The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2015

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

Preface

The core mission of The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation is truly ambitious; the Foundation "endeavors to strengthen, promote, and, where necessary, defend the contributions of the humanities and the arts to human flourishing and to the well-being of diverse and democratic societies."[i] Operationalizing this laudable goal is a complex process. At its core, a truly democratic society is predicated on the active participation of a knowledgeable citizenry. In order to realize the full potential of a representative and diverse democracy, it's crucial that those filling keys roles in higher education are equally as diverse as those we hope to educate and empower. As a concrete step toward promoting the diverse contributions of the humanities and arts to human flourishing, the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (MMUF) program directly confronts the historical lack of diversity in the academy; by supporting students from underrepresented minority groups, the MMUF program directly increases the number of diverse scholars securing both a PhD and a faculty position at institutions of higher education.

The hallmark of this increased diversity is the ability of scholars—and the population at large—to determine their own intellectual agenda and path, and to share these contributions broadly and powerfully. The 22 Fellows who have contributed to the 2015 MMUF Journal reflect and advance this tradition. Their academic interests range across many nations, cultures, time periods, and environments—from undersea to distant stars to self-produced internet comedy series. Ultimately though, these Fellows are all concerned with better understanding the human experience: understanding our own selves, understanding those around us, and understanding how our history has shaped us and how we shape our future, with respect to both our physical and experiential environments.

This year, all of us involved with the journal are proud to present the launch of a new editorial process at the MMUF Journal—one that elevates the scope of the journal's ambition. Article selection and revision now better mirrors the process of premier academic journals. Every student submission is anonymously reviewed and scored by two independent members of the MMUF Journal Editorial Board, as well as the Editor-in-Chief. Thoughtful critique is sent to every student based on the synthesis of these reviews. Articles ultimately selected for publication reflect multiple rounds of revision and interaction with the Editor-in-Chief. This process not only consistently aligns article selection and development with MMUF's core mission of scholarly excellence, it gives Fellows key preparation for the level of professional publication expected of graduate students and faculty.

This new process has allowed for increased one-on-one interaction between the Editor-in-Chief and Fellows. I can personally attest that the hours I've spent getting to know these Fellows through their research, writing, and conversation has demonstrated the extent to which these Fellows reflect the ideals of MMUF and the Foundation overall. Not only are the Fellows growing in their own scholarship—and in so doing, vastly increasing the diversity of participants in the academy—they are deeply, passionately committed to contributing and communicating this diversity of experience and thought to society. It is with great pride that we present the 2015 *Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal* as a window onto these contributions.

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents

How to White Man: Intersections of Race and Gender in "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber"

Kellen Aguilar, *Whittier College*

Kellen Aguilar is a senior at Whittier College, majoring in English and history and minoring in Spanish. He has been working on his research on Ernest Hemingway for almost two years and has followed that research to Cuba and South Africa. After he graduates, Kellen plans to gain some teaching experience before applying to doctoral programs in either English literature or history. He is currently in the process of applying for an English Teaching Assistantship grant in Spain through the Fulbright U.S. Student Program.

Abstract

My research examines the work of Ernest Hemingway from a racial and gender perspective with specific consideration towards the stories Hemingway wrote as a result of his safari experiences in Africa in 1933. Drawing on Toni Morrison's critique of American literature as inherently racialized, Marc Kevin Dudley's historicizing of Hemingway's work in terms of its engagement with issues of race, and Thomas Strychacz and Judith Butler's insights into the performativity of gender, among others, I argue that Hemingway's "Africa stories," particularly "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber," reflect the anxieties of white male Americans in the twentieth-century United States by defining and elevating a white male ideal in colonial Africa. By analyzing the devices Hemingway employs to establish racial and sexual difference in the "The Short Happy Life," this essay demonstrates how Hemingway's story champions a traditionally masculine, white ideal and suggests that white men can (and should) aspire to that ideal. This study's fundamental position is that any analysis of Hemingway's work must account for the author's interweaving of racial and gender themes.

Much of the scholarship written about Ernest Hemingway's work focuses on the author's engagement with themes of either race or gender. However, excepting work by Carl Eby, Joseph Armengol-Carrera and a few others, commentary on the connections between gender and race in Hemingway studies is generally nonexistent. I contend that any analysis of Hemingway's work limits itself without equal consideration to the author's conception of whiteness *vis-à-vis* blackness *and* masculinity *vis-à-vis* femininity, especially within the historical context in which Hemingway wrote. Inspired by Gail Bederman's proposal that "Neither sexism nor racism will be rooted out unless both sexism and racism are rooted out together" (qtd. in Armgengol-Carrera 43), I have tried to offer a balanced critique of one of Hemingway's most discussed short stories, "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber," which follows an American couple and a British hunter on safari in 1930's Africa. Ultimately, I interpret the story as reconstituting and urging white maleness—a white male ideal—in response to several major social and political events that shifted the dynamics of power between white men and women and African Americans in the early twentieth-century United States.

". . . snapped at him in Swahili"

In "The Short Happy Life," race is integral to how Hemingway constructs and defines white masculinity. According to Marc Kevin Dudley, Ernest Hemingway's work deeply reflects the historical, social, and political moment in which he wrote: "Hemingway's modernity is thus a recognition of race as *the* pervasive issue for a progressive nation defining itself in a burgeoning century" (Dudley 5).[i] The African setting of "The Short Happy Life" serves as a locale in which, according to Josep Armengol-Carrera, "Hemingway's work illustrates the connections not only between masculine and white supremacy, but also . . . between gender and racial equity" (Armengol-Carrera 45). Accordingly, autonomy and authority serve as criteria for foregrounding stereotypes of whiteness and masculinity while simultaneously backgrounding stereotypes of blackness and femininity in "The Short Happy Life." As Toni Morrison advances, the major themes of American literature—"autonomy, authority, newness and difference, absolute power"—derive from the white American male's identification of self as master and black "other" as slave, and are transformed so that autonomy, as freedom, becomes "individualism," newness becomes "innocence," distinctiveness becomes "difference," and authority and absolute power become "heroism," virility, and the responsibility of absolute power (Morrison 44).

While the African characters in "The Short Happy Life" are grouped together in a collective and obscure peripherality, the story's white characters—Francis Macomber, Margaret Macomber (a feminine male character and a masculine female character respectively, a point I return to below) and Robert Wilson—are each given distinct names, personalities, and dialogue. The text refers to its African characters not individually by their respective names but collectively as the "boys" (Hemingway 5, 7, 11, 15, 17). It is never apparent exactly how many African characters are present at any given time throughout the narrative, which only means that they are present always as a canvas against which Wilson, Francis, and Margaret are further defined simply by being active rather than passive. In this way, the African characters are positioned as subservient to the white characters, specifically to Robert Wilson. When Wilson threatens to whip one of the African laborers, "The boy turned away with his face blank" (7). The narrative effect is that the boy passively, almost automatically, receives Wilson's violence without any reaction or resistance, which suggests a relationship similar to the master-slave relationship that Morrison argues was crucial to the formation of a white (male) American identity.

Hemingway invests Wilson with not only a performative white masculine authority but an authorial power as well. The Africans' native Swahili is verbalized almost entirely by Wilson, such that he makes frequent use of Swahili terms like *shauri* and *memsahib*, while the African laborers' only dialogue, and the only time the text permits the laborers to use Swahili terms, is to affirm what Wilson says or orders: "Yes, *Bwana*," for instance (*Bwana* meaning "boss" or "master") (14). Otherwise, the Africans' language (spoken by Wilson) is relayed by narration: "snapped at him in Swahili," "spoke in Swahili," "spoke in rapid Swahili" (7, 14, 22). The narration elects Wilson to diminish the story's African presence by filtering African language through him, permitting the African characters to use Swahili terms only under circumstances that affirm Wilson's autonomy and authority.

Wilson's control of language therefore adds another dimension to the white masculinity expressed in Hemingway's story. If Robert Wilson is the story's representative of well-performed white masculinity, then he is also invested with a narrative autonomy and authority akin to Hemingway himself. Hemingway, as author, controls language; he determines who gets to speak and who doesn't, who gets to use Swahili terms and what kind of terms. Similarly, language must be filtered through Wilson before it can appear on the page. Wilson has the privilege of speaking Swahili because he is a white, male authority. In addition to his linguistic authorial autonomy, Wilson is in control of the narrative of "The Short Happy Life" in several other ways.

". . . no white man ever bolts"

Wilson's white masculinity is self-reflexive; his character affirms that masculinity and whiteness, pivoted around acts of autonomy and authority or cowardice and subservience, are performances. For instance, after an incident in which Francis flees from a lion that Wilson must kill by himself, Wilson assures Francis that he "doesn't have to worry about me talking" (Hemingway 8). Wilson understands that the power afforded by white masculinity in Africa derives its legitimacy from others' approbation. As Thomas Strychacz argues:

> Hemingway's male characters are constituted as men through achieving autonomy; and by performance rather than by a process of internal transformation. Hemingway emphasizes the *theatrical representation* of masculinity. . . . Masculinity in Hemingway can be seen more profitably as a trope that must be negotiated into meaning by means of a changing structural relationship between character, masculine code, and legitimating audience. (*Theaters of Masculinity* 8)

Wilson's promise to dissemble Francis's performative failure reflects another aspect of Wilson's authorial power. If Wilson were to tell others about Francis's unmanly performance, or how Francis's "eyes showed when he was hurt" (Hemingway 8), it would put into question Wilson's own white male authority, since both Wilson and Francis are white men (Francis hires Wilson to be his safari guide, after all). As Wilson reminds Francis: "You know in Africa no woman ever misses her lion and no white man ever bolts," to which Francis responds defeatedly: "I bolted like a rabbit" (Hemingway 8). Here, Wilson tries to account for Francis's transgression of performative white masculinity by giving Francis an opportunity to defend himself, to make up for his failure to defend himself against the lion. But Francis simply receives Wilson's insults without reaction, similar to how the African laborers receive Wilson's violence; that is, passively. And, to be sure, the fiction of white male power and fearlessness ("no white man ever bolts") is one that Wilson's character appears to enforce. For example, Wilson is described as having "machine-gunner's eyes," which invokes the imperialist devastation wreaked on the story's African setting. This, along with Wilson's whipping of the African characters and his illegal use of motor cars to run down the African wildlife, characterize Wilson's autonomous and authoritative white masculinity as supremacist.

If Wilson represents an idealized white masculinity, then Francis Macomber represents a kind of failed white masculinity by showing fear in the face of danger and asking, "What had I ought to give them?" in return for the African laborers' service (Hemingway 5). Francis's behavior disquiets Wilson: "You most certainly could not tell a damned thing about an American" (8), and the text intimates that "Macomber did not know how Wilson felt about things" (18). Francis is not privy, in other words, to the performances of power that Wilson must enact, and is conscious of enacting, to sustain the legitimacy of white masculinity. Importantly, it is after Francis flees from the lion that the text notes that Wilson "could tell that the boys all knew about it" (7); in other words, that the African laborers are beginning to question Wilson's authority because of Francis's poorly performed example. Realizing the tentativeness of his authority prompts Wilson to reassert himself by threatening to whip the African laborers, to which Francis exclaims: "How strange!", further suggesting that Francis is oblivious to such dynamics of power, much less his own role in them (7).

Francis's flight from the lion and his violation of Wilson's rule that "in Africa . . . no white man ever bolts" ultimately suggest that Francis has disgraced his whiteness and masculinity and is therefore worthless and as good as dead, so that in the end, Francis is punished for his transgressions: his wife, Margaret, (accidentally) kills him with

a Mannlicher rifle. Notably, Francis's fate is foreshadowed in the scene shortly after the lion incident, in which Francis "had just shown himself, very publicly, to be a coward" (Hemingway 6). After Francis flees from the lion, he is carried, we are told, "to his tent from the edge of the camp in triumph on the arms and shoulders of the cook, the personal boys, the skinner and the porters . . ." (5). The scene bears some comparison to how a dead lion would have been handled on Hemingway's own safaris, in which the African porters would carry the quarry that Hemingway killed back to camp, presumably "in triumph." This dynamic is represented in a photograph taken by Earl Theisen during Hemingway's 1952 safari, in which Hemingway stands to the side, gun in hand, while the African porters crowd around a dead lion and drag it by its tail (see Figure 1). In the photograph, Hemingway, like Robert Wilson in "The Short Happy Life," is the white male hunter—individuated and masculine, autonomous and authoritative. Conversely, the African porters in the photograph, like the African characters in the story, are grouped together in a nondescript mass and passively, subserviently receive white male action, or the product of white male action in Africa: the dead lion. The African characters are doing what is arguably "women's work" by cleaning up after a masculine figure. The fact that Hemingway hired Earl Theisen, a professional photographer, to photograph his safari obviously suggests that the images themselves are staged and that Hemingway's self-representation is a pose.

Figure 1. Ernest Hemingway inspects his quarry in Kenya, 1952 (Earl Theisen Collection, licensed via GettyImages).

This photographic performance of whiteness and masculinity is even more suggestive in another of Theisen's photographs, also presumably from Hemingway's 1952 safari (see Figure 2). In this photograph, Hemingway stands next to a black man who is apparently his valet. The valet holds Hemingway's quarry while Hemingway looks into the camera, single-handedly propping up a shotgun in a phallic pose. The way the photograph is shot—ostensibly from an incline, looking upward toward Hemingway, who returns a downward glance at the camera—the way the barrel of Hemingway's gun intersects the black man's neck, Hemingway's all-white attire, the staged nature of the photograph and its relationship to the other photograph of Hemingway, the African porters, and the dead lion, permits an interpretation of both images as Hemingway "sizing up" his whiteness and masculinity against blackness, his authority autonomy against passivity and impotence. Thus, Hemingway's control of his own photographic image reinforces the connection between his and Robert Wilson's authorial power.

Figure 2. Hemingway posing with valet, 1952 (courtesy of Ernest Hemingway Collection, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum).

". . . no woman ever misses her lion"

Wilson's final assertion of authorial power comes at the end of "The Short Happy Life," when he misrepresents Francis's death. While the text makes patently clear that Margaret "had shot at the buffalo," Wilson imposes culpability on Margaret by suggesting various alternative endings to the story: "That was a pretty thing to do . . . he would have left you too;" "Why didn't you poison him? That's what they do in England," and by suggesting that Francis brings his fate upon himself: "Why doesn't he keep his wife where she belongs? . . . It's his own damn fault" (Hemingway 28, 19). Wilson makes it seem that because Francis does not live up to the qualities that the narrative attributes to white masculinity, Margaret's killing of her husband eliminates

a textual problem: a white man who is incapable of successfully performing white masculinity, according to the logic of the text.

Margaret must be the one to kill Francis because her qualities as a character supersede Francis on two fronts: gender and race. To reiterate, gender and race operate not independently of each other in the Hemingway text, but in conjunction. Margaret is far more assertive and masculine, and therefore "white," than her husband. Furthermore, the difference between Margaret and Francis in terms of white masculinity, or autonomy and authority, is compounded by the fact that Margaret is a woman. When Wilson tries to control Margaret by telling her that she can't come hunting with the men, she openly (publicly) defies him: "'You're very mistaken,' she told him. 'And I want so to see you perform again. You were lovely this morning. That is if blowing things' heads off is lovely.'" (Hemingway 9). Margaret threatens Wilson's authority by exposing its performative nature; her response suggests that she, like Wilson, understands that white masculine authority is dependent on legitimating actions and a legitimating audience. To be sure, Margaret eventually elopes with Wilson halfway through the story in retaliation to her husband's poor display of white masculinity. When Francis discovers Margaret's infidelity, she confidently dismisses his anger: "'If you make a scene I'll leave you, darling . . . you'll behave your self" (20). Whereas Wilson's assertions of power (i.e., whipping) are "strange" to Francis, Margaret asserts her autonomy and authority, wielding her sexuality like a whip against Francis to make him "behave."

It appears that because Margaret and Francis do not perform their respective genders correctly (and in Francis's case, race as well), Francis is punished by being killed by his wife, and Margaret is punished by being made Francis's killer. As Judith Butler argues, all gender identities are "tenuously constituted in time . . . instituted through a stylized repetition of acts" so that "Performing one's gender wrong initiates a set of punishments both obvious and indirect, and performing it well provides the reassurance that there is an essentialism of gender identity after all" (Rivkin and Ryan 900, 908). Thus, Francis and Margaret, by putting into question the essentialism of gender and racial identity through their "incorrect" or mismatched performances, are punished in the text of "The Short Happy Life": by not assuming a masculine position of dominance over a woman, Francis is killed by one; for dominating her husband, Margaret is, ironically, mockingly, and falsely accused of committing mariticide. Notably, Wilson says sarcastically to Margaret (perhaps in revenge for her earlier sarcastic challenge): "Of course it's an accident . . . I know that," all the while shaming Margaret despite her pleas to "stop it, stop it, stop it" (Hemingway 28). It isn't until Margaret finally pleads "please stop it" that Wilson utters the last line of the story: "Please is much better. Now I'll stop," as if to suggest that with the successful reassertion of male dominance and the reconstitution of white masculinity, everything goes back to "normal."

Conclusion

Hemingway's narrativizing of a white male ideal in "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" reflects in many ways white America's anxieties toward a shifting racial and gender landscape in the early twentieth century. The Great Migration of some two million African Americans to northern cities, the 1919 race riots in Chicago, a rising discourse on eugenics, all coupled with the peak of the New Woman movement and the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 granting women the right to vote, are major events and trends on which the 1936 publication of "The Short Happy Life" is predicated. In Hemingway's story, Robert Wilson is the text's white male authority: powerful and masculine, but also conscious of the instability of those racially and sexually encoded attributes. Though Wilson literally and figuratively controls the whip, Francis and Margaret's failure to perform essential racial and gender identities force him to recognize that his power is also a performance. Thus, where Wilson's white attributes are defined in contrast to the ubiquitous albeit peripheral black presence in the text, they are also threatened when Wilson is put next to a character like Francis Macomber—a white man who isn't really "white," or a man at all, according to Wilson's and, by extension, the text and Hemingway's logic. Through his initial transgression of Wilson's rule that "in Africa, no white man ever bolts," Francis is set up for a series of performance failures that allow Wilson to justify his death at Margaret's hands as a consequence of a white man's inability to "keep his wife where she belongs."

What must be emphasized in the final scene of "The Short Happy Life" is how the identities of gender and race function cooperatively to empower Wilson as a white male ideal, while alternately disempowering Margaret, Francis, and the story's African characters. Wilson's authority and autonomy, which run parallel to the authority and autonomy that Hemingway has as an author, are defined by his performances of masculine and white power *vis-à-vis* Margaret, Francis, and the peripheral black presence throughout. As a result, Wilson is privileged with a control of language: the black characters' native language has to be filtered through Wilson's consciousness, and the few Swahili terms spoken in the story are spoken only by Wilson. Wilson also controls narrative, by creating and enforcing the fiction that white men don't show fear in Africa, or by suggesting alternative endings to the story. We, as the audience, know that Margaret didn't intend to kill her husband—that she shot at the buffalo—because the text makes this clear. Nonetheless,

Wilson imposes culpability on Margaret for her husband's death, thereby provoking doubt about Margaret's innocence. And, finally, Wilson metes out punishment to characters that don't perform their gender identities correctly, as when he shames Margaret or when he suggests that Francis's fate results from his inability to dominate his wife. Apart from the text, the photographs from Hemingway's real-life safari further reinforce this connection in that each photograph very obviously stages Hemingway's white masculinity *vis-à-vis* blackness and femininity. Ultimately, then, Hemingway's "Africa story" not only speaks to the anxieties that white American men must have felt about their own racialized and sexualized power, but serves as a cautionary tale for how to perform a white male ideal, narrativized by Wilson's authoritative (authorial) control. In other words, "The Short Happy Life" teaches how to be a Robert Wilson as opposed to a Francis Macomber.

Endnote

[i] The increased attention towards emboldening racial difference in the twentieth century gave rise to scientific racism (e.g., Social Darwinism), an ennobled Anglo past as presented in D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*, and a white anxiety towards a perceived onslaught of nonwhite peoples as expressed in such books as Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color*, B.L. Putnam Weale's *The Conflict of Colour*, and Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* (Dudley 9). There were also the Chicago race riots in 1919, not far from Hemingway's hometown of Oak Park, as well as the rise of the Nazi party in Germany and an emerging discourse on eugenics in the 1930s (Oak Park actually hosted one of the first eugenics conferences in the nation). In addition, women's increasing social and political authority was manifested in the New Woman movement that had gotten underway at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919. All of these developments were likely within Hemingway's awareness and, according to Dudley, informed Hemingway's writing in such a way that there is a noticeable conservatism in his 1930's Africa stories, as compared to the stories Hemingway wrote in the 1920s, which were more experimental and subversive.

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Nicki Beez King and Queen: An Exploration of Nicki Minaj's Enactment of Masculinity, Discursive Domination, and Gender-Blending

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Brandon Alston holds undergraduate degrees in sociology and religion from Haverford College with a minor in gender and sexuality studies and a concentration in Africana studies. His research interests are situated at the nexus of race, gender, class, and sexuality. Brandon has conducted action-research projects in Ghana, England, and Philadelphia. Currently, he is completing a corporate fellowship to learn more about organizational culture, while also pursuing a master of arts in business management at Wake Forest University. In the future, he plans to pursue a PhD in sociology.

This article engages the deployment of multiple gender performances, specifically gender-blending—combining both masculine and feminine gender performance, in the *Beez in the Trap* music video by pop-rapper Nicki Minaj. The author argues Minaj presents a gender-blended Black Female performance through an intricate interplay between her imagery and lyrical discourse. On one hand, Minaj's appearance is presumably feminine given her bodily embellishments and clothing styles: leotards and bikinis. On the other hand, her lyrics represent practices traditionally associated with masculinity, such as divulging exploitative sexual practices and using class and geographic mobility to enact interactional dominance, which ultimately allows Minaj to solidify her masculine performance. Rather than situate Minaj as another Female rapper, the author suggests Minaj's gender-blended performance challenges the world of Hip-hop to accept her masculinity as well as Femaleness.

Introduction

Throughout Nicki Minaj's tenure in Hip-hop, many audiences and scholars disassociate her from masculinity. In this way, Minaj's status as Female obscures her noticeable masculine performances, rendering her masculinity illegible. However, Minaj does not only offer masculine displays, she neatly couples them with feminine presentations crafting a gender-blended identity. Minaj then is not only unique within the context of Hip-hop because of her decidedly masculine performances, but because of the ways in which she has complicated her identity using a combination of discourse and imagery, forcing audiences to reconcile seemingly contradictory presentations (Neal 2013). In this analysis, I am primarily interested in Minaj's gender-blended presentation *Beez in the Trap* music video, which was released on April 6, 2012.

In the *Beez in the Trap* music video, Minaj puts forth a masculine Black Female performance through a complex interplay between her discourse and imagery. Minaj's visual aesthetic is ostensibly feminine given her bodily embellishments and clothing styles, such as leotards and bikinis. Yet, her lyrical composition—discourse—reflects practices commonly associated with masculinity, such as divulging exploitative sexual practices, which also reflects her strategies for interactional dominance against the women adjacent to her in the video. Unlike Minaj, these women perform emphasized femininity, where they must comply with subordination and accommodating to the interests of masculinized bodies (Connell 1987). Emphasized femininity is different from other forms of femininity that encompass resistance and forms of non-compliance. Instead, the women in the video adhere to their subordinate scripts to create space for Minaj's inclusion in the world of masculinities. The *Beez in the Trap* music video then symbolizes how Minaj is able to bypass typical feminine categorization as a Female rapper in the Male-dominated world of Hip-hop. By putting forth both feminine and masculine performances, Minaj crafts a gender-blended identity that is rooted in masculinist discourse to enact domination over women's bodies and her class and geographic privileges.

