This integrated working environment, as shaped by decades of union labor struggle, was one of the few environments in which whites and blacks actually socialized on somewhat equal terms. As Rick Halpern and Roger Horowitz explain in their 1996 oral history collection of meatpacking workers:

Packinghouse employment also placed blacks in an unusual interracial environment. . . . The resulting mixture of racial and ethnic groups at work contrasted sharply with the rigid practice of racial segregation in housing, employment, and access to services enforced by Jim Crow legislation in the South and powerful informal customs in the North. Indeed, in many urban areas, the packinghouse was the largest interracial institution, one of the few places where blacks and white interacted on a daily basis.^{vii}

The relationship between whites and blacks within the packinghouse work environment, although certainly not without its tensions, was one of the few hopeful examples for integrated working environments in the formative years of the civil rights movement.^{viii} As Burnett reveals in this first packinghouse scene, work within a slaughterhouse was not divided strictly along color lines and thus provided African Americans with a degree of mobility during a time when few such opportunities existed.

While in many ways this scene reveals the successful legacy of integrated and unionized labor for packinghouse workers, it also serves to mark an unraveling of the unionized labor in the packinghouse in the latter part of the century. As Horowitz explains in *“Negro and White, Unite and Fight!”*, the transformation of meat production and corporate oversight led to the eventual extinction of urban packinghouses. Just after the civil rights movement, city meatpacking jobs fell more than fifty thousand between 1963 and 1984, effectively destroying the power of the integrated unions.^{ix} Horowitz goes on to explain that black workers, who had been “a particularly strong source of union strength, suffered disproportionately when the central stockyard districts declined and production shifted to predominantly white rural areas.”^x The collapse of the urban packinghouses was a crisis not only for black meatpackers but their surrounding communities. For decades, meatpacking work was vital for the welfare of African American communities; however, as Horowitz explains, “When union power collapsed during the 1980s, the result was a precipitous drop in packinghouse workers’ earnings and a dramatic increase in the intensity of the work. Meatpacking in the late

twentieth century manifests striking similarities to the industry a hundred years ago.”^{xi} Thus, while in many ways Stan’s character is privileged with one of the best working class jobs available to African Americans, his position is not sustainable; he is working at a time when the job of the meatpacker is becoming increasingly destabilized. In many ways, Stan’s work begins in the shadow of the packinghouse golden age.

Stan is thus trying to maintain steady dignity amidst shifting and unstable environments. While Burnett reveals these difficulties early on, Stan does not consider his position to be poor. As he defiantly proclaims to his friends:

“Man I ain’t po! Look—I give away things to the Salvation Army. You can’t give nothing away to Salvation Army if you po’. We may not have a damn thing sometimes—you want to see somebody who is po’? Now you go around a look at Walter’s—he be sit’n over an oven with nothing but a coat on and sit’n around there rubb’n his knees all day and eating nothing but wild greens picked out of a vacant lot. Now that ain’t me. And damn sure won’t be!”

In this quote, Stan reveals how he positions work, success, gender, and environment. As he explains, although working as a meatpacker doesn’t enable him to have everything, he is still in a position of relative mobility. Unlike Walter, who relies on scavenging in the urban wild, Stan’s job still provides for his family. For Stan, utilizing the “wild” city spaces is seen as an act of desperation, whereas maintaining a declining job places Stan in a class above. Here, the open city space is indicative of poverty, whereas the closed sphere of the slaughter industry is tied to middle-class values. Poverty in this case is not only tied to the wilderness but also to an emasculated status: Walter can barely provide for himself, let alone a family, and although he may actively scavenge, he is left to lick his own wounds. While the tie between work and masculinity is problematic, these dynamics were integral to unionized male packinghouse workers. As Horowitz explains, the “mores and customs that comprised union traditions” were essential in cementing the leveraging power of male packinghouse workers to “create stable families supported by a male breadwinner.”^{xii} Stan’s defense of his socioeconomic status is thus not just a defense of his actual earnings but his masculine identity—an identity that was shaped in part by unionized labor.

The divisions between Stan’s home and work environments begin to collapse as the film unfolds. Burnett intersperses scenes of sheep walking and running at the packinghouse with children of the Watts community outside at play. In this way the story of the slaughterhouse becomes the story of the community. By juxtaposing the life and death of the slaughterhouse sheep with everyday experiences

within the neighborhood of Watts, Burnett complicates the environment of the slaughterhouse for African Americans. While on one hand, Burnett dispels stereotypes of meatpacking work as dirty and low, he reveals the cycle of life in the slaughterhouse to be hauntingly similar to life for African Americans within Watts. Life in both these spheres is not merely about death but is about the processes that deliberately bring this about. The scenes of the slaughterhouse are terrifying not because of the amount of raw blood or stripped skin that is depicted but, instead, because of the silence and certainty by which the sheep are taken apart. While the futures of those in Watts are left more open-ended than the futures of the struggling packinghouse sheep, to live in either environment means to endure surrounding oppressive structures.

The positionality of Stan is thus twofold: While his job as a meatpacker affords him a degree of respectability, it also makes visible similarities between the systems that organize life in his own neighborhood and those that kill sheep in his factory.^{xiii} As Burnett explains, for Stan, living in Watts and working in the slaughterhouse means losing sensitivity to the violence of the everyday:

The positive thing about Stan is that he endured. He didn't fail or drop out. He was determined to do things to make sure his family was going to survive, and so that in itself is very positive. . . [however] his kids are going to have a rough time just like he did. All those kids in the community are going to have a rough time. They're being trained and conditioned to be able to endure and survive.^{xiv}

Through aligning the role of the killer with the position of the killed, Stan reveals the complexities of environmental justice for African Americans. While as a meatpacker, Stan is in a better position than a lot of people in his neighborhood, he continues to struggle. As Burnett explains, "what's substantive is the illusion of progress,"^{xv} the illusion that somehow during this period working African Americans can simply transcend the dominant systems of oppression and easily "secure dignity at work, security at home, and respectability in American society."^{xvi} In this way, Burnett does not depict injustice within the African American community as a matter of clear power imbalances, the difference between the killers and the killed, but as a matter of having to live within environments of survival. By working, Stan is able to hold onto his sense of dignity and to survive. However, his empowerment is not one that he can guarantee to his children. He cannot secure for them a future so that they may survive. Progress is, therefore, not just a matter of Stan's individual story but rather a story of what all of his hard work is worth to those around him. Burnett helps question to what extent individual success and agency can undermine larger systems of oppression.

The film ends with Stan at the slaughterhouse. For the first time, he is smiling. Burnett shows Stan drag a sheep from the pen, press a drill gun into its head, and then pierce its foot into a hook. The animal is launched overhead and carried down the butcher line. In the next second, Stan repeats the process. The scene cuts to Stan at the bottom of the sheep-run urging the flock towards the killing floor by the slap of his towel. With each hit, the sheep move forward, and Stan's face smile grows increasingly broader. The entire scene is narrated by Dinah Washington's haunting rendition of "Bitter Earth." "What good am I?" she cries as Stan urges the sheep forward, "heaven only knows/Lord this bitter earth, yes can be so cold/Today you are young, too soon you are old/But while a voice within me cries, I'm sure someone may answer my call/ And this bitter earth may not be oh so bitter after all." While not necessarily conclusive, the lyrics of the scene along with the overall tone of the visual composition help to clarify Stan's sense of agency. On the one hand, Stan is powerless to stop the overall slaughter of the sheep just as he is in many ways powerless to reverse the greater systems of oppression which shape his community. Even if he were to quite literally hand in the towel, the result would be the same: the sheep would die, and his community would still suffer. This sense of overwhelming disempowerment is expressed in the song, as Dinah pleads helplessly, "What good am I?"

However, this question is answered when Dinah cites her "call"—her voice as being that power to encourage those around her, perhaps to spur future generations to action. Although the bitter, cold earth exists in her lifetime, she does not see this as being the state of her environment forever. Even if her call is all she has, she knows this in itself is hope enough. The same can be said for Stan. Although in many ways his position as a successful black, working-class meatpacker represents the end of an era, he is nonetheless a sort of "call" to his family and community. His existence alone, as a dignified working black man, is enough to bring hope for future generations. As Frank Wallace, a meatpacker since he was eighteen, explains,

I gained a heck of a lot of satisfaction of knowing that I have been able to help somebody some of the time. It's the satisfaction that comes within you. It's not a monetary value, but it's a pleasing satisfaction you get . . . it's a wonderful feeling, to know that you've been able to help somebody.^{xvii}

Perhaps this is what we can read in Stan's smile as he brings the sheep to slaughter: not a smile out of joy for killing but a joy for helping and understanding the plight of the sheep. It's not just that he has agency, but he has agency whether or not to be cruel, or brutish, or caring, or understanding. This understanding of freedom, as gained by his position as a meatpacker, is something he can pass on to his

community. Thus, while in many ways this is a scene of death, it is also a scene of awakening; Stan is no longer silently surviving. He is actively living even in the face of death. He is the cry and the call that Dinah Washington describes, the force that may shift the bitterness of the earth.

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Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, 523.
- ⁱⁱ St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, 523.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Rick Halpern and Roger Horowitz, "Work, Race, and Identity: Self Representation in the Narratives of Black Packinghouse Workers," 2.
- ^{iv} Rick Halpern and Roger Horowitz, "Work, Race, and Identity: Self Representation in the Narratives of Black Packinghouse Workers," 6.
- ^v Roger Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!", 60.
- ^{vi} Roger Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!", 59.
- ^{vii} Halpern and Horowitz, *Meatpackers: An Oral History of Black Packinghouse Workers and Their Struggle for Racial and Economic Equality*, 2.
- ^{viii} Halpern and Horowitz, *Meatpackers: An Oral History of Black Packinghouse Workers and Their Struggle for Racial and Economic Equality*, 25.
- ^{ix} Roger Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!", 253.
- ^x Roger Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!", 253.
- ^{xi} Roger Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!", 253.
- ^{xii} Roger Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!", 241.
- ^{xiii} Scott Foundas, *Charles Burnett: Interviews*, 139.
- ^{xiv} David Lowery, *Charles Burnett: Interviews*, 168.
- ^{xv} Monona Wali, *Charles Burnett: Interviews*, 21.
- ^{xvi} Rick Halpern and Roger Horowitz, "Work, Race, and Identity: Self Representation in the Narratives of Black Packinghouse Workers," 2.
- ^{xvii} Halpern and Horowitz, *Meatpackers: An Oral History of Black Packinghouse Workers and Their Struggle for Racial and Economic Equality*, 118.

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Constructions of Blackness in Regions of the Arab World: Reflections on Jordan and an Ethnography in Oman

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Maya is a graduate of Cornell University, where she studied Near Eastern studies and Arabic. Her primary research explores social and cultural constructions of blackness in the Arab world. With a dedication to promoting cross-cultural awareness and dialogue, she has studied, volunteered, and conducted research abroad in Jordan and Oman. Maya has returned to the Middle East and is currently working as a consultant with an international educational services institute in Amman, Jordan.

Abstract

This project is an examination of constructions of blackness and intersections of racial and ethnic identity in the Arab world. My experiences as a study abroad student in Jordan serve as the basis for the research questions. How does one's physical appearance, adherence to Islam (or lack thereof), and Arabic language abilities lead others to assumptions about an individual's "blackness," race, and/or ethnicity? To obtain sufficient insight and data for my project, I conducted an ethnographic study on the meaning of blackness in Oman. The interviews that I conducted in Oman are the foundation for my Mellon thesis.

Arriving in Amman, Jordan, with little understanding of what it means to be a black body in a predominantly (non-black) Arab country was a rude awakening. Somewhat ignorant of the unique stereotypes and stigmas clinging to people of African descent in the Arab world, I was unsure of how my blackness would be perceived and received in this new environment. Upon arrival, I was met with a barrage of questions about my racial, ethnic, religious, and national identities. Questions like, "Are you Arab or African?", "Are you Sudanese?", "Are you Muslim?", and "Are you a Black Arab?" became part of my daily life abroad. Interestingly enough, I was often told I did not look "purely" Arab but, if lucky, I could pass as a Black Arab. Additionally, having frequently been called peculiar racial epithets (two of the most common of these are the terms "*abda*," meaning slave girl/woman, and "*samara*," meaning dark-complexioned girl/woman) led me to further examine the implications of blackness in my new setting. I wondered how, when, and why being black was synonymous with being a slave in the view of the Muslim, Arab majority. I wondered even more why this reality was never talked about in Jordan. I yearned to understand why knowing my ethnic/racial identity was significant to those I had just met. Why, of all things, would a stranger want to know my race, ethnicity, or religion before anything else—like my name, my profession, or my reason for traveling? I often asked myself whether people truly needed to ask about my race/ethnicity; was not my blackness apparent? Did my fluency in Arabic lead others to question my identity? I wanted to know if confirming my blackness would negatively affect how I would be treated and if lying and claiming Arab

lineage would grant me acceptance and lead to an easier journey. Moreover, having had little prior knowledge of racial and ethnic relations among Arabs and Black Africans, I found myself constantly contemplating the perceptions of my blackness and their implications.

As an African-American, concepts of race and the meaning of blackness have always been clear to me. Due to the infamous "one-drop rule" and the high level of dependence on visual traits to construct race, if someone resembles a person of African descent, he or she is black—there is little space to create, negotiate, or even contemplate alternative racial and ethnic identities. However, racial and ethnic lines are not as clearly defined solely in terms of visible physical traits in other parts of the world, particularly in the Arab, Islamic countries of the Near East. Unique ideas, concepts, and constructs contour each region, with factors like religion, race, ethnicity, and skin color overlapping and influencing each other.

This ethnography delves into the ways blackness is constructed in visual, linguistic, and religious ways in the Arab, Islamic regions of the Near East. For this project, I conducted interviews and gained insight as a participant observer throughout the Sultanate of Oman in order to further explore this topic outside of the available academic literature.

Methodology

My methods for data collection included conducting both structured and semi-structured interviews with Omani citizens about their thoughts on racial constructions and the definition of blackness in Oman and in the broader Arab world. I interviewed nine Omani citizens of diverse backgrounds. In this paper, the participants will be referred to using pseudonyms. The participants represent a broad range of ethnicities, ages, occupations, cities, national origins, and tribal affiliations. All were born and raised in Oman and/or have lived as Omani citizens for at least ten years. Therefore, the participants are well suited to reflect on how one's physical appearance, ability to speak Arabic, and adherence or non-adherence to Islam inform the way in which their blackness is defined in Omani society and in the broader Arab World. I recruited the participants through identifying those who were most comfortable in sharing their thoughts. I approached each participant individually in order to maintain their privacy and to prevent others from knowing about their choice to participate in the study. Interviews usually lasted between five to fifteen minutes and were tape-recorded. I used a reflexive, dyadic interviewing method (Berg, 2001) that allowed me, as the researcher, to share my own personal experiences with the participants.

Data Analysis

During an interview with a young man named Eddy, I asked, “What does being black mean to you?” He promptly responded, “That’s a complicated question. I could talk for days about this. However, I do know one thing is for certain: being black is more complicated than just having dark or black skin.” I interjected, “Oh, really? What do you mean?” Eddy responded, “People always say that I’m not a real black person or a real African because of my light skin, but they and I know that’s not true.” Just like Eddy, the other participants shared their own unique experiences involving race. Although all participants shared distinctive perspectives and stories, all of the participants expressed in one manner or another that concepts of race, ethnicity, and blackness are more complicated than interpretations of physical appearance and that implications of race and ethnicity are far-reaching in Omani society.

The people in this ethnography have helped me develop an understanding of how some people of Oman interpret and perceive race, ethnicity, blackness, being black, and being Arab. By listening to the narratives of participants, living with an Omani family, and interacting with a diverse group of Omani citizens, I have begun to find answers to the questions that birthed this research endeavor. In the following pages, I will recount the experiences and thoughts of others who provided insights into the complexities that accompany the constructions of blackness, race, and ethnicity.

For the interviews, I usually started the conversation by asking my participants about what “blackness” and being black personally meant to them and what he/she thought being racially black meant in the context of Oman and the broader Arab world. After I asked these initial questions, the conversations would unfold and touch on a variety of different topics. The following sections reveal the ways in which the participant’s comments speak to my inquiries about how physical appearance, religious faith, and language influence the constructions of blackness in Oman.

Physical Appearance

A particular interest in how physical appearance contributes to constructing blackness and non-blackness in Arab countries has driven this project since its inception. I seek to understand how skin color, facial features, and hair texture converge to form an appearance that can be interpreted as racially black or racially non-black. With the assistance of the participants, I have started to establish an understanding of how various factors contribute to visual constructions of blackness.