I view masculinity as a process and as a force through which power is articulated rather than as an endless list of configurations of practices acted out by specific bodies (Pascoe 2011; Bederman 1995). Similarly, scholars of gender have indicated how gender is accomplished through daily interactions (Pascoe 2011). People are expected to align with their presumed sex; in other words, Females are expected to act like women and Males are expected to behave like men. While some recent scholarship has articulated the relationship between Female bodies and masculinity, masculinity is still largely tethered to Male bodies, whereas queer femininity is reserved for Female bodies outside of traditional feminine performances. Nevertheless, it is necessary to uncouple masculinity from Male bodies, because presuming masculinity is solely about men attenuates the examination of masculinity; this conceptualization excludes a very real and present population—women who practice masculinity as well as genderqueer folks.

Specifically, while some recent scholarship has viewed Minaj's gender performances as femme, others have described her masculine performances as queered femininity (Shange 2014). Yet, Pascoe (2005) posits it is vital to examine the "masculinizing processes outside Male bod[ies] . . . to identify practices . . . and discourses that constitute masculinity." In disconnecting masculinity from biological understandings, the social constructed-ness of masculinity is reaffirmed.

Findings

Minaj and Masculinist Discourse

There are three primary scenes displayed in the *Beez in the Trap* music video featuring: Minaj independently; Minaj and women in the club; and Minaj and 2chainz. The

video commences by exhibiting the dimly lit space, which resembles a strip club. Minaj appears surrounded by Black women in bikinis intertwined with footage of her rapping in front of a grey backdrop. In solo scenes, Minaj crouches on a wooden plank in a pink leotard and garish green stilettos to spew her rhymes behind a disarray of barbed wire. In club scenes, Minaj dons a Day-Glo green wig, outsized "beez" and "trap" gold chains positioned in her cleavage. With 2Chainz, Minaj wears a leopard print jumpsuit.

Minaj's masculinist discourse bolsters what Johnetta Cole refers to as the "bitch and hoe nexus of Hip-hop" (Cole 2013). Minaj starts the song's hook, "Bitches ain't shit and they ain't sayin' nothing" (Minaj 2012). This first line evokes Dr. Dre's 20-year-old misogynist shibboleth, *Bitches Ain't Shit* (Shange 2014). In this way, Minaj's efforts to re-signify "bitch" are still linked to enduring patriarchal norms. This first line also exemplifies Minaj's ability to perform masculinity through denigrating, masculinist discourse just as Dr. Dre and countless other Hip-hop artists have done.

Moreover, Minaj relies on masculinist discourse to narrate her sexual exploitation of the clubwomen who represent emphasized femininity. Minaj openly declares, "Bitch, bust that open." In this instance, Minaj rises in the masculine order by conveying that she can sexually exploit women, since "the Female orgasm provides proof of virility . . ." also because women are perceived as submitting during sexual intercourse (Bourideu 2001; Pascoe 2011). As a result, Minaj also exposes the fact she is desired for Female pleasure.

Minaj's masculinist discourse also engages in "thingification" against other women's bodies to present her interactional dominance. Subsequently, Minaj states, "And if she ain't trying to give it up she get dropped off. . . . Might spend a couple thou[sand] just to bust *that* open." Minaj portrays women as consumables, and positions herself as an economic provider. The lyric also discloses how the Black Female body is subjected to "thingification" as evidenced by Minaj's use of "that" (Cesaire 1972; Shange 2014). In "thingifying" Black Female bodies, Minaj made discursive moves to frame her sexual encounters as reflecting one of (interactional) dominance. Adopting masculinist discourse enables Minaj to articulate her dominance and power. Lyn Mikel Brown (1998) calls this type of gendered language maneuvering "ventriloquation" to refer to the discursive ways in which women adopt traditional men's point of view. Ventriloquation reveals how the dominant modes of belief persist through and within discourse. Despite the fact that Minaj performs ventriloquation, ventriloquation is a performance that has been going on long before Minaj arrived on the Hip-hop scene (Butler 1998). Thus, it is through ventriloquation that Minaj reproduces an exploitative masculinist discourse that already permeates American culture.

Minaj, Masculinity, and Mobility

Minaj's class and geographic mobility become the channels through which Minaj explicates her masculinity. In other words, they are the privileges that Minaj uses to distance herself from other women shown in the music video and to closely associate herself with acts traditionally executed by men. To reiterate, Minaj casts herself as an economic provider for women when she states: "might spend a couple thou[sand] just to bust that open." This allows Minaj to discursively transgress her previous indigent status. In her final verse, she declares her geographic mobility:

> Man I'm out in Texas, man I'm out in A-town. Then I'm up in Chi-town or Miami shutting[g] it down. It's that New Orleans, it's LA or the Bay. It's New York, Philly and the whole DMV. I'm a Detroit player, man it's North-South Clack. Ohio, Pittsburgh, got St. Louis on deck. It's Delaware, Connecticut, it's New Jersey got hella bricks. It's Queens, Brooklyn . . . Bronx, Harlem, and Staten Island.

This, read in conversation with the first verse: "man niggas move weight in the south but live in Hoboken . . ." clarifies she does not have to be locally based in order to engender profit and success. However, Minaj's definition of the trap is more general, as she notes in a Hip-hopDX interview: "The trap, ladies and gentlemen, relates to anywhere where you get your money" (Cooper 2013). Due to her class and geographic privileges, Minaj underscores she has triumphed over her previously held feminine statuses to actualize her masculinity.

Visually, Minaj's masculine performance "is constructed in front of and for other men and against femininity," thus Minaj's stance adjacent to the women in the club demonstrates how Minaj is of women, but somehow still above them as she is the only women with chains or other bodily adornments and money (Bourdieu 2001). Likewise, Nicki dances closely to 2chainz but refuses to touch him, most likely to eschew any objectified readings of their relations. Essentially, 2chainz and Minaj are presented as equals, which due to Minaj's class privileges and geographic mobility allows her to enact a Male consumptive discourse.

The Historical Trap of the Cultural Industrial System

Beez in the Trap music video accompaniment is embedded in a capitalist cultural industry system—the music industry—that emulates the historical conventions that fuel repressive ideologies surrounding women's bodies (Hirsch 1972). The cultural industrial system is predicated on the media and other social institutions that perpetuate the appeal of women to expose their bodies because uncovered women's bodies are popular "commodities"; and within the

value system of patriarchal heteronormativity exposure of women's bodies implies desire for sex (Collins 2002, hooks 2004). Minaj's music video is merely one example.

Beez in the Trap symbolizes an organized reality of women being circumscribed by historical conventions, as the cultural industry system demands they perform emphasized femininity to fit into a script of submission. The women in the music video performed emphasized femininity through bending over to ensure that their buttocks were accentuated in the presence of men or Minaj in the video. That is to say that the women's bodies in the club are exposed and their bodies are shown in "low-status, animal-life positions and imply overall inferiority" (Plous and Neptune 1997). Moreover, the women in the video were only dressed in a bra and undergarments, where the camera only displays their bodies without their faces, which relates to the historical bodily stylization of emphasized femininity. On the other hand, Minaj adorns a similar ensemble of a bikini, yet she is provided with full camera shots with her face highlighted.

Within the emphasized feminine script, women still possess agency to subvert and manipulate femininity as well. The club atmosphere represents a unique set of power relations as those who came to view the display of Black women's bodies have a plethora of money, which is a symbol of power.[i] In one instance, the women in the video might be perceived as powerless because of their lack of ostensible economic power. Yet, this viewpoint ignores the fact that video women can be empowered by their performances. For instance, Merri Johnson (1999) contends the strip club is a public space that often challenges conformist notions of women as sexually passive and demure. Furthermore, Female club performers exert control "through their ability to seduce patrons into submission or to put them on the spot in front of their friends" (Pilcher 2013). Pendleton (1997) also argues, "using femininity as an economic tool is a means of exposing its constructed-ness and reconfiguring its meanings." On one hand, this can be read as rendering their bodies *open* for entertainment and leisurely viewing; however, performing femininity for Male clients could be interpreted as subverting notions of femininity (Pendleton 1997). Therefore, the women in the club scenes could also be read as refashioning gendered expectations through a transformative political effort.

Minaj contests the expectation of masculinity being attached to Male bodies as she discursively informs audiences how she practices masculine behaviors and exerts dominance over women—thereby reinscribing gender inequality (Pascoe 2011). Unlike gender and sexual non-normativity for Male bodies, which abate a Male's social status, gender and sexual non-normativity for Female bodies can actually augment their social status (Shange 2014, Pascoe 2011). This directly applies to Minaj as she triumphs over the emphasized feminine performance with a uniquely crafted gender-blended performance. Minaj relies on fluidity and mobility within her gender performance by offering masculinity, and some femininity to foster a nuanced and layered identity, which is a time-tested practice in Hip-hop (Neal 2013). Minaj's performance also exposes how discourse is a fundamental and critical tool of self-expression in the identity formation process. All in all, Minaj's gender-blended identity occupies an unprecedented space in Hip-hop. As Minaj is vehement in her vacillation and refusal to be reduced to the summation of her Female rap predecessors, she challenges the world of Hip-hop and popular culture to acknowledge her masculinity and Femaleness without remorse.

Endnote

ii   Essentially, Foucault argues, power should not be conceived of as a possession of a particular individual or as only embedded within social structures, but instead power should be viewed as lying within the interactions of individuals. It is from these interactions that individuals negotiate power, since power has no essence.

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Reconstructing Tropical Climates with Coral Reefs: Links to Local Precipitation and Primary Productivity

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Isaiah Bolden is interested in the use of geochemical archives to reconstruct the history of climate and ocean variability in coastal regions on both modern and "deep" time scales. Growing up in landlocked Tennessee with an interest in environmental science, chemistry, and puzzle-solving, he always thought of the ocean as the ultimate mystery with virtually countless opportunities for research in the context of Earth's 4.6-billion-year climate history. The Bowdoin College MMUF prepared him for key research experiences and allowed him to pursue his interests in exploring the dynamics of climate past, present, and future from an oceanographic perspective. The experience granted by the Fellowship continues to carry him forward as Isaiah works toward his PhD in oceanography at the University of Washington.

Records of riverine discharge and coastal upwelling in coastal tropical regions have been extended by the use of the barium/calcium (Ba/Ca) ratio in the skeletons of reef building corals. However, the suggestion of two responsible environmental processes that influence this ratio implies a lack of mechanistic understanding toward how the proxy functions. Additional investigations of coralline Ba/Ca in tropical locations would allow for a more thorough understanding and calibration of this proxy for paleoclimate reconstructions. Here, I analyze the Ba/Ca ratio in a single core from a mounding surface coral, *Orbicella faveolata*, from Biscayne Bay National Park, FL and compare the data to local instrumental records of precipitation, sediment discharge, and salinity. I found the only significantly positive correlation to be between precipitation records and seasonal cycles in Ba/Ca ratios. These results suggest that the Ba/Ca ratios of Florida's tropical surface corals may be directly influenced by rainfall above all else. However, additional environmental variability within seawater or coral polyps during calcification could serve as a stricter control on seasonal skeletal barium incorporation, possibly as a function of changes in primary productivity. These findings warrant further consideration in future investigations of coral geochemistry as a paleo-reconstruction proxy in marine environments.

Introduction

Coral reefs serve as a time machine for the tropical marine world. As they precipitate their calcium carbonate ($CaCO_3$) skeletons, coral polyps capture changes in seawater chemistry based on certain environmental conditions. Because the skeletal material is precipitated in annual bands similar to tree growth, recent studies of decadal to centennial changes in marine climates have relied on the skeletal geochemistry of tropical corals as a proxy for reconstructing the chemical conditions of surrounding waters with respect to temperature, salinity, and nutrient content [*Saenger et al.*,

2008; *LaVigne et al.*, 2010; *Maina et al.*, 2012]. The use of geological climate archives, like corals, is essential to holistic, interdisciplinary investigations of the future of Earth's climate in the age of anthropogenic climate change. However, if science is to continue to benefit from the use of coral proxies in climate reconstructions, care must be taken to <u>validate</u> and <u>calibrate</u> observed changes in geochemistry with specific environmental mechanisms of influence. Simply put, scientists should be certain that observed patterns in geochemistry are directly attributable to a single environmental parameter. Otherwise, uncertainty arises in *what* exactly any given proxy represents.

A prime example of proxy uncertainty is the barium/calcium (Ba/Ca) ratio in tropical coral skeletons, which was initially proposed as a tool for determining the history of upwelling along coastlines and sediment discharge at coastal deltas. Barium behaves conservatively in seawater and accompanies phosphate, nitrate, and other nutrients to the surface during strong upwelling events due to the remineralization of particulate organic matter at depth and mineral precipitation [*Lea et al.*, 1989; *Montaggioni et al.*, 2006]. Although the mechanisms governing the biological and chemical behavior of barium in seawater are still debated, the delivery of the element to seawater through riverine sediments and terrigenous inputs has been well documented [*Felis and Pätzold*, 2004]. Barium sorbs to soil particles on land and desorbs from particles as it is carried to waters of higher salinity [*McCulloch et al.*, 2003]. In its ionic form, the element can be incorporated into the skeletons of corals during the calcification process via substitution for calcium [*Lea et al.*, 1989]. As a result, the Ba/Ca ratio of tropical corals has also been suggested as a proxy for salinity and turbidity reconstructions in coastal locations [*McCulloch et al.*, 2003; *Sinclair and McCulloch*, 2004; *Fleitmann et al.*, 2007]. However, anomalous seasonal spikes with little to no correlation to changes in upwelling or discharge have been observed in the Ba/Ca ratio within coral samples from coastal Australia, leading to the suggestion of a third potential environmental mechanism for coralline Ba/Ca ratios arises. Therefore, an analysis of the trends in the Ba/Ca ratio in coral samples from other tropical locations could lead to a better understanding of the Ba substitution mechanism and Ba/Ca as a geochemical proxy.

Of particular interest as a study location is the southeast coast of Florida, which became a heavily human-influenced ecosystem following the Industrial Revolution and subsequent population booms [*Hudson et al.*, 1994; *Hu*, 2004]. These events led to the urbanization of the Florida coast, resulting in heavy coastal nutrient loading, sediment transport, habitat destruction, and other forms of environmental degradation following the Industrial period (18th–19th century). As a consequence, the health of coral reef

networks of the greater Caribbean region has been in a state of decline since 1950 [*Bellwood et al.*, 2004]. The Florida coast and the Caribbean region also experience more diverse storm events than any other geographic location, and these intense hurricanes and tropical storms have previously been linked to causing massive coral bleaching events [*Gardner et al.*, 2005]. Heavy rainfall events have also increased throughout the southeast U.S. 20% since the 1950s, continuously increasing the rate of barium-enriched sediment delivery to the coastline through groundwater and surface discharge, and further contributing to the decline of coral reef ecosystems through decreasing available sunlight for symbiotic photosynthesis [*Groisman et al.*, 2004]. Despite the climatic diversity and historical human influences, geochemical investigations of coral skeletons from the southeast Florida coast remain sparse, though the region presents an ideal study location for further investigations of the environmental signals captured by the skeletal Ba/Ca ratio.

In an attempt to further contribute to the scientific understanding of the coralline Ba/Ca ratio as a paleoclimate proxy, I analyzed a skeletal slab of a mounding coral, *Orbicella faveolata*, from Biscayne Bay National Park in southeast Florida and compared the results to time-series instrumental records for salinity, turbidity (a measure of sediment content in the surface water), and precipitation from the Biscayne Bay area.

Methods

This particular species, *O. faveolata*, was chosen based on previous published use in paleoclimate temperature reconstruction using the both the ratio of strontium to calcium in the skeleton (Sr/Ca) and oxygen isotope ($\delta^{18}O$) ratios [*Swart et al.*, 1996; *Saenger et al.*, 2008; *Flannery and Poore*, 2013]. The specific core, BNP HC-1B, was obtained from the USGS and was originally cored on a field expedition to Biscayne Bay National Park on 02 May 2008. A total of 55 ~2.5-mg samples were drilled and collected along the skeletal slab at 1-mm resolution. Based on the x-ray and applied age model, these samples capture seasonal marine climate variability within the period 1993–2005 ± 1–2 months. Samples were dissolved to 4-mMol Ca solutions in 2% trace metal grade nitric acid HNO_3 and analyzed on ICP-OES and ICP-MS to obtain Ba/Ca ratios. Additional details of age model adjustment, instrumental settings, and calibration techniques can be found in the methods of Bolden, 2015 [*Bolden*, 2015].

Total monthly precipitation data from the period 1997–2008 were collected from Cape Florida, FL. From the records, precipitation in this region is subject to a seasonal influence, with relative maxima taking place in mid-summer (June–August). Minima in precipitation occur in late fall through winter (November–March). As additional potential proxies for freshwater fluxes to the Bay, average monthly turbidity and salinity records for the period 1995–2011 were collected from Southeast Environmental Research Center (SERC) buoy sites located close to the core location.

Results and Discussion

A significantly non-zero positive correlation is observed between experimental Ba/Ca ratios and resampled instrumental records of precipitation, but no statistically significant relationship between Ba/Ca and salinity or turbidity for this region of Biscayne Bay National Park (Table 1, Figure 1). Furthermore, a lag regression analysis between resampled coral Ba/Ca and monthly precipitation records suggests that the effect that precipitation has on Ba/Ca is nearly instantaneous; the observed lag is within the 1–2 month uncertainty of the age model. However, as the correlation strength (r = 0.467, r^2 = 0.218) between resampled precipitation records and Ba/Ca is relatively low compared to a previous study postulating precipitation as an influence on coralline Ba/Ca through groundwater recharge and coastal delivery, these findings raise many additional questions regarding the control on the observed seasonality in the Ba/Ca ratio [*Horta-Puga and Carriquiry*, 2012]. Furthermore, as this location is relatively isolated from any local sources of groundwater discharge, it is unlikely that the discharge mechanism proposed by Horta-Puga and Carriquiry's has an influence on the coralline Ba/Ca of the Biscayne Bay region.

Among the existing potential explanations is a seasonal upwelling signal in Biscayne Bay. It has been proposed that the physical oceanography of the South Atlantic coast Florida exhibits summer upwelling in response to seasonal oscillations in the transport of the Florida Current [*Smith*, 1981]. Studies of seasonal changes in surface seawater barium concentrations could aid in corroborating this hypothesis. Preliminary calculations based on corals from nearby Bermuda suggest that the observed seasonal differences in the Ba/Ca ratios translates to a seasonal ~30 nmol/kg change in seawater barium concentrations in Biscayne Bay (60 nmol/kg in summer and 30 nmol/kg in winter) [*Lea et al.*, 1989]. Whether or not the magnitude of this gradient is large enough to imply an upwelling effect remains to be seen. However, average depth profiles of Ba in the Atlantic suggest that surface waters in this region typically contain a concentration of around 50 nmol/kg Ba. As this is close to the maxima observed in the records calculated here, it is highly unlikely that coastal upwelling has a significant effect on the Ba/Ca ratios of the Biscayne Bay National Park coral reefs.
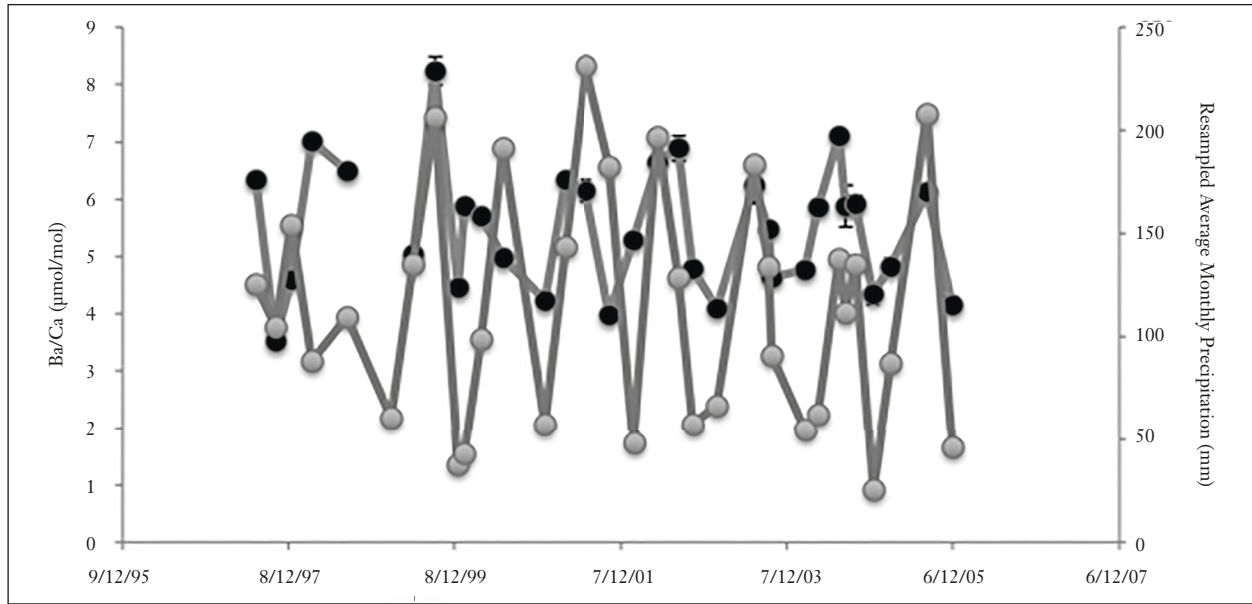
Figure 1. A seasonal cycle in precipitation is visible from resampled instrumental data, and a significant positive correlation is observed between these data and BNP HC-1B Ba/Ca ratios. Error bars on Ba/Ca data indicate strong measurement reproducibility.

Instrumental Record	r^2 of Ba/Ca Correlation	p-value of Regression Slope
Precipitation (Cape Florida, FL)	0.218	0.007
Turbidity (SERC)	0.008	>>> 0.05
Salinity (SERC)	0.005	>>> 0.05

Table 1. Correlation and statistical significance (t-test of regression slopes) reveal no significant correlation between Ba/Ca and various local instrumental records except for a positive and significantly non-zero relationship between Ba/Ca and instrumental precipitation.

More appropriate, perhaps, is a stricter biological control on barium uptake in surface corals in this region. Many have suggested that the kinetics governing the precipitation of barium, strontium, and magnesium in coral carbonates could be both temperature and pH dependent [*Gaetani and Cohen*, 2006; *Gagnon et al.*, 2013]. The Ba/Ca ratios presented here tend to reach relative maxima during the summer months, which is in conflict with the results of previous studies suggesting barium uptake is thermodynamically opposed within polyps at warmer temperatures. Also, as mentioned above, the biological and chemical controls on seawater barium availability remain debated. Unpublished SERC data suggest that primary productivity in the waters of Biscayne Bay is highest during the Northern Hemisphere fall and winter months. It is possible that seasonal barium fluxes could dramatically impact surface concentrations of barium in Biscayne Bay as a function of primary productivity [*Bishop*, 1988]. A potential mechanism for the observed trends could be as follows: as sea-surface temperature increases during the summer months, primary productivity decreases, allowing more dissolved barium to exist at the surface. As a result, skeletal Ba/Ca increases during the summer months from higher concentrations of seawater Ba during this time. Therefore, coral Ba/Ca may be useful as a paleo-productivity proxy in coastal regions distant from discharge sources and upwelling. Studies of seasonal changes in surface seawater barium concentrations could aid in corroborating this hypothesis as well.

Along the highly human-influenced and climatically diverse southeast coast of Florida, my results suggest the reefs appear to capture some of the seasonal variability associated with precipitation, rather than sediment discharge or salinity patterns. These results broadly demonstrate that climate reconstructions using the coral Ba/Ca ratios should consider geographic distribution, species diversity, and biological controls on calcification before concrete conclusions should be made toward the environmental signal best captured by the proxy. Though coral reefs provide a useful tool for marine climate reconstructions, future studies must also focus on understanding the mechanisms influencing the geochemical data in order to correctly interpret these paleoclimate records in the age of anthropogenic climate change.