During a conversation with Dr. Nassir, a university history professor, he stated that skin color plays a major role in determining someone’s perceived blackness, race, and/or ethnicity. When I asked him how the importance of skin color compared to other physical features, he responded, “Skin color is much more important than facial features.” Nassir explained to me that many people in Oman assumed that his family was from the north of Oman solely because of his light skin complexion. He explained that most people in south Oman have darker skin as a result of the large African migrations to this region. He told me, “My family and I are from the city of Salalah in south Oman, but most Omanis don’t believe me when I tell them I’m from the south. They think that because of my skin is light, I must be from the northern region.” Nassir’s comments about the importance of skin color suggest that skin color is a central factor in constructing notions of blackness and racial identification.

University student Muhammad also contributed valuable insight into the role of appearance in constructing racial and ethnic identities. As I shared stories with Muhammad about my own experiences concerning race and prejudice in Jordan, he explained to me, “Arab people in the Levant (an area comprising of Jordan, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon) are most racist towards black people and Africans because there aren’t many black people or Africans living in those countries.” He described the Arabs in this territory as “White Arabs” and continued to say, “There is less racism towards Africans here in Oman, because Omanis are used to Africans because there are so many here.” Muhammad’s remarks indicate that blackness is painted in a more positive light in Oman due to the larger presence of black people. His remarks also suggest that being black is sometimes conflated with being African—as if to be black means to be African and to be African means to be black.

Eddy also provided some fascinating observations about skin color and notions of race. He told me, “Generally, in Arab countries, if there are two people who apply for the same job, the person with white skin would get the job before the black-skinned person, even if the black-skinned person is more qualified.” He elaborates on this observation by telling me that most people think of the Sudanese as the “most lazy of the Arabs.” He explained that many people from Oman and other Arab countries believe the Sudanese to be lazy as a result of their blackness. He also states that in Oman and in Qatar (where Eddy has lived and worked in previous years), many Sudanese people are only able to find and secure menial jobs because of widespread prejudice against dark-skinned people and Africans in the job market. Eddy’s observations indicate that anti-black sentiments and actions are prevalent and that blackness and being black are disparaged in some communities in Arab countries. Eddy’s remarks also suggest that there are racial

hierarchies situated in the Arab communities he has encountered. The racial hierarchy that Eddy speaks of ostensibly privileges those of a lighter skin tone and subjugates those of darker hues.

Religion and Islam

In Jordan, I noticed many individuals used religion to negotiate racial and ethnic identity. During several occasions, I was told that, despite my blackness, I could be considered an Arab if I was a Muslim. The reoccurrence of this idea that one could “pass” as an Arab (and relinquish a black identity) if he/she were Muslim led me to ask questions about how religion influences constructions of blackness in this ethnography.

In an interview with Khalil, he explained that an in-depth understanding of how Islam spread and became prominent in Africa and the Middle East is fundamental to understanding how Black Africans are viewed and treated in the Arab world. I told Khalil about my experiences in Jordan and about the people who told me that I would be able to appear Arab if I was Muslim. Khalil explained that, “When it comes to identifying oneself, religious identity tends to be more important than racial or ethnic identity.” He continued to explain that it was common for black people to play up their more privileged Muslim identity to offset the potential negative responses to their less-accepted black identity. He joked and said, “You should have told the Jordanians that you are Muslim—they would have treated you better!” Khalil’s comments suggest that religious affiliation plays a vital role in the way blackness can be shaped and negotiated. It seems that, in certain contexts, religious adherence to Islam afforded a type of privilege that is powerful enough to render “unacceptable” blackness more acceptable.

The Role of Language

College student Khalid made it clear that the language used for racial classifications is different in Oman compared to the language used for racial classification in America. He explained that the word “black” does not carry the same meaning in Oman and many other Arab countries as it does in America or other Western countries. He said, “In Oman, we don’t call people ‘black’ usually; we understand black as the literal color. We only call someone black if his skin color is actually black. We use terms such as ‘dark,’ ‘brown,’ ‘light brown,’ or ‘tan’ to describe someone. But I know from all the American movies and shows that I’m considered black according to the American definition. It’s a difference in language, though—it’s hard to translate these things from Arabic to English; we say ‘brown’ or whatever here and you say ‘black’ there—but, at the end, we’re basically a part of the

same group, we look alike.” Khalid’s comments suggest that words used for colors are not typically used to describe one’s ethnicity or race in Oman as they are in the United States. Words reflecting one’s tribal affiliation or regional origin are more likely to be used over actual color words such as “black” or “white.” Khalid takes on a black identity along with his Zanzibari and African identities. It appears that some Omani people, like Khalid, who identify as “black” the way it is defined in the United States and also with a second Omani ethnic or racial identity, may have a sort of double consciousness. Khalid demonstrates that he understands blackness has different meanings in different contexts. He knows that the way blackness is defined in America differs from how blackness is defined in Oman. With this knowledge, he is able to navigate the two identities and two distinct understandings of what it means to be black in order to identify with and relate to other cultures he perceives to be part of the African diaspora.

Preliminary Findings

Prevailing literature on the African diaspora and black identities provide wonderful insight into the histories, cultures, and conditions of black communities in Africa, North America, South America, the Caribbean, and Europe. However, as I searched for bibliographic sources that directly focus on the African diaspora and black identities in the Near East and Arab World, I was confronted with difficulties locating appropriate academic sources. This project was created in part to confront the dearth of academic sources directly addressing this subject.

The multiple narratives and accounts presented by this paper and the ethnography suggest that definitions, ideas, and understandings of blackness are mutable. Understandings of what it means to be black change and are influenced by an array of different factors. The meaning of blackness may differ from country to country, region to region, city to city, and even from person to person. In many contexts, what it means to be black goes beyond skin color and physical features. As this ethnography reveals, constructing blackness in Oman is quite complicated. Many factors interact to construct blackness. In this research, matters of physical appearance, language, religion, and tribal affiliation converge and illustrate the complex nature of how ideas of blackness are configured in Oman and the broader Arab World.

This research project and ethnography are the initial steps of an ongoing research effort. Although this project serves as a beginning to understanding constructions of blackness and conditions of the African diaspora in the Near East and the Arab World, there still is much to be explored about the topic. I look forward to expanding on the ideas addressed in this study in future academic work.

The information obtained from this study, along with my conclusions, may assist in interpreting the manner in which blackness is defined and constructed in other regions of the Near East. Although the information from this study cannot be applied universally, it could inform future scholarship exploring and conceptualizing blackness, intersections of race and ethnicity, and the African Diaspora in the Near East and the Arab World.

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The Construction of Femininity in *Fairlady*: Shifting Identities in South African Women's Magazines

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Aimee will be graduating with a bachelor of arts honors in media theory and practice from UCT in 2015. Next year, she will be returning to UCT to pursue her master of arts in media theory and practice, for which she hopes to continue her current research. When she is not studying, she works as a career consultant at the University of Cape Town's Careers Service, where she helps to prepare students for the transition into the world of work. She is also an academic tutor in UCT's Centre for Film and Media Studies and African Gender Institute.

Abstract

The large pool of existing research on women's magazines adopts an ideological approach to explore the ways in which women's social identities are determined through their depiction in this particular medium (see Gauntlett, 2002; Gill, 2007; Sypeck et al., 2004; Sengupta, 2006; Frith et al., 2005; Baker, 2005; Malkin, et al., 1999; and Cusumano and Thompson, 1997 for some examples). This study aims to use a contextual analysis to explore the mutability and fluidity of women's identities, particularly as they are represented in a particular woman's consumer magazine during South Africa's transition from an apartheid to a democratic state. Using a qualitative-quantitative content analysis of the covers of *Fairlady* magazine from 1985 through to 2005, this study investigates the ways in which this political transition disrupted rigid notions of identity and the ways in which identity was constructed. *Fairlady* magazine is used because, under the leadership of its editors at the time, it appeared to display a social and political consciousness uncharacteristic of the domestic bibles that were women's consumer magazines at the time. This study reveals the essential but contradictory role of the South African popular media, specifically women's magazines, in facilitating this transition, particularly the way in which it adopted representational strategies in its attempts to communicate ideas of a new nationalism based upon the idea of unity in diversity characteristic of Nelson Mandela's Rainbow Nationalism. A focus on the representation of the women on these magazine covers reveals that women's citizenship in South Africa is persistently mediated through discourses of beauty. Charting the representation of women in consumer magazines across the transition period reveals that women's representation in South Africa cannot only be understood within a framework of ideological analysis but must be considered as contextually bound, shaped according to shifts in South Africa's social, cultural, historical, and political contexts. Not only are identities not singular, fixed, or spatio-temporally determined, but an exploration of feminine identities as fluid and constantly in flux reveals that constructions of nationality, race, and gender are articulated at the site of the female body, a highly politicised space imbued with political and cultural meaning.

Introduction

In the transition from a socially and racially divisive apartheid state to a post-apartheid one of liberal democracy, South Africa underwent a process of social and political transformation that profoundly disrupted the ways in which identities had been perceived. Under a metaphor of Rainbow Nationalism conceptualised by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South Africa sought to create a multiracial and multicultural social order based on notions of reconciliation and unification in diversity (Zegeye and Harris, 2003: 3). As part of this nationalist agenda, the country's mass media played a crucial role in communicating this process, not only by promoting symbols of the "Rainbow Nation," but by doing so through conveying the diverse identities and interests of the different social groups within South African society (Zegeye and Harris, 2003: 1; Barrett, 1999: 275; Evans, 2010: 310).

While a significant pool of scholarship (see Evans, 2010; Barrett, 1999) focuses on broadcast media—that is, television and radio—as purveyors of this nationalist agenda, little attention is given to consumer magazines in the same regard. A symbolic medium of popular culture, magazines are commonly perceived as a trivial or frivolous medium with little, if any, political significance. Such perceptions are deeply misinformed, what Banet-Weiser (1999) calls a "dangerous dismissal" (p. 4) of the scholarly value such cultural forms can have: in their communication of specific ideologies of race and gender, popular culture is a highly politicised medium. In understanding popular cultural forms like magazines in this way, Banet-Weiser goes on to argue that we can "better situate civic rituals . . . within a set of political, cultural, and economic practices that provide both the logic and the legitimation for their existence" (1999: 6). The concept of beauty, an idealised aspect of feminine identity promoted by women's magazines, can be considered within much the same line of thought as popular culture. Beauty is in itself a highly politicised concept, especially in South Africa (Barnard, 2000: 345), where its ideological usefulness is demonstrated in its ability to include and exclude (Barnard, 2000: 345), certain social groups and their related markers of identity as well as its ability to make visible the relations of power that determine dominant ideologies of identity. Women's magazines have the potential to communicate images of an ideal nationalist femininity, an especially significant ability during times of socio-political upheaval, and thus present women's bodies as the site at which this gendered nationality is negotiated and defined.

This study aims to explore representations of identity through women's consumer magazines during the transition from apartheid to a post-apartheid South Africa. Using *Fairlady* (previously *Fair Lady*), a uniquely South African

women's magazine that has been in publication for just short of fifty years, this study aims to analyse the representation of identity, particularly racialised femininity, from 1990 to 1995, using 1994—the transformational moment in South African history that resulted in significant shifts and upheavals—as an indicator of contextual change that will help to chart patterns of representation across contexts. *Fairlady* was established by media doyenne Jane Raphaely in 1965 under Afrikaans publishing house Naspers. The first English-language medium of its kind in South Africa, *Fairlady* prides itself on targeting a diverse readership of contemporary South African women “from all walks of life.” The magazine became a vessel through which Raphaely chose to chronicle the country's turbulent socio-political history, pushing the boundaries of traditionally acceptable journalism for women. Raphaely recently reflected on the the origins of the magazine:

I thought, maybe one of the things that is wrong with this country is that the women don't have any say. For me, the important thing about a women's magazine was that it was a medium where everything in it would be of interest to women, where a woman wouldn't have to scratch through a newspaper to find one page that discussed things she's supposed to be interested in. Because it had worked that way for me, I wanted other women to feel the same benefit. I wanted to help them to grow their wings, and I wanted them to fly. . . . I hadn't realised that the media in South Africa, with certain exceptions, operated along the same rules as the rest of the country: don't tell the truth, tell them what they want to hear. But I told the truth. (Jane Raphaely, personal interview, 28 August 2014)

Even though the magazine targeted English-speaking women, it gained a large Afrikaner following. Since the early 2000s, *Fairlady's* market comprised of a majority black readership, ironic since the magazine did not cater to them, both in terms of language and imagery.

Because the social, political, and cultural landscapes of the country have largely shaped the roles women of different races have been expected to fulfill in society and within the nation, an examination of different femininities in South Africa and their representation, or lack thereof, on *Fairlady* is thus an interesting tool to understand the fluidity of feminine identities as communicated by women's magazines. This analysis will allow for a better understanding of the ways in which these representations have been and are shaped according to shifts in South Africa's social, cultural, historical, and political contexts.

Literature Review and Methodology

The study of women and their relationship with consumer magazines constitutes a significant area of research in the field of gender and the media. Using visual, and, to a lesser extent, textual representations of women in magazines as a departure point, much of this scholarship explores the various ways in which women's social identities are determined through their portrayal in this particular medium. As such, these studies are situated within a methodological perspective of ideological analysis, particularly as it pertains to the representation of the female body and its depiction of ideologies of ideal femininity and feminine beauty and desirability (Gauntlett, 2002; Gill, 2007; Sypeck et al., 2004; Sengupta, 2006; Frith et al., 2005; Baker, 2005).

What these studies share in common, besides their ideological analysis of women's representation, is their situation within a Western context; all the publications that constitute the subject of these studies are either North American or British in origin and so cannot reflect the nuances and characteristics of South African representations of femininity and the ideologies that inform them. (Although, given the influence of Western popular culture on South Africa, they might share some things in common.) Comparatively fewer studies have been conducted on South African women's magazines, especially in a post-apartheid context.

Following the lead of her international counterparts, however, Sanger (2008, 2009) and, to a lesser extent, Economou (2013) have produced a number of works devoted to visual representation and the ideologies that underpin them in specific South African women's magazines, namely *Fairlady* and *Femina* (magazines originally targeted towards white middle-class women), and later *True Love* and *Destiny* (magazines targeted towards a rising black middle-class readership). Adopting a feminist approach to her analysis of the representation of the female body, Sanger argues that white women encapsulate the normative ideals of femininity, while black women are “othered” in ways reminiscent of the white male colonial obsession with the black female body; this is a view she shares with international research on the subject, including Covert and Dixon (2008), who explore the representation of stereotypes of black and Latina women in U.S. magazines. Sanger's work thus demonstrates in more depth the ways in which South African femininities are racialised, arguing that the bodily work that women are expected to perform is determined by constructs of racialised femininity communicated in magazines. Sanger's inclusion of *Fairlady* in her research sample will prove useful for this study. She is the only scholar to deal extensively, if at all, with *Fairlady*. While this proves to be a positive step towards exploring the magazine's popularity,

the scarcity of its scholarly analysis, as well as Sanger's focus on the ideologically determined visual representation in the magazine, provides only a narrow view of the magazine's social, cultural, and political significance. Only one other study (Boshoff et al., 2010) uses *Fairlady* as its subject of study; however, in this case, coverage of politics in a textual analysis rather than visual representation is analysed. A refreshing break from the trends of current magazine scholarship, this study, while focusing on textual rather than on visual representation, does give an indication of the magazine's possible alternative roles within society, namely as a channel through which issues of politics and current affairs are communicated. It thus proves significant in understanding the magazine's contribution to constructing and representing feminine identity within a contextual rather than solely ideological and representational context.

While current scholarship collectively seeks to explore the ideological underpinnings of the visual representation of women in consumer magazines, there is almost no scholarly exploration of the identity construction process itself, at least with regards to the specific medium of magazines. In her essay on commercial media and identity, Narunsky-Laden (2008) explores the idea that social change and the destabilising effect it has on constructions of identity are regulated by the commercial media in South Africa and the "print capitalism" (Narunsky-Laden 2008: 130) industry, the consumer culture orientation of which enables the formation of identities. Furthermore, Narunsky-Laden investigates the ways in which commercial magazines and consumption practices act as "cultural tools" (2007) in the individual construction of identity, especially in the contexts of socio-political instability and turbulent change characteristic of post-apartheid South Africa.