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"Black and the Box It Came In": Identity and Authenticity in Percival Everett's *Erasure*

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Through his satirical 2001 novel *Erasure*, Percival Everett crafts a multi-layered critique of the prejudicial demands of the literary market and of the greater public conception of "black authenticity." Everett acerbically renders the way mainstream desires to commodify and consume black culture perpetuate the fetishization of "the true, gritty real stories of black life," and powerfully critiques the notion that these "gritty real stories" are the only "authentic" way to represent "the black experience." Further, *Erasure* explores the weighty psychological repercussions of the commercialization of black life: for the "inauthentic" black individual, the struggle to contend with society's (mis)perception of "blackness" can become so stressful, so fatiguing, and so obliterating that one could potentially, or perhaps inevitably, go insane. This paper argues that Everett's exploration of the concept of racial authenticity presents a necessary call for a widened conception of what black experience and identity "should" or "should not" look like, what it can be, in literature and beyond.

> "The line is, you're not black enough [. . .]."
> —Percival Everett, *Erasure*, 43

Percival Everett's *Erasure* chronicles the experiences of protagonist Thelonius "Monk" Ellison, a black writer struggling to contend with the prejudicial demands of the literary market and the greater public conception of "authentic" black life and literature. Through his satirical 2001 novel, Everett crafts a multi-layered critique of the literary realm and calls for a necessary expansion of the conception of black experience and representation. *Erasure* blatantly aligns itself with such canonical works as Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* and Richard Wright's *Native Son* in order to position itself squarely within the genre of African-American literature. However, by actively parodying *Native Son* in particular, and presenting its readers with a protagonist who himself struggles to fit the "authentic" mode of blackness demanded of him by his readerly audience, *Erasure* also pushes against the boundaries of the category of African-American literature, calling from within the genre for a reconsideration of what blackness "should" or "should not" look like, what it *can be*, in literature and beyond. This call for a reimagining of literary representations of black life is entirely necessary because, as *Erasure* suggests, beyond the socioeconomic impact of the commodification of blackness, there lie even more troubling psychological repercussions

for black individuals. For the "inauthentic" black person, the struggle either to determine one's own identity beyond the typical notion of blackness, or to try to fit oneself neatly into the imaginary "black" box, can become so stressful, so fatiguing, and so obliterating that one could potentially, or perhaps inevitably, go insane.

As the novel progresses, Monk struggles to find success with his work as publishers continually endeavor to pigeon-hole his writing into the category of African-American literature, despite the fact that his books have thus far had very little to do with the so-called "African-American experience." He must also contend with the striking popularity of the recently published *We's Lives In Da Ghetto* by first-time author Juanita Mae Jenkins, whose work, Monk feels, presents an intensely stereotypical, though highly profitable, portrait of black life. When Monk first encounters Jenkins' "runaway bestseller" (28) on a display table in a bookstore, he is shocked, appalled even, by both its content and its overwhelmingly eager reception by the general public. He notes, after learning that Jenkins is set to receive three million dollars for the movie rights to her new book:

> The reality of popular culture was nothing new. The truth of the world landing on me daily, or hourly, was nothing I did not expect. But this book was a real slap in the face. It was like strolling through an antique mall [. . .] then turning the corner to find a display of watermelon-eating, banjo-playing darkie carvings and a pyramid of Mammy cookie jars. 3 million dollars. (29)

The racial caricatures invoked here emphasize just the kind of work Monk feels *We's Lives in Da Ghetto* does in the world. Not only does Jenkins' novel perpetuate a stereotypically pejorative image of blackness, but it—like the carvings and cookie jars within Monk's metaphoric antique mall—attaches a price tag, a level of consumability, to these racialized images, while simultaneously allotting them a significant place within the cultural history of African-Americans. The trouble with Jenkins' work is not necessarily the attention paid to these historical stereotypes within a literary setting, but rather, it is much more the unproblematized nature of that attention and the consequently marketable nature of these unquestioned stereotypes. By comparing Jenkins' novel to a display of racist collectible items, Everett cues an ongoing history of imagistic abuse toward blackness and black people, suggesting that her work, just as these racist collectible figures, reinforces a negative and rather homogenizing image of blackness as an entertaining and profitable caricature.

Jenkins' work is also acutely problematic because it aligns itself with a practice deeply rooted in slavery. In "Whiteness as Property," Cheryl I. Harris discusses how the

distinctive history of black enslavement and oppression in the United States enabled race to take on a certain economic value. According to her, "[t]he hyperexploitation of black labor was accomplished by treating black people themselves as objects of property" (278). However, slavery consisted of and resulted in something greater and more effective than the simple exchange of black bodies. Harris explains:

> . . . the critical nature of social relations under slavery was the commodification of human beings. [. . .] Slavery as a legal institution treated slaves as property that could be transferred, assigned, inherited, or posted as collateral. [. . . In essence,] slavery "propertized" human life. (279)

This "propertization" that Harris mentions, "the total commodification attendant to the status of the slave" (279), is unique to the oppression of black people because of the way "blackness" was, over time, linked almost indelibly with the concepts of inferiority, subservience, and overall unworthiness of the basic human freedoms prescribed to white property-owning men in this nation's original constitution. According to Harris, the devaluation and "propertization" of black life set in motion the linking of blackness with the idea of enslavability. After it became technically illegal to buy and sell black people as property or chattel, the degradation of black life continued through practices of commercializing the many negative and reductive stereotypes imposed upon and propagated against black people.

What makes the concept of race particularly frustrating for Monk, however, is the concept of authenticity, of typicality, the idea that there is a certain "real" or "normal" way of being black and that it is embedded in the homogenizing stereotypes surrounding black life—hailing from a low socioeconomic background, being ignorant, undereducated, inherently criminal, athletically but not intellectually gifted, speaking in a certain vernacular, etc. This concept of authenticity is further normalized by the simple fact that commercialized conceptions of "authentic" blackness become more easily reified when they are seen as economically valuable; cyclically, these concepts are regularly treated as valuable because they are so often stamped as "authentic." Richard Schur explains:

> . . . blackness, when framed in the terms of authenticity, creates a fiction around racial identity and experience and elides how race, in fact, operates. As conceptions about race become increasingly commodified and many view identity as a mere performance, the greater historical and cultural context that shapes these signs and signifiers is displaced and hidden. ("The Crisis of Authenticity" 236)

Hortense Spillers further discusses this "fiction" surrounding race, or "ethnicity," when she critiques the conception of the black family unit as something distinct from the "normal" familial structure of the rest of American society as purported by "The Moynihan Report" and other "public discourse concerning African-Americans and national policy"; she writes:

> Under the Moynihan rule, "ethnicity" itself identifies a total objectification of human and cultural motives [. . .]. "Ethnicity" in this case freezes in meaning, takes on constancy, assumes the look and the affects of the Eternal. [. . .] As a signifier that has no movement in the field of signification, the use of "ethnicity" for the living becomes purely appreciative, although one would be unwise not to concede its dangerous and fatal effects. ("Mama's Baby" 66)

The "dangerous and fatal effects" Spillers refers to stem directly from the singular immovability ascribed to race as a signifying factor of human identity. As Everett's protagonist acknowledges his society's expectations of him and the work he produces as a black writer, he highlights the very same phenomenon Spillers describes. "Blackness" as a conceptual marker emerges as something that *can* be pinned down, that can be neatly delineated into a legible taxonomy of "authentic" behaviors or characteristics and ascribed to every black individual.

Everett is keenly attuned to the way this "fiction around racial identity and race" affects general societal conceptions of blackness. Through *Erasure*, he renders "fictions" of his own in order to draw attention to the construction of race and its representation in literature, and to the complexity of black life beyond the more stereotypical or "authentic" representations circulating in this "increasingly commodified" world. According to Danielle Fuentes Morgan, "this mythology surrounding blackness gestures toward what makes a text specifically black and addresses the malleability of post-soul blackness" ("Satirical Blackness" 162–63). *Erasure* works to combat the myth of the black person as always poor, undereducated, hailing from a low-income background in the inner city or the rural south, and lacking any real potential to elevate their status in the world unless they exploit their own blackness for that gain. When Monk paints a portrait of himself as a Harvard-educated, middle-class black man from a family of doctors (1–2), he troubles the waters of the more "typical" black image.

Everett's critique of how the social construction of race influences his protagonist's interactions with the world around him speaks directly to the conflicts faced by the nameless protagonist of Ellison's *Invisible Man* by invoking the trope of "invisibility" made so famous by Ellison's novel. *Invisible Man*, widely considered a seminal text on racial identity within the African-American literary canon, positions blackness as a screen that essentially renders the black individual "invisible" to the world around him. In the

opening pages of the novel, Ellison's nameless protagonist even claims he was only able to discover his identity through an acknowledgement of his "invisibility." He exclaims:

> All my life I had been looking for something, and everywhere I turned someone tried to tell me what it was. [. . .] I was looking for myself and asking everyone except myself [. . .]. It took me a long time and much painful boomeranging of my expectations to achieve [the] realization [. . .]: That I am nobody but myself. But first I had to discover that I am an invisible man! (*Invisible Man* 15)

In shorter terms, this character asserts, "I myself [. . .] did not become alive until l discovered my invisibility" (7). In other words, Ellison's protagonist argues that, as a black person in 1952, his race obscures every other aspect of his personhood; he can never truly be seen by whites who, "[w]hen they approach [him . . . ,] see only [his] surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination [. . .]" (3). He can only ever be seen through the lens of racial prejudice. He is "invisible" in that he will never be seen as he truly is, however that may be, but rather only as society imagines him as a "black man." Everett, however, aligns *Erasure* with *Invisible Man* in 2001 in order to make his own contemporary statement about black identity. Rather than accept the invisibility imposed upon him by his society's conception of blackness, Everett's protagonist fights against the obfuscating nature of racial stereotyping and "authenticity." *Erasure* suggests that, for the black individual, understanding one's own invisibility is merely the start of embracing one's true identity. "Invisibility" is not intrinsic to black identity; rather, reaching an understanding of just how racial stereotyping can render the black individual "invisible" becomes the first step to asserting one's true identity, the characteristics that may or may not make someone "black" or "black *enough*," but certainly make one a unique individual.

As a critique of the limiting conception of racial authenticity, and in response to Jenkins' flagrant and uncriticized exploitation of black stereotypes, Monk writes the parodic novel, *My Pafology* (later retitled *Fuck*), bitterly hoping his short piece will force the critical dialogue on race that Jenkins' work fails to produce. Mimicking *We's Lives In Da Ghetto*'s grossly overwrought rendition of African American Vernacular English (and drawing as well upon such works as *Native Son* and Sapphire's *Push*), *Fuck* follows the experiences of a young, violent, ignorant, unambitious, hypersexual black man with very little potential for conventional success as he commits a slew of crimes and essentially goes nowhere in his "real" and "gritty" black life. Monk even invents the "hard" and "gritty" ex-convict Stagg R. Leigh as his parody's author. Unfortunately, Monk's satirical efforts backfire, and he falls prey to the very phenomenon he fought so hard to dismantle.

As *Erasure* approaches its end, Monk finds himself being pulled deeper and deeper into the performance of his pseudonym Stagg R. Leigh; his anxiety grows exponentially, his hold on reality steadily weakening until it eventually breaks. Monk's own sense of self begins to merge with Leigh's, until he can no longer contend with these competing identities. Monk laments:

> I could not let the committee select *Fuck* as the winner of the most prestigious book award in the nation. I had to defeat myself to save my self, my own identity. I had to toss a spear through the mouth of my own creation [Leigh], silence him forever, kill him, press him down a dark hole and have the world admit that he never existed. (259)

Monk must destroy Leigh for two reasons. First, to keep the world from taking seriously a book he had written to make them see the ridiculousness of their literary demands. While Monk initially writes *Fuck* in a fit of rage, he decides to send it out for publication in the hopes that the novel will be met with derision or disgust, that publishers and readers will be forced to recognize their own fetishization of the "black as urban, undereducated, and struggling" stereotype that they consistently demand of "good" or "authentic" African-American literature. But the parody is hailed as "number one on the *New York Times* bestseller list" (259), "simply honest" (260), "the real thing" (261). It is received as the most authentically black book of its moment. And Monk is appalled. For the sake of his race, the representation of black people across America, he cannot let his book contribute to the perpetuation of such a pejorative image of blackness, especially when it is one of the only images of blackness his society seems to recognize as "true" or "real."

But Monk must also destroy Leigh and Leigh's novel for the sake of his own identity, his own sanity; unfortunately, he cannot kill Leigh in time. The stress of maintaining his charade as Leigh, of fighting (and in the end failing) to keep Leigh at a distance, to keep him from merging with his own self, causes Monk to eventually break from reality. At the novel's close, during a ceremony announcing *Fuck* as the winner of the "prestigious book award," the audience calls for Leigh to stand and receive his honor. Monk rises, his world warping:

> [. . .] *somehow the floor had now turned to sand . . .* [. . .] My steps were difficult and my head was spinning as if I had been drugged. Cameras flashed and people murmured and I couldn't believe that I was walking through sand, through dream sand. [. . .] Then there was a small boy, perhaps me as a boy, and he held up a mirror so that I could see my face and it was the face of Stagg R. Leigh. (264)

Leigh, the image of blackness that Monk struggles against for so long, finally consumes him. And this is how the novel ends, in this almost-stilled moment, with Monk "look[ing out] at the faces, all of them, from time and out of time," "the lights [that] were brighter than ever, not flashes but constant, flooding light," and "the television cameras looking [back] at [him]" (265). Under the pressures of not only being black, but being as "hard" and "black" and "real" as the imaginary Stagg R. Leigh, Monk's mind essentially collapses, leaving him barely able to process his now over-whelming environment.

And the novel does not provide its readers a way out of this moment. *Erasure* closes on the words, "*hypotheses non fingo*," meaning *I frame no hypotheses*. The onus is now on the reader to bear the full burden of Monk's struggle. Everett's investigation into the consequences of the commodification of black culture and the perpetuation of a stereotypical and restrictive image of "authentic" blackness has uncovered that these phenomena are wholly detrimental to the psyche of black individuals, especially those who may be considered "not black enough." Those forced into the pressure-box of either fighting against or conforming to the image of black-ness imposed on them by society either come out angry and raving, doing anything they can (like writing a novel called *Fuck*) to make the world see its wrong, or they don't make it out of the box at all, but are crushed under the heavy weight of a blackness that never really fit them.

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Woven Narratives of Truth, Reconciliation, and the South African Collective: Marginalized Testimony within Sindiwe Magona's *Mother to Mother* and K. Sello Duiker's *Thirteen Cents*

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This paper analyzes the goals and limitations of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission in order to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities of testimonial representation in post-truth and reconciliation texts. In particular, I focus on two texts: *Mother to Mother* by Sindiwe Magona, where the main character, Mxolisi, is a young adult who assimilates to a rebellious adolescent society and is one of a community of perpetrators who kill a young white woman in the town of Gugaletu—his testimony is presented through the eyes of his mother; and *Thirteen Cents* by K. Sello Duiker, where the main character, Azure, a homeless orphan, lives on the streets of Cape Town and is forced into prostitution to survive—he tells his own story. I illustrate the ways in which these texts mirror the South African Truth and Reconciliation process while simultaneously reach beyond the physical and psychological limitations of the commission's investigation.

Under apartheid in South Africa (1948–1994), racial segregation was imposed, and gross violations of human rights were authorized by the government. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission sought to unveil the "truth" about the crimes committed during this state of "a-part-ness" and commence dialogue about restorative justice for the community. However, due to various limitations, particular testimonies were not archived into "official" reports and thus a need for an alternative medium arose. After illustrating the limitations of the commission's investigation, I analyze the representations of the marginalized voices within *Mother to Mother*, by Sindiwe Magona, and *Thirteen Cents*, by K. Sello Duiker. In *Mother to Mother*, Mxolisi is a young adult who assimilates into a rebellious adolescent society and is one of a community of perpetrators who kill a young white woman in the town of Gugaletu; his testimony is presented through the eyes of his mother. In *Thirteen Cents*, Azure, a homeless orphan, lives on the streets of Cape Town and is forced into prostitution to survive; he tells his own story. For this paper, I examine the complexities of marginalized testimony in post-truth and reconciliation narratives in order illustrate the ways in which literature, fictive and non-fictive, can reach beyond the limitations of archival representation.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission utilized city halls, educational institutions, and churches as a space for truth-telling. The first four days of the Truth and Reconciliation hearings were held in a Victorian-style building in East London City Hall. According to Volume 5 of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*, after the first days of testimony, the venues of truth-telling changed. "Thus was the pattern set for the many hearings of the Commission. They were held in large cities or small rural towns, in city halls or educational institutions or church halls" (1) in order to capture the collective memory of the nation as a whole. By utilizing these spaces for truth-telling, the TRC aimed to rebuild the perception of these institutions through public hearings. In this selective location, one space from the past, where violence was not convicted during the years of apartheid, was replaced by other spaces in the present, where the abuse of human rights are condemned and deemed as morally wrong and unjust. This truth-telling event interrupted televisual broadcasting in order to present the public hearings to the people of South Africa every Sunday night at 8pm in two-hour-long episodes of the "Truth Commission Special Report" for two years. By publicizing this event, the truth and reconciliation process was able to set into motion a platform for societal transformation in which individual memories were reconstructed and added into the collective memories of the nation. However, not all individuals who were victimized under apartheid systems had the opportunity to come forward and become a part of this re-written history.

Three limitations in particular, explored by James and Van de Vijer in *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation*, directly pertain to the testament presented in *Mother to Mother* and *Thirteen Cents*. The first limitation is the limited time frame that the TRC was given in terms of investigating the atrocities of apartheid. Although the TRC claimed that investigations would be focused on exposing a "past marked by conflict, oppression, and exploitation," it was legally bound to examine the years of 1960 to 1994 (James and Van de Vijer "Introduction" 1). This constricted 34-year scope was problematic in that the cultural structures of oppression had been built on a colonial foundation of exploitation and discrimination. Secondly, the mandate also limited the number of testimonies, allowing only those who had suffered gross human rights violations, which was defined to consist of torture, murder, and serious harm to persons. This definition of what constitutes a gross violation of human rights confined what it meant to be a victim of apartheid—silencing victims of "lesser" forms of victimization such as land removals, sexual abuse, and systematic injustices. The third critique of the limitations of the commission was that children who were victimized on the level of gross human rights violations were not able to testify alone: an adult had to testify on their behalf. Volume Four of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Special Report* explicitly defines what it means to be a child in South Africa and clarifies the reasoning in restricting direct testimony of a child as follows, "[. . .] a child is a person

under the age of eighteen years of age and is entitled to special protection by government and society. A debate arose before the hearings as to whether or not children under the age of eighteen should appear and testify at the hearings, but it was felt that the formal structure of the hearings might intimidate children and subject them to additional trauma [. . .]. The final decision of the Commission was that children under the age of eighteen would not testify" (251). This decision played a large role in the way that victimized children were represented and given agency and testimony through an adult, especially if adults, in general, violated a child's basic human rights.

In *Mother to Mother*, Sindiwe Magona explores what it means to forgive and challenges the traditional notions of victimization and what it means to be a victim in the South African context. The story begins with the chapter titled "Mandisa's lament," in which Mandisa, the mother of Mxolisi, comes forward and admits that her son killed Amy Biehl, a visiting Fulbright scholar. Yet, as the personal truth-telling progresses, it becomes evident that she believes more than one victim participated in the killing on the streets of Gugaletu. Though the novel only covers two chronological days, the author strategically implements flashbacks in order to trace the multiple victims, perpetrators, hatred, and violence in Mandisa's life, long before Amy even set foot on South African soil. When the people of Gugaletu saw a white woman drive into their community without fear they were outraged. Something deep within them emerged: "From throats haphazardly all around the milling crowd it comes incessantly: ONE SETTLER, ONE BULLET! ONE SETTLER, ONE BULLET" (207). The chant that the crowd recites harkens back to the past long before the "a-part-ness" of apartheid infrastructures came into full existence. It was possible that no one in the crowd of oppressed individuals knew who Amy Biehl was or that she worked for the ANC for reconciliation of past injustices. The color of her skin signified to them that she was an oppressor, a colonizer, a woman who did not know her place in this amorphous community on the cusp of transformation.

Mxolisi chose to assimilate to the culture of aggressive rebellion against oppressive regimes, such as the poorly funded education system. To not accept the role of revolution was to be an intransigent to change and the future. Mandisa notes why Mxolisi wasn't in school when the mob attacked Amy, "Two days ago, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) ordered the school children to join Operation Barcelona [. . .]. Students were urged to stay away from school, to burn cars and to drive reactionary elements out of townships" (10). Societal pressures, limited education, and a deep-rooted history of xenophobia challenged South Africa's youth. This relationship between the youth and power structures illustrates a different kind of

victim in Mandisa's narrative, one victimized by the unjust ideologies embedded within a community. Reflecting on the crime that her son committed, Mandisa says, "My son was only an agent, executing the long-simmering dark desires of his race. Burning hatred for the oppressor possessed his being. It saw through his eyes; walked with his feet and wielded the knife that tore mercilessly into her flesh. The resentment of three hundred years plugged his ears; deaf to her pitiful entreaties" (210). Reaching out to the mother of Amy Biehl, the narrator attempts to contextualize her son's crime to outsiders. The title, *Mother to Mother*, signifies Mandisa's effort to establish a reconciliation and forgiveness through understanding of her personal and communal testimony. Yet, to understand her son Mxolisi, one must first understand his community of Gugaletu. And to understand Gugaletu one must understand the history of discrimination and persecution. To understand the history of a nation, finally, one must acknowledge that it actually happened.

Mirroring the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, this narrative captures the testimony of a child through an intermediary adult figure. In doing so, the author is able to reach past the limitations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and unveil a long history of injustice and massacre that led up to the murder of Amy Biehl. This is significant to the narrative as a whole and its context within the post-apartheid literary canon because in revealing the whole "truth"—not just the one specific act of gross human rights violation—Mandisa has the opportunity to reconcile her own past in admitting to herself and her community what it means to be a mother of a perpetrator and also a victim during apartheid. In this personal narrative, Mandisa presents the truth that her son killed Amy Biehl but she goes a step further than the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and begins a discourse of reconciliation of historical atrocities that had never before been given the space to be addressed, forgiven, and reconciled within community. By bypassing the limited perspective of the TRC, the author is able to challenge what it means to be a victim of apartheid while at the same time highlighting the danger of the aggressive assimilation of marginalized youth within South Africa.

In the narrative *Thirteen Cents*, Azure is a twelve-year-old Black South African orphan who lives without a consistent home in Cape Town where he "works" the streets as a prostitute for older men, in order to survive. This narrative brings forth a personal testimony not represented through the truth-telling events sanctioned by the TRC—the perspective and experience of a child following apartheid, albeit mediated by an adult author. Azure is a marginalized subject, continually oppressed by the adults who inconsistently construct the power structures in his life. The initial marginalization of Azure's character is illustrated

through three lenses: physical, psychological, and social: each of these perspectives deepens the oppression and victimization that Azure experiences in his everyday life.

Azure initially describes his skin and eye color: "I have blue eyes and a dark skin. I'm used to people staring at me, mostly grownups. When I was at school, children used to beat me up because I had blue eyes. They hated me for it. But now children just take one look at me and then they either say something nasty or smile" (1). Azure has the overall appearance of a Black South African but his eyes suggest other heritages. This physical alteration meant that kids his own age had targeted him as well.