Narunsky-Laden's work thus introduces the notion that the construction of identities and the ways in which these are represented in magazines are determined by the contexts within which they are produced; this contextual framework of representation, rather than an ideological framework, is much more suitable for an examination of the role of women's magazines in the processes of identity construction.ⁱ

Using the covers from each issue of *Fairlady* from 1990 to 1995, the preliminary research took the form of a qualitative content analysis with basic use of quantitative methodology. During this period, the magazine was published bi-monthly, bringing the total amount of covers to be analysed to 145. Given that the point of a content analysis is to use data to make inferences about texts to the specific contexts in which they are used and produced (Krippendorff, 2004: 18; Weber, 1990: 9), the approach is a suitable one for the intended research study; that is, to analyse the

sample within a contextual framework (i.e., to analyse the socio-political and cultural contextual circumstances that inform visual representations and constructions of femininity) rather than a purely ideological one typical of existing research on women's representation in consumer magazines.

Brief Discussion of Findings

Identities in Flux

In general, the sample revealed an overarching effort to bring together the old ideals of white femininity characteristic of apartheid-defined ideologies of identity with the new ideals of femininity based on diversity and multiracialism, indicating a renegotiation of racialised nationalist identity through representation in *Fairlady*. Only ten covers out of a sample of 145 feature women of colour, a decidedly poor reflection of progress in terms of the post-apartheid agenda to re-imagine the nation by promoting unity in diversity. However, the time at which most of these covers appear (1992–1994) coincide with the social and political transformation occurring during the transition into a post-apartheid state and the concepts of nationality and diversity it bore with it.

These findings reveal the complexity of constructing and representing identity, especially during periods of social and political upheaval. Traditional apartheid notions of identity as a fixed and unified whole bound by time and place have given way to what Stuart Hall calls a "crisis of identity" (Hall 1992: 274), the term he gives to describe the dislocation or decentering of the modern subject (Hall 1992: 275), the fragmentation of which is the result of the destabilising forces of change that work upon the subject to undermine the frameworks that gave it "stable anchorage in the social world" (Hall 1992: 274). Along with Hall, Zegeye (2001) provides an adequate theoretical framework within which to understand the destabilising effects of identity constructions in post-apartheid South Africa (see also Michael and Nuttall's (2000) similar concept of "creolisation" and its facilitation of hybrid identity constructions in post-apartheid South Africa (p. 6): "[Identity is] open-ended, fluid and constantly in a process of being constructed and reconstructed as the subject moves from one social situation to another, resulting in a self that is highly fragmented and context-dependent" (2001: 1). Since South African society at the time was in the midst of the throes of change and susceptible to the effects it produced, it is more accurate to see identity construction at the time as an ongoing process of renegotiation and becoming (Hall 1990: 225), rather than something which is temporally and spatially bound.

It is within the South African context that Hall's theory of nationalism and identity becomes relevant to the above

findings. Departing from Benedict Anderson's notion of the nation as an "imagined community" (1983), Hall states that national cultures are systems of cultural representations in that they produce meanings about "the nation" with which individuals can identify (Hall 1992: 293). Individuals consistently come into contact with representations of this national identity, using them to negotiate their position within a broader system of nationalist identification. The attempts by *Fairlady* to renegotiate nationalist identity through the visual representation of women on its covers building up to and throughout the transition is evidence of the ways in which cultural representations mediate national identity in periods of transformation.

Not only do these magazine covers attempt to promote newly formed ideologies of national femininity, they also reflect the difficulty in breaking away from the racial dichotomy of black/white that characterised apartheid ideologies of identity. Using the April 1994 cover, in which a black and a white South African appear for the first time together on the cover of the magazine as an example (see Appendix A), the ways in which a magazine cover attempts to communicate notions of nationalist identity such as that of the "Rainbow Nation" are evident. This issue of *Fairlady* was published in the same month that South Africa had its first democratic election. The cover uses representational strategies to celebrate new nationalist notions of multiracialism and diversity. Yet, the juxtaposition of these two women can be interpreted in two ways: the placement side-by-side of these two women work to show that South Africa can indeed be the celebrated Rainbow Nation the new government wants it to be; black and white people can exist together in harmony and equality. However, at the same time, this very juxtaposition cements the racial binary between black and white. Narunsky-Laden (2008), who further reiterates the South African media's role in regulating ideas of identity and nationalism, says that "consumer magazines shape social action by ascribing significance to, without always putting into action, a newly imagined, shared 'tool kit' (Swidler 1986: 273) of middle-class, everyday habits, experiences, lifestyle options, and social practices" (2008: 131).

The difficulty in renegotiating new notions of identity is further reflected in the ways women of colour are represented. Of the very few covers that feature women of colour, only five feature women that appear on their own within the frame. The rest, including and very much like the April 1994 cover, feature women of different races alongside one another. While this can reflect the societal difficulty in accepting a new nationalism, it simultaneously reflects a more positive step towards constructing new nationalist identities. While the philosophy of the Rainbow Nation attempts to foster unity in spite of South Africa's cultural and racial diversity, Zegeye and

Harris (2003) suggest that these particularised "subgroup" identities based on race and ethnicity support the new nationalist identity rather than undermine it because they are exercised within "a strong overarching national identity" (p. 9) that altogether contributes to a new "South Africanness" and definitions of South African identity.

Beauty Queens, Soap Operas, and Celebrity Culture

While a general examination of the representations of race on the covers of *Fairlady* suggests how new nationalisms are constructed and mediated, an examination of the real-life roles and occupations of these women demonstrate how nationalism is gendered according to ideas of ideal femininity and beauty. Of the covers that feature South African women (significantly less than those that feature international figures), a large number of these are beauty queens. South Africa's relationship with beauty pageants is a controversial one characterised by the apartheid system's laws of racial segregation and of the country's subsequent removal from global pageants as a result.

According to Banet-Weiser (1999), "Particular definitions of gender and race always inform the construction of national identity, even as these definitions present the constant potential for transgression" (p. 22). She goes on to suggest that in negotiating national identities in the public eye, especially in the midst of social and political upheaval, the challenge is "a balancing act" between finding ways to ease the nation's anxiety about itself "and to stabilise the national identity, even while reflecting some part of the reality of what the nation looks like" (p. 22). So true are these words for a South African society undergoing the type of social, political, and cultural transformation of political transition, one that disrupted any notion of national identity as masculinised, bound by the binaries of a black/white dichotomy. Ballerino et. al. (1996) argue that beauty contests are often the sites of the interplay of different power relations and connect to issues and struggles outside the limits of the contest itself (p. 8): "Beauty contests are the places where cultural meanings are produced, consumed, and rejected, where local and global, ethnic and national, national and international cultures and structures of power are engaged in their most trivial but vital aspects" (p. 8). Considering the corresponding magazine covers in this context way reveals much about the possible ways in which national identity could be mediated through representations of femininity in women's magazines.

Much like beauty pageants and their representatives, soap operas and celebrity culture, which also featured prominently in the sample, are trivialised spectacles that are in actual fact highly politicised mediums. While society's obsession with Hollywood points once again to a trivial

escapist outlet, Sterneimer (2011) suggests that the media's representation of celebrity culture helps readers to make sense of their identities, not simply by offering visual markers of idealised beauty, family, and wealth but "through a social process of negotiation" (p. 5). She argues that representations of celebrity culture operate on both the micro and macro social levels; on a micro level, celebrity culture offers us "a framework through which to construct our social selves" (2011: 5) through an interactive process of identity construction between the individual and the media wherein the representation is produced. On a macro level, Sterneimer uses functionalism to argue that the interpretation of celebrity culture provides readers with a common ground for interaction within a diverse society (2011: 5), usually on the basis of a shared notion of specific ideals such as beauty and wealth. This, she suggests, is paramount to ensuring social cohesion and stability (2011: 5), especially in the face of diversity and the socio-political and cultural upheaval that surrounds it. Considering that beauty pageants, soap operas, and celebrities serve as a type of public spectacle, a public stage for the negotiation and renegotiation of these national identities to take place, it will be necessary for the development of this research to look into the way these themes mediate ideas of national identity through the covers of the magazine.

Conclusion

Through an analysis of *Fairlady's* visual representation of femininity on the covers of their magazines, it is clear to see the ways in which the media facilitated and mediated discourses of nationalism and notions of a new nationalist identity through representational strategies during the period of transition into a post-apartheid liberal democratic state. Interestingly, a focus on the representation of women reveals that as much as these definitions of national identity are deeply embedded in issues of race and ethnicity, they are also gendered. A focus on women's representation, as well as the representation of female celebrities, supermodels, and pageant winners, reveals that women's citizenship in the new South Africa is persistently mediated through discourses of beauty. National identities are gendered as much as they are racialised. Charting the representation of women in consumer magazines across the transition period reveals that representation cannot only be viewed within a framework of ideological analysis, as is the focus of current scholarship on women's magazines, but must be considered as contextually bound, shaped according to shifts in South Africa's social, cultural, historical, and political contexts. Not only are identities not singular, fixed, or spatio-temporally determined, but an exploration of feminine identities as fluid and constantly in flux reveals that constructions of nationality, race, and gender are articulated at the site of the female body, a highly politicized space imbued with political and cultural meaning.



Endnote

- i Only one study (Chweidan, 2000), a master's thesis conducted at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa, attempts to address this topic in any way, and, even then, it focuses on textual representation in magazine articles rather than on the visual representation of images on magazine covers as this study aims to investigate.

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Immigrants in South Africa: The Relationship Between Education Level and Employment Status

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Abstract

There is a mismatch that exists between education level and employment status for immigrants in South Africa. Highly skilled immigrants in South Africa are either unemployed or underemployed, and they experience some form of inequalities in their occupations. A review of reports produced by African Centre for Migration and Society illustrates that the mismatch is a result of barriers that exist to restrict immigrants from entering the labor economy.

Introduction

An international migrant is an individual who moves from his or her country of origin to another country for a variety of economic, social, or political reasons (Greyling 2008). South Africa has had a long history of international migration (Jost et al. 2011). Migration patterns from most African countries to South Africa have been driven by the impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on unemployment. SAPs were neoliberal loans and grants that were imposed upon developing countries in Africa and Latin America. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund established SAPs during the 1970s and 1980s. Their main aim was to correct and adjust trade imbalances and government financial deficits by reducing the involvement of the state and promoting the involvement of the private sectors in the economies of developing countries (Kingston et al. 2011). The effect of SAPs was a cutback of public-sector employment and very little domestic investment. The low levels of domestic investment prevented the growth of strong private sectors that could deal with the loss of employment in many of the African countries (Mohammed 2009). Several migrants from various parts of the African continent started to migrate to South Africa with the aim of accessing better employment opportunities (Sibanda 2008).

This paper examines the education level and employment status of immigrants in South Africa. By reviewing two reports produced by the African Centre for Migration and Society, I conclude that there is a mismatch that exists between education level and employment status for immigrants in South Africa.

International migration has gradually become an evident marker of global inequality in terms of wages, lifestyles, and labor market opportunities (Black et al. 2005). For many immigrants to South Africa, the pastures are not as green as they initially perceive them to be. Immigrants in South Africa have been victims of various inequalities and challenges that have served as barriers for them to enter into the labor economy.

Xenophobia is a challenge commonly faced by African immigrants in South Africa. Xenophobia is here defined as an attitude or behavior that discriminates against, rejects, and excludes individuals based on the misconception that immigrants are “others” or outsiders of the community or national identity (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013). Xenophobia is different from the old racism because the old racism during apartheid South Africa was based on racial discrimination between whites and blacks. The new racism is a discrimination of the “other” based on the “other”’s national origin or ethnicity or cultural difference (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013).

There have been various incidents of xenophobic events in the new democratic South Africa. One of them was in 1995 when armed youth gangs in Alexander Township destroyed the homes and property of suspected undocumented immigrants. In 1998 and in 2001, two immigrants were thrown out of a train, and the shacks of Zimbabwean immigrants were burnt down in Zandspruit. These “foreigners” were accused of being the cause of unemployment, crime, and the spread of HIV/AIDs in South Africa (Valji 2003). In 2008, another wave of xenophobic attacks occurred in Alexander Township targeting foreign nationals residing in Alexander. These attacks killed 62 people, injured several hundred, and left 25,000 migrants displaced (Greyling 2008). The above are only a few examples of xenophobic events that have occurred in South Africa in recent years.

Immigrants in South Africa are deliberately excluded from certain sectors of the labor economy even though there is a shortage of skilled labor in almost all the sectors of the labor economy. South Africa’s bilateral agreement with Cuba in 1996 brought about a strategy of importing Cuban doctors to work in the South African health sector as opposed to hiring doctors from neighboring African countries (Crush and Williams 2005). Cuba has the highest doctor-to-population rate in the world, with approximately 59 doctors per 10,000 people, compared to South Africa’s 6.7 doctors per 10,000 people (Breier 2008). Cuba has been supplying between 92 and 400 doctors to South Africa annually as well as offering 60 scholarships every year for South African students to pursue medicine in Cuba (Breier 2008). This strategy deliberately excludes African immigrants from

the South African labor economy; South Africa gains more from its bilateral agreement with Cuba, since the latter provides not only experienced doctors but also the training of aspiring South African doctors. The strategy also speaks to the creation of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa, as xenophobia has been seen as a direct effect of the politics that were established by the apartheid state and then continued to the post-apartheid state. These xenophobic attitudes have filtered down from the state to the South African society at large.

Literature Review

This review outlines literature that provides a background on education and employment of migrants around different countries in the world. In South Africa, there has been a limited number of studies on the topic, but the very few that are available have shown similarities in the relationship in developed countries and in South Africa. Through highlighting work already done, it will become evident that there is a need for this study in the context of South Africa.

Zorlu et al. (2008) examine employment and occupation assimilation of immigrants in the Netherlands. The Netherlands has had a large flow of migrants coming into the country, especially at the end of the post-war boom period. Zorlu et al. (2008) found that non-Western migrants are less likely to get employed, while the employment level of Western immigrants is very close to that of Dutch natives. Western immigrants have been found to perform much better than immigrants from non-Western countries (Zorlu et al. 2008). Therefore, non-Western immigrants have a very low labor participation rate, accompanied by them being employed in low-quality jobs. Better quality employment for non-Western migrants is only found after the migrant has stayed in the country for a significant period of time. The education level of immigrants in the Netherlands does not have any impact on their employment level, as their duration of stay is more positively related to employment level (Zorlu et al. 2008).

Similar to Zorlu et al. (2008), Preston et al. (2004) also found that Canada shares a similar experience with the Netherlands in that education does not have a significant effect on the employment of immigrant women. Although Canada's immigration policy has a preference for highly skilled immigrants, highly skilled immigrants are confronted with severe challenges attaining employment that corresponds with their educational qualifications and experience. Immigrants in Canada have higher unemployment rates, and they earn less than the native-born workers. Immigrant women who are highly skilled do not have the same employment achievements as their Canadian counterparts. This is partly because marital status and language proficiency have

also been found to have an impact on the unemployment of immigrant women. Better employment has been found to be attainable once the immigrant woman has stayed in Canada for a longer period of time (Preston et al. 2004).

A study conducted in the U.S. on the underemployment of college-educated immigrant students found that 26% of immigrants who were college graduates were underemployed. Although the level of education of immigrants was positively associated with lower rates of underemployment, underemployment rates were highest among immigrants who earned their degrees in Africa, Latin America, or the Philippines (Fogg and Harrington 2012). This demonstrates how even though employment levels are better where education levels are higher, the region where the qualification was attained can still exclude certain groups from the labor economy.

Kalitanyi and Visser (2010) conducted a study on whether African immigrants in South Africa are job seekers or job creators. Their findings noted that 31% of the immigrants they studied had either a technician, bachelor's, or postgraduate degree, and the remaining 69% were found to have a qualification equivalent to primary and high school. They also found that 82% of immigrant entrepreneurs employed and also had a preference for employing South Africans in their business enterprises (Kalitanyi and Visser 2010). These findings suggest that African immigrants in South Africa are job creators for South Africans.

Mattes, Crush, and Richmond (2000), in a study on the "brain gain" in post-apartheid South Africa, reported that there was little difference in the qualification of African and Western immigrants, as both groups showed high qualification in their respective occupations. Western skilled migrants were found to often obtain higher incomes than African skilled migrants although they had similar educational qualifications.

The main aim of this article is to understand the relationship between education level and employment status in South Africa. If immigrants are provided with access to better employment that matches their education level, they can then improve living conditions, and some of the inequalities they face can be eradicated.

Methods

A desktop review of the findings of two research reports produced by the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS, previously known as the Forced Migration Studies Program) was conducted. A desktop review is the process of reviewing and evaluating several documents with common themes with the aim of verifying facts on a particular topic. This method allows for the reifying of facts by

looking at results from more than one report that employs different methodologies to collecting data. Desktop reviews make it possible to assess inconsistencies or consistencies in data collection and analysis. The first report was based on the Migrant Rights Monitoring Project (MRMP), and it provided information on migrants' employment access in South Africa during 2007 (Polzer 2008). The second report is report number six of the Migrating for Work Research Consortium (MiWORC). It provides the findings on migration and employment in South Africa in the context of domestic and international migrants in the labor economy during 2013 (Fauvelle-Aymar 2014).

Results and Discussion

The MRMP graph on employment type by education level shows that unemployment is highest amongst individuals who have a completed a graduate or post-graduate degree. Another graph on employment type and length of stay in South Africa shows that if an immigrant has been in South Africa for less than a year, they are more likely to be unemployed. The graph also illustrates that a longer length of stay in South Africa does not increase the employment level, but, rather, it increases the chance of being self-employed.

The MiWORC graph on education and employment illustrates that when an immigrant has a tertiary-level education, they have less of a chance of getting employed than domestic and non-migrants. In the same report, a graph on population groups provides the distribution of employment amongst non-migrants, domestic migrants, and international migrants within the population groups: Black, Colored, Indian/Asia, and White. Employment of international migrants is found to be at its highest when the international migrant belongs to the white population.

According to Mattes (2000), migrants who are skilled can make significant contributions to any country's economic growth and development. The review of the two reports by ACMS shows that this statement can be argued both ways for a country like South Africa. The review has proved that educated immigrants in South Africa do not have the privilege of employment opportunities that match their education level. Amongst the immigrants with graduate or postgraduate degrees, a large majority of them, 40%, are unemployed, and 15% are self-employed. The unemployment of educated migrants can be seen as a result of strategies from bilateral agreements like the Cuba-South Africa agreement. This agreement encourages South Africa to import Cuban health professionals as opposed to employing immigrant health professionals from the African continent (Crush and Williams 2005).

The 15% of educated immigrants who are self-employed seem to suggest that Mattes (2000) was right. However, there are not enough immigrants who are able to participate in the labor economy, and, therefore, his argument cannot be completely applied to the context of South Africa. This means that, in South Africa, immigrants are not making the significant contributions that they have the potential to make because of barriers that exist in the labor economy.

In the MRMP report, Polzer (2008) specifies that immigrants include those who are refugees and asylum seekers. A study conducted by Mugisho and Muloiwa (2013) has indicted that one of the challenges that refugees or asylum seekers face in accessing employment in South Africa is the fact that they do not have their official academic qualifications when they arrive in South Africa. These documents are usually lost during the wars in their home countries that drove them to South Africa or in transit when they were migrating to South Africa for asylum or refuge (Mugisho and Muloiwa 2013). This could be seen as one of the barriers that keep educated migrants out of the labor economy.

Although length of stay in the developed countries was a determinant of employment amongst immigrants (Preston 2004; Zorlu et al. 2008), in South Africa, length of stay does not have that effect. The barriers that are holding immigrants outside of the labor economy are strong, and thus immigrants are resorting to self-employment. This self-employment benefits them, creates employment in South Africa, and also contributes to the economy of the country. Once educated immigrants have stayed in South Africa for more than two years, they are well acquainted with the country, and they are able to start their own business.

There is evidence that immigrants may be victims of racism and xenophobia in the South African labor economy. In the Netherlands, Zorlu et al. (2008) found that non-Western immigrants have less chance of being employed than Western immigrants. One of the MiWORC graphs demonstrated how employment by population groups is highest among White immigrants than the Black, Colored, and Indian population. The low levels of employment by Black, Indian, and Asian immigrants only explains how racism and xenophobia continues to play out even in the labor economy of a democratic South Africa.

Conclusion

It is evident that there is a mismatch in the education level and employment status of immigrants in South Africa. Highly skilled immigrants are either unemployed or underemployed. This mismatch can be linked to the barriers in the labor economy that have existed to keeping immigrants out

of the South African labor economy. Bilateral agreements that South Africa has had with other countries favoring the importing of professionals over the employment of African immigrants restricts access to employment for African immigrants. The loss of official educational documentation in transit when refugees and asylum seekers migrate to South Africa completely limits them from attaining employment in South Africa. Racism towards Black, Colored, and Indian immigrants and xenophobia towards African immigrants lowers immigrants' levels of participation in the labor economy. Although the situation may differ slightly in developed countries where once the immigrants have stayed in the host country long enough, they may be granted better employment opportunities. In South Africa, length of stay does not improve employment level, but, rather, it leads to self-employment, which is also beneficial to the immigrant, as he or she can improve living conditions and wage inequalities whilst creating employment for unemployed individuals in South Africa.

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Did the 1999 Economic Crises in Colombia Affect the Probability of Graduating from High School in Colombia?

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Claudia is currently a senior enrolled in the BA/MA program in economics and the BA program in math at Hunter College, CUNY, in New York, where she was also a teaching assistant for the course Fundamentals of Macroeconomics. She is currently a Mellon Mays scholar and is also participating in a program called LSAMP, which is sponsored by NSF and aims to expose its fellows to high-quality research. In March, Claudia participated in the Ivy Plus Conference, hosted this year by Harvard and MIT, where the best universities of the country connected with promising students who want to pursue a PhD. She also holds an internship with Welfare Rights Initiative (WRI), an organization that works to ensure that everybody has the right to education. She is deeply concerned and has developed her research around issues concerning developing countries. Specifically, she has researched the impact of economic crises on long-term educational achievement. She also has researched the consequences of changes in policies related to education on the high school dropout and graduation rates. After she completes her BA/MA, she plans to pursue a PhD in development economics and international relations.

Abstract

This study focuses on the effect of increases in the unemployment rate in Colombia following the financial crisis of 1999 on the probability of completing high school. After controlling for gender, age, birth year, and city, I find that young people at working ages (fifteen to seventeen years old) dropped out of high school at a higher rate when unemployment increased consecutively for several years, but no such similar effect was found for other age groups.

Introduction

Theoretical predictions about the effect of increases in the unemployment rate on acquired levels of education are difficult to make. Students may choose to stay in school for different reasons: a higher current unemployment rate may discourage students from leaving school prematurely due to the lower probability of finding a job; with a higher unemployment rate, the opportunity cost of education will decrease; and recessions make people more aware that low-educated workers are affected more strongly in times of recession (Hoynes et al. 2012), so that people may increase their desire of attaining higher levels of education. For these reasons, it may be better for students to continue in school rather than drop out and potentially be unemployed.

On the other hand, the parents' unemployment rate may affect the children's acquired level of education. Unemployment in a household lowers the family's income, which reduces expenditures. The reduction of the family's expenditures may affect the payment of items and fees related to the children's education. That reduction of expenditures

may affect the children's acquired level of education in both direct and indirect ways.

In addition, if a parent becomes unemployed, students may be obliged to drop out from school and look actively for a job to help support the family economically. The reason for this is that poor families (likely with low-educated parents) lack savings, assets, and access to credit to help them with the consequences of unemployment. In those conditions, if parents become unemployed, the working-age children become one of the families' more valuable "assets" (Nilsen et al. 2000). This study focuses on the effect of increases in the unemployment rate in Colombia following the financial crisis of 1999 on the probability of completing high school in Colombia.

Literature Review

Hoynes et al. (2012) found that the consequences of economic disturbances do not affect everybody equally; consequences affect low-educated workers in greater proportions. Likewise, Nilsen et al. (2000) found that low-educated workers have more probability of losing their jobs and less probability of finding a new one compared to people with higher levels of education.

Previous research that has attempted to unveil the effect of unemployment on schooling decisions has obtained contradictory results. Micklewright et. al. (1990) and Martinez and Ruiz-Castillo (1999) found an increased probability of leaving school early when the unemployment rate increases. Mensah and Kiernan (2010) found that unemployment and socio-economic disadvantages predicts lower educational attainment for both genders.

Contradictorily, Smith and Naylor (2001) found a negative relation between unemployment and school dropout. Beths and McFarland (1995) and Rees and Mocan (1997) found that when the unemployment rate increases, the school drop-out rate decreases. Bradley (2011) argues that one of the important reasons why some students drop out from high school is because they obtained a job.

The previous work on the effect of unemployment on schooling decisions is not conclusive. This paper attempts to show evidence of this specific phenomenon in Colombia.

The 1999 Colombian Crisis

During the 1990s, changes were made in the monetary, exchange, and financial systems of Colombia. In 1990, under the government of Cesar Gaviria, both financial and economic liberalization were implemented. Financial liberalization brought to the country a massive injection of foreign capital. The increase in foreign capital—in addition to

new oil discoveries—positively revalued the Colombian exchange rate. The re-evaluation of the Colombian peso and the overwhelmed public expenditure created a series of macroeconomic imbalances. At the beginning, those imbalances were expressed in the form of speculative and housing bubbles.

The international financial crisis arising in Russia in 1998 found the country vulnerable compared to its situation before the liberalization in 1990. Its fiscal accounts were compromised, and the private sector was deeply indebted with the national and international markets. In 1999, the lack of confidence in the international financial system that followed the Russian crisis produced an abrupt suspension of external resources toward Colombia, which, in turn, generated a reversal of capital flows. This situation induced a contraction in the Colombian GDP of 4.3% in 1999 (Kalmanovitz 2000). In the same year, the unemployment rate was over 20%, and the inflation rate was 9.2%. A year later, in 2000, the GDP began moderately to recuperate, but the unemployment rate continued being high for several years. It wasn't until 2006 that the Colombian unemployment rate reached the 1993 pre-crisis unemployment rate. The long-term consequences of such high unemployment rates, however, should not be overlooked.

Dropout from School in Colombia

The drop-out rate in Colombia is especially high for children attending secondary school (Schiefelbein 1993). Most of the students attending secondary school (sixth to eleventh grade) are between eleven and seventeen years old (see table 4). Several causes can be attributed to the decision of dropping out from school. This study is researching whether the economic conditions had a significant effect on the decision of dropping out from school. As argued before, unemployment has long-term consequences in the acquired level of education of individuals. Table 5 shows that changes in the unemployment rate in a single year do not have a significant effect on the probability of graduating from high school in Colombia. Because of that finding, I tested the hypothesis that increases in the average unemployment rate for several years in a row, such as in times of recessions, have a significant effect on the probability of graduating from high school. The validity of that hypothesis is validated in Table 6.

Methods

This study uses data from the “Large Integrated Household Survey of Colombia” for the years 2010, 2011, 2012, and the first quarter of 2013. Those surveys were conducted by the Administrative Department of National Statistics of Colombia (DANE). The DANE compiles data

from random households at the national level. The surveys contain information on each member in each household. New samples are drawn every period. This study also uses historical information of the unemployment rate of the seven bigger cities in Colombia provided by the DANE.

This paper categorizes every person twenty-one years old and older who did not obtain a high school diploma and is not currently studying as an early school leaver. By only using twenty-one-year-olds and older, I make sure that every individual I am analyzing has already made her/his high school attendance decisions.

The combined data set provides information about the level of education for each member of the household, including gender, age at the time of interview, birth year, city, whether the household is located in a rural area, and other factors. The “Large Integrated Household Survey of Colombia” contains information about many more characteristics, but since this paper is observing the individuals some years after they made their high school attendance decisions, many of the variables contained in the “Large Integrated Household Survey of Colombia” are not useful for this specific research. Summary statistics of the population of interest are presented in Table 1.

Data Analysis

In Colombia, high school is completed after the eleventh grade. Education is, by law, mandatory at the primary level, but no mechanism exists to ensure children attend school even at the primary level. In practice, if someone decides to drop out from school, that person can do it at any age or grade.

The historical unemployment rate by city data provided by the DANE is only available for the seven largest Colombian cities. For that reason, this study focuses just on people living in one of those seven cities. The historical unemployment rate in those cities is presented in Chart 1.

This research is trying to evaluate whether or not the probability of graduating from high school for young people eleven to seventeen years old at the time of crisis was affected compared to people who were eleven to seventeen years old before and after the financial crisis. For that reason, I am evaluating people born between 1974 and 1989. Those people were ten to twenty-eight years old at the time of the crisis and were twenty-one to thirty-nine years old when they were interviewed. So, by the time they were interviewed, they were old enough to have already made their high school attendance decisions (see Table 2). The combined data set that fits such criterion provides information on more than 180,000 people.

A summary of the observations of people born between 1974 and 1989 and living in one of the seven bigger Colombian cities is presented in Table 3.

The Models

I ran Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) models, which try to estimate the dependent variable that, in this case, is a binary variable. That variable takes the value of 1 if the individual has a high school diploma (or more) and 0 if otherwise. The independent variables of these models are gender, age at the time each observation was surveyed, age squared, year each individual was born, city, and year-specific local unemployment variables.

Model 1

I created unemployment variables at the city level that take the values of the unemployment rate when each individual was between eleven and seventeen years old. For instance, to create the unemployment variable at the age of eleven (U11), if the observation was born in 1980, and was living in Bogota, I assigned the 1991 (1980 + 11) Bogota unemployment rate as the U11 value. I did the same for each unemployment variable eleven to seventeen. This model becomes:

$$Y_{ictb} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 * G_i + \alpha_2 * A_{it} + \alpha_3 * A^2_{it} + \alpha_4 * U11_{c,b+11} + \dots + \alpha_{10} * U17_{c,b+17} + \lambda_b + \tau_c + \epsilon_{ictb}$$

i = Individual	A = Age
c = City	A ² = Age squared
t = Time	U11 = Unemployment at age 11
b = Birth Year	U17 = Unemployment at age 17
Y = 1 = At least high school	λ = Birth Year Fixed Effect
Y = 0 = Otherwise	τ = City Fixed Effect
G = Gender	ϵ = Error term

Model 1 shows that increases in the unemployment rate between ages eleven to seventeen did not have a significant effect on the probability of graduating from high school, with the exception of unemployment at age thirteen, which has a significant and positive effect on high school graduation (Table 5).

Model 2

In order to test the hypothesis that average changes in the unemployment rate for several years in a row have a significant effect on the probability of graduating from high school, I separated the effect of unemployment for students

attending middle school and high school. In Colombia, the highest percentage of dropout occurs during high school, between 50% and 60% (Ocampo, 2003). This made me believe that changes in the unemployment rate may have a stronger effect for people enrolled in high school than for people attending middle school.

I calculated what ages people were more likely to attend middle school and what ages people were more likely to attend high school. People twelve to fourteen years old were more likely to be studying in sixth to eighth grade (middle school). People fifteen to seventeen years old were more likely to be studying in ninth to eleventh grade (high school). See Table 4.

I ran a second model that uses the same specifications as model 1, but instead of including the unemployment rates at ages eleven to seventeen, this model includes the average unemployment rate at ages twelve to fourteen and fifteen to seventeen. In other words, I am including the average unemployment rate for middle school and high school students into the model. The average unemployment rates are defined as in model 1.

$$Y_{ictb} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 * G_i + \alpha_2 * A_{it} + \alpha_3 * A^2_{it} + \alpha_4 * AU12-14_{c,b12-14} + \alpha_5 * AU15-17_{c,b15-17} + \lambda_b + \tau_c + \epsilon_{ictb}$$

AU12-14 = Average Unemployment rate at ages 12 to 14.

AU15-17 = Average Unemployment rate at ages 15 to 17.

Model 2 shows evidence that increases in the average unemployment rate for several years in a row do not have a significant effect on the probability of graduating from high school for Colombian children who were twelve to fourteen years old. In contrast, increases in the average unemployment rate for several years in a row have a significant and negative effect on the probability of graduating from high school for young people fifteen to seventeen years old (see Table 6).

Model 3

Since the variable average unemployment rate at ages twelve to fourteen is not statistically significant (see Table 6), I ran a third model that solely includes the average unemployment rate at ages fifteen to seventeen (high school). The rest of the variables are specified as in model 1. The model becomes:

$$Y_{ictb} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 * G_i + \alpha_2 * A_{it} + \alpha_3 * A^2_{it} + \alpha_4 * AU15-17_{c,b15-17} + \lambda_b + \tau_c + \epsilon_{ictb}$$

The effect of the average unemployment rate at ages fifteen to seventeen is consistent. Its effect on the probability of graduating from high school continues being significant

and negative; a 1% increase in the average unemployment rate at age fifteen to seventeen decreases the probability of graduating from high school by 0.18% (see Table 7).