As the novel progresses, Azure is constantly sexually exploited in exchange for money. This victimization is illustrated on page 32, through a dialogue between Azure and a pedophile: "'I'll do anything you want for fifty bucks,' I whisper to him. 'Anything?' 'Anything that I can do.' 'And what is it that you do?' he says softly in a mocking voice. 'Depends on what I am asked.' 'What if I wanted to fuck you?' 'I can do that.'" This physical domination further indicates Azure's marginalization: through this sexual exploitation, Azure is abused by his own community in that no one, not even the police, stops these atrocities. These representations of physical, psychological, and societal marginalization tyrannize Azure. The title, *Thirteen Cents*, signifies Azure's coming of age when he turns thirteen in the novel, while at the same time thirteen cents is all the money he has in his pockets and he says thirteen cents is all he is worth. Unlike the protagonist's son in *Mother to Mothe*r, Azure rejects social assimilation and retreats to Table Top Mountain, where he is able to escape his oppression and better understand the control that society has over him. While on the mountain, in his dreams he encounters Saartije Baartman[i], whose presence symbolically parallels Azure's life of sexual exploitation, marginalization, and victimization and foreshadows his reclaiming of agency and identity in Cape Town: "At the Cave, I meet a woman who looks like she lived a very long time ago. She is short and her bum is big but she has the lightest smile I've ever seen. She only wears a yellow thong and her long breasts are like fruit, like fat pears" (139). By linking the victimization of Saartijie Baartman to his own, Azure addresses a long national history of oppression and exploitation. This narrative unveils a perspective of a child who was born into apartheid and the child's perspective of the child within the South African collective experience.

The intersection of these two testimonial narratives, historically contextualized through the TRC and the spaces that they created, reveals various forms of victimization that have transpired in South Africa. From this shared space, the roots of reconciliation and understanding can spring, but the testimonies of individuals and communities that fall outside of the jurisdiction of the TRC should also have the opportunity to be woven into the collective of South African history—thus illustrating the ways in which literature, too, can promote restorative justice. As the title, *Woven Narratives of Truth*, *Reconciliation*, *and the South African Collective* suggests, through testimonial texts such as *Mother to Mother* and *Thirteen Cents*, the testament of individuals and communities that otherwise falls outside of the jurisdiction of the TRC have the opportunity to be woven into the collective of South African history.

Endnote

i   According to the South African History Online (SAHO) organization, Sara "Saartjie" Baartman was a Khoi Khoi woman who "signed" a contract and as a result was paraded all over Europe for the color of her skin and the size of her buttocks.

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Juchari Uinapekua: Autonomy and Self-Governance in Cherán

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Beginning in 2007, the Purépecha community of Cherán initiated a movement for autonomy after the local elections of 2007 when there was a sudden increase in the illegal exploitation of local forests. Since then, Cherán has obtained autonomy and has also led to re-emerging conversations about the relationship between indigenous communities and the state and the preservation of indigenous values, cultures, and traditions. In this paper, the struggle for self-autonomy and autonomy in the Purépecha community of Cherán is used as a case study to examine how these concepts are being utilized by this indigenous community. I argue that although government officials identified the struggle for autonomy in the Purépecha community of Cherán as contradictory to the Mexican constitution, their demands were already protected by that same constitution. I also argue that although the model of self-governance proposed by the Purépecha of Cherán has been pushed by that community as an alternate model that rejects Eurocentric values and fully embraces indigenous values and traditions, it is important to note that although this model incorporates indigenous ideologies, it also incorporates Eurocentric ideas.

Introduction

Within the field of political science, the concepts of autonomy and sovereignty have been largely revisited as part of the larger discourse on indigenous autonomy. In recent decades, Mexico in particular has garnered attention from the international community in light of the various struggles for autonomy led by different indigenous communities, most notably the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) and, most recently, the Purépecha community of Cherán. Within Mexico, indigenous communities' efforts to gain sovereignty and self-governance have been part of a larger effort to confront discrimination and address the relationship between indigenous communities and the state.

It is important to note that prior to the idea of a multinational state, there were essentially two approaches in dealing with indigenous communities in Mexico—extermination or forced assimilation. During the period of colonialism (1521–1821), a caste system was used to "de-indianize" Mexico. This system segregated individuals as either mestizo, purely Indian, or purely white (Knight 72). However, the caste system eventually failed due to the increase in sub-categories that made it impossible to keep track of all racial

groups. After Mexico's independence (1821), the Mexican government attempted to assimilate indigenous groups by recognizing them all as Mexican citizens while disregarding their indigenous identity. This attempt to completely eliminate the "Indian" also failed because it did not address the concerns of the indigenous community, particularly the racial discrimination they faced. As such, conversations about indigeneity re-emerged during the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) with the ideas of *indigenismo*, *indianismo*, and the "cosmic race" (Peña 281). *Indigenismo*, a policy approach designed by Manuel Gamio, sought to accept and integrate the "Indian" into Mexican society by providing an education that would promote the intellectual and political mobilization of the indigenous person (Knight 80). *Indianismo*, on the other hand, was a complete rejection of Eurocentric ideals that embraced the indigenous person as the "true Mexican" (Mattiace 55). In contrast to these two other ideas, *la raza cosmica* or cosmic race, emphasized the importance of *mestizaje* and recognized this mixing of races as ideal (Mattiace 55).

Out of these three approaches, *indigenismo* served as the inspiration for the policies in the latter half of the 20th century. Essentially, policymaker's efforts to maintain Mexico as a homogeneous state continued as did disputes between indigenous communities and the state which has since led to various movements for autonomy, specifically among the Purépecha community of Cherán, which will be the focus of this paper.

Self-governance and Autonomy

In regard to autonomy and sovereignty, these concepts have largely been discussed within an international context and from a western and Eurocentric perspective. According to Hurst Hannum, professor of International Law at Tufts University, "Personal and political autonomy is in some real sense the right to be different and to be left alone; to preserve, protect, and promote values which are beyond the legitimate reach of the rest of society" (Hannum 4). Based on this definition, autonomy or self-governance is having some degree of control over the political process, although how and to what extent this control is limited varies. In comparison, sovereignty is focused on the relationship with, and degree of subservience to, external powers (Hannum 15). As Giorgio Agamben discusses in *Homo Sacer*, "the sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order" (Agamben 17). In other words, the sovereign has power over the law but is also subject to it. In respect the idea of a nation, it has largely been defined as "a cultural or social grouping with certain shared characteristics (such as language or ethnicity)" (Hannum 3). Unlike a state, which imposes a legal relationship on its subjects, a nation is united by a sense of solidarity and common attributes (Hannum

24). As such, a nation state is a state that is formed by a nation with shared characteristics that has sovereignty and autonomy over itself.

In Mexico, autonomy and sovereignty were revisited as a result of tensions between the state and several indigenous communities in the state of Chiapas that erupted on January 1, 1994. Although several state policies recognized indigenous customs, traditions, and rights, these reforms were not enforced. As such, the EZLN proposed a new model of self-governance that rejected assimilation and extermination. Essentially, they advocated for a plurinational state that neither assimilated the indigenous community nor eliminated it. In response to these demands, President Ernesto Zedillo signed the 1996 San Andres Peace Accords and promised the EZLN state recognition of "indigenous systems of governance and justice" (Eisenstadt 60). However, this version of the accords was never passed. Instead, in 2001, President Vicente Fox passed a weaker version of these agreements which did not address the concerns raised by the EZLN and ruled autonomy as contradictory to the state. However, in 1999, Article 10 of the Chiapas state constitution was reformed to formally recognize indigenous cultures and traditions (Eisenstadt 20). Yet, this same article was also used to limit indigenous self-autonomy. The state made sure to limit indigenous identities by labeling political autonomy as a violation to certain articles of the state and federal constitution (Eisenstadt 20). In essence, indigenous self-governance was deemed to be contradictory to the state constitution; however, the constitution itself was not questioned as being contradictory to indigenous self-governance. Once these agreements were proposed as laws, the state legislature rejected them because they were an alleged violation of the constitution and several federal laws (Hernandez 5).

It is important to take note of the EZLN's attempt to seek autonomy and establish indigenous systems of governance that were recognized by the state, because it was a prolific case that served as an example to the Purépecha. It also set a legal precedent that would be referenced to by the state of Michoacán and by the Purépecha of Cherán in the Purépecha struggle for autonomy.

Autonomy in Cherán K'eri

Although the Purépecha community as a whole had become highly politically active, the struggle for autonomy in Cherán in particular began after the local elections of 2007 when there was a sudden increase in the illegal exploitation of local forests (Estrada). It was at this time that Cherán became one of the most dangerous places in the country. Local officials and police members were indifferent to, or even involved in, crimes against the indigenous community. With no one to help them, the people of Cherán gradually decided to resolve these issues themselves by gathering any weapons they had—machetes, guns, sticks, or even rocks— and created a blockade around their community (Estrada). They also formed their own *autodefensas*, community paramilitary groups, and expelled local police authorities. Since then, Cherán has made various declarations denouncing the violation of their political and human rights to local, national, and international entities due to the failure of the state to adequately protect the community.

Following the footsteps of the Zapatista movement, Cherán pursued self-autonomy and advocated for a plurinational and multi-cultural approach in resolving their problems. On July 20, 2012, the Purépecha community of Cherán submitted a document to the state congress in which they declared that the political system imposed by the state was not able to adequately address their concerns or uphold several democratic values (Estrada 8). The document emphasized that this deficient system was produced by a homogenous formula used by the state in addressing indigenous issues. In other words, Cherán declared that the state did not reflect the diversity of its citizens, an obligation that is imposed on the state by the federal constitution (Estrada 8). In fact, Article 4 of the constitution states the following:

> The Mexican Nation has a multicultural composition originally found in its indigenous peoples. The law protects and promotes the development of their languages, practices, customs, resources, and specific forms of social organization and guarantees their members effective access to the full range of the state's legal authority [jurisdiction]. In the agrarian judgments and legal proceedings they are part of their own legal practices and customs shall be taken into account in establishing the law (Stephen 60).

Essentially, indigenous communities in Mexico are explicitly granted the right to not only live according to their cultural and religions customs, but to be, at the very least, incorporated into the decision making process in order to ensure that their best interests are taken into consideration. As such, the argument that was made by the Purépecha community of Cherán was that the state had infringed on their constitutional right to be taken into account in the laws made regarding their community. Since the state had failed them, they pursued autonomy.

However, it is important to note that while the Purépecha of Cherán wanted to return to the "Buen Gobierno cheranense" (Good cheranese government), they were by no means declaring themselves as a separate political entity from the state, but attempting to initiate a dialogue (Martinez 70). The reason why Cherán was pursuing autonomy was not to antagonize the state but

to help improve it. Leaders of the community stated that a communal form of government that reflected their culture, traditions, and values, was a way in which they could ensure that the government was accountable to their needs. As Miguel Mandujano Estrada mentions, "la convicción de la defensa de la autonomía y libre autodeterminación no implica 'una intención de separarnos del pacto nacional, por el contrario, implica resignificarlo desde el ejercicio pleno de los derechos de los pueblos y comunidades indígenas'" (8).[i] Essentially, the Purépecha of Cherán argued that self-determination was a way of ensuring their full participation as Mexican citizens in a way in which they could co-exist with the state without being assimilated or being cast out as outsiders. The form of self-governance proposed by the Purépecha of Cherán promotes at its core not only a plurinational approach of governance, but encourages a communal citizenship that creates a closer bond between the state and the community.

According to Estrada, the "Buen Gobierno" of Cherán includes several elements that reflect the cultural and religious values of the Purépecha. These include the following principles: "(i) Colectividad. (ii) Humildad. (iii) Consulta constante ante la toma de decisiones. (iv) Escucha. (v) Sesiones permanentes. (vi) Informes oportunos. (vii) *Respeto* por los acuerdos tomados" (Estrada 10).[ii] Essentially, these principles largely reflect the value that the Purépecha community has on both experience and knowledge in regard to its political, economic, environmental, and religious issues and concerns. As such, it is important to note that Cherán emphasized the inability of the Mexican government to properly serve the Purépecha community due to a lack of knowledge of the Purépecha culture, traditions, and beliefs. For example, the document submitted to the state court is an example of the complexity and high standards required to serve as a governing member under this political model. Essentially, members must not only demonstrate knowledge about the issues that affect their community, but must also be acknowledged as individuals with a good moral character and a strong sense of leadership. Through this document, the Purépecha also addressed that their form of government would not contradict the legitimacy of the government, but enhance it.

More importantly, the courts have supported the claim that Cherán's autonomy and system of self-governance is a constitutional right that has not been enforced. Just last year, the Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación (SCJN) invalidated the constitutional reform of the state of Michoacán that was approved in 2012, given that it did not consult the municipality of Cherán (Aranda). Moreover, the court ruled that indigenous communities can contest legal reforms that affect them (Aranda). In essence, the courts have ruled that the state has failed to support and protect the right to self-determination and autonomy of the Purépecha community. As such, it is important to consider that when we are examining the concepts of autonomy and self-governance we are thinking about them from a western point of view that has "black and white" structure. As the Purépecha community of Cherán has argued, a movement for autonomy does not imply that it is a separatist movement, or that it infringes on the sovereignty of the state.

Looking Forward

More importantly, the Purépecha as a community has also undertaken conversations about their identity as a nation as well, which is illustrated through the Purépecha flag. Established in Santa Fe de la Laguna in 1980, the flag is divided into four equal quadrants with an obsidian in the center surrounded with matches on four corners and a large flame; embedded in the obsidian is a spearhead and located above the obsidian is a clenched fist (Cuiriz). The four corners of the flag are composed of the following colors starting clockwise on the upper-right-hand corner: blue (lakes), green (mountains), yellow (ravines), and purple (region of Zacapu also known as the place of stones (*Marcha De La Bandera P'urhépecha*). At the bottom of the flag the words "Juchari Uinapekua," meaning "Our Strength," are inscribed. This flag represents the Purépecha history, culture, traditions, religion, and political struggle. According to Jose Luis Soto González, who was involved in the creation, design, and artisanal elaboration of the Purépecha flag, "La bandera Purépecha es un llamado precisamente a que alguien escriba—investigue—la filosofía Purépecha"[iii] (*Marcha De La Bandera P'urhépecha*). He explains that for his community, the flag serves as a codex and as a weapon in the peaceful struggle of consciousness. In other words, the design of this flag also reflects the conscious decision to reclaim the Purépecha identity and combat its erasure. As Ireri Huacuz, a member of the Purépecha community of Santa Fe de la Laguna,[iv] mentioned, the hardest obstacle that she faces in her work is the devaluation of the Purépecha culture and beliefs. In an interview for El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, she explained, "Cuesta un poquito de demás trabajo enfrentarte al desconocimiento de que existimos . . . un desconocimiento de la gran riqueza cultural que llevamos, esto tanto al interior como al exterior" (*Entrevista a Ireri Huacuz, Gestora Cultural Purépecha*).[v] In other words, the Purépecha flag is not only representative of the Purépecha communities' solidarity and strength, but of their struggle against their erasure and revaluation of their culture.

However, although the Purépecha flag and the shift for autonomy with the Purépecha community of Cherán is a

rejection of Eurocentric systems of governance, it is important to note that Eurocentric systems of governance have been used to achieve this goal. Moreover, the westernization and professionalization of many members of the Purépecha community as a whole has been vital in the success of their case particularly in the courts. Without a doubt, several networks have been established within the Purépecha community that allowed them to be political advocates on their own behalf without the necessity of a translator. Associations such as la Asociación de Profesionistas Purépechas, el Comité de Pueblos Purépechas por los Cinco Puntos, la organización Camino del Pueblo, and el Movimiento Indígena Revolucionario were developed throughout the struggle for autonomy (Martínez 66). Although this has been helpful to the community as a whole because its younger members have returned home as lawyers, doctors, and government officials, it has also produced various concerns within the community about the preservation of their culture, traditions, language, and beliefs given the rising impact of globalization and westernization.

While the political presence of the Purépecha has undoubtedly been on the rise, over the years much of the literature available on the Purépecha indicates a decrease in population. According to Luis Vázquez León, an anthropology professor at the Colegio de Etnólogos y Antropólogos Sociales (CEAS), the indigenous movement has allowed individuals who would normally not be considered to be indigenous, to be labeled as such (Leon 42). This is supported by the research of Robert C. West who concludes after examining census data that the amount of native speakers has gradually declined. This is mentioned as part of a larger question that Leon poses, which regards the concept of what it means to be indigenous in both a cultural, political, and legal context. While the concern that Leon poses about the abuse of the indigenous identity as a political tool by non-indigenous individuals or entities is possible, there are several factors that could be influence this perception. Mainly, it must be noted that definitions of what it means to be indigenous have expanded. While a person's geographical position and native language was customarily used as a standard identifier of the Purépecha identity, this is no longer true. Now members of the Purépecha community can be found not only in other parts of Mexico but abroad as well.

As such, it is important to consider how concepts of autonomy and sovereignty, and the integration of indigenous communities in the country as a plurinational nation, will change with the growing westernization of the Purépecha community. Given that the Purépecha community is connected to the "external" world now more than ever, will their claims to autonomy continue to reject Western modes of thinking? While considering these last thoughts, it is important to remember that "The mere achievement of "autonomy" will not guarantee development or preserve a threatened culture, and the form which any particular manifestation of autonomy takes must be consciously related to the goals of the community which seeks it, as well as to the requirements of the larger state polity" (Hannum 474). How the Purépecha community of Cherán, and the Purépecha community in general, moves forward in respect to these challenges remains to be seen.

Conclusion

As can be seen in the case of Cherán, the Zapatista movement initiated a new discussion about the relationship between indigenous communities and the state. Rather than antagonizing the state, or fleeing away from it, the EZLN held their ground and proposed a structural reform that would not only benefit the indigenous communities in Mexico, but all Mexicans alike. This approach turned out to be a better option for the Purépecha community of Cherán which has largely based its own model of the "Buen Gobierno" on the ideas proposed by the EZLN. They have, as members of Mexico's civil society, navigated the political system and used their experiences and knowledge to strengthen democracy in Mexico by maintaining the state accountable in the execution of their constitutional rights. Most importantly, Cherán has asserted that the indigenous people of Mexico are not a problem but a solution.

Acknowledgements

Endnotes

i   The conviction to pursue autonomy and self-determination does not imply an intention to separate ourselves from the state; on the contrary, it implies the intent to exercise the rights of indigenous towns and communities fully.

ii   (i) Collectivity. (ii) Humility. (iii) Constant consultation before making decisions. (iv) Listening. (v) Permanent sessions. (vi) Timely reports. (vii) Respect of reached agreements.

iii   The Purépecha flag is precisely a call for someone to write—to investigate—the Purépecha philosophy.

iv   Huacuz was also the head of the cultural diversity department at the Secretaria de Cultura in the state of Michoacán at the time of this interview.

v   It takes a little bit more work to face the lack of awareness that we exist . . . a lack of awareness of the great cultural wealth that we have, something that occurs both within and outside of our communities.

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"We Are Here and We Will Not Be Silenced": Sylvia Rivera, STAR, and the Struggle for Transgender Rights, 1969–1974

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Taylor Evans is a fourth-year history major at the University of California, Berkeley. Her research interests primarily concern gender, race, and sexuality in the 20th-century U.S., with a specific focus in the activism and social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Her ultimate goal is to become a professor of history while continuing her work as an activist and advocate.

This paper documents the contributions of transgender leader Sylvia Rivera in order to show how transgender women of color were both vital to—and yet ultimately sidelined from—the Gay Liberation movement. By examining her involvement in Stonewall, her subsequent exclusion by the gay community, and finally analyzing her work with STAR, this paper asserts that Rivera's work ultimately illustrates the crucial role that transgender women of color played within the Gay Liberation movement, while her exclusion by the mainstream Gay Liberation movement illustrates the various ways in which women like Sylvia—poor, working class, trans women of color—were harshly excluded by their white, middle-class counterparts.

> "We were doing what we believed in. And what we're doing now, the few of us who are willing to unsettle people and ruffle up feathers, is what we believe in doing. We have to do it because we can no longer stay invisible. We have to be visible. We should not be ashamed of who we are. We have to show the world that we are numerous."
>
> —Sylvia Rivera, June 2001[i]

At the 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day rally, crowds of queer-identified activists gathered to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the groundbreaking Stonewall riots and continue to advocate for the visibility of the cause of Gay Liberation. In attendance that day was Stonewall veteran and Puerto Rican transgender rights activist Sylvia Rivera. Known for her radical activism and unabashed flamboyance, Rivera was one of the foremost advocates in the LGBT community. But despite her trailblazing work as an activist and organizer, Rivera's presence among the mostly white middle-class crowd was decidedly unwelcome. With her full body suit, face full of makeup, and dyed hair, Rivera's appearance was a stark contrast to the mostly white, middle-class crowd gathered at the rally that day. Earlier that day, Rivera and other transgender women of color were threatened by the lesbian contingent of the event, which claimed that their wearing of dresses and claims to womanhood were disrespectful to "real women." After being beaten and threatened by several attendees of the event, Rivera fought her way onto the stage amid a chorus of threats, taunts, and heckles. In the face of this violent hostility, Rivera leveled a scathing critique of the climate of the gay and lesbian community, demanding that these activists recognize more than white, middle-class, cisgender people in the struggle for Gay Liberation. "Your brothers and sisters are being abused," Rivera shouted over the uproar, "they're rotting in jail—and you all don't do a goddamn thing for them!"[ii]

Just four years prior to the 1973 Gay Liberation rally, the transgender patrons of the Stonewall Inn had been the major instigators of the riot that heralded the first major social movement for gay rights in the United States. A year after that, transgender woman Lee Brewster had been responsible for initiating the first annual Christopher Street Liberation Day Rally. But after witnessing the treatment of her friend Sylvia at the event she had begun, Brewster marched onto the stage, threw her tiara into the crowd, and shouted "Fuck Gay Liberation!"[iii]

The events at the Christopher Street rally that day would have a remarkable impact on Sylvia's life thereafter. Discouraged by the events, she realized that they were not an isolated incident; they were symptomatic of much larger tensions that culminated in the schism between the transgender community and the mainstream gay and lesbian community, which had become increasingly conservative and unwelcoming of the transgender women who had played such a vital role in setting the movement in motion. For years afterward, transgender women would continue to struggle for recognition the movement. At the same time, the Stonewall Riots and the events at Christopher Street thereafter illustrated the vital importance of transgender advocacy and galvanized Sylvia Rivera to continue fighting on behalf of transgender and gender-variant people.

While transgender rights have gained more visibility in the U.S. in recent years, many people remain unaware of transgender activists' leadership in the U.S. Gay Liberation movement. This paper documents the contributions of transgender leader Sylvia Rivera in order to show how transgender women of color were both vital to—and yet ultimately sidelined from—the Gay Liberation movement. Rivera's work ultimately illustrates the vital role that transgender women of color played within the U.S. Gay Liberation movement, while her exclusion by the mainstream Gay Liberation movement illustrates the various ways in which women like Sylvia—poor, working class, trans women of color—were harshly excluded by their white, middle-class counterparts. In focusing on the needs of homeless, transgender youth as part of the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (later renamed the Street Transgender Action Revolutionaries [STAR]), Rivera's activism functions as a direct subversion of the homonormative ideals surrounding mainstream gay activism and constitutes a re-imagining of what a comprehensive, intersectional gay politics might look like. Examining her

involvement in Stonewall, her subsequent exclusion by the gay community, and, finally, analyzing her work with STAR, it is evident that Sylvia Rivera dedicated her life and worked tirelessly in order to make the struggle for gay rights one that recognized and fought for the most marginalized sectors of gay society, including transgender women of color like herself.

In June of 1969, Sylvia Rivera was involved in the now infamous Stonewall riots, which marked one of the first times that the issue of gay rights garnered national, widespread attention. It subsequently gave birth to the Gay Liberation Movement, among the first movements in which gay people across the country began to mobilize for their political rights.[iv] At the time of Stonewall, Sylvia was a seventeen-year-old so-called street queen. She found community among the host of gender-variant, street-based people who gathered in places like Greenwich Village, and the now infamous Stonewall Inn.[v] Rivera recounts her involvement at the Stonewall riots in a 1998 interview with Leslie Feinberg:

> In 1969, the night of the Stonewall riot was a very hot, muggy night. We were in the Stonewall [bar] and the lights came on. We all stopped dancing. The police came in. They had gotten their pay-off earlier in the week. But Inspector Pine came in—him and his morals squad—to spend more of the government's money. We were led out of the bar and they cattled us all up against the police vans. The cops pushed us up against the grates and the fences. People started throwing pennies, nickels, and quarters at the cops. And then the bottles started. And then we finally had the morals squad barricaded in the Stonewall building, because they were actually afraid of us at that time. They didn't know we were going to react that way. We were not taking any more of this shit. We had done so much for other movements. It was time. It was street gay people from the Village out front—homeless people who lived in the park in Sheridan Square outside the bar—and then drag queens behind them and everybody behind us.[vi]

Rivera's accounts of Stonewall illustrate the ways in which people like her—poor, radical street queens of color—took to the front lines and were the essential catalysts of the events that culminated in the Stonewall riots. After the riots, she played a major role in helping found and lead the Gay Liberation Front. She would be instrumental in the work of the Gay Activist Alliance, which became the major gay rights group following the disintegration of the original Gay Liberation Front.[vii] Sylvia continued to work for the organization, and in 1971 dedicated herself to work on a citywide gay rights anti-discrimination ordinance. The organization, however, eventually decided to exclude any mentions of drag and transvestitism from the very ordinance Sylvia had pushed for.[viii] These events would only herald more troubling developments for Sylvia and her work on behalf of gender-nonconforming people. The events came to a head with Sylvia's 1973 speech on Christopher Street, where she realized that she was being explicitly, violently excluded from the mainstream portion of the movement. Her friend Bob Kohler remarked, "She saw what was happening. She grabbed the mic, pushed her way onto that stage, and she roared. In this very part she was denied the right to speak. I've never seen anyone so lost—her world was suddenly just collapsed."[ix]

The identities of transgender women of color were ultimately untenable in the face of the politics of respectability and assimilation that became a central concern of the mainstream Gay Liberation movement, and would come to characterize the politics of gay rights well into the 21st century. The burgeoning gay politics that emerged post-Stonewall sought only to eradicate oppression for gay people; it did not consider the multiple variations of gender identity and sexuality, and left no room for the brand of radical street politics that served as the genesis of the movement. Transgender women of color like Sylvia Rivera embodied a radical vision for politics that sought to challenge the system from the perspectives of race, gender, and sexuality. They simply could not compartmentalize their identities in the way that aligned with mainstream movement. As the movement became more conservative and bureaucratized, the "street queens" who had been on the vanguard of the movement when the Stonewall riots erupted were now being pushed to the fringes and outright excluded by many of the leaders of the movement. Gay Liberation became, as a whole, increasingly homonormative. As defined by Lisa Duggan, homonormativity is "a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions, but upholds and sustains them, while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption."[x] This frame of thought came to characterize mainstream gay politics following the Stonewall riots of June 1969. This form of politics also provided the context for the othering of transgender women of color. In the face of a movement that was becoming more and more hostile to marginalized identities, transgender women like Sylvia Rivera engaged in other forms of activism through which they continued to push for an agenda that advocated for rights and equality for all queer-identified people of all classes, genders, and races.

In 1970, along with Marsha P. Johnson and Bubble Rose Lee, Rivera began a project called the Street Transgender Action Revolutionaries, or STAR. STAR arose out of what Rivera saw as a pressing need for an organization

that recognized the struggles of transgender people who lived on the streets, especially youth. STAR's work included a community house, which provided a home and supportive network for transgender youth living on the streets. "We saw them as our family—we knew we needed to protect these kids because no one else would." [xi] Throughout the early 1970s, STAR continued to be politically active. They marched in demonstrations, held rallies, and attended Gay Liberation commemorations. Even at these commemorations, the gay community continued to ignore the fundamental role that Sylvia, Marsha, and other trans women played in inciting and making Stonewall a success. They were often relegated to the back of parades commemorating Stonewall and celebrating gay pride, if they were included at all. [xii] The events surrounding the founding of STAR and the lack of recognition it received as an activist organization illustrate the problematic dynamics of the Gay Liberation movement, and the ways in which transgender women of color were explicitly marginalized and neglected by mainstream organizations like the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA). Their work and politics were often desperately at odds with that of the mainstream movement. Unlike the work of the GAA, which continued to focus on garnering rights for respectable, white, middle-class gay people, Sylvia and Marsha's work with STAR centered on giving the most oppressed sectors of the community access to basic needs such as housing, food, and a network of resources. [xiii] Advocacy on behalf of these oppressed, highly marginalized populations would remain a cornerstone of Sylvia Rivera's activist work throughout her life, and she would continue to stress the importance of addressing the needs of the poorest and most neglected sectors of the LGBT community even as the modern LGBT rights movement continued to neglect them:

> "I am tired of seeing my children—I call everybody including you in this room, you are all my children—I am tired of seeing homeless transgender children; young, gay, youth children. I am tired of seeing the lack of interest that this rich community has. This is a very affluent community. We can afford to re-renovate a building for millions and millions of dollars and buy another building across the street and still not worry about your homeless children from your community . . . ." [xiv]

Rivera would remain a prominent voice in the modern LGBT rights movement, and continued to advocate for those in the community whose struggles were still being relegated to the margins by the major LGBT organizations and activist groups. She remained an outspoken voice of resistance in the LGBT community until her untimely death in 2002.

Ultimately, Rivera and her work represent a revolutionary struggle: her work encompassed simultaneous struggles for equality and racial, class, and queer justice. Shortly before her death, Rivera had this to say about her lifelong involvement in the struggle for transgender rights:

> "I'm glad I was in the Stonewall riot. I remember when someone threw a Molotov cocktail, I thought: 'My god, the revolution is here. The revolution is finally here!' I always believed that we would have to fight back. I just knew that we would fight back. I just didn't know it would be that night. I am proud of myself as being there that night. If I had lost that moment, I would have been kind of hurt because that's when I saw the world change for me and my people. Of course, we still got a long way ahead of us." [xv]

For Rivera, it was simply not enough for the gay community to seek acceptance from mainstream heteronormative society. Instead, she called for a radical re-imagining of what life, love, and politics could look like apart from the mainstream ideals surrounding heteronormativity. In many ways, her struggle continues. As mainstream gay rights continues to conform to homonormativity, the rich, deeply complex legacy of Sylvia Rivera remains a cornerstone and a model politics that illuminate a more diverse gay community.

Failure to recognize the discrimination and dismissal that transgender women of color like Rivera faced within the movement and in subsequent histories of Gay Liberation renders historical accounts of LGBT activism and resistance inaccurate and incomplete. Understanding the involvement of Sylvia Rivera and transgender people of color within the movement is also key to understanding the state of LGBT rights today; transgender women remain marginalized, and they have historically not reaped the benefits of LGBT rights in the way that cisgender gay people have. Their needs as a group have not been attended to; they are still advocating for the basic right to be recognized as their gender identity, and they have been victims of violence and hate crimes in higher numbers than any other LGBT group. [xvi] Recognizing Sylvia Rivera's pioneering work in light of this struggle is a vital and necessary part of understanding LGBT politics as they stand today.

Acknowledgements

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Revisiting Forbidden Lines in T Tauri Stars

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Wanda Feng graduated in May 2015 with a BA in astronomy and geosciences from Smith College. The results of her honors thesis in astronomy will be published in the Astrophysical Journal. *Wanda was awarded a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship, and joined the School of Earth and Space Exploration at Arizona State University in the fall of 2015 to pursue her PhD in astrophysics. Her extracurricular activities include photography, equitation, and chess playing.*

A star of particular astronomical interest is the Sun, a low-mass star about 5 billion years old. Investigating how the Sun formed, and how the surrounding solar system developed, relies heavily on observations of newly formed, low-mass T Tauri stars. One of the major questions in star formation is how young stars disperse their surrounding material, a process that limits the timescale of planet formation. Low-excitation forbidden lines in the spectra of T Tauri stars have long been recognized as mass outflow tracers due to their primarily blueshifted emission. By investigating the kinematic components of forbidden lines, it is possible to better understand the mechanisms of mass ejection from T Tauri systems. In this project, high-resolution spectra of 20 T Tauri stars have been analyzed to revisit several conclusions by Hartigan et al. (1995). By correcting for absorption features due to Earth's atmosphere and the stellar photospheres, accurate velocity profiles were obtained. The velocity profiles were fit with Gaussian functions to separate kinematic components and understand different mass-ejection mechanisms. It is shown that Hartigan et al. (1995) underestimate mass-ejection rates for bipolar jets, and the low-velocity component of forbidden lines traces a photoevaporative wind.

Introduction

The Sun is a low-mass star about 5 billion years old and in the middle of its lifetime. Understanding the origins of the Sun, as well as the planets in the solar system, requires the study of low-mass, young T Tauri stars (TTSs).

Stars form as dense cores of molecular clouds gravitationally collapse. Due to the conservation of angular momentum, these TTSs are surrounded by protoplanetary disks, which are comprised of gas and dust from which planets eventually accrete. Ionized gas accretes onto the stars along their magnetic field lines. Simultaneously, matter is ejected in collimated bipolar jets. The protoplanetary disks clear within 5 million years (Myr), when the star is on the main sequence and planets have formed. Of interest in this paper are mass-ejection processes.

In 1942, Alfred Joy observed an irregular variable star, T Tauri, embedded in the dark clouds of Hind's Variable Nebula. This star and those of its class were defined by strong emission in hydrogen, helium, and various metallic lines. Emission lines form as photons are released when electrons transition from higher to lower energy levels. In contrast, absorption lines form when electrons transition from lower to higher energy levels. The wavelengths, λ, at which these lines occur depend on the energy levels of atoms, yielding clues about the physical conditions at which those lines form. Spectroscopy, the study of emission and absorption lines, is an important tool for understanding the processes that govern TTSs.

A number of forbidden lines have been observed for TTSs (e.g., Cabrit et al., 1990; Hartigan et al., 1995). Forbidden lines violate quantum-mechanical selection rules for electron dipole transitions, and occur as electrons transition from low-lying metastable to lower energy levels in low-density regions. These emission lines are thus associated with stellar winds or outflows of gas. The most prominent of these lines is that of forbidden oxygen [O I] λ 6300 Å, which shows blueshifted (approaching the observer) profiles due to disk occultation (see Figure 1), where the disk obscures redshifted (receding from the observer) emission (Edwards et al., 1987).

Hartigan et al. (1995) observed that forbidden line profiles, particularly that of [O I] λ 6300 Å, are often doubly
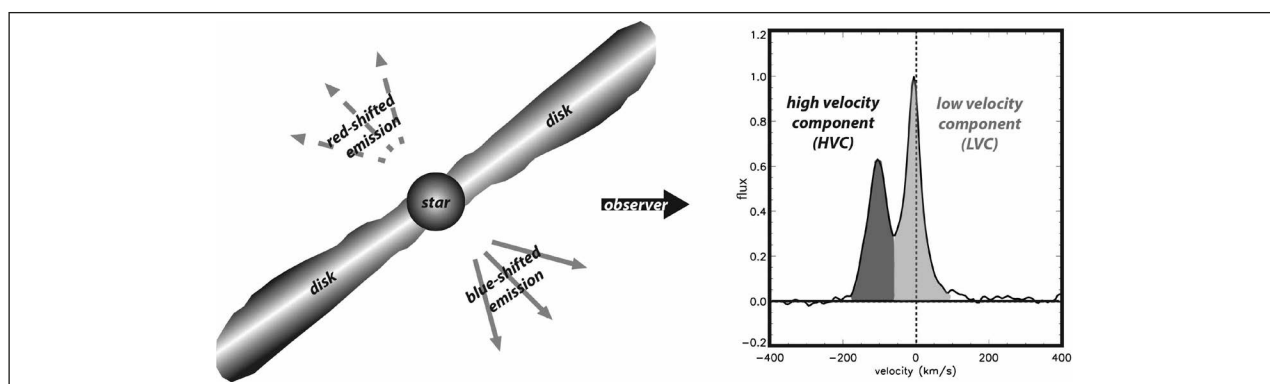

Figure 1. Disk occultation concept: (*Left*) Sketch showing that the circumstellar disk obscures red-shifted emission. (*Right*) This results in primarily blueshifted line profiles, which are often doubly peaked with a high-velocity component (HVC) and low-velocity component (LVC). The example shown is adapted from Hartigan et al. (1995).

peaked with one component blueshifted by a few hundred *km s^{-1}* (high velocity) and the other blueshifted by only a few *km s^{-1}* (low velocity). This is shown in the right panel of Figure 1. The high-velocity component (HVC) was defined as emission with $|v| > 60$ *km s^{-1}* and was attributed to emission by stellar jets. The low-velocity component (LVC) was attributed to a slow-moving disk wind.

Recent work (e.g., Font et al., 2004; Ercolano & Owen, 2010) has suggested that the LVC of forbidden emission lines may arise in a disk wind due to photo-evaporation. Photoevaporative winds are driven by high-energy radiation, which is incident upon and heats the upper layers of circumstellar disks such that the thermal energy of the gas exceeds the gravitational binding energy. The heated gas is able to escape at sufficiently large distances from the star.

For this project, the definition of HVC and LVC is improved by fitting Gaussian components to the line profiles. The new HVC are used to re-evaluate the relationship between mass ejection and mass accretion. The new LVC are compared to line profiles predicted by Ercolano & Owen (2010) for X-ray-driven photoevaporative winds. This provides insight into mass-ejection processes for TTSs and how circumstellar disks are dispersed.

Sample and Data

This study involves 20 TTSs with predominantly K and M spectral types. The stellar temperatures and luminosities from Herczeg & Hillenbrand (2014) were used to create the Hertzsprung-Russell (H-R) diagram shown in Figure 2. This suggests that the average age of our sample is approximately 3 Myr, and the majority of our stars will appear as 0.7 $M_\odot$ on the main sequence.
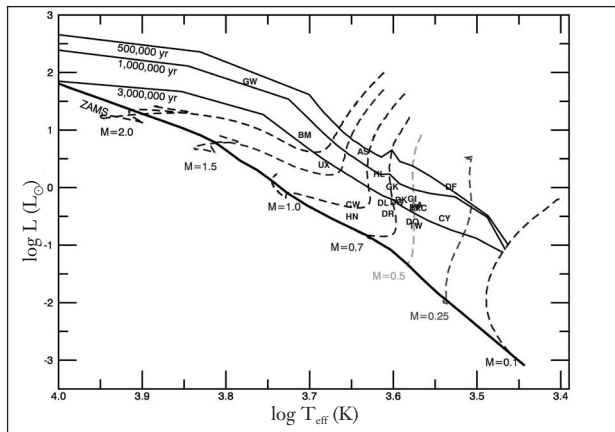
Figure 2. H-R diagram showing stars in this study in gray text. The solid black lines represent isochrones, where stars of the same age fall. The dashed lines represent mass tracks showing the evolutionary progression to the zero-age main sequence (ZAMS). Isochrones and mass tracks are from Siess et al. (2000).

The forbidden lines in this study were observed with the High-Resolution Echelle Spectrometer (HIRES) on the W. M. Keck I telescope at the Mauna Kea Observatories, Hawaii. HL Tau was observed on December 5, 1999 (White & Hillenbrand, 2004), and the other stars on November 30 and December 1, 2006 (Fischer et al., 2011). HIRES has a spectral coverage of $\lambda = 4800$ to 9200 Å. The work presented here focuses on forbidden lines arising from neutral oxygen [O I] λ 6300 Å and λ 5577 Å, as well as singly ionized sulfur [S II] $\lambda\lambda$ 6717, 6731 Å at a resolution twice that of Hartigan et al. (1995).

Creating Residual Forbidden Line Profiles

To obtain an accurate profile for each forbidden emission line, telluric and photospheric absorption "contaminants" caused by the Earth's atmosphere and the outer layers of the stellar atmosphere must be removed. An example of this process is shown in Figure 3. The resulting corrected profiles can be kinematically decomposed to separate the HVC and LVC contributions; this is shown in the next section.
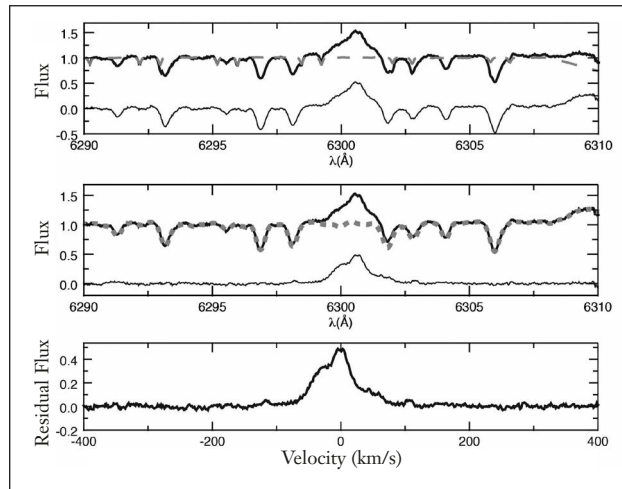
Figure 3. Creation of [O I] λ 6300 Å residual profile for AA Tau: (1) superimposed spectra of AA Tau and telluric standard (dashed) with their residual; (2) superimposed telluric-corrected spectra of AA Tau and veiled V819 (dotted) with their residual; (3) corrected AA Tau residual velocity profile.

Telluric lines are absorption lines caused by molecules in Earth's atmosphere. Spectra of HR 1852, a high-temperature star with clearly defined telluric features, was retrieved from the Keck Observatory Archive (KOA). Absorption features due to gaseous oxygen, O_2, are prominent in the spectral order containing [O I] λ 6300 Å, but are not significant for the other forbidden lines. The telluric correction was accomplished by aligning the absorption features in the telluric and stellar spectra, then subtracting the telluric absorption lines from each stellar spectrum.

The T Tauri spectra also show absorption lines caused by the stellar photosphere. Six photospheric standards were observed in the same observing run as the T Tauri sample, covering the range of spectral types corresponding to the TTSs. The photospheric correction was accomplished by: shifting the photospheric spectra to the stellar radial velocity; matching the projected rotational velocities; and adjusting the depth of the photospheric features by adding a continuum excess known as veiling. As a final step, the telluric and photospheric corrected spectra (flux vs. λ) can be converted to line profiles (flux vs. velocity) using the stellar radial velocities and Doppler formula.

Extracting Gaussian Components

One of the goals of this project is to isolate the kinematic contributions of the HVC and LVC of each forbidden line. In the absence of information about the velocity gradient and geometry of the emission regions, the best way to identify distinct contributions is through fitting one or more Gaussian functions to each line profile.

A Gaussian function is a probability density function of the normal distribution given by:

$$f(v) = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi\sigma^2}}\, e^{-(v - v_{center})^2 / (2\sigma^2)}$$

where σ represents the standard deviation in the velocity v, and v_{center} represents the v_{center} velocity. The full width at half maximum (FWHM) describes the width of the Gaussian at half of the maximum value. The v_{center} and FWHM parameters can be determined by Gaussian fitting.

The forbidden emission lines in this study were fit interactively using the Data Analysis and Visualization Environment

(DAVE) that runs in the Interactive Data Language (IDL), developed by the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) Center for Neutron Research (Azuah et al., 2009). DAVE finds the least-squares fits, outputting v_{center}, FWHM, and area under the Gaussian fit(s).

The selection of the best-fit parameters is based on several criteria: the observed shape of the line profile, a root mean square (RMS) estimate of the goodness of fit, and whether the same fits could be made for other forbidden lines from the same star. All of the forbidden lines in this study were fit with 1 to 4 Gaussians.

Results and Conclusions

The delineation between HVC and LVC is readily apparent for stars like CW Tau, which has a doubly peaked profile (Figure 4). However, this delineation is less obvious for stars like AA Tau, where the HVC is unresolved from the LVC. To distinguish between HVC and LVC, a histogram showing all center velocities of the Gaussian fits for [O I] λ 6300 Å was created, and a definition of v_{center} = 30 $km\ s^{-1}$ was taken for this study.

The HVC of forbidden lines were interpreted by Hartigan et al. (1995) to arise from stellar jets, which are accretion driven, collimated outflows of gas. They defined HVC as emission at $|v| > 60\ km\ s^{-1}$, which did not account for HVC that are unresolved from their LVC. However, in this study, HVC are defined as Gaussian fits with $|v_{center}| > 30\ km\ s^{-1}$. In comparing these definitions, it is clear that the previous definition by Hartigan et al. (1995) underestimates the HVC contribution for 7 stars (e.g., AA Tau in Figure 4). This implies that the mass-ejection rates for these stars are likely greater than previously determined.
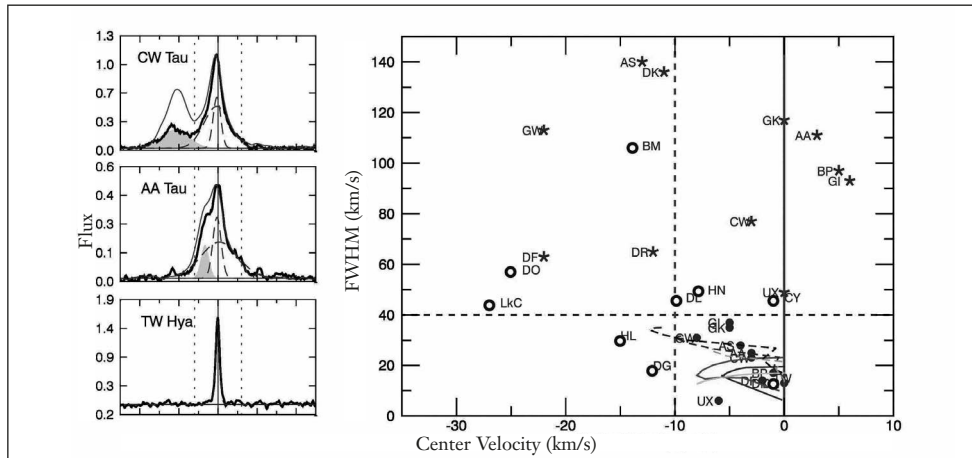
Figure 4. *(Right)* Examples of line profiles in thick solid lines as well as Gaussian fits with HVC shaded and LVC as red dashed lines. Hartigan et al. (1995) line profiles are in thin solid lines and HVC definitions are shown as vertical dotted lines. *(Left)* [O I] λ 6300 Å LVC Gaussian fit FWHMs vs. center velocities, where stars with single-component LVC are in hollow circles and two-component LVC are solid circles and asterisks. Modeled parameters for line profiles arising in photoevaporative flows by Ercolano & Owen (2010) are shown with low velocities (> – 10 km/s) and widths (< 40 km/s).

The LVC of forbidden lines were interpreted by Hartigan et al. (1995) to arise from a disk wind with unknown origins. The possibility that the LVC is tracing a photoevaporative wind from the disk has since been suggested (e.g., Alexander et al., 2014). To investigate the LVC kinematic properties, the HVC is subtracted from the line profiles. LVC are observed for all of the stars in this study, and can be fit with either one (9 stars) or two (11 stars) Gaussian functions, which are narrow (6 $km\ s^{-1}$ < FWHM < 37 $km\ s^{-1}$) or broad (44 $km\ s^{-1}$ < FWHM < 140 $km\ s^{-1}$). The delineation between these two components is taken as FWHM = 40 $km\ s^{-1}$.

The LVC fit parameters are shown in Figure 4. For a study of 2 TTSs, Rigliaco et al. (2013) suggested that broad LVC (FWHM > 40 $km\ s^{-1}$) could trace bound disk gas in Keplerian rotation, yet the blueshifts for the broad components in this study suggest that they arise in a disk wind, likely magnetocentrifugal in nature. Models of line profiles for these winds in the wind-acceleration region are not well developed. The narrow LVC have characteristics expected for X-ray-driven photoevaporative flows, as modeled by Ercolano & Owen (2010) using a variety of X-ray luminosities and disk properties. This implies that about half of the stars in our sample are experiencing mass loss by X-ray-driven photoevaporation.