General Results

The effects and significance of the covariates used to estimate all the models in this paper are consistent. They vary very little from model to model. For that reason, I am presenting in Tables 8, 9, and 10 the results of Model 3, which is the model that is capturing the main purpose of this paper.

In Colombia, being a woman significantly increases the probability of graduating from high school by 3.56%. If none of the covariates matter, there is around a 30% probability of graduating from high school in Colombia. An additional year of age has a positive and significant but diminishing effect on the probability of graduating from high school.

Being born in any year other than 1975 significantly increases the probability of graduating from high school compared to people born in 1974. This is just capturing the increased levels of education that people in Colombia are attaining over time.

Living in a city other than Barranquilla or Medellin significantly decreases the probability of graduating from high school when compared with living in Bogota, the capital of Colombia. The only exception to that finding is Manizales, where there is a significant and greater probability of 3.86% of graduating from high school when compared with Bogota.

Conclusions

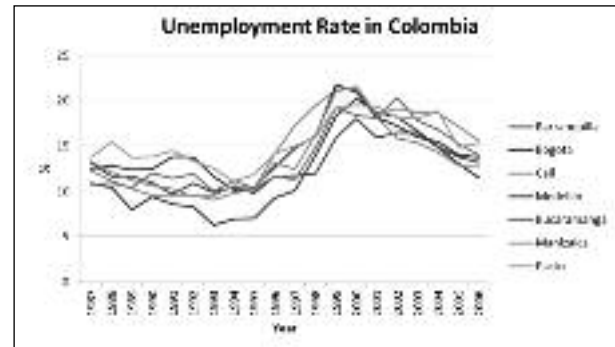
The literature concerning the effects of the unemployment rate on schooling decisions is not conclusive. Different authors have found contradictory effects of changes in the unemployment rate on the probability of graduating from high school. This paper contributes to the discussion by providing evidence from Colombia on the same effect.

In Colombia, changes in the unemployment rate in single years at ages eleven to seventeen do not have a significant effect on the probability of graduating from high school. It appears that only changes in the unemployment rate at age thirteen have a significant and positive effect on the probability of graduating from high school. Further investigation is needed to understand the reasons for this finding.

In contrast, when the average unemployment rate at ages fifteen to seventeen increases—more likely when Colombian students are in high school—it significantly decreases the probability of graduating from high school. No such effect was found for the average unemployment rate at ages twelve to fourteen, when Colombian students are likely to be in middle school; the effect of increases in the average unemployment rate at those ages is not significant on the probability of graduating from high school.

To summarize, people fifteen to seventeen years old in Colombia are more likely to see their long-term educational achievement affected negatively when the unemployment rate increases for several years in a row.

Charts and Tables



Source: DANE

Chart 1. Unemployment rate in Colombia by city.

Year		2010	2011	2012	2013
Observations		56,433	56,386	54,251	13,209
High School	Mean	0.74%	0.75%	0.75%	0.75%
	St. Dev.	0.44	0.43	0.43	0.43
Females	Mean	0.53%	0.53%	0.53%	0.54%
	St. Dev.	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50
Age	Mean	28.07	29.03	30.02	31.00
	St. Dev.	4.55	4.56	4.56	4.56
Year Born	Mean	1,981.93	1,981.97	1,981.98	1,982.00
	St. Dev.	4.55	4.56	4.56	4.56

Table 1. Summary statistics of population of interest.

Year Born	1999	2000	2001	2002	2010	2011	2012	2013
1974	25	26	27	28	36	37	38	39
1975	24	25	26	27	35	36	37	38
1976	23	24	25	26	34	35	36	37
1977	22	23	24	25	33	34	35	36
1978	21	22	23	24	32	33	34	35
1979	20	21	22	23	31	32	33	34
1980	19	20	21	22	30	31	32	33
1981	18	19	20	21	29	30	31	32
1982	17	18	19	20	28	29	30	31
1983	16	17	18	19	27	28	29	30
1984	15	16	17	18	26	27	28	29
1985	14	15	16	17	25	26	27	28
1986	13	14	15	16	24	25	26	27
1987	12	13	14	15	23	24	25	26
1988	11	12	13	14	22	23	24	25
1989	10	11	12	13	21	22	23	24

Table 2. Population of interest.

	Year				
City	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Medellin	10,207	10,050	10,163	2,424	32,844
Barranquilla	9,135	9,307	8,883	2,134	29,459
Bogota	9,821	10,020	9,441	2,325	31,607
Manizales	6,438	6,483	6,171	1,508	20,600
Pasto	6,458	6,286	5,930	1,460	20,134
Bucaramanga	6,704	6,723	6,591	1,556	21,574
Cali	7,670	7,517	7,072	1,802	24,061
Total	56,433	56,386	54,251	13,209	180,279

Table 3. Observations born between 1974 and 1989 and living in one of the seven bigger Colombian cities.

Grade	Percentage of current students by age 2010–2013 surveys									
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
0	1.19	0.70	0.52	0.28	0.18	0.14	0.12	0.11	0.10	0.10
1	3.47	1.47	0.75	0.39	0.24	0.13	0.09	0.05	0.07	0.06
2	9.72	4.31	2.08	1.05	0.45	0.27	0.13	0.10	0.07	0.07
3	24.93	10.11	4.69	2.52	1.15	0.47	0.26	0.16	0.11	0.07
4	45.56	25.62	11.45	5.62	2.90	1.38	0.65	0.36	0.24	0.15
5	14.09	43.82	28.05	15.04	8.47	4.59	2.54	1.42	0.87	0.54
6	0.92	12.72	38.28	25.60	14.65	8.16	4.17	2.23	1.04	0.66
7	0.07	1.14	12.92	36.35	25.45	15.24	8.99	5.22	2.54	1.47
8	0.01	0.07	1.14	12.09	34.13	25.00	15.44	9.33	4.56	2.05
9	0.02	0.02	0.07	0.97	11.26	32.76	26.33	17.67	9.02	4.77
10	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.09	1.09	11.41	34.31	31.53	20.25	10.38
11	0.00	-	-	0.00	0.02	0.43	6.40	30.69	21.33	20.77
<div></div> = Middle School <div></div> = High School										

Table 4. Current percentage of Colombian students by age and grade.

Variables	(1) High School or More
Unemployment Age 11	-0.00108 (0.00107)
Unemployment Age 12	0.000450 (0.00130)
Unemployment Age 13	0.00287** (0.00138)
Unemployment Age 14	-0.00202 (0.00140)
Unemployment Age 15	0.000478 (0.00140)
Unemployment Age 16	-0.00193 (0.00144)
Unemployment Age 17	4.27e-05 (0.00120)
Observations	180,279
R-squared	0.018

Standard errors in parentheses

***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Table 5. Model 1.

Variables	(1) High School or More
Average Unemployment Ages 12, 13, and 14	0.00128 (0.000951)
Average Unemployment Ages 15, 16, and 17	-0.00214** (0.000925)
Observations	180,279
R-squared	0.018

Standard errors in parentheses
 ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Table 6. Model 2.

Variables	(1) High School or More
Average Unemployment Ages 15, 16, and 17	-0.00183** (0.000895)
Observations	180,279
R-squared	0.018

Standard errors in parentheses
 ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Table 7. Model 3.

Variables	(1) High School or More
Female	-0.0356*** (0.00203)
Age	-0.0239*** (0.00631)
Age Squared	-0.000392*** (0.000109)
Constant	-0.302*** (0.0907)
Observations	180,279
R-squared	0.018

Standard errors in parentheses
 ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Table 8. General Results.

Variables	(1) High School or More
Year Born: 1975	0.000791 (0.00656)
Year Born: 1976	0.0300*** (0.00723)
Year Born: 1977	0.0351*** (0.00808)
Year Born: 1978	0.0572*** (0.00904)
Year Born: 1979	0.0681*** (0.00980)
Year Born: 1980	0.0794*** (0.0107)
Year Born: 1981	0.0983*** (0.0116)
Year Born: 1982	0.117*** (0.0129)
Year Born: 1983	0.130*** (0.0143)
Year Born: 1984	0.141*** (0.0151)
Year Born: 1985	0.149*** (0.0153)
Year Born: 1986	0.163*** (0.0154)
Year Born: 1987	0.171*** (0.0157)
Year Born: 1988	0.175*** (0.0160)
Year Born: 1989	0.190*** (0.0164)
Observations	180,279
R-squared	0.018

Base Year: 1974

Standard errors in parentheses
 ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Table 9. General Results: Birth Year Cohort.

Variables	(1) High School or More
Medellin	-0.00626 (0.00398)
Barranquilla	-0.00476 (0.00351)
Manizales	-0.0386*** (0.00441)
Pasto	-0.0323*** (0.00476)
Bucaramanga	-0.0176*** (0.00414)
Cali	-0.0472*** (0.00400)
Observations	180,279
R-squared	0.018

City Base: Bogota

Standard errors in parentheses
***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Table 10. General Results: Cities.

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Playing Indian in Virtual Spaces: German Hobbyists and Their Social Network Identities

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Keil Oberlander was born and raised in rural South Dakota and moved from the country to "town" when he was in the third grade. This is where he graduated from and lived until 2011, when he started to study at Brown University. Growing up as the son of a farmer taught him how to work with his hands and to enjoy getting his hands dirty. He is grateful for his family's teachings of work ethic and integrity. He is a citizen of the Oglala Lakota Nation and acts as an activist on behalf of all Native people to improve perceptions and the conditions in which we live. This passion has lead him to concentrate in ethnic studies at Brown and to hold positions such as Minority Peer Counselor, Native American Heritage Series Programmer, leader of the Native Americans at Brown student group, and Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellow. He looks forward to graduating in May and pursuing his lifelong dreams of traveling the world and helping people, which he will make possible by pursuing a career in social work and academia. An adventurer at heart, he strongly believes and follow the words of his grandfather: Whoever has a heart full of love always has something to give.

Abstract

Since its creation in 2004, Facebook has enabled millions of users to connect with one another. With the use of structured networks consisting of "groups," "friends," and pages that one can "like," a population of Germans have fostered a virtual community of individuals and clubs that have established being American Indianⁱ, or "Indianer," as a hobby. In this paper, I argue that the information found on the hobbyists' public Facebook profiles depict a community's efforts to establish virtual identities that differ from and omit their German nationality and reveal a determination to be authentic and traditional American Indians within Germany.

Introduction

Hobbyism, also referred to as Indianism, exists in many European countries in which individuals create authentic regalia and learn how to dance and sing in the style of North American powwows (Taylor, 1988). The focus of this study is Germany, where the hobby is most prevalent, claiming approximately 40,000 participants across 400 clubs (LoPinto, 2009). While some participants identify themselves as hobbyists, most participants prefer the title "Indianer" (Gilders, 2003), the German word for American Indian. This term does not distinguish between an actual Indian and someone who adopts the identity.

In the digital age, hobbyism has adapted by going online. While hobbyists still gather for weekends of camping and powwows throughout the year, they have also formed online communities through social media networks (SNS). There has been little academic focus on hobbyism,

and this is the first study of how hobbyists portray themselves on Facebook. I argue that hobbyists use Facebook as a tool to further their Indianness in ways that they cannot in the offline world, because of the ability to carefully craft one's online presence.

Methodology

This cyber-ethnographic study utilized a sample of 62 hobbyists (27 women, 35 men) who were current users of Facebook. Although Facebook profiles may be restricted in varying degrees, each profile's "cover photo," "profile picture," and "username" are always public and, therefore, objects of this analysis. I also examined pages that can be "liked" and Facebook groups, both of which were public on the profiles in the sample.ⁱⁱ The users in the sample were found on an "event" page on Facebook for a large hobbyist powwow in one of Germany's largest cities, and each person who had indicated his or her attendance was listed on the page. This provided the pool from which I selected subjects. I found additional individuals through the "friends lists" of those who were "attending" the powwow. Facebook is regarded as a *anonymous* space, meaning that people have an online presence that is more or less accurate representative of their offline identity, unlike chat rooms or avatar-based programs (Zhao et al., 2008). Joseph Walther's hyperpersonal model suggests that computer-mediated communication such as Facebook enables users to convey more information than would be possible in face-to-face interaction. Users are able to spend more time strategically constructing their profiles and thus can construct alternate identities (Walther, 1996).

Facebook provides three modes of identity construction that lie on a spectrum of explicit to implicit: visual, enumerative, and narrative (Zhao et al., 2008). The explicit identifiers are those that directly describe characteristics of a person, whereas implicit identifiers are those that are less obvious. For example, a person who is always displaying photos participating in a sport can tell us that this person values this sport and sees it as important to her identity, and this is implicit. The visual corresponds with the self as a social actor and consists of the user's wall posts and pictures, and is the most implicit, meaning that the user uses images of the self in order to build and display a particular persona. The enumerative is the self as consumer. This is represented by pages, interests, and groups that the user has "liked," which are a mixture of implicit and explicit identifiers. Finally, the user may most explicitly construct his or her Facebook identity, or narrative, through writing in the "About Me" section. This section provides the opportunity for the user to define him/herself with his/her own words.

Fast Horse and The Chief: Adopting an Indian Name

The most public detail of a Facebook page is the user's name (or "username"). Without actually visiting the user's profile, the username is visible on any page with which the user has interacted. Since its founding in 2004, Facebook has upheld a strict policy of using real names and identities. When Facebook was restricted to college students, users had to prove their identities via email. Facebook's guidelines state that, "Pretending to be anything or anyone is not allowed" (Facebook, 2014). However, the username can be changed for any number of reasons. For this study, I argue that hobbyists use names that sound more stereotypically "Indian" than their own culturally German or European name.

Journalist and author Red Haircrow, a Chiricahua Apache residing in Berlin, frequently writes for *Indian Country Today Media Network*. He critiques the Germans' use of American Indian culture as a hobby. Haircrow reports that Jürgen Michaelis takes on the Indian name "The Lonely Man" when participating in the hobby and claims to be "75 percent Indian but still German" (Haircrow, 2013). This claim begs a question of authenticity. In the United States, authenticity is determined by a combination of factors—tradition, language, tribal enrollment, blood, and even geography (e.g., reservation or urban), and one's authenticity is often questioned when phenotypical appearance does not match one's claim to Indianness (Champagne, 2014). American Indians must prove their identity with a tribal identification card that clearly states their blood quantum, or the percentage of Indian blood. This further complicates the existence for non-Natives who claim to be Native outside of North America. *Der Spiegel*, one of Germany's most popular news sources, reported that Joachim Giel goes by "Schnelles Pferd," or "Fast Horse" (Klaubert, 2009). Further, hobbyists use titles in their clubs. Adam Gilders for *The Walrus*, a general-interest magazine from Canada, described how the Regensburg Cowboy Club's leader was referred to as "The Chief" (Gilders, 2003). Each of these reports indicates that choosing an "Indian" name is indicative of one's dedication to the hobby.

Scholars and journalists and have argued that hobbyists seek "to live exactly as Indians of the North American plains did over two centuries ago. They recreate tepee encampments, dress in animal skins and furs, and forgo modern tools, using handmade bone knives to cut and prepare food. . . . Many feel an intense spiritual link to Native myths and spirituality, and talk about 'feeling' Native on the inside" (Gilders, 2003; Levine, 2008; LoPinto, 2009; Taylor, 1988). For hobbyists, Facebook is a powerful tool that enables them to further build and promote their Indianer identity while masking and subduing their German identity. Based on the 62 profiles, only 47% used a German or European-sounding

name, whereas 51% used names that sound Indian—27% using real Indian language and 24% fashioning Indian-sounding names from English (e.g., Gray Wolf, Smart Turtle). Both sound identifiably unlike German or European names. Only one person used a German translation of an Indian-sounding name (Heisswolf for Hot Wolf). Ten of the seventeen individuals who used an Indian language used Lakota, and the others used Pawnee, Ojibwe, Navajo, Algonquin, and Tuscarora.



Figure 1. Example of a German hobbyist Facebook page with an Indian-sounding name in English, also showing similar performances of "Indianness" in the "friends" list.

According to Mark Peterson in his book *Anthropology and Mass Communication: Media and Myth in the New Millennium*, individuals reconstruct "their own identities in the process of constructing the imagined audience" (Peterson, 2003). Without the constraint ofonymity, the user has the freedom to mold his or her Indian identity without fear of being challenged or confronted (Zhao et al., 2008). In order to create a safe virtual space by reconstructing their image online, they are able to create a community that both sounds and reflects how they choose to appear as an Indian. The anxieties of rejection are illustrated by Katrin Sieg in her book *Ethnic Drag*. Sieg argues that many hobbyists, particularly those from West Germany, will refuse to meet with real Indians for fear of being devalued as illegitimate and phony (Sieg, 2002). This provides the basis for the formation of a tight-knit community of hobbyists that is established virtually through SNS and, particularly, Facebook.

Obscured by a Temporal Curtain and Face Paint

The photo a Facebook user chooses as his or her profile photo provides the visual context of the profile's user and helps construct how the public will relate to the user or makes assumptions about him or her (Hum et al., 2011). "Cover photos" are also publicly displayed at the top of a user's "timeline"—new Facebook profile tools introduced in 2011 (DeMatteo, 2011). Revisiting Zhao et al.'s model of explicitness and implicitness, the photographs are the implicit identifiers of how the user would like to present her/himself and be interpreted. In hobbyism, the photograph is arguably the most important element of one's self-presentation. The importance of the image of the hobbyist sample is clear: each profile's display photo depicted the user garbed in Indian regalia or a picture or painting of a real Indian or animal. Every hobbyist in the sample had photos of themselves in Indian regalia, and 50% of the hobbyists displayed profile photos exclusively of themselves dressed up as Indians. Twenty-one of those who displayed other photos only did so with one or two non-hobbyist photos.



Figure 2. The use of sepia to create the appearance of an aged photo

Forty-two percent of the hobbyists had Photoshopped their photos in order to juxtapose themselves beside other photos or paintings of real Indians or animals—further evidence of the refusal to represent modern Indians. Twenty-four percent of the sample added a sepia or black-and-white filter and stylistic effects that made the photo appear tattered and vintage. This not only makes the photo appear aged but also allows the subject to appear less like a contemporary white German. One person had a remarkable 58 photos of himself dressed as an Indian. This same individual used tomato-red body paint (strikingly similar to the controversial mascot of the Cleveland Indians [an American baseball team], Chief Wahoo), applied in minstrelsy fashion. Nearly all 58 photos showed the man's whole body would be to be

entirely painted, and in others the hands or legs would be left bare and pale.



Figure 3. This user posted 58 images of himself in traditional Indian dress, many of which included red or black face paint.

All-American (Indian) Germans and Their "Likes"

Facebook pages allow businesses, brands, celebrities, and organizations to connect with anyone who "likes" their page. Users who have "liked" a page can see updates, events, and photos posted by the page on their personal newsfeeds. Whereas pages are always public, group administrators have more privacy options. These pages are entire sub-communities of Facebook that can include millions of users. These two aspects speak to the enumerative mode of identity, or how we may see the user as a consumer who is identified with and by certain brands and hobbies he or she has "liked." These "likes" and group memberships illustrate a given hobbyist's interests and items on which s/he would like to remain updated. A Facebook study published in the *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* determined that a person's popularity and positive image was reinforced by pictures taken with friends, which show a sociable and presumably amiable person (Utz, 2010). I draw a parallel between the ways in which one might interpret a user's friends as testament to his character with how one might also associate "likes" and group memberships as characteristics of the user's personality as well. Just as a user may be deemed more popular and favorable by his friends, so, too, can his list of interests convey both explicit and implicit messages about his identity.

The "likes" that were common across all profiles were those that belonged to prolific leaders from American Indian history such as Sitting Bull, Chief Joseph, Red Cloud, and

Geronimo. Users also nearly universally “liked” the film *Dances with Wolves* as well as the pages for wolves and other wild animals. Other pages included specific American Indian nations and reservations, musicians, dancers, politicians, and radio, television, and print news organizations.ⁱⁱⁱ

For some hobbyists, it seemed as though they indiscriminately “liked” anything remotely related to the American Indian—including general Americana, such as Barack Obama, various U.S. political parties, national parks, organizations, and anything that could be linked to or geographically near Native peoples. The hobbyists tellingly “liked” nothing that directly linked them to German nationalism or identity, which I argue shows an attempt to suppress the German identity while building the Indianer identity. This included the “liking” of rather specific pages, such as local news stations and a local newspaper from Rapid City, South Dakota, the state with the third-highest percentage of American Indians, the Sioux (U.S. Census, 1999). Along with these more or less related Indian pages were many pages related to the Western stereotype of the Indian as one who is close to nature, spiritual, and the “noble savage” Deloria thoroughly describes in *Playing Indian*. Such related pages included animals (owl, eagle, wolf, etc.), environmental organizations, pagan and Wiccan pages, dream catchers, and pages with titles like “The Great Spirit.” The hobbyists attempt to construct their online identities using these well-known tropes of “Indianness” to reflect an authentic “Indian” identity.

Conclusion

By adopting stereotypically Indian names, sharing photos of themselves dressed in American Indian regalia, and “liking” pages related only to American Indian and American identity, German hobbyists make an immense effort to disassociate themselves from their German heritage and nationality. Of the 62 subjects, 58% of the sample explicitly indicated in the “About” section that they were from Germany, which was supported by their primary use of German in their posts and in comments on their photos. Those who did not indicate they came from Germany used other ways, such as local reviews, language, hobbyist clubs “liked,” etc., to show that they were from Germany or a German-speaking country. Facebook allows hobbyists to create and assume new identities, something that was not so easily accomplished before the existence of social networking sites.

Some hobbyists had Facebook friends who were listed as being from reservations in the United States. Upon cross-referencing their profiles and many of their friends, it became clearer that these individuals were American Indians living in the U.S.—geographically (reservation or urban), culturally, and, frequently, phenotypically. Just as the “liking”

of certain pages and joining of certain groups such as the “Proud to be Native American” page have an affirming and authenticating effect on the hobbyist’s profile, so, too, does the real American Indian. Utz found that “a target’s profile, profile pictures of the *friends* and number of *friends* jointly influence impressions” (Utz, 2010). This begs the question: Are the relationships themselves authentic, or are the real American Indians being used as props to create a more authentic image of the hobbyist? Two hobbyists had photo albums dedicated entirely to the meeting of Indians who are actually from North America. The fact that these individuals took pictures with them and put them on display shows how the users seek recognition for having accomplished such a feat. On the other hand, some hobbyists used photos of real Indians that had nothing to do with the German him- or herself. This led to a real Native American posting a confrontational comment on a hobbyist profile picture that accused the hobbyist of using her friend’s photo without permission. The hobbyist did not respond nor remove the photo.



Figure 4. Two individuals confront a user who has adopted a stereotypical Indian name and used someone else’s photo without permission.

In a study of ethno-racial presentation focusing on non-white Facebook users at a university, the researchers found that the individuals exhibited feelings of empowerment and affirmation as people of color based on the contents of their self-made profile (Zhao et al., 2009). Although the 62 hobbyist profiles were phenotypically white, so, too, did the hobbyist users display a sense of pride and empowerment in their active Facebook community. Hobbyists have the power and ability through Facebook to, for the most part, protect themselves from anyone who might confront their behavior oronymous profile due to their identity as a non- racially Indian Indianer. Authenticity as an Indianer is not only determined by who can dance or drum the best, nor by who knows the most. Facebook creates a new way of displaying authenticity—through the “liking” of all things Native, showing carefully crafted profiles that reveal the

user only as an regalia-clad person and identifying themselves with a more Indian-sounding name.

Facebook enables a hobbyist to transcend the German who dresses up as Indian, even if only in the virtual reality. Virtual reality may have been two separate things in the past, but with the advent of the internet and more recently social network sites, the virtual and the real are considerably more difficult to distinguish from one another. The Facebook profiles of hobbyists show crafted virtual identities that complement and reinforce their real identities. Not merely avatars, they are the individuals in their pictures. While they must take off their costumes for the week to resume their identity as a German person and make a living, their virtual presence remains constant and their Indianer identity with it.

Endnotes

- ⁱ I use the terms American Indian and Native American interchangeably and frequently refer to American Indian peoples as Natives or Native peoples.
- ⁱⁱ I acknowledge ethical concerns of using Facebook as a research tool; however, the data consists of information the Facebook users willingly post into the public sphere of the Facebook and online world. Legal scholar Lauren Solberg presents a compelling argument for using Facebook as a data source by arguing that it is in the public domain. She writes, "The Internet is a public space, and even with the password protections, security settings, and strict contractual terms of use that Facebook offers, Facebook users ultimately assume the risk that information posted on the Internet, and particularly on a social networking site, may become publicly available" (Solberg, 2010).
- ⁱⁱⁱ A preference for the Sioux, or Oceti Sakowin, was illustrated by seemingly random "liking" of all things Sioux, such as reservation high schools, businesses, organizations, initiatives, and language. 26% of the sample explicitly indicated their preference for the Sioux by using images and names associated with the Sioux or Lakota, but all of them had "liked" a page related to the Sioux people. Other nations represented were the Cheyenne, Shawnee, Anishinaabe, Cree, Iroquois, and two mixtures of Algonquin and Navajo and Ojibwe and Lakota.

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I Am a Venn Diagram: Erasure, Emphasis, and De-emphasis in Mexipinx Organizing and Identity

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Katrina Cortés is a mixed Costa Rican Filipina (or Pura Vida Filipina, or Ticapina), born and raised in Queens, NY. She graduated from Oberlin College in May 2014 with a degree in comparative American studies, minoring in politics and international studies. Katrina currently works with a community organization in NYC's Lower East Side. She dreams of a world where academia and community organizing are more explicitly tied through shared community-based values. Katrina loves to sing, dance, do karaoke, play pool, and read a lot of fiction. She dedicates this paper to her parents and brother who have always encouraged her to ask difficult questions and to never allow others to define her identity for her.

Abstract

Mixed Race Studies scholar Rudy Guevarra, Jr. has researched the historic role of Mexipinos in navigating Mexican and Filipinx communities through moments of collaboration and clashing. This paper builds on Guevarra's research by analyzing moments in which Filipinx and Mexican communities clash while discussing their shared histories. I analyze the Cesar Chavez biopic and the Galleon Trade Arts Exchange as two moments where Filipinx and Mexican communities discuss their histories. Through the short story "Barbie's Gotta Work" by Chicapina (Chicana and Filipina) author Rashaan Alexis Meneses, I argue that although communities of color often organize in separate spaces, we can learn how to collaborate intersectionally through the ways in which Mexipinx discuss the complexity of their identity. I will question what, throughout these moments, is erased, de-emphasized, or emphasized in constructing Mexican, Filipinx, and Mexipinx identity? What can organizing communities learn from these moments in order to build collectively?

As a mixed Filipina Costa Rican, I frequently wonder how to bring my full mixed self to separate organizing spaces for Asian Americans and Latinos. For example, throughout my time at Oberlin College, I participated in Colors of Rhythm, "a form of cultural activism and protest"ⁱ for students of color. Every year, I ran between rehearsals for La Alianza Latina and the Filipinx American Students Association. And, every year, I wondered if I erased part of my identity as I stepped on stage with one group at a time. I felt alone in trying to understand this internal conflict of representing both of my ethnic communities within these separate ethnic spaces.

Then, during my senior year, I read *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* for my final paper in Asian American History. The author, Rudy Guevarra, Jr., writes that his identity as a fourth-generation Mexipino fueled his desire to learn about the

shared history between Mexico and the Philippines through Spanish and U.S. colonialism.ⁱⁱ He emphasizes how Mexipinxⁱⁱⁱ have historically played a significant role in navigating Mexican and Filipinx communities through moments of collaboration and clashing. Guevarra's research therefore also highlights that this conflict of embodying both communities places Mexipinos in a unique, and sometimes conflicting, position to choose a side or mediate the situation. When contextualized with a historical analysis of Mexican and Filipinx relations, the work of Mexipinx organizers and academics such as Guevarra highlight that Mexican and Filipinx communities have struggled to define themselves as individual communities while acknowledging shared histories and realities. This conflict echoes the experience of embodying mixedness, of acknowledging seemingly disparate ethnic histories while defining oneself with a new mixed identity.

This paper builds on the research of Guevarra by analyzing moments when Filipinx and Mexican communities clashed while discussing their shared histories. I analyze the responses to the 2014 Cesar Chavez biopic and the Galleon Trade Arts Exchange as two moments when Filipinx and Mexican communities discussed their histories. Through the short story "Barbie's Gotta Work" by Chicapina (Chicana and Filipina) author Rashaan Alexis Meneses, I argue that although communities of color often organize in separate spaces, we can learn how to collaborate intersectionally through the ways in which Mexipinx discuss the complexity of their identity. I will question what, throughout these moments, is erased, de-emphasized, or emphasized in constructing Mexican, Filipinx, and Mexipinx identity. What can organizing communities learn from these moments in order to build collectively?

The Cesar Chavez Biopic

In March 2014, a biopic of the Mexican American labor organizer, Cesar Chavez, was released in theaters. Directed by Mexican actor Diego Luna, the film recalls the life of Cesar Chavez as he organized for the rights of Mexican farm workers in California. Although the film was centered on Cesar Chavez as an activist and Chicano leader, the idealistic and fictionalized portrayal of his life led to a fictionalized depiction of the United Farmworkers movement.

As a response, the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHHS) released an official statement addressing the historical inaccuracies of the film. FANHHS wrote:

The film misses an opportunity to offer a nuanced and accurate history of the farmworkers movement that was born of the Filipinos' 1965 Grape Strike because it does not emphasize the importance of the

historic multi-ethnic alliance between Mexicans and Filipinos in the UFW. . . . We understand that this is Hollywood and not a documentary, but the filmmakers still have a responsibility to ensure that the history they present is accurate. . . . Though there were several Filipinos in leadership and several thousand Filipino strikers, only a small group is shown briefly during the Grape Strike.^{iv}

The historical inaccuracies of the Cesar Chavez biopic reproduce what Guevarra identifies as “interethnic fractures”^v created between Mexican and Filipinx communities during the United Farmworkers (UFW) movement. Guevarra analyzes the United Farmworkers Movement of the 1960s and 1970s as a moment when Mexican and Filipinx communities organized together to fight their oppression through interethnic unions. However, “As the Chicano movement utilized César Chavez’s image and UFW symbols as its own, the face and historical contributions of Filipinos [in the UFW movement] were almost forgotten,” as a combined result of changing U.S. immigration policies and the separate political agenda of the Chicano movement from the UFW movement.

Nevertheless, throughout these times, Mexipinx continued to play pivotal roles within other aspects of the Chicano movement and did not allow others to ignore interethnic community building. Guevarra presents the example of Paula Crisostomo, whose “central role in the [East Los Angeles school walkouts in 1968] demonstrates that Chicanos were just ‘full-blooded’ but also multiethnic.”^{vi} In a film adaptation called *Walkout*, Crisostomo’s Filipino father responds to her Chicana identity by calling her “Chilipina,” exemplifying a new identity that incorporated an ethnic nationalism into her mixedness.

I analyze the Chavez biopic with Guevarra’s historical research of the UFW movement and through the lens of George Vargas, author of *Contemporary Chicano Art: Color and Culture for a New America*. Vargas states that Chicano art is a community manifestation. It is both a result of a collective consciousness and an experiment, and, therefore, also a site of contestation.^{vii} Through Vargas’ definition of Chicano art, I argue that the Chavez biopic is evidence of a nationwide lack of knowledge about the history of farmworkers in the United States. It is important and possible to honor Cesar Chavez for the Chicano community while framing this movement as a historic multiethnic alliance between Filipinx and Mexican farmworkers, united in solidarity as a result of labor exploitation. However, by emphasizing a dramatized version of history, the biopic not only erased a piece of Filipinx history but also erased a historic multiethnic moment for both communities.

The Galleon Trade Arts Collective

However, there are also examples of Mexican and Filipinx communities actively discussing their shared histories and cultures. The Galleon Trade Arts Collective is an art collective of Mexican and Filipinx artists. It aims to acknowledge the invisible, shared history between California, Mexico and the Philippines. It was aptly named after the galleon trade ships of Spain’s Acapulco-Manila galleon trade, indicating the historical legacy of Mexican and Filipinx interaction. The Collective’s mission statement states:

California, Mexico, and the Philippines share tremendous historical and cultural connections, but these have rarely been acknowledged in a creative setting. . . . *Galleon Trade* aims to prove that grassroots international arts exchange can still occur despite such challenges: it will be critical as a new model and template for how this can manifest creatively.^{viii}

Although the artists used different representations such as ships or sunsets, I found that all the pieces in the First Galleon Trade Gallery emphasized questions of globalization, transnationalism, consumption, and first-world privileges, all similarities between Mexico, the Philippines, and California’s histories. However, none of the artists described their pieces as struggling with conflicts of these shared histories, such as resulting gang violence, labor competition, or competing nationalist ideologies. In addition, when looking at the list of artists in the collective, ten identify themselves as Filipinx American and four as Mexican American. None identified as Chicano, a politically distinct identity from Mexican American.