To expand the conclusions in this project, line luminosities for the HVC and LVC must be determined. The HVC line luminosity can be used to determine mass-ejection rates of stellar jets, and revisit the relationship between mass ejection and mass accretion. The LVC line luminosity can be calculated for comparison with those predicted by Ercolano & Owen (2010) for X-ray-driven photoevaporative winds. Ultimately, this study sheds insight to the dominant processes that affect star formation and the dispersal of protoplanetary disks.

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The Gospel of Slavery: A Study of Antebellum Southern American Christian Thought on African Slavery following the Second Great Awakening—Scholarship on Black Christianity in the 19th-Century American South

Kerwin Holmes, Jr., *Morehouse College*

Kerwin Holmes, Jr. is a recent graduate of Morehouse College, where he majored in the study of history and minored in the study of religion. Kerwin is a Christian scholar who grew up in the American South and who is working to become a historical theologian of the Patristic Period of church history. Kerwin plans on using lessons from that time period for exploring the relationship between developing cultural traditions and theological ideology. In the future, he hopes that his research increases the effectiveness of using theological principles for creating common morality in cosmopolitan environments. Besides reviewing history, current politics, and theological debates, Kerwin's hobbies include exercising and enjoying life with friends and family.

Throughout human history, mankind has developed societal beliefs foundational to every culture in order to create human civilizations. At the foundations of these societal beliefs stand epistemological assumptions informed by theological claims that attempt answers to universal definitions of personhood, justice, and freedom. This essay analyzes the theological foundations of mid-19th-century America as the nation struggled at its darkest hour to personhood, justice, and freedom. Analyzing the Christian community of the American South, this paper not only provides awareness to how theological grounding formed American society, but also how American society began to influence Christian theology. The following excerpt uses a combination of literature review and historical data to provide the historical debate that this essay focuses upon.

In analyzing the Southern religious scene for blacks during the antebellum period, several historical scholars have produced works which remain respected in today's academy. One of the most essential, and the earliest of the scholars I analyze, is Eugene Genovese, specifically in his 1974 work, *Roll Jordan Roll; The World the Slaves Made*. In this work, Genovese asserts that black Christianity often drew from preexisting African religious heritages, but that it did so as a method of generational legacy and self-improvement.[i] According to Genovese, conversions largely occurred not among those first generations of Africans stolen from the African continent to work under the stress of European masters, but rather among the children of those first Africans through a combination of their parents' religious African inheritance with the new religious ideologies imposed by Europeans. The first generation of Africans in the slavery system experienced brutal social repressions because of their religious difference from their Christian oppressors. According to Genovese, the second generation of Africans acclimatized their religion toward Christianity

in order to avoid the same social ostracism which their ancestors faced.[ii]

Despite his claims of coercive influences, Genovese argued that attempts by Africans to adopt Christianity into their religious milieu was done solely under the volition of blacks themselves, much to the chagrin of their European captors. Genovese claims that in the centuries before the religious fervor drawn from Second Great Awakening, the 17th and 18th centuries, to be exact, the French and British colonial powers made very little effort to convert their African captives to Christianity.[iii] The reason for the British and French reluctance, and at times outright disapproval, to convert Africans to the Christian faith was due to the revolutionary ideology religion provided, as the colonial powers had observed in Europe. In Europe, the access to Christian religious teaching among the common-man had led to a wave of individualistic thinking and a sense of communal belonging which bred a series of revolutions against the oppressive order of those in power—exactly what the Europeans sought to avoid in their African slave societies.[iv] Yet, blacks were far too resourceful and cunning to have been kept wholly out of contact with revolutionary Christian rhetoric, especially in a nation which relied upon such rhetoric for the overthrow of the British imperial powers in the American colonies. The result, Genovese argued, was a conglomeration of African traditional religious emphasis with Christian theology and ideologies of equality and liberation which would in turn forever change the religious scene of the entire United States of America.[v]

Arguably the most seminal work of history which influences the modern historical academy concerning black Christianity in 19th-century America, Sterling Stuckey's *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory & the Foundations of Black America* connects African cultural agency directly with the Christianity which black slaves practiced in the South. Published in 1987, Stuckey's work draws parallels from black Christian practices and the religious practices of various African peoples known to have been exploited in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade; for example, the usage of drums and fiddles in slave worship and cultural gatherings parallels the drum usage among the peoples of Mali and the realms of the old Songhai Empire in Africa.[vi] Stuckey also used the life and Christian influences of David Walker, the virulent black writer of the early 19th century who encouraged blacks to use their liberties and self-preservation to rebel against their oppressive white captors, to draw nationalist doctrine from the black Christian world. Stuckey highlights how black Christians often perceived the religion of their white

counterparts as a sham, a hypocritical license to do anything they wanted to black people.[vii]

Albert J. Raboteau, a black scholar on African American religious thought, published his work shortly after Genovese and before Stuckey, during a time when research about African religiosity in American history began to reach a high point in the academy. According to Raboteau, the African religious culture in America was far more complex and sophisticated than Genovese claimed. The religious ideology of Africans in America varied from region to region, from community to community, and even from person to person. Raboteau argued that some slaves appeared to have taken on a form of Christianity in order to disguise their persistence of abiding by African religious practices.[viii] In fact, Raboteau argued that in the entire diasporic community, a syncretized or combining of African cultural thought with Christian imagery was the most common form of religious practice.[ix] Even so, Raboteau did make the equal claim that African religious practices did still pervade black religion even when blacks became Christians. These practices include the phenomenon of spiritual possession by whatever god was being invoked by the worshippers, the jumping and throbbing motions of spiritual ecstasy which produced bewilderment and symbolized spiritual fervor, and the drumming and shouting testimonies which often accompanied worship services.[x]

While attending Morehouse College, I was able to sit in on a class discussing the history of the African American Church, using Raboteau's work *Slave Religion* as the seminal text. The class, taught by Dr. Aaron Parker, stressed the minority position of Christianity in the scope of the many religious practices among blacks in 19th-century America. Dr. Parker claimed that the greatest rival to Christianity among slaves was the religious movement called Conjure—which was a syncretic religious ideology which varied from region to region due to the influences of various African traditions.[xi] Dr. Parker's expertise is used in this analysis to inform interpretations of these historical texts.

Historians and theologians alike provided more scholarship through the decades to shed light upon the religious realities of blacks in the 19th-century American South. These scholars turned the historical setting of Antebellum black Christianity from the American South to the African continent, returning black religiosity to its origins. Sandy Martin wrote an article in *Baptist History and Heritage* in 2000 titled "Black Baptists, African Missions and Racial Identity, 1800–1915: A Case Study of African American Religion." In that article, Martin looks at a more sophisticated identity of blackness within the writings and works of black preachers looking to evangelize the African continent. According to Martin, the evangelizing nature of these

black preachers encouraged them to move toward a kind of adoption and hereditary concern for the black people in Africa and the greater African diasporic community.[xxii] This would give rise to early promotions of Pan-African thought, stressing the common heritage and community of all African peoples, no matter their geological or religious divisions. Though international in research area, the work starts at the black religious community leaders in the United States of America during the 19th century, and how their religiosity influenced their ethics for Africa and African peoples. Martin also uses the black religious fervor drawn from the Second Great Awakening as a possible motive for the international drive of black preachers during a time when black religious expression was under great political strain and oppression.[xiii]

Daniel Fountain, who published his work *Slavery, Civil War, and Salvation: African American Slaves and Christianity, 1830–1870* in 2010, drew inspiration from Raboteau but also goes a step further; using population analysis, contemporary survey claims, and historical documentation, he argues that 19th-century blacks participating in Southern Christianity constituted a minority religious community amidst a plethora of other deeply African religious traditions. Drawing from one of several historical instances which seem to point to the validity of his claim, Fountain found that of 381 slaves interviewed about religious practice, sixty-one percent were clearly not Christian[xiv] The trend continued through the Civil War, as Fountain reports from testimony given by Reverend Elijah Marrs, a black man who served in the Union army during the Civil war, "[i]n the company I belonged to there were only two professed Christians beside myself."[xv]

Other scholars have taken different approaches rather than exclusively relying upon discussions about black religious life as if black religiosity was created within a social vacuum. Janet D. Cornelius looked at the harrowing relationship between black pastor Andrew Marshall of First African Baptist Church in Savannah, Georgia, disputed to be the oldest black church in America, and the white populace by which his congregation was surrounded and dominated. Though brief, her description of the racial politics which Marshall faced, including the coveting of his affluence and success as a pastor by his white peers, shed light on how black Christians made their own space in the religious tradition of Christianity in the South, and how such individuality had broader social consequences beyond walls of religious institutions.[xvi]

Though their interpretations may vary, avid historians consistently reach certain scholarly conclusions from the evidence that can be drawn from the gathered historical witnesses. The first conclusion is that the religious

community of the black population of the South was far from monolithic—an emphasis which is understood throughout this analysis, which otherwise endeavors to look only at the black Christian populace of the South in terms of theological beliefs on slavery. Historians reach another observational conclusion that the efforts to Christianize blacks, where such efforts by colonial and later European powers existed, were largely inconsistent in success. The religiosity of the blacks was not a determinant to their acceptance of Christianity, as several other religious venues were available to them during the same time period—many of which were truer to their ancestral African identity. It is crucially necessary that such knowledge of the scope of Christianity among blacks be kept in mind so as to not make conclusive arguments on the entirety of the black population's view of slavery from this essay which only reviews the Christian communities in the American South.

Preachers

Preachers in the American South confronted a very daunting task for their time. Facing political disunity surrounding slavery, Southern preachers often held in balance their entire society in the ways that they handled the theological question of slavery in Christianity. Superficially, Christians in the American South were locked in theological controversy on whether they should engage in slavery or not. Of course, the political structures prevalent in the Southern states allowed for African chattel slavery and even safeguarded its promotion. Slavery provided great sources of economic revenue for the agrarian societies in the South, and the color/race-based caste that African (and even Indian) chattel slavery utilized provided social stability to poor whites who otherwise would have occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder.

One of the clearest examples of how pastors behaved in South Carolina's slavery-enforcing society comes from a South Carolinian preacher who viewed his contribution to chattel slavery as benevolence for the entire human race and the Christian Gospel. Pastor James Henry Thornwell, pastor of Second Presbyterian Church in Charleston, SC, openly supported slavery and saw the entire slavery theology debate as a political problem shrouded in a faux-theological coat, and he decided to make his voice heard on the issue. Thornwell had just dedicated a new building to the black slaves of his congregation on May 26, 1850. During the dedication, Thornwell gave a lengthy sermon which had the dual nature of declaring the South's philanthropic goodwill toward blacks and validating existing slavery structures through his Christian ethic. Thornwell sought to inform his congregations by his gracious example to the blacks his slave-owning congregants entrusted to him. His sermon was later published for circulation, perhaps in the hopes that his words would silence the slavery theological debate once and for all.

In his sermon, Thornwell claimed that public opinion had unjustly opposed the Southerners based off of inaccurate notions of the relationships between the master and his slaves. By abolitionist supporters pushing straw man attacks against Southerners, the slavery debate among Christians had shifted to the shaky grounds of emotional appeal and verisimilar images of Southern slavery. "At this moment," decried Thornwell at the dedication of the church building for black slaves, "the Union is shaken to its [.] by the prevalence of sentiment over reason and truth . . . ."[xvii]

Christian opinions in the South were, however, more vibrant than Thornwell considered, particularly where religion and degree Christian doctrinal conviction varied. One example, Quaker preacher and abolitionist Charles Osborn, was born in North Carolina in 1775. He relocated with his parents to Tennessee in later years, where he became a Quaker minister and founded his first abolitionist society and printing press. Lack of funding forced Osborn to continue his activism in the North, where he received more public support for his views.[xviii] Differing from Thornwell's overtly political rhetoric, Osborn believed that the essential nature of the slavery discussion was a compromise of the Christian faith, rather than a geopolitical allegiance within the United States. For Osborn, the Quakers had failed in their God-given duty to speak out against the evils of slavery because of personal concerns and fears.[xix] What Thornwell saw in national terms Osborn instead saw in denominational terms as he attributed the lackadaisical performance of the Quakers as a result of their intermingling with those outside of the Society of Friends (the official name for the Quaker church).

Yet both preachers could agree on the overt hypocrisy shown by those with apparent abolitionist leanings. Thornwell chastised Northern and European "philanthropists" as largely ignoring the problems and sufferings of their immediate neighbors to concentrate efforts on a system of dehumanizing Southern slavery that did not exist. "Overlooking, with a rare expansion of benevolence, the evils which press around their own doors," Thornwell testified, the philanthropists tried to distance the Southern states collectively from the rest of the civilized world as a distinct, dehumanizing society.[xx] But Northern abolitionists did this while at the same time not extending privileges to the free blacks and Indians in their own states. Though Southern churches like Thornwell's began expending material building church buildings for blacks to attend separately, such Christian segregation had already existed for nearly a century in the North.

It was not uncommon for abolitionists to also become hypocritical in how "abolitionist" they were willing to be. Charles Osborn's personal crusade was fighting for his Quaker brethren to be caught on fire as much as he was for the immediate ending of chattel slavery in the American states. He first began his mission in the South, where he was born, but circumstances made him relocate up North. Even there, he met resistance from his religious compatriots, and he also had to battle the political favoritism that the Society of Friends had become wrapped up in. Eventually, Osborn's fall from grace from within the Quaker community resulted in expulsion from one of the spiritual gatherings of the congregation to which he belonged.

This is curiously contrary to much of the historical narrative. A great deal of scholarly retelling and concurrent written accounts of the Quakers label the denomination as decidedly anti-slavery and pro-Union, yet one of the champions of anti-slavery testified in his journal of the great schism his efforts had caused. This sudden departure from a host of historical witnesses given by a preacher who radically advocated abolition should raise some suspicion. Osborn no doubt thought of himself as equivalent to John the baptizer or Elijah the prophet. He saw himself as the leader of a chosen minority who struggled continually against the great power of the "opposer."[xxi] At the end of his journal from which these details about his convictions are cited, Osborn wrote of his desires that the "militant church shall come up out of the wilderness...terrible as an army with banners."[xxii] This, coupled with Osborn's opinionated stance against even his moderate Quaker friends, points to a prophetic-complex that Osborn possessed of himself. The deep religious fervor of Osborn, though rooted in the firm belief of uncompromising human equality, may have elevated him above all other Quakers who did not share his special revelation. It is convincing, given that the source is one of the foremost Quaker abolitionists, that there was complacency toward slavery in the Quaker flock. Yet, the true extent of this complacency can be argued.

Endnotes

i Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll; The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974, 183.

ii Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 183.

iii Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 185.

iv Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 167.

v Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 184.

vi Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory & the Foundations of Black America*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987, 20–21.

vii Stuckey, *Slave Culture*, 113, 134.

viii Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The 'invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South*, Oxford: Oxford Univ., 1980, 25.

ix Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 28, 32, 314.

x Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 36–37.

xi Aaron Parker, "African American Church," Class Lecture, African American Church from Morehouse College, Atlanta, GA, April 24, 2014.

xii Sandy D. Martin, "Black Baptists, African Missions and Racial Identity, 1800–1915: A Case Study of African American Religion," *Baptist History and Heritage*, Vol. 35. Nashville, TN: Historical Commission, SBC and Southern Baptist Historical Society, 2000, 79–92.

xiii Martin, "Black Baptists, African Missionaries and Racial Identity, 1800–1915: A Case Study of African American Religion," 79–92.

xiv Daniel L. Fountain, *Slavery, Civil War, and Salvation: African American Slaves and Christianity*, *1830–1870*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2010, 16.

xv Fountain, *Slavery, Civil War, and Salvation*, 10.

xvi Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South*, Columbia: U of South Carolina, 1999, 106.

xvii James Henry Thornwell, *The Rights and Duties of Masters. A Sermon Preached at the Dedication of a Church Erected in Charleston, S.C., for the Benefit and Instruction of the Coloured Population*, Charleston, SC: Press of Walker & James, 1850, 8.

xviii Randall M. Miller, "Osborn, Charles," Osborn, Charles, NCPedia, accessed 15 Sept. 2015, http://ncpedia.org/biography/osborn-charles.

xix Charles Osborn, *Journal of that Faithful Servant of Christ: Charles Osborn, Containing an Account of Many of His Travels and Labors in the Work of the Ministry, and His Trials and Exercises in the Service of the Lord, and in the Defense of the Truth, as it is in Jesus*, A. Pugh, 1854, 420.

xx Thornwell, *The Rights and Duties of Masters*, 7.

xxi Osborn, *Journal of that Faithful Servant of Christ*, 423.

xxii Osborn, *Journal of that Faithful Servant of Christ*, 470.

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Unpacking Equality Ideology: The Relationship between Race and Colorblind Attitudes

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Sarah Iverson graduated cum laude from Smith College in 2014 with a degree in sociology. She is currently completing a two-year policy fellowship at the think tank Connecticut Voices for Children and plans to enroll in a doctorate program in sociology in the fall of 2016. Her research interests include racial and ethnic stratification, immigration, and identity performance.

Drawing on a quantitative survey with over 350 participants at Smith College, this paper seeks to explore the extent to which white, Asian, and underrepresented students of color hold colorblind ideologies through multivariate regression analysis. Drawing on Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's theory of colorblindness as the dominant racial ideology of the post-Civil Rights era, I find that while students as a whole hold few or weak colorblind attitudes, Asian students were more likely than white and underrepresented students of color to answer in a manner consistent with the discursive denial, naturalization, and minimization of structural racism. I test class as a mediating variable in the relationship between race and colorblindness but find little effect on the stated relationship.

Introduction and Background

This paper seeks to explore the extent to which white, Asian, and underrepresented students of color hold colorblind attitudes and ideologies. Colorblind racial ideology refers to the discursive denial, naturalization, and minimization of institutional racism and white privilege (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Prior research (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Proweller, 1999; Choi, 2008) primarily focuses on colorblind discourses employed by whites; however, with the shifting racial and economic demographics of the United States, including the relatively high socioeconomic status of Asians, may come a shift in those who employ and benefit from colorblind attitudes. As a case study, this paper looks at racial/ethnic attitudes of first-year undergraduates at Smith College, a small, selective women's college in Massachusetts.

According to sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2006), colorblind discourses allow whites the farce of racial tolerance ("I don't see color, just people"), while ignoring persistent racial and ethnic inequalities in education, wealth, rates of incarceration, and employment, among other metrics (p. 207). In this way, colorblind ideology contributes to inequalities along race and ethnic lines, because whites who perpetuate such attitudes are able to rationalize racial and ethnic inequality, and benefit from supporting race-neutral policies that maintain existing racial hierarchies. Bonilla-Silva (2006) also contends that as a dominant race ideology, the ideas of colorblindness have had an indirect effect on blacks, "provid[ing] many of the terms of the debate," but not impacting the way blacks view structural discrimination (p. 171). In contrast, sociologist Tamara Nopper (2010) argues that Korean Americans draw from and reproduce colorblind ideologies when constructing stories of success and immigrant experiences, leading them to oppose anti-racist policies and discourses. This work explores the tension between Nopper and Bonilla-Silva's work, centrally placing the social location of Asian Americans as actors who may benefit from and thus reproduce colorblind attitudes.

Thus my research asks the question: what is the relationship between race or ethnicity and colorblind attitudes? I seek to explore the ways in which non-white groups may or may not take part in ideologies that reproduce white privilege. I find that Asian students hold stronger colorblind attitudes than white students, and that underrepresented students of color hold the weakest colorblind attitudes. I consider class as a mediating variable in the relationship between race or ethnicity and colorblindness. My research finds that class has little effect on the stated relationship, such that race and ethnicity on its own predicts hierarchies of colorblindness.

Throughout this paper, it is important to keep in mind that colorblind ideologies are not neutral, nor do they solely impact discourses on race or ethnicity. Instead, colorblind ideologies critically order the way in which institutional policy handles race or ethnicity, and impact resource allocation for minority groups in the United States. Ideology is essential in reproducing the racialized social system, and so must be understood thoroughly in efforts to bring equity, not just equality, to racial relationships in the United States (Bonilla-Silva, 2006).

Data

Sample

The data used in this paper come from a 2014 study of the first-year class at Smith College. A team of researchers sent a survey on many dimensions of student life to the entire first-year class (N=643) via e-mail, and 254 first-year students answered one or more survey items (N=254), for a response rate of 39.5 percent. Additionally, to increase the number of respondents to the survey, the research team used convenience sampling of students not in the first-year class, begetting 83 responses, bringing the total sample size up to 351 students (N=351).

Population data on racial and ethnic composition, citizenship, and first-generation status are known to the researchers from Smith's Common Data Set 2013–2014, allowing for the comparison of the sample and the population. Population parameters indicate that generalizing

the results of statistical analysis from the sample to the population may be appropriate and that results may even be robust; however, generalizing must be done with caution. Population data indicate that the percentage of students in the sample who identify as African American and Latina is smaller than the percentage in the population, while the percentage of students in the sample who identify as Asian American and multiracial is higher in the sample than in the population. The largest racial/ethnic group, whites, has virtually the same representation in the population and the sample. Additionally, the percentage of students in the population who do not have a parent graduate of a four-year college is close to the percentage in the sample, and the percentage of non-U.S. citizens in the sample and the population is less than 2 percentage points apart. The convenience sampling of non-first-years is not representative, and so cannot be generalizable.

Dependent Variables

The primary dependent variable (DV) in this study is colorblindness, which is the general index of racial attitudes held by respondents. Deriving from Bonilla-Silva's (2006) definition of colorblindness, I constructed the colorblindness variable by creating an index using the mean of eight survey items (alpha=.6987) about students' attitudes on race and ethnicity. Each survey response was ranked on a Likert scale (0–10) ranging from "Completely Disagree" to "Completely Agree" on the following items: 1) whether Smith should have programs for people of color; 2) whether Smith should have spaces for people of color; 3) belonging to a racial or ethnic minority group presents obstacles to a student's ability to succeed at Smith; 4) it is unfair to consider an applicant's race as a factor in one's college admission; 5) discrimination exists in the outside world but not at Smith; 6) people generally get along best with people from their own racial or ethnic group; 7) people from different racial or ethnic groups naturally differ from one another; and 8) it's human nature that many people choose to date those who share the same race or ethnicity. Each survey item comes directly from one or more of Bonilla-Silva's (2006) four frames of colorblind racism: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism.[i]

Independent Variable

The primary independent variable (IV) in this study is race, as divided into the mutually exclusive categories white, Asian, and Underrepresented Student of Color. On the survey instrument, students could self-select as many racial or ethnic identities as they wanted, among the options Latino/a or Hispanic, White, African American, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, Alaska Native,

American Indian, Arab American/Middle Eastern, and Other. In a separate question, students were also asked if they identify as multiracial. Whites are students who only checked white on the racial/ethnic identification item on the survey. Asians are defined as students who only checked Asian on the racial/ethnic identification item on the survey. Underrepresented student of color are defined as students who checked either African American, Latino/a or Hispanic, Native Hawaiian, or Other Pacific Islander, Native Alaskan, American Indian, Arab American/Middle Eastern, two or more races/ethnicities (except for those who selected both Asian and white), or Other Ethnicity.

While this racial categorization system belies the diversity of experiences found in each group, Asians and underrepresented students of color share the positionality of navigating institutions in which whiteness is the norm. Asians, who are typically included in inclusive "People of Color" or "Non-White" categories, were differentiated in this survey because they are overrepresented in higher education. While imperfect, such categorization of the race IV as described above attempts to simultaneously acknowledge the socially constructed nature of essentialist racial categories *and* the essential power racial categories have in organizing lived experiences.

Mediating and Moderating Variables

To further parse the relationship between my DV and IV, I test for mediation by the variable class, as informed by theories on the intersection of race and class (Collins, 2000; Aries, 2008; Lareau, 2003). Mediation means that a third variable explains the relationship between the primary IV and DV, rather than the primary relationship existing on its own. I constructed the class index using the mean of five standardized survey items (alpha=.7200) typically used to holistically measure socioeconomic status: 1) highest level of education achieved by both parents; 2) self-reported social class; 3) estimation of parents' combined annual income; 4) whether one parent has a professional occupation.

Results

Univariate Statistics

For the general colorblind index among all students in the sample, the mean was 3.12 (SD 1.58) on a scale of 0–10, with 0 indicating that the respondent held the weakest colorblind attitudes and 10 indicating that the respondent held the strongest. The mean of students in the sample as a whole was fairly low, indicating that students in the sample generally hold few or weak colorblind attitudes, and were cognizant of structural racism.

Table 1 presents the results of multiple regression analysis of the extent to which each racial category holds colorblind attitudes. Asians were most likely to hold colorblind attitudes by a wide margin. Whites were next most likely (–1.30, SD 0.30), followed by underrepresented students of color (–1.44, SD 0.33). This stands in contrast to Bonilla-Silva's work which claims that whites predominantly hold colorblind attitudes, but affirms claims (Nopper, 2010) that Asian Americans draw strongly on colorblind discourses in explaining their success and positionality.

Table 1 also shows the extent to which class mediates the relationship between race and colorblindness. In short, class did little to mediate the proposed relationship. For example, the extent to which whites hold colorblind attitudes only increased by 0.01when controlling for class (from –1.30, SD 0.30 to –1.29, SD 0.30), and higher class only slightly increased colorblind attitudes for underrepresented students of color (–1.44, SD 0.33 to –1.41, SD 0.34).

for Asian Americans to get into college (Hseih, 2014). Thus, Asians may have a stake in colorblind claims such that all should receive individualized, equal treatment, regardless of race.

Second, it is likely that the Asians in the sample do not reflect Asians in the U.S. population as a whole. Asian Americans who attend Smith College are more likely to be high-achieving and have more social and cultural capital than Asian Americans who do not attend a selective, private college. Thus the Asian Americans in my sample may be likely to be colorblind than Asians in the entire U.S. population, because they have experienced fewer material setbacks because of their race, and as a group are closer to whites than underrepresented people of color in terms of levels of achievement in educational contexts. The Asian Americans in my sample also did not have the option to select their ethnicity or country of national origin. Perhaps certain Asian American ethnicities or countries of national origin were overrepresented in my sample in comparison to the U.S. population.

Variable	No Mediating Variable	Class as Mediating Variable
Race		
White	–1.30 (0.30)***	–1.29 (0.30)***
Underrepresented Student of Color	–1.44 (0.33)***	–1.41 (0.34)***
Social Class	—	0.06 (0.13)
R Square	0.1	0.09
*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.005		

Table 1. Regression coefficients predicting colorblind attitudes (reference category: Asian) with class as a mediating variable.

Discussion and Conclusions

The results presented contribute to understandings of racial groups' differing usage of colorblind ideologies. The finding that Asians are most likely to hold general colorblind attitudes differs from Bonilla-Silva's (2006) claim that whites primarily employ colorblind ideology. I posit two reasons for Asian students to employ colorblind attitudes, even when controlling for class.

First, because of their unique immigration history, many Asian Americans succeed on measures of educational attainment and socioeconomic status in the U.S., and so may directly benefit from colorblind discourses.[ii] For example, because of the overrepresentation of Asian Americans in higher education, many Asian Americans may oppose Affirmative Action policies in college admissions on the grounds that such policies will lessen the number of Asian Americans who gain admittance or make it more difficult

Briefly, the fact that class has little mediating impact on the relationship between race and colorblind attitudes, and concrete and abstract colorblind frames, speaks to the persistent significance of race as independent from class patterns in the U.S. Often, there exists the tendency to explain away racial differences as matters of class difference; however, my study reveals that in this case class has no bearing on the extent to which members of racial groups hold colorblind attitudes.

Future research could examine Bonilla-Silva's (2006) four frames of colorblind racism as separate survey items, in order to parse out the differences between colorblind attitudes. In addition, future research could survey a representative sample of the entire U.S. population, in order to bring into sharper focus the fine gradations of race and ethnicity that may impact the existence of colorblind attitudes in non-white populations.

In order to critique structural racism, and ultimately dismantle systems of oppression that impact the life chances of people of color, it is crucial that all groups, including Asian Americans, Underrepresented Students of Color, and whites, recognize their positionality within racial/ethnic hierarchies, and actively reject narratives of exceptionalism and colorblindness. These narratives serve to divide the solidarity of non-whites in face of structural racism, and to de-center the conversation about race from one about lack of opportunity and resources to a conversation about individual agency.

Endnotes

i   See Bonilla-Silva (2006) for a full explanation of the four central frames of colorblind racism.

ii See Zhou (2007) for a full analysis of the differing ethnic groups and positionalities contained within Asian American as a racial category, as well as a critique of the "model minority" myth.

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Potential Effects of Eastern Hemlock Decline on the Hemlock-Associated Liverwort *Bazzania trilobata*

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Abstract

Tsuga canadensis loss from the invasive insects *Adelges tsugae* and *Fiorinia externa*, and the forestry practice of salvage logging, is causing abrupt environmental changes in New England forests. Effects such as increased light exposure and nutrient cycle alterations are likely to influence understory organisms relying on the foundational conditions created by *T. canadensis*. One plant species at risk from these ecological shifts is *Bazzania trilobata*. *B. trilobata* is a leafy liverwort often observed in association with *T. canadensis* populations. I conducted a two-year transplant experiment at Smith College's MacLeish Field Station to investigate the effects that *B. trilobata* may experience with the impending loss of *T. canadensis*. *B. trilobata* samples were moved from a local source site and monitored by field surveys along transects for changes in stability and decline as influenced by soil moisture content, solar radiation, total tree number, and the number of *T. canadensis* trees at each transect point. Logistic regressions discerned the number of *T. canadensis* trees as the ultimate predictor variable related to the decline of *B. trilobata*. These findings suggest indirect negative effects from the decline of *T. canadensis*, and represent the first documented case of a plant species at risk from these.

Introduction

In the forests of the Northeast, eastern hemlock (*Tsuga canadensis*) acts as foundation species by producing a unique understory environment and providing irreplaceable ecosystem services (Ellison et al. 2005, Martin & Goebel 2013). *T. canadensis* canopies create a cool and shaded environment with acidic soils and low decomposition that is conducive for the growth and survival of various organisms, including understory plant communities with many bryophytes species (Jenkins et al. 1999, Ellison et al. 2005). Of the plant groups comprising bryophytes (specifically: mosses, liverworts, and hornworts), the liverwort species *Bazzania trilobata* has been observed in close association with eastern hemlock forests (Cleavitt et al. 2007). A large and leafy liverwort, *B. trilobata* favors a cool and moist climate and is distributed throughout primarily coniferous forests in southern and central New England, with a range that extends farther north into regions of Canada (Sollows et al. 2001, Lincoln 2008). The biogeography and ecology of *B. trilobata*, in tandem with the role of *T. canadensis* as a foundation species for other organisms (see case studies on various fauna: Mathewson 2009, Ross et al. 2003, Tingley et al. 2002, Snyder et al. 2002) in this habitat, suggest an almost symbiotic-like relationship between these plants species, such that *B. trilobata* may depend on *T. canadensis* for its survival and proliferation.

In recent decades, the spread of invasive insects, hemlock woolly adelgid (*Adelges tsugae*) and elongate hemlock scale (*Fiorinia externa*) have threatened eastern hemlock populations with decline and local extirpation across the eastern U.S. (Orwig et al. 2002, Ellison et al. 2005, Preisser et al. 2011). The environmental changes triggered by *T. canadensis* decline alone are cause for concern, but the forestry technique of salvage logging, whereby unaffected trees are removed from dying stands to collect their remaining economic value as lumber or wood products, can create severe disturbances to the local environment that abruptly changes available light, air, and soil conditions (Kizlinski 2002, Lustenhouwer et al. 2012). The death and decline of *T. canadensis* in the Northeast U.S. is also associated with its replacement by deciduous black birch (*Betula lenta*) (Orwig et al. 1998). To examine the possible effects that these potential stressors may have on the hemlock-associated liverwort *Bazzania trilobata*, I initiated a long-term transplant experiment to test the effects of differing canopy composition (coniferous vs. deciduous), physiographic position, and canopy openness due to recent logging. I hypothesize higher rates of *B. trilobata* decline will be observed among samples transplanted in stands with fewer *T. canadensis* specimens, such as those impacted by the effects of hemlock woolly adelgid, elongate hemlock scale, and salvage logging. A finding such as this would indicate the presence of indirect effects related to these invasive insects and forestry techniques on *B. trilobata*, thus supporting a reliant ecological relationship between this liverwort and tree species that will likely benefit from the institution of additional conservation methods to preserve *T. canadensis* stands.

Methods

Experimental Transplant

In July 2013, segments of gametophyte mats were collected from a large *B. trilobata* population in a mature hemlock forest in Conway, MA. The mat samples were subdivided into 176 circular experimental units (~10 cm diameter) and installed along seven 50-meter transects in a forest at Smith College's Ada and Archibald MacLeish Field Station in Whately, MA, with control samples

placed back into the source site along an 8th transect. The *B. trilobata* samples were arranged in adjacent two-sample pairs, with sequential pairs spaced 5 meters apart along each of the transects. The different transects at the experimental site traverse areas with variation in composition of the forest canopy (e.g., coniferous or deciduous), differing slope and aspect, and logged vs. unlogged canopies. Monthly surveys of both field sites were conducted from July 2013 to June 2015. Changes in sample coloration (e.g., green to yellow to brown) and texture were monitored as indicators of plant status. For the purposes of the analysis presented here, samples were divided into two categories: samples that remained green and intact as of the June 2015 survey were classified as "stable." In contrast, samples that exhibited signs of significant discoloration (yellowing), dieback, or decomposition were classified as "in decline."

Abiotic and Biotic Predictors of Sample Status

To assess the effects of the differing environmental conditions on the status of the experimental *B. trilobata* samples, I measured soil organic layer moisture content in the field, estimated solar radiation based on sample point slope and aspect using the ClimCalc model (http://www.pnet.sr.unh.edu/climcalc/, Ollinger et al. 1995) and surveyed tree species composition and density at each point using an angle gauge with a Basal Area Factor 5. These factors were then tested as predictors in a series of single factor logistic regressions on *B. trilobata* sample status, and then combined into a multivariate logistic regression model evaluating all factors simultaneously.

Results

The individual predictor logistic regressions found several of the environmental factors show significant associations with *B. trilobata* status (Table 1). Organic soil moisture percentage did not have a statistically significant effect on the status of *B. trilobata* samples (Table 1: p = 0.343, R^2 = 0.009). While statistical significance is exhibited by the total number of trees at each transect point (Table 1: p = 3.63×10^{-4}, R^2 = 0.152), a graphical depiction between the additional significant predictor variables of average solar radiation (Table 1: p = 2.3×10^{-4}, R^2 = 0.178) and the most significant predictor variable from both individual and multivariate logistic regressions, the number of *T. canadensis* stems (Table 1: p = 3×10^{-5}, R^2 = 0.258; Table 2: p = 0.012, R^2 = 6.315) discerns a striking trend regarding the survival and decline of *B. trilobata* (Figure 1).

Coefficients	R^2 – value	X^2 – value	P – value
# of *T. canadensis* Stems	0.258	17.766	$3 \times 10{-5}**$
Total # of Trees	0.152	12.716	$3.63 \times 10^{-4}*$
Average Solar Radiation	0.178	13.564	$2.3 \times 10^{-4}*$
Soil Moisture %	0.009	0.897	0.343

Table 1. Results of four single-factor logistic regressions comparing environmental predictor variables with the status of *B. trilobata* samples along the experimental transects at MacLeish Field Station, Whately, MA. The p-values, X^2-values, and R^2-values were calculated using RStudio version 0.99.447 (RStudio Team 2015) with the R^2-value representing McFadden's pseudo R^2 for logistic regressions. Statistically significant results are indicated with asterisks. Analyses were based on the status of 88 samples after two years in place along the experimental transects.

Coefficients	X^2 – value	P – value
# of *T. canadensis* Stems	6.315	0.012**
Total # of Trees	0.912	0.340
Average Radiation	1.357	0.244
Moisture %	0.299	0.585

Table 2. Results from a multiple logistic regression of model of *B. trilobata* sample status and all environmental predictor variables quantified. P-values and X^2-values were calculated using RStudio version 0.99.447 (RStudio Team 2015). Analysis was based on the status of 88 samples after two years in place along the experimental transects at the MacLeish Field Station, Whately, MA.
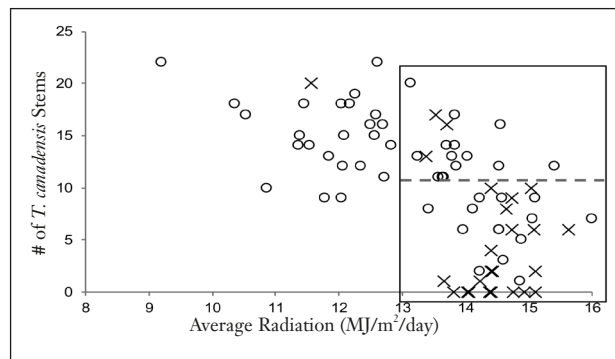
Figure 1. The status of *B. trilobata* samples arrayed in an environmental space defined by average solar radiation and the numbers of *T. canadensis* trees at each sample point. Open circles (O) indicate stable samples and samples of *B. trilobata* in decline are designated by an (X). The black box in the right portion of environmental space depicted by the figure highlights the subset of plots (n = 53) with relatively high predicted solar radiation, based on slope and aspect, while the horizontal dashed line divides this subset between those with relatively high *T. canadensis* abundance (>10 trees; n = 19 points) versus relatively low *T. canadensis* abundance (≤10 trees, n = 37).

Disentangling effects of the individual predictor variables was somewhat challenging, given that the abundance of *T. canadensis* tended to be correlated with locations along the transect receiving lower solar radiation (i.e., steeper,

more north-facing slopes); therefore I isolated a subset of 53 sample points at higher radiation (mean ≥13.0 MJ/m^2/day) that differed by having lower (≤10 stems) or higher (>10 stems) abundance of *T. canadensis* stems in the forest canopy surrounding each sample point (Figure 1). Among the high radiation, but low *T. canadensis* abundance, samples (n = 26), I found that 34% of *B. trilobata* were in decline. In contrast, for high radiation and high *T. canadensis* abundance samples (n = 27), only 29% of *B. trilobata* were recorded as in decline (Figure 1).

Discussion

The results of my analysis suggest the possibility of rapid negative effects associated with the decline of *T. canadensis* on the liverwort *B. trilobata*. In particular, the impact from salvage logging appears to pose the greatest risk to this liverwort species, as observed by the proportion of samples declining the highest were found in low moisture areas under open, recently logged canopy. As of the June 2015 survey, 100% of the samples in the recently logged area had declined or died in comparison to 33% of the samples in the unlogged portions of the experimental site. I also detected a more modest decline in samples at the other end of soil moisture gradient in very wet locations. These patterns are suggestive of a soil moisture niche for *B. trilobata*, with ideal conditions at moderate to high, but not saturated, soil moisture conditions.

Expanding upon the notion of a niche space for *B. trilobata*, the interesting interaction between solar radiation and the number of number of *T. canadensis* stems (Figure 1) suggests the possibility that *B. trilobata* is buffered by eastern hemlock canopies on sites that might not otherwise support stable growth, thus supporting my hypothesis that *B. trilobata* depends upon *T. canadensis*. This does not however, displace the importance of solar radiation, the total number of trees, or even organic soil moisture within this particular habitat. Future studies conducted at this field sight will seek to further elaborate the role of these other environmental factors that comprise the complex niche of *B. trilobata*.

Although the ultimate effects associated with the decline of eastern hemlock from hemlock woolly adelgid and elongate hemlock scale may not be apparent for several more years, the conditions connected to preemptive salvage logging have immediate relevance in relation to the status of *B. trilobata*. The dramatic changes in understory microclimate, including drying and increased light, that follow salvage logging (Lustenhouwer et al. 2012) will likely have immediate negative impacts on bryophytes like *B. trilobata* that appear to be adapted to the cool, dark, mesic conditions of intact eastern hemlock forests.

Moreover, whether a gradual decline and natural replacement of eastern hemlock by a deciduous species would trigger a similar decline in the long-term has not yet been determined. A follow-up experiment is currently underway to examine the tolerance of *B. trilobata* to light and moisture extremes when samples are placed in open, recently logged areas. Further study is also required to determine the physiological mechanisms of the decline in *B. trilobata* and what additional effects other environmental factors might have, including the influence of invasive and weedy vascular plant species that appear following logging and the possible impacts of leaf litter either cleared or maintained on samples of *B. trilobata*.

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Resisting the Matrix: Black Female Agency in Issa Rae's *Awkward Black Girl*

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In this paper, I explore Issa Rae's 2011 web series, *The Misadventures of the Awkward Black Girl*, as a case study of the larger phenomenon of black women who use the internet to increase the visibility of black women in the media by presenting more complex representations of black womanhood through the creation of their own images. I argue that *The Misadventures of the Awkward Black Girl* works outside of the traditional tropes of black women in the media in order to illustrate a more complete representation of black womanhood. This paper is part of a larger research project I am conducting on *The Misadventures of the Awkward Black Girl*.

Introduction

Scholars such as Donald Bogle (1973) and Michele Wallace (2004) argue that, historically, black women in film and television have suffered from limited visibility and the tendency of being reduced to caricatures. Furthermore, Patricia Hill Collins (2000) and bell hooks (1981) assert that the objectification of black women to stereotypical roles in the media, such as the Mammy and the Sapphire, leads to the dehumanization of black women within society as a whole. Collins considers the stereotypical representation of black women in the media to be a product of controlling images, which she argues influences the oppression of black women within the United States' matrix of domination. According to Collins, "portraying African-American women as stereotypical mammies, matriarchs, welfare recipients, and hot mommas helps justify U.S. Black women's oppression" (86). The representation of black women on screen is thus critical to how black women are perceived in society overall.

However, the current digital moment complicates these discussions, for anyone can now create and disperse their own creations on the web. There is a growing amount of web content created by black women featuring black women, such as Issa Rae's *The Misadventures of the Awkward Black Girl* (2011–2013). The existence of such media content illustrates an agency that black women are beginning to demand over the production and distribution of their own images. Issa Rae turned to the web to distribute her content due to the many master narratives and bureaucratic practices that hinder the distribution of certain images and representations through mainstream media outlets. Before the rise of the web and YouTube, it was difficult to create independent media infrastructures without an existing wealth of resources.

Issa Rae created *The Misadventures of the Awkward Black Girl*, a scripted comedy web series, in 2011 due to the limited amount of roles in Hollywood available for black actresses (such as herself), and as a result of her realization that a socially awkward character has yet to be fully explored through the lens of a black woman. Rae directs, writes, and stars as the main character in her first-person narrative show. The series consists of two seasons, a total of 25 episodes, and was filmed between February 2011 and February 2013. Currently, the first episode has nearly two million views on YouTube (where the series was originally released). *Awkward Black Girl* follows the life of J, who is self-described as being both black and awkward, as she navigates her way through uncomfortable social situations with co-workers, friends, and love interests. For example, in one episode, the show illustrates how J overcomes walking down a hallway multiple times, while passing the same co-worker each time, and another episode shows how J interacts with a co-worker, with whom she had a regretful one-night stand.

Issa Rae constructed "J" to work outside of the paradigm that historically limits the representation of black women in the media or what Collins refers to as "controlling images." This historical paradigm highlights one-dimensionality to black womanhood. For example, within this paradigm, black women are generally seen as either unreasonably quick to anger or they are complacently passive. They either have an insatiable and impulsive sexual appetite or they are unattractive and asexual. In this paper, through exploring the themes of anger, sexuality, and beauty/desirability, I argue that *Awkward Black Girl* works outside of this historical paradigm through its multi-dimensional representation of a black woman who is allowed agency and humanity.

Awkward Black Girl and Anger

Since the objectifying marginalization of black women during United States' slavery, to the nineteenth century's hyper-sexualization of Sara Baartman, black women typically have been reduced to tropes such as the Mammy, the Sapphire, the Jezebel, and the Tragic Mulatto (Harris-Perry 29). The Sapphire archetype of black womanhood defines black women to be uncontrollable, loud, angry, and emasculating (Bogle 77). Additionally, Collins adds that black women are commonly represented as being unfeminine, too strong, and undesirable due to their inability to adhere to the "cult of true womanhood," which Collins argues is the ideal construct of white femininity within a patriarchal society (Collins 75–80). Within this lens, black women are denied the ability to be in control over their emotions,

especially with regard to anger and assertiveness. However, in *Awkward Black Girl*, there is a multi-dimensional element to how J deals with anger.

For example, in the first episode, we watch J as she is driving to work and is faced with the uncomfortable dilemma of meeting up with an aggravating co-worker at every single stop sign. Every single time, her co-worker attempts to have a conversation with J, and it is obvious that J has no interest in engaging with her co-worker. At each stop, J is becoming more annoyed and frustrated with the situation. Her anger and frustration is written on her face, yet J does not berate her colleague. Instead, she awkwardly invents creative ways to discourage conversation at each stop sign. For instance, J pretends to talk on the phone in one scene, and she pretends to be excessively busy with searching for something in her car in another scene.

In another episode, J is sitting at work after her recent decision to cut off her hair. Upon viewing her employee's close-to-shaved head, J's boss begins to overwhelm J with micro-aggressive questions, such as "how often she washes her hair?" and "if she changed her hair because it was black history month?" The scene flashes to an illustration of J's inner thoughts, and we watch an imaginary, enraged J yell at her boss to "Shut up." Then J admits that she is passive, and contains her anger. However, unlike the previous example where J navigated her frustration with passive maneuvers, J takes a different approach here. When J's boss asks to touch her hair and proceeds to reach out to touch J's hair without her permission, J exclaims "No!" and uses her arm to stop her boss's hand from touching her hair. J's anger had reached a point where she could no longer contain it. As soon as her boss was in the process of violating J's personal space and body, J reacted.

These two examples from the series illustrate passivity to J's encounters with frustration and anger, but they do not deny her ability to become enraged. This trait is further seen in J's hobby of expressing her anger by creating rap with aggressive lyrics in the privacy of her own bedroom. However, what is ultimately displayed is J's ability to control her anger. She is allowed to be passive and internalize her angry, but she is also allowed to release it, especially when her humanity is threatened.

Awkward Black Girl and Sexuality

Collin's argues, "efforts to control Black women's sexuality lie at the heart of Black women's oppression," and she acknowledges the Jezebel as a controlling image working to achieve this effect (81). Historically, the Jezebel functions as an image of black womanhood that is juxtaposed against the asexuality of the Mammy, wherein the Jezebel is the sexually aggressive black woman with an excessive and insatiable sexual appetite. She—the image of the Jezebel—justifies the myth that black women cannot be sexually assaulted or raped because black women are naturally and uncontrollably sexual (90). Hence, black women tend to lose agency over their sexuality due to the stereotypical narrative that they are inherently sexually deviant, but Rae attempts to reconcile these narratives with J.

For example, one of the first scenes that we see of J in the show is her regretfully admitting to an impulsive, drunk, one-night stand with one of her co-workers. Her regret had little to do with her impulsive sexual decision, and more to do with the awkwardness of having to continue to work with said co-worker. While this example illustrates J making an impulsive sexual decision, we also witness an insecure J, later in the show, who is struggling with navigating the landscape of having a crush on another co-worker. It is not a sexually confident and stereotypically promiscuous black woman that we see when J imagines all of the ways in which her crush could fall in love with her. Yet, J is hesitant to actually initiate a conversation with him. Additionally, in the first episode of the second season, J contemplates the decision to become intimate with her current boyfriend. We watch J internalize her inner "Nia Long" as she lights candles in her lingerie and gives herself a prep talk in her bathroom mirror, while also practicing her seduction skills. We not only see a black woman who is debating if the time is right for her first sexual encounter with a new man, but we see a black woman who views herself as sexy, and as an object of desire.