It is always difficult to respectfully discuss moments of clashing, especially when the discussion is publicly held through art. As a result, I applaud the Galleon Trade Arts Collective and the Chavez biopic for their efforts to discuss the shared histories of Mexican and Filipinx communities. I also critique them in an attempt to build space for Mexican and Filipinx communities to learn how to navigate the conflicts in our shared history. What does it mean to discuss the history of Mexicans in California without discussing the Chicano movement? Why should this art collective discuss the competition that arises because of the shared history between Mexican and Filipinx communities? It is evident, through Guevarra and Crisostomo’s example, that Mexipinx play a key role in discussing clashing moments with respect for both communities. As a result, I analyze a short story by Chicana and Filipina author Rashaan Alexis Meneses in order to answer these questions.

“Barbie’s Gotta Work”

The Cesar Chavez biopic and Galleon Trade Arts Exchange showed that both Mexican and Filipinx communities struggle to define their own histories while acknowledging the role of intersectional collaboration. In my experience, community between Mexicans and Filipinx appears in the form of unions and art collectives but, most importantly, in the creation of new bodies. Rudy Guevarra highlights this idea in the introduction of his book, writing, “These communities . . . converged, sometimes in competition and in tension but more often in cooperation and coalition to carve a place for themselves and their children.”^{ix} Guevarra’s research also found that the Mexipinx children were uniquely positioned as mediators between their communities. Self-identified Chicapina (Chicana Filipina) author Rashaan Alexis Meneses, for example, explores her relationship with her mixed identity through the short story “Barbie’s Gotta Work.”

Meneses begins with her childhood love for the “Miko Island Fun Doll, Barbie’s presumably Hawaiian friend, though [Miko’s] ethnic origin was never explicitly stated.”^x As Rashaan plays with this doll, her mother reminds her that Miko’s life cannot be all fun and games—Barbie’s gotta work, too. Rashaan takes this lesson with her throughout her life, remembering her familial history of labor, which dates back to her grandparents’ migrations to the United States from Mexico and the Philippines. As Rashaan gets older, she recognizes that she has many privileges that her parents did not have access to. These privileges, she understands, are the results of her parents’ and grandparents’ labor. However, access to these privileges does not mean that Rashaan can live a life free from hard work. Instead, Rashaan has the privilege to work to support her love of writing, whereas her parents worked to survive and support the future generation.

Meneses does not emphasize cultural or nationalistic differences between her Mexican mother and Filipino father. She only mentions being Chicana once, when identifying herself as “Chicana Filipina American or Chicapina.” She also acknowledges her ethnic roots by referencing her grandmother’s Mexican migrant family and her grandfather’s migration from the Philippines. However, the real reason for mentioning her grandparents is to acknowledge the shared history of labor and struggle in her family. Both her grandparents and parents, Mexican and Filipinx, grew up working class as farm and factory workers. Meneses, however, only experiences labor exploitation when she chooses to work a menial labor job during college. Through this experience, Meneses learns to negotiate this familial history of labor. Although she does not grow up working in a factory or on a farm, Meneses finds this history of labor continued

within her through the privilege of laboring to support her love of writing.

Meneses’ story shows that difference is not always rooted in ethnicity but, rather, how one relates to the community. This echoes Homi K. Bhabha’s analysis that, “Mixed-race art reveals an added space that exists within the ethnically divided world, a space in which meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew.”^{xi} In this story, Meneses exists in a space where generational difference and labor are more divisive than ethnicity. Her story emphasizes similar familial histories of labor between Mexican and Filipinx communities and the generational differences between herself, her parents, and her grandparents in the form of labor privilege. Meneses de-emphasizes cultural differences between her Mexican mother and her Filipino father, along with de-emphasizing her Chicana identity. Following Homi K. Bhabha’s analysis of mixed-race art, Meneses cannot erase her ethnic history simply because she does not negotiate the similarities and differences. In Meneses’ creation of a new space, meaning has no fixity, and she can redefine her ethnicity to have the same importance without it being the center of her discussion.

Conclusion: I Am a Venn Diagram

I titled this paper “I Am a Venn Diagram,” because as a mixed Costa Rican Filipina, I often find my identity pulled in two directions. When I am on stage dancing with La Alianza Latina, I am in the Latinx circle; when I am with the Filipinx American Students Association, I am in the Filipina circle. The Cesar Chavez biopic and the Galleon Trade Arts Exchange similarly approached the histories of Mexican and Filipinx communities by picking and choosing which histories to emphasize, de-emphasize, or erase. The Cesar Chavez biopic erased the history of multiracial organizing with Filipinx farmworkers in an attempt to emphasize Cesar Chavez. The Galleon Trade Arts Exchange emphasized the shared history of Mexico, the Philippines, and California.

However, in “Barbie’s Gotta Work,” Rashaan Alexis Meneses discusses her relationship with her familial history without comparing her two ethnic halves but, rather, comparing herself to her parents’ and her grandparents’ histories. By centering herself, she critiques her own experience before critiquing the experience of her community and views herself as the result of past Venn diagrams. In doing so, she metaphorically compared her own Venn diagram to her parents’ and grandparents’ Venn diagrams, creating a new space in which different circles represent not only ethnicity but also generational and class difference. It seems that the mixed identity of Mexipinx provides insight into and abstraction from both communities. It is important to

learn from the way Meneses centers herself while discusses her familial history: She identifies the difference not as between Mexican and Filipinx communities but rather between herself and her familial histories. As a result, Meneses creates space for both personal and community growth without erasing or de-emphasizing any communities' influence.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Oberlin On Campus. "Colors of Rhythm." *Events Calendar*. https://calendar.oberlin.edu/event/colors_of_rhythm#. U21O9y-Vvu0.
- ⁱⁱ Rudy Guevarra, Jr. *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 1.
- ⁱⁱⁱ I chose to use the gender-neutral suffix -x for identities ending in a/o such as Filipino/a and Chicano/a. I do this not only to be inclusive of folks within our communities who do not identify with the gender binary but also to indicate that our communities are diverse, political, constantly changing spaces. When I do not use the suffix -x, it is because I am referring to someone who explicitly used an -o or -a ending.
- ^{iv} The Filipino American National Historical Society. "The Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHs) Speaks Out on the New Film *Cesar Chavez*: Film Leaves Out Filipino American Contributions and Misses Opportunity to Provide Accurate Account of the Farmworkers' Struggle." *The Filipino American National Historical Society: News*. March 28, 2014. <http://fanhs-national.org/filam/fanhs-speaks-out-on-the-new-film-cesar-chavez>.
- ^v Guevarra, 164.
- ^{vi} Ibid., 165.
- ^{vii} George Vargas. *Contemporary Chicano Art: Color and Culture for a New America*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 247.
- ^{viii} Jenifer Wofford. "Galleon Trade: Background on the Project" *Megan Wilson*. http://www.meganwilson.com/bio/GT_Background.htm.
- ^{ix} Guevarra, 1.
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Categorization Abilities in Typically Developing (TD) Children and Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD)

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Taleisia received her BS in psychology and BA in Africana studies from Brooklyn College, City University of New York, in 2014. Wanting to combine her interests in psychology, curriculum, and pedagogy, she is currently an elementary school teacher. She is also enriching her professional competencies as a program director for an Out of School Time (OST) youth enrichment program in Queens, NY. Her long-term goal is to attain a PhD in developmental psychology. Her research interests include factors affecting urban youth development, early intervention (i.e., after-school programs), and developmental assessment. In addition, she has engaged in research involving atypical populations, such as children with Autism Spectrum Disorders.

Abstract

Previous research has shown that typically developing infants can categorize objects as early as three months of age. Quinn and Eimas (1996) have suggested that the earliest form of categorization is perceptual categorization, grouping objects based on their physical characteristics (such as shape, size, and color). On the contrary, McDonough and Mandler (1998) have argued that young infants do not solely rely on the physical aspects of objects to understand the world, they also categorize in a conceptual fashion. Conceptual categorization is a conscious process, which is understanding the meaning or function of the object. Perceptual categorization, on the other hand, is the automatic aspect of perceptual processing that compares the perceptual similarity of one object to another. It has been suggested that children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) tend to engage in *restrictive, repetitive patterns of activities, interests, and behaviors*, which may affect the ways in which they classify information as they encounter them. The current paper is a literature review that investigates the categorization abilities that emerge in children with Autism Spectrum Disorder and the mechanisms by which they classify objects.

Introduction

Categorization is a fundamental skill to all human beings. It is the process by which we organize and classify massive amounts of complex stimuli, thus facilitating our interaction with the world (Bornstein & Arterberry, 2010). Categorization allows us to generalize across experiences and facilitate the storage and retrieval of information. Specifically, *object categorization* allows for the grouping of similar objects and the discrimination of those objects that differ. Object categorization also allows for objects that are similar but look different to be grouped in the same category. For example, the Chihuahua and the Great Dane are both dogs; however, they are from different breeds and vary in size. Object categorization will allow for both animals to

be placed in the same category, even though they appear different in size.

Because a variety of novel events, objects, and people are encountered during infancy and early childhood, categories are an essential skill set to possess. Without this ability, children would have to learn to respond anew to each separate entity they experience (Bornstein, 1984; Rakison & Oakes, 2003). Therefore, understanding categorization acquisition is important in understanding children's memory, language, and other cognitive processes as well as how those processes develop in mature adults.

The purpose of this paper is to offer an alternative methodology to examine the categorization "deficit" observed in children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD). Typically developing (TD) children are able to categorize objects using physical characteristics (perceptual categorization) by three months of age. At nine months, they are usually able to categorize objects based on functions and meanings (conceptual categorization). The boundary between the two kinds of categorization is not clear. Is conceptual categorization innate but appears later? Is conceptual categorization acquired with experience? Researchers have not been able answer these questions due to the limitation of motor abilities available in very young infants prior to nine months of age. However, researchers have found evidence that translates to ASD individuals possessing difficulties when having to carry out process and categorization, while TD children perform this process with ease.

Many studies have been done on categorical skills in young children with autism. These studies appear to be limited to perceptual categorization. However, generalizations are being made: If child has a deficit in perceptual categorization, there is also an assumed deficit in conceptual categorization.

Perceptual categorization involves perceptual similarity, while conceptual categorization involves similarity in the function the object serves. For example, a fish and a plane share perceptual similarity because fins and wings share similar perceptual characteristics. On the other hand, a cup and a pot are similar because their functions are related—they are used for storage of liquid, primarily. Many categorization studies confuse perceptual similarity with conceptual similarity and form the conclusion that because ASD children have difficulty grouping, for example, shapes and sizes, they cannot categorize in general.

To fully understand differences in categorization observed in children with ASD, the study must be designed to test perceptual and conceptual categorization independently. An example of a study, if altered to accommodate

cognitive difficulties observed in ASD children, data is Mandler and McDonough's (2000) *Generalized Imitation Study*. This study allows children to focus on the object's function and not the physical characteristics only. These methodologies are discussed in detail later in the paper.

Etiology

Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) is a neurodevelopmental disorder that manifests itself during early childhood, usually prior to the child's entrance into grade school (DSM-5, American Psychiatric Association, 2013). About 1 to 1.5 percent of the United States population has been diagnosed with an Autism Spectrum Disorder. According to the National Institute on Mental Health (NIMH), ASD is the fastest-growing disability, with a 1,148% growth rate and costs \$60 million annually. Further, the cost of autism over the lifespan is estimated to \$3.2 million per person. The prevalence rate is 1 in 88 births, with boys being four to five times more likely than girls to be diagnosed (CDC; NIMH). Scientists do not know the exact cause of this disorder; however, research shows that both genetic history and environmental factors contribute to the disorder.

ASD is characterized by quantitative abnormalities in social interaction and social communication across many settings, including:

- Deficits in nonverbal communication behaviors used for social interaction (i.e., abnormalities in eye contact and body language and deficits in understanding and using gestures);
- Deficits in developing skills used to initiate, maintain, and understand relationships (e.g., difficulties in sharing imaginative play and absence of interest in peers); and
- Deficits in social-emotional reciprocity (i.e., failure to engage in back-and-forth conversations and failure to relate emotionally with others).

In addition to deficits in social interaction and social communication, diagnosis requires the presence of restrictive, repetitive patterns of behavior and interest or activities revealed through at least two of the following four symptoms:

- Stereotypic or repetitive motor movement (such as flipping of hands), speech (for instance, parrot-like speech—repeating what others say, or echolalia), or use of objects;
- Adherences to routines and rituals in both verbal and non-verbal behaviors and a strong resistance to change;
- Restricted abnormal interest in sensory aspects of the environment (such as preoccupation with parts of objects, excessive smelling or touching of objects); and

- Sensitivity to sensory input (such as loud noise) and fascination with lights or spinning objects (DSM-5, American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Abnormal Psychology with DSM-5; Haq & Couteur, 2004; Golan, et al., 2010).

There is an increasing amount of evidence suggesting that children with ASD have problems with categorization. Children with ASD tend to use peculiar, habitual patterns to process stimuli from the environment. Unfortunately, this reliance on peculiar, habitual patterns prevents functional processing of environmental stimuli (Bock, 1994). For instance, it inhibits their ability to apply learned information to novel situations, events, and objects (Church, Krauss, Lopata & Toomey, 2010; Klinger & Dawson 1995). In addition, this affects how information is stored and retrieved. Children with ASD often employ a rule-based fashion in learning rather than actually understanding the subject matter. This results in difficulty when the task require categories to be abstracted from complex information (Minshew et al., 2002). Being able to use prior knowledge in new situations facilitates social bonding, language learning, and the development of general life skills (Fields, 2012). Reasons for this disability include, but is not limited to, the ability to abstract prototypes (Bock, 1994; Gastgeb, Dundas, Minshew & Strauss, 2011) and an atypical focus on object parts instead of the overall object (Church et al., 2010).

Some scholars have suggested that due to the core deficit of ASD—restricted-repetitive interest and behavior—children with autism experience challenges when grouping similar objects together. They tend to focus on small details that distract them from categorizing the overall object. The *empathizing-systemizing* (E-S) theory, advanced by Baron-Cohen (2006; 2008) also argues that children with ASD are drawn to predictable systems such as repeating mathematical patterns, repeating electrical patterns (e.g., a light switch), and repeating patterns in film (e.g., wheels going back and forth), because these children dislike changes in routine. This theory lends itself to a range of obsessive, repetitive behaviors that children with ASD often display (Baron-Cohen, 2006; 2010). Leo Kanner's study (1943) outlined the reasons for this pre-occupation with sameness. In this article, Kanner presents the case of Donald T., one of his autistic patients. Donald appears to be a child with a mind of his own who lives in a different world. Although Donald is a fast learner, his pattern of learning differs greatly from the TD child. Donald is quick to learn things that have repetitive patterns and rhymes. His speech is defined as *echolalia* (irrelevant utterances that are automatic, uncontrollable, and out of context). For instance, Donald's ordinary mode of speech would be "chrysanthemum": "dahlia, dahlia dahlia"; "business"; "trumpet vine"; "the right one is on, the left one is off"; and "through the dark clouds shining" (Kanner, 1943:219). These vocalizations seem to be scripts from a film.

In addition to restrictive-repetitive interest and behavior, children with autism are often preoccupied with object parts. *Hyperspecific theories*, such as *weak central coherence* (WCC) and the *enhanced perceptual functioning* (EFT) maintain that children with autism do not focus holistically on the object parts. Instead, they zero in on the smallest of details. Moreover, these theories note that children with autism *can* classify and group objects; however, only when told to do so. If a child has to be told repeatedly what to do, especially when the command is the same, this can pose a threat to the child's life and hinder learning in school.

Methodological Concerns and Suggestions

Traditional methods used to examine categorical abilities in children with autism assess perceptual categorization abilities but typically not conceptual categorization abilities (for instance, *prototype abstraction methodology*). It is said that individuals with ASD fail to abstract a summary representation (a prototype) while classifying objects. Instead, these individuals rely on a rule-based approach to learning. Experiments using this methodology look at how an individual interacts with the physical components of an object and not the function per se. An example of an experiment utilizing the prototype abstraction methodology is a study by Laura G. Klinger & Geraldine Dawson (2001). In this experiment, participants were instructed to match varying distortions of images that were drawn using dot patterns with their prototypes (best example). Participants were also instructed to learn which images belonged to each category and were given feedback until they successfully *learn* the categories.

It is to be noted that dot patterns are similar to dots drawn on a paper and given to preschoolers to connect in order to figure out the image. Thus, recognizing dot patterns does not give information regarding the function the images serve. This is simply grouping based on physical characteristics. Hence, such a study only shows that there may be a deficit in perceptual categorization and not conceptual categorization. Moreover, a child's inability to group objects according to the physical characteristics does not translate to the inability to categorize conceptually.

Since it is known that children with autism are attentive to detail (or have atypical focus), tests used to examine categorization skills must be designed in such a way that:

- The child is not distracted by details;
- It allows us to test both perceptual and conceptual categorization independently; and
- If there is a deficit, we can move ahead to design an intervention that assist ASD children in categorizing.

Conclusion

In an attempt to address conceptual representations in children, I suggest the use of techniques that test the child's understanding of objects' functions rather than the child's ability to simply recognize them. One such technique is the *Generalized Imitation Technique* used by Jean Mandler & Laraine McDonough (Mandler & McDonough, 1996, 1998, and 2000) to study conceptual abilities in typical young children (about seven to nine years old). The researchers use smaller versions (replicas) of objects that young children are likely to encounter on a daily basis to examine the ability to draw inferences or make generalizations.

First, children were shown a dog being given a drink from a cup. Following this, the researchers gave children tools (a cup, an armadillo, and a car) to replicate the modeled action. Typically developing young infants were able to imitate the actions to the exemplar in the appropriate category (gave cup to armadillo and not car). Therefore, we know that young children understand basic categories and functions of objects and are not merely using physical characteristics of objects as cues for categorization. These children understood that a cup belongs to the category CONTAINER and a car does not. In addition, a dog and an armadillo both belong to the category ANIMALS. Here, children showed that they can integrate novel information (giving armadillo a drink) with prior experience (giving dog a drink).

The findings were consistent with the Mandler and McDonough hypothesis; infants do not merely rely on perceptual similarities to make generalizations. Infants showed preference to perform actions on objects from the appropriate global category. That is, when showed a dog drinking from a cup, they always gave a drink to another animal (e.g., cat, rabbit) and not to a vehicle (car, motorcycle). Also, when shown placing a key in a car door, infants generalized to placing the key on other vehicles (e.g., truck, airplane) and not the animal. There were some instances in which the young infants actually overgeneralized by giving a drink to a fish. Fish do not have the overall shape as other animals; however, it did make sense for infants to give fish a drink rather than a vehicle. It has also been argued that if these infants thought fishes can drink from a cup, why had they not given a drink to the airplane as well, since both fish and airplanes have some resemblance in terms of their wings and fins? We should test children with Autism Spectrum Disorders using this method.

In using the Generalized Imitation study to examine categorical skills in children, I believe researchers would get a clearer understanding of whether or not there is a *deficit* in categorization, specifically conceptual categorization. One

possible hypothesis using the mentioned approach is: Children with ASD can form categories when the objects are not distracting. We know children with ASD enjoy playing with objects that have parts that allow for repetitive movement (mostly vehicles because of their wheels). To avoid this issue, we can use replicas from different categories. Some examples are furniture, animals, and tools found in the kitchen that child may have encountered. If we can design an experiment to test conceptual categorizing in individuals with ASD, we can then move ahead to design an intervention that can teach this skill to young children, hence reducing some of the routinized behaviors that are observed in individuals with ASD.

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White and Black Womanhood in the Pre-Code Era

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Daniella Posy is majoring in media studies and will also major in film studies at Queens College. Her main interest is looking at representations of race and ethnicity in the media. Her current research project involves studying Black female blues singers active between the 1920s and 1940s in relation to issues of sexuality.

Abstract

This paper examines how some Pre-Code Hollywood films from the early 1930s both countered and reinforced prevailing racial ideology through the relationships of the white and black female characters. Many Pre-Code Hollywood films showcased women who pushed social boundaries. The films discussed taboo subjects such as sexuality, miscegenation, and prostitution. The Pre-Code films discussed in the paper challenged notions of white femininity as well as the mammy figure, but they continued to perpetuate racial stereotypes. The analysis of these relationships came about during an independent study with Professor Scott at Queens College.

In *I'm No Angel* (1933), four maids pamper Tira (Mae West) at the same time, each taking care of a different part of their employer's body. These black women serve a sexually liberated white woman who appears friendly while openly talking to her maids. However, this white woman also makes racially insensitive comments towards them. Tira says, "You ought to have a big time in Africa" after her maid Libby (Libby Taylor) reveals her attraction to dark men. Pre-Code Hollywood films that feature transgressive white women with black maids both challenged and reinforced prevailing racial ideology through the relationships of the female characters. Pre-Code Hollywood refers to a period between 1930 to 1934 when film studios released films that portrayed taboo topics such as prostitution and adultery due to lax censorship (Mashon and Bell). Some of these films included *Professional Sweetheart* (1933), *Baby Face* (1933), *I'm No Angel* (1933), *She Done Him Wrong* (1933), and *Belle of the Nineties* (1934). Sometimes the black and white female characters mirror each other, which counters the idea that these women are opposites due to race. However, the films continued to support racial stereotypes despite showcasing women in non-traditional roles in the early 1930s. Although the white and black female characters both transgress by challenging racial boundaries, female transgression is not as liberating for black women as it is for white women. Racial structures impact how much white and black women are able to challenge societal norms.

The Social Construction of Black Female Sexuality and White Femininity

White women and black women in the United States were socially constructed as binary opposites in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Norma Manatu, the images presented by Europeans led to notions of black women as sinful. Europeans often portrayed Africans being naked with abnormally large sex organs, and the protruding buttocks of black women were considered evidence of their hypersexuality. In addition, black women were portrayed as possessing no beauty, which contrasted with the image of white bodies. The hair, skin color, and shape of white female bodies were associated with femininity (Manatu 17–20). "Because the white female form [represented] the 'feminine' and all that the feminine implies, beauty, gentility, and virginity, membership in the dominant group automatically [granted] white women credibility as women of virtue" (Manatu 19).

Literature Review

Ramona Curry believes the black women in Mae West's films are portrayed as the antithesis to West's characters. Curry states that West's films use the black women to "[enhance] the star's aura of power and sexual allure through their roles as servants and through their vividly contrasting visual presence, their dark skin, hair, and costumes setting off West's shimmering bleached-blond whiteness" (87). Curry also states that some of Mae West's lines have the black women become the butt of jokes. She states that these jokes maintain racial stereotypes of African Americans as people who are lazy and unintelligent. Curry argues that the banter in the films work to create the sense that despite the working-class background of the white characters, they are still superior to the African American women (Curry 87–88). Donald Bogle shares a similar view on the black women in Mae West's films. Bogle states, "Their naive blackness generally was used as a contrast to Mae West's sophisticated whiteness. Inevitably set against white carpeting, white furniture, white decor—not to mention the white Miss West—the stout black figures hustling and bustling about served to heighten the hot white sexuality of their bawdy mistress" (Bogle 45). Although Curry and Bogle are in agreement on the racial dynamics between the white and black female characters, there are other scholars who do not feel that the maids are consistently positioned as foils to their white employers throughout the films.

When examining black maids in films released in the 1930s, James Snead takes a slightly different position from Curry and Bogle. Snead states the maids do contrast with the white characters in terms of clothing and appearance. The maids can fit stereotypical portrayals of black women

with the constant use of “Yes, ma’am” and “No, ma’am” when speaking to white characters. However, Snead believes the black characters are not always portrayed as the antithesis to the white characters. In *Blonde Venus* (1932), Snead argues the maid Cora (Hattie McDaniel) appears to be unified with her white employer Helen Faraday (Marlene Dietrich) (Snead 69, 73). When examining *I’m No Angel*, Snead states, “It might be said that if some white actresses derive their aura of purity and chasteness by opposition to the dark and earthy black maids who surround them, then [Mae] West’s image benefits by her kinship with, rather than her difference from, the same kinds of figures” (Snead 68–69). This position is not in complete disagreement with previous scholars, but it does reveal moments scholars have missed that undermine the prevailing racial ideology.

Defiance of Constructed Racial Differences in Pre-Code Films

White women in Pre-Code films challenge notions of white femininity in relation to virginity and gentility by blurring the color line with the assistance of their black maids. In *Professional Sweetheart*, Glory (Ginger Rogers) does not want to be a virtuous woman despite being promoted as the “Purity Girl” on the radio. Glory wants to wear makeup, smoke, swear, and spend time with men. She also wants to visit Harlem to break away from her white bosses who want to control her every move. Glory’s black maid Vera (Theresa Harris) is her main ally in the film, and she teaches Glory dance moves she learned in Harlem. Glory becomes overly excited when Vera mentions Harlem. Glory’s constant desire to visit Harlem hints at her assumption that blackness is associated with greater freedom. It also appears that she wants to be like Vera as she tries to imitate Vera’s dancing. Since Glory is not allowed to visit Harlem due to her contractual obligations with the Ippsie Wippsie Washcloth company, she lives vicariously through Vera to fulfill her fantasies of spending time with other African Americans. Vera also buys Glory a black lace negligee that Glory is not supposed to wear. Jill Fields suggests that “black lingerie [works] as a racial masquerade . . . that [allows] women, especially white women, to express, and their bodies to convey, the eroticism attributed to black women via a safely contained and removable black skin” (612). Vera directly assists Glory in crossing the color line through clothing and dance.

The main characters of *Baby Face*, *Belle of the Nineties*, *I’m No Angel*, and *She Done Him Wrong* also blur the color line through their relationships with their maids. The white women use sex as a way to obtain expensive clothes, lavish apartments, and money from men to move up in society. They defy notions of white female purity when they move from one man to the next without a care. In addition, the women in these four films have better relationships with

their black maids than they do with other white women. In *Baby Face*, Lily (Barbara Stanwyck) is closest to her black maid, Chico (Theresa Harris). When the white men in her life want to fire Chico, Lily always supports her. In *Belle of the Nineties*, Ruby (Mae West) opens up to her maid Jasmine (Libby Taylor) and gives Jasmine advice on men. The maids are not afraid to comment upon their employers’ romantic exploits in *I’m No Angel*, *Belle of the Nineties*, and *She Done Him Wrong*. The closeness of the white and black female characters allows them to cross social lines.

In addition, the maids challenge the color line by not serving as the complete antithesis to the white female characters. In *I’m No Angel*, Tira’s lover Jack (Cary Grant) plays the piano in the living room of her apartment while the maids help Tira get dressed in her bedroom. Tira sits down in her black dress as the maids stand on each side of her in their black uniforms. Tira tells the maids that Jack has rhythm as she bounces to the music, and the women smile as they agree with her. Libby tells Tira, “Yes’m, I knows what you mean.” According to James Snead, the women are her counterparts in the scene; Tira breaches “racial taboos in order to share both the terminology and presumably the content of sexual secrets of white and black male ‘rhythm’” (69). Jack stops playing the piano when Tira leaves her bedroom, and she says, “Don’t stop, honey. You put me in the mood.” Tira and the maids cross racial lines through the coded dialogue that hints at Tira’s desire for sex. This particular scene counters Ramona Curry and Donald Bogle’s belief that the black women are portrayed as the direct opposite of Mae West in West’s films. By sharing the same terminology, the women show that they are not so different as they might seem on the surface.

The black maids do not completely fit the mammy stereotype, which is another way these films challenge racial ideology. According to Patricia Hill Collins, the mammy cares more for the white family she works for than her own family. In addition, mammies are portrayed as asexual beings who serve as surrogate mothers in white families (Collins 72–74). In *I’m No Angel*, Tira’s maid, Libby, says, “I don’t know, but me and men do pretty well together.” She also reveals being married four times. This means that Libby does not have trouble getting into relationships with men. According to Ramona Curry, the maids in *I’m No Angel* counter the mammy stereotype by revealing that they are sexual and have lives outside of working for the white employer (87). In *Professional Sweetheart*, Glory’s maid, Vera, challenges the mammy stereotype in a similar way. Vera mentions spending time in Harlem with her boyfriend before teaching Glory some dance moves. Vera’s trip to Harlem suggests that she has a life outside of working for Glory. In addition, Vera hints at the sexual nature of the dance by moving her eyebrows up and down while moving

her hips. Vera is able to express her sexuality through the movement of her body. By expressing their sexuality and blurring the color line, the maids in these films display some kind of liberation that previous scholars have overlooked.

Power Dynamics and Racial Stereotypes in Pre-Code Films

Although the female characters defy racial conventions by displaying and sharing their frank sexuality with their maids, the films also uphold socially constructed racial differences. The white women have power over the black women since the black women serve them as maids. According to Patricia Hill Collins, employers can use a range of techniques to have their maids submit to them. “Techniques of linguistic deference [include] addressing domestics by their first names, calling them ‘girls,’ and requiring that the domestic call the employer ‘ma’am’. . . . Physical markers [reinforce] the deference relationship. One technique [is] to require that domestics wear uniforms” (Collins 56–57). In *Baby Face*, Lily allows Chico to call her honey when they both work at a speakeasy. However, once Lily moves up in society, this changes: Lily has Chico call her ma’am instead of honey in one scene that takes place at Lily’s fancy apartment. Chico wears a maid’s uniform, while Lily wears her expensive furs. Prior to Lily becoming a rich woman, Chico does not wear a uniform or call her ma’am. Lily does this to separate herself from Chico, since Lily is able to associate with wealthy businessmen.

Although the dialogue in Pre-Code films can provide evidence of moments of equality between black and white women, the dialogue also works as a means of restoring the white social order. In *I’m No Angel*, Tira allows the maids to talk about her private life, but she distances herself from them through her jokes. Tira says, “You ought to do well in the wholesale business” after Libby talks about being married multiple times. Tira does not accept such negative comments about her own sexuality. When Tira works at a circus, she meets a white socialite named Alicia Hatton (Gertrude Michael), who despises her. Alicia stands outside Tira’s dressing room door at the circus and speaks negatively about Tira’s interactions with men. After Alicia calls Tira an ill-bred person, Tira takes a sip of her drink, opens her door, and spits on Alicia’s back. Libby does not spit on Tira or make jokes when Tira insults her. Libby simply laughs and continues to work. In *Belle of the Nineties*, Ruby insinuates that Jasmine is not trustworthy after she gives Jasmine some money for her church collection. Ruby says, “Here, put that in the collection, and be sure not to take any change.” Jasmine happily takes the money and smiles while saying “no, ma’am” twice as she leaves to attend her church meeting. The maids in these films do not have the power to retaliate as do their white female counterparts. They are expected to accept the insults and be happy with their work.

Sometimes the black maids play into negative stereotypes of African Americans, which contributes to maintaining prevailing racial ideology. In *She Done Him Wrong*, there are moments when Lou (Mae West) must call on her maid Pearl (Louise Beavers) multiple times before she finally arrives. Pearl’s inability to be on time reflects negative ideas of African Americans being slow and lazy. Furthermore, “[Pearl’s] slow response is designed to play upon the stereotype of the African American’s perceived mental inferiority, while suggesting the white screen star’s mental superiority” (Regeister 83). Pearl’s lateness could be seen as a sign of resistance, but she cheerfully tells Lou that she loves working for her. In *Belle of the Nineties*, there is a scene where Ruby’s maid Jasmine cannot follow the simple instructions that Ruby gives her. Ruby decides to give up on explaining the task to Jasmine and does the job herself. These scenes suggest to the audience that African Americans are not as smart as whites.

Reflecting on Transgressive Pre-Code Films

The white women in Pre-Code films need the black maids in order to transgress. Clothing, dance, and the coded conversations that the women have allow the characters to push racial boundaries. The white characters are rewarded for challenging notions of white femininity by being sexual with men. They can feel liberated by not feeling obligated to be tied down to one man. The maids slightly alter the mammy stereotype through their relationships with men, but their transgressions only occur in brief moments. It appears that when there are scenes where the women seem to be on more equal footing, the films’ characters find a way to restore the racial order. This can be immediate, such as when Mae West makes insensitive jokes right after having friendly interactions with her maids. It also happens in subsequent scenes when the maids exhibit a lack of knowledge. These films suggest that race affects female transgression. Moments of transgression profit black characters little, as they remain in low-level service work. However, the tension in these films between the liberating moments and those upholding racial structures opens up a space for multiple interpretations. According to Jacqueline Bobo, spectators from marginalized groups can uncover something that is useful to them and “read ‘against the grain’ of the film” (Bobo 96). The structured ambivalence of these Pre-Code texts aided this “against-the-grain” reading, making it possible that black female spectators could temporarily look beyond existing racial structures and hierarchies, giving primacy to the moments when the black women do not play the typical maid. Even though the maids are limited by their race, the films created an opening for more progressive portrayals of black women.

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