Rae has ensured that J's sexuality is no more defined by "controlling images" than it is defined by men. For example, after J decides to cut her hair, her ex-boyfriend decides that he could never re-enter a relationship with her because she reminds him of a man; he feels emasculated. Later, in episode seven, the same ex-boyfriend runs into J while she is on a date and tells J that he confused her with his friend, Reggie, from behind. Reggie is a male friend, and this was an attempt to dismiss J's femininity. Yet, in the opening of this same episode, J is planning to go on a date, and in her mental fantasy, she imagines herself wearing a red dress with red high-heels, walking in slow motion to her date as romantic music plays in the background. It is obvious that J considers herself to be sexy and attractive. J's sexuality is not impulsive, and the men in her life do not define it. She is illustrated as being both sexually assertive and romantically shy. She is both fearful and confident. In terms of her sexual decisions, J illustrates a control over her life, an agency that we do not normally see from black women in the media with regard to their sexual decisions.

Awkward Black Girl and Beauty/Desirability

Stereotypical images, such as the Mammy and the Sapphire, are commonly associated with un-attractiveness and un-femininity. While Collins defines the Mammy to be the "faithful, obedient, domestic servant," she also notes "the mammy is typically portrayed as overweight, dark, and with characteristically African features—in brief, as an unsuitable sexual partner" (84). Since the representation of the Sapphire is associated with an inability to achieve the values of the "cult of true womanhood," the Sapphire also tends to be represented as unattractive and/or unfeminine. Thus, historical images of the Mammy and the Sapphire tend to feature darker-skinned black women with kinkier hair, for both representations are associated with undesirability. However, historically, images of the Jezebel and the Tragic Mulatto highlight a more beautiful and feminine definition of black womanhood. Beauty and femininity for black women is commonly illustrated by lighter skin and straight hair or as having more European features. However, J challenges this narrative.

Issa Rae juxtaposes J's awkwardness against her co-worker Nina's un-awkwardness. In *Awkward Black Girl*, Nina follows certain standards of Western-Eurocentric beauty; Nina has light brown skin and long, straight hair. J does not adhere to these same characteristics. J is seen as actively deconstructing these beauty standards by cutting off her straight hair in the beginning of the series. For the majority of the series, J has dark skin and a short haircut (resembling a male haircut), but she is not viewed as unattractive. Her desirability is highlighted in how the show's plot revolves around J's multiple love interest dilemma. It would be thought that Nina would receive the attention for being pretty and a symbol of beauty within the show. However, this is not the case. The show does not negate Nina's beauty, but rather the show illustrates how both Nina and J are objects of beauty and desire.

Awkward Black Girl and Agency

As these historical archetypes continue to be complicated and re-imagined, the lines between their individual characteristics blur. Yet, their historical legacies continue to plague the representation of black women in the media. Collins refers to the historical and stereotypical representations of black women as "controlling images," for she argues, "these prevailing images of Black womanhood represent elite White male interests in defining Black women's sexuality and fertility. Moreover, by meshing smoothly with intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, and sexuality, they help justify the social practices that characterize the matrix of domination in the United States" (Collins 72). The ability to define "societal values" is a "major instrument

of power" that black women have traditionally not been allowed. However, in *Awkward Black Girl*, Issa Rae attempts to reclaim this power by challenging the lack of agency typically displayed by black female characters through her resistance of the matrix of domination.

Ultimately, J exercises a sense of agency over her life in ways that are seldom seen in the images of black women in the media. For example, she is dumped, but she is also shown as having the ability to choose between two men. She is allowed to not only hate her job, but she is also allowed to look for a new job. She is allowed to view herself as sexy and to make impulsive sexual decisions, but she is also allowed to be insecure and to express reservations. On the one hand, J is a black woman, and on the other hand, she is just awkward. Her race and gender neither define nor limit her. It is J's agency to enact control over her life and decisions that allows for her to be a multi-dimensional representation of black womanhood.

Conclusion

When asked in a 2014 interview about her views concerning the representation of black women in the media, Issa Rae responded, "The only issue to me is that there is not more of the other stuff. I think that as black women we are always regulated to one image, one impression, one stereotype. That is the issue." As a creator of multiple web series, including *The Misadventures of the Awkward Black Girl*, Rae is responding to her critique of the limited visibility of black women in the media by the creation of her own images. It is crucial to note that Rae's web series does not exist in a vacuum. The web is home to a number of other web shows created by black women, such as Numa Perrier's *The Couple* (2011), Ashley Featherson's and Lena Waithe's *Hello, Cupid* (2012) and Andrea Lewis's *Black Actress* (2013).

What is crucial about these shows is that they are part of a larger conversation in society about race in a post-Obama United States. Ultimately, I assert that all of these web shows are being created within the same virtual space—a space where people of color are giving voice to personal narratives that have traditionally been ignored and/or marginalized by mainstream media. While this paper focuses on how this space manifests on the web, it is also important to consider how this space is moving from the web to mainstream media outlets. Issa Rae is currently filming the first season of *Insecure*, HBO's adaptation of *Awkward Black Girl*. Numa Perrier's *The Couple* is in the process of being developed by HBO, and her other web series, *RoomieLoverFriends* (2012), was recently released on Black Entertainment Television (BET). However, the most prominent example of this shift is the film *Dear White People* (2013), written and directed by Justin Simien.

Dear White People raised notoriety and more than $40,000 through its viral web trailer and Indiegogo fund (an online fundraising site). Even though this film was not created for virtual distribution, its production was directly connected to many of those who exist within this virtual space. For example, Issa Rae helped edit the film, and Lena Waithe (co-creator of *Hello, Cupid*) served as one of the executive producers. *Dear White People* won the Special Jury Award for Breakthrough Talent at the 2014 Sundance Film Festival, and received overwhelmingly positive reviews from the *New York Times*. This film exemplifies how new conversations about race and representation can transition from the limited audiences of the web to mainstream media, and that these conversations are not necessarily limited by race, class, gender, age, or nationality. Within this cultural moment, there seems to be a need to express untold narratives. In the future, I attempt to further investigate this virtual space, explore the factors that lead women of color to seek out these spaces to voice their own narratives, and analyze the virtual communities that form around these narratives.

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The Limits of Narration in Nonfiction and Fiction

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Paulina Jones-Torregrosa graduated from Wesleyan University in 2015 with a degree in English and feminist, gender, and sexuality studies. Her senior thesis was entitled This Bridge That Never Dissipates: Recreations of This Bridge Called My Back, 1981–2015. Her scholarly interests include 20th-century literature, Latino/a studies, ethnic studies, and feminist thought. She currently works as Teaching Fellow at Noble and Greenough School in Dedham, Massachusetts. Paulina hopes to pursue a PhD in English, perhaps with a dual degree in gender studies.

This paper places the work of Saidiya Hartman in conversation with the novel *2666* by Roberto Bolaño in order to interrogate the limits of narration. Though they write in different genres, both authors are concerned with how the global economy renders the bodies of women of color disposable. By using similar methods to Hartman, Bolaño is subject to critique about his fictional adaptation of the Ciudad Juárez femicides. In comparing the two authors, it becomes clear how historiography is crucial to fiction writing, and how it can be productive to draw from African-American studies in constructing a Latin American history of violence.

At first glance, the Chilean novelist Roberto Bolaño and the African-American historian Saidiya Hartman appear to address different questions in their respective work. However, in Bolaño's novel *2666* and Hartman's article "Venus in Two Acts," both published in 2008, the queries of fiction and nonfiction collide. Both writers work to expose how the transnational economy renders fungible the bodies of women of color, without impunity. In *2666*, Bolaño describes the insidious nature of the *maquiladora* system along the U.S.-Mexican border, an economy that depends on a constant supply of cheap female labor. Relying heavily on journalist Sergio Rodríguez González's 2006 account of the femicides in Ciudad Juárez, México, Bolaño's omniscient narrator describes the deaths of over one hundred women in the fictional Mexican border town of Santa Teresa. In a different genre, Hartman also undertakes a critique of the global economy, narrating how the transatlantic slave trade resulted in the deaths of two abducted African girls on the slave ship *Recovery* in 1792. She clarifies that she aims to "make visible the production of disposable lives" (11). As Hartman outlines her techniques, which she terms "critical fabulation" and "narrative restraint," as well as the ethical stakes of her work, those elements of Bolaño's work are thrown into question.

This paper explores the methodologies and moral imperatives of Hartman and Bolaño in their similar yet quite distinctive projects. How is it possible to write about gendered and racialized bodies in the archive that have been rendered voiceless in the moment of their deaths? How does a writer prevent further violence onto their subjects? If, as Hartman claims, historians in the genre of nonfiction have a responsibility to avoid romanticism, as well as the impulse to "fill in the gaps," to what ethical stakes can we hold writers of fiction? As I describe the ramifications of Hartman and Bolaño's work, I state how developments in nonfiction can be useful for fiction writers. Also, I argue for a productive kinship between African-American studies and Latin American studies, where writers can incorporate analyses from other disciplines in order to construct ethical narratives about violence against women of color.

In "Venus in Two Acts," Hartman revisits the story of two African girls who died on the slave ship *Recovery*. One of these young women was dubbed "Venus;" the other remains nameless. Both girls enter the archive in the 1792 murder trial proceedings of Captain John Kimber. He was eventually acquitted in both of their deaths. Hartman says that she came across this story in the archives while researching her 2007 book *Lose Your Mother*; but did not address it in that text: "I feared what I might invent, and it would have been a romance" (8). She wanted to show that the transatlantic slave trade was unaffected by the loss of human cargo, and that the slave ship was a space that did not allow for grief, nor for retribution against those who willingly harmed the abducted African peoples.

Also, Hartman wanted to invent a history for these two girls to remedy their brief mention in the archive. She encounters her subjects only through the literature of their killers. Unfortunately, the two women have already been marked as disposable when they enter the archive, as the European male slave traders did not think to acknowledge their existence until it came time to record the moment of their brutal deaths. To recuperate her subjects, Hartman wanted to elaborate on their lives. Instead, she quickly abandoned this approach:

> Initially I thought I wanted to represent the affiliations severed and remade in the hollow of the slave ship by imagining the two girls as friends, by giving them one another. But in the end I was forced to admit that I wanted to console myself and to escape the slave hold with the vision of something other than the bodies of two girls settling on the floor of the Atlantic. (9)

In examining her personal aims, Hartman concludes that inventing details or a backstory would only serve to comfort her, which only conceals the truth of the matter. If she wishes to pursue a recuperative project, she cannot conjure a romance to soften the violence evident in the archive.

The challenges of Hartman's work, however, do not render it impossible. On the contrary, these possible pitfalls

illuminate her work's immediacy. Hartman outlines the stakes of her work when she writes, "I want to tell a story about *two girls* capable of retrieving what remains dormant— the purchase or claim of their lives on the present—without committing further violence in my act of narration" (2). Thus, Hartman does not believe that the details of their lives and deaths need to be excavated from the archive or invented through a romance. Instead, what serves to be illuminated in her work is how the brutal deaths of these two girls affect our age today. She outlines an important caveat: the writer, like a doctor, must swear not to harm their subjects. If the writer succeeds in this goal, Hartman imagines that she will succeed not in recuperating the two girls, but in dreaming of a time in which the violence of their age does not mark ours: "As I understand it, a history of the present strives to illuminate the intimacy of our experience with the lives of the dead, to write our now as it is interrupted by this past, and to imagine a free state, not as the time before captivity or slavery, but rather as the anticipated future of this writing" (4). She argues that the historian's work can signal the precarious condition of her subjects' lives as they echo into our own, inviting writer and reader to imagine what kind of world would make them as well as us free. Thus, Hartman outlines not only the limitations of narration, but also the expansive possibilities for what the writer can accomplish if she succeeds in her task.

In producing her biography of the two girls, Hartman relies on a guiding method that she terms "critical fabulation." She borrow the word "fabula" from Mieke Bal, defining it as "the building blocks of the of the narrative." Therefore, the method of "critical fabulation" is "playing with and rearranging the basic elements of the story . . . re-presenting the sequence of events in divergent stories and from contested points of view" (11). Hartman clearly displays this methodology in her article. Instead of starting directly with the archive (the record of Captain Kimber's murder trial), Hartman guides us through other recorded instances of physical and sexual violence against enslaved African women. As she describes these events in the archive, by the time she arrives at the story of Venus, it becomes clear that the abuse that the two women were subject to was a systemic component of the transatlantic slave trade. Multiple women, not just "Venus," enter the archive solely at the hands of white male slave traders. Curiously, the global economy relies on this persistent silencing: the abuse and subsequent deaths of African women, whose names, bodies, and histories had been stolen, only increased the demand for more slaves.

Critical fabulation brings a number of conclusions to light: "By throwing into crisis 'what happened when' and by exploiting 'the transparency of sources' as fictions of history, I wanted to make visible the production of disposable lives (in the Atlantic slave trade and, as well, in the discipline of history)," Hartman explains (11). As Hartman succeeds in her goal of reminding the reader of the atrocities of the transatlantic slave trade, she also contests the neutrality of her historical sources that necessarily render her subjects disposable. Readers are reminded that the archive that historians use contains numerous unheard voices. Finally, when Hartman claims that "this writing is personal because this history has engendered me" (4), she points out how the lives of modern African-American women are shaped by the violence against their foremothers.

The other principal tenet of Hartman's method is called "narrative restraint." She defines this as "the refusal to fill in the gaps and provide closure . . . the imperative to respect black noise" (12). Under this philosophy, Hartman does not put words in her subject's mouths, and avoids writing a romance. Narration in this style honors the unknowable details of these girls' lives. Hartman remarks how easy it would be not to write in this manner: "The loss of stories sharpens the hunger for them. So it is tempting to fill in the gaps and to provide closure where there is none. To create a space for mourning where it is prohibited. To fabricate a witness to a death not much noticed" (8). Yet, if the imperative of the historian is to prevent further violence on her victimized subjects, the writer must acknowledge the limitations of narration, and work within those limitations to create a new realm of possibility for her subjects.

It's arguable that Bolaño uses similar narratological devices in *2666*. In the plot of *2666*, Bolaño effectively uses critical fabulation, or "throwing into crisis what happened when" (Hartman 11). The novel starts with a group of European academics who are hot on the trail of their shared idol. They travel to Santa Teresa in Part One in hopes of finding the reclusive author whom they all study. In Part Two, set in Santa Teresa, they meet an exiled Chilean professor who fears his daughter will fall victim to the gendered violence in the city. Part Three concerns an African-American journalist who has been sent to Santa Teresa to cover a boxing match, and who fights with his editors to write about the femicides instead. Finally, the readers arrive at "The Part about the Killings," which sparely begins, "The girl's body turned up in a vacant lot in Colonia Las Flores" (Bolaño 353). This is only the beginning. Eventually, the narrator in Part Four *2666* presents 110 dead women in the fictional Mexican city of Santa Teresa, going into great detail about the brutal condition of their bodies.

It is important to note that Bolaño, like Hartman, based his account on an archival source. He used the Mexican journalist Sergio González Rodríguez's book *Huesos en el desierto*, though it was unpublished as Bolaño was writing *2666*. González Rodríguez started his research in 1995 and

eventually produced *Huesos*, a lengthy nonfiction investigation into the Ciudad Juárez femicides. Bolaño started using González Rodríguez's research sometime around 1999 and 2000, though *Huesos* would not be published until 2002 (Valdes 9, 11). In his 2014 book *Roberto Bolaño's Fiction: An Expanding Universe*, Chris Andrews clarifies the relationship between Part Four of *2666* and *Huesos*. Andrews notes that the number of dead women in the novel is the same number that were killed in Ciudad Juárez between 1995 and 1998: 110 (231). However, since Part Four of *2666* spans from 1993 to the end of 1997, there were more women who were killed in real life that Bolaño did not include in this narrative. Bolaño never points conclusively to the identity of the murderer or murderers. Instead, the narrator repeatedly describes how the women were found, by whom, where, and in what state. The reader is left to piece together repeating details from each murder that expose a system of mass violence against women along the U.S.-Mexican border.

In Part Four, Bolaño employs several elements of critical fabulation, including multiple points of view, dates that go unclarified, and, at times, narrative restraint. For example, the bodies turn up intermittently, and their discovery is intermixed with several different plot lines. Bolaño's narrator follows various characters, such as a young woman who is in danger with the drug cartels (Rosa Amalfitano), an American journalist who wants to start writing about the murders (Oscar Fate), the inspector Juan de Dios Martínez, several other policemen, a seer (Florita Almada) who protests the killings, the jailed suspect in the murders who accuses someone else, the journalist Sergio González Rodríguez, and others. In this way, the reader gets several different perspectives on the killings, none of which is a romance. The entire unwieldy chapter spans over two hundred pages, and women keep turning up brutally murdered over the entire course of Part Four.

The effect of this critical fabulation is to interrupt the Mexican government's discourse in the mid-1990s and early 2000s surrounding the femicides. As Marcela Valdes recounts in her article "Alone among the Ghosts" in 1995, the government arrested an Arab-American man named Abdel Latif Sharif Sharif and blamed him as well as his purported band of teenage accomplices for the murders (6). However, even as women continued to die, the government, as well as the American investigator they hired, continued to insist it was the work of a serial killer. As Bolaño constructs his narrative, he implicates two facets of the global economy in the killings, namely the *maquiladora* system and the drug cartels. For example, at least 20% of the women who turn up dead in *2666* (according to my calculations) are identified as *maquiladora* workers. At times they are found by the *maquilas*; at other times, the narrator provides this detail:

> The first dead woman [in July 1995] appeared in the yard of an auto repair shop, at the end of Calle Refugio, near the Nogales highway. The woman was nineteen and had been raped and strangled. Her body was found in a car about to be scrapped. She was dressed in jeans, a low-cut white blouse, and cowboy boots. Three days later it was learned that she was Paula García Zapatero, resident of Colonia Lomas del Toro, machine operator at the *maquiladora* TECNOSA, born in the state of Querétaro. (Bolaño 454)

By specifying exactly which *maquila* Paula García Zapatero worked at, and that she was not from Santa Teresa (supposedly located in the state of Sonora), Bolaño shows that the *maquila* system drew women from all over Mexico who sought employment, and who would only be replaced if they died. This is our first hint at the role of the global economy in creating a cesspool in which women of color are killed with impunity.

As Valdes points out, the *maquila* system in Ciudad Juárez is one of the worst examples of the predatory global economy: "Juárez grew rapidly after NAFTA was implanted in the 1990s. Hundreds of assembly plants sprang up, luring hundreds of thousands of destitute residents from all over Mexico to take jobs that often paid as little as 50 cents an hour. The same traits that made Juárez appealing to NATFA . . . also made it an ideal hub for *narcotraficantes* [drug traffickers]" (2). Thus, the *maquila* system draws hundreds of young, poor, and vulnerable women to Ciudad Juárez, and they die on the pages of *2666* as they did in real life. Bolaño also continuously points out in his fractured chapter that the drug cartels control the police and the government, so neither of those institutions is invested in solving the murders. Thus, his methodology and subject of critique are quite similar to Hartman's.

In terms of narrative restraint, Bolaño importantly employs this technique in describing the murdered women. In her article "Globalized Philomels," Laura Berberán Reinares describes Bolaño's compassionate writing style: "When [describing victims' clothes], Bolaño chooses adjectives such as "long-sleeved" or "knee-length," subverting patriarchal discourses that blame victims of rape for their 'provocative' attire" (57). Here, Bolaño questions the dominant discourse the murders. This is important because most of the femicides in Ciudad Juárez involve an aspect of sexual violence, or involve sex workers who have been killed. However, Reinares notes that the narrator does not blame them for their own deaths, as the Mexican police often did (60). In this manner, Bolaño effectively employs narrative restraint in a manner that protects the victims in the archive from further narrative violence.

Yet, there is one example in *2666* that illustrates two separate and not inconsequential breaks of the technique of narrative restraint. The fourth victim in Part Four is called Isabel Urrea, and she is a journalist who is shot. Andrews points out that her murder very closely resembles the real-life killing of a reporter named Jessica Lizalde León in 1993 (205). Yet, Bolaño gave this character a pseudonym, as he did for all of the women in *2666*. This is his first act of narrative violence that spans throughout the entire novel. It is important to point out that Bolaño does not invent names for the bodies in the archive that were never identified, which is an act of restraint. Yet, the majority of the women who turn up dead in *2666* are given a pseudonym. One must question if Bolaño effectively erases the identities of each named woman who died between 1995 and 1998 in Ciudad Juárez.

Sometimes, writers use pseudonyms when writing about dead women of color to call attention to their precarious place in the archive. For example, in her 2011 book *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Identities*, Nicole Guidotti-Hernández retells the story of Josefa/Juanita, a woman who was lynched by a mob in Downieville, California, in 1851. This woman had been given conflicting names in the historical archive and, at times, went unnamed. Guidotti-Hernández writes that she intentionally uses both of the names attributed to the victim: "By calling attention to all of Josefa/Juanita's names, we defy the practice of making her nameless and problematize the question of truth in historical scholarship" (43). Thus, in Guidotti-Hernández's case, she employs multiple names, including a pseudonym, to ensure that her subject is named, and to point out how she has been misrendered by the historical archive.

Yet, unlike the dubiously factual sources from Downieville, California in 1851, it is unclear if *Huesos en el desierto* is an archive that needs to be problematized. I doubt that the factual transcription of the victims' given names warrants scrutiny. Instead, the pseudonyms in *2666* do not challenge the archive but instead are complicit in the continued silence around these women's deaths. Jessica Lizalde León's name, and the numerous other women who perished in the years following her death, is erased when she is called Isabel Urrea. She might has well have been dubbed Venus.

This murder is a violent outlier in *2666* because the author attempts to fill in the gaps of the story, presumably to provide comfort to the reader. Though all of the other women in *2666* are described after their deaths, this is the only instance in which the reader witnesses the murder:

As the engineer set off down the street, Isabel walked toward the place where she had left her car. As she got out her keys to unlock it, a shadowy figure appeared on the sidewalk and fired three times. The keys fell. A passerby some twenty feet away dropped to the ground. Isabel tried to get up but she could only lean against the front tire. She felt no pain. The shadowy figure appeared and shot her in the forehead. (Bolaño 356)

Unlike the other women who are found in the novel, the condition of Jessica Lizalde León's body is never revealed. Instead, the narrator depicts her as she lay dying. However, how does the narrator know that she felt no pain? Was that in the autopsy of Jessica Lizalde León? As her killer approached, how can anyone be sure that Jessica Lizalde León was not deeply afraid? Did she start to pray? Did she cry out for help? This is a story that we will never know and cannot presume to know. In this instance, the silences of the archive, as well as the silence of the dead, are disrespected.

It's important to point out that as a fiction writer, Bolaño may not be subject to the constraints of historiography. Though he's addressing a similar theme as Hartman; that is, the predatory and violent nature of transnational economies, Bolaño never claims to be a historian, and neither does his narrator. Hartman clearly states that in combing through various archives, she wants to approach "a biography of the captive and the enslaved" (3). In contrast, the real women behind Bolaño's characters were neither captive nor enslaved. They are not entirely ignored by the archive, and as I mention above, many of their identities were documented by Chris Andrews. Many of the victims of the Ciudad Juárez femicides likely have birth and death certificates that acknowledge their existence. They also likely have families who mourn them. Unlike the enslaved women that Hartman documents, the women of Santa Teresa/Ciudad Juárez existed in a relatively free state prior to the moment of their deaths; that is, as free as one can be when the menace of drug cartels, transnational corporations, and societal misogyny darken one's days. Also, Bolaño never intended for *2666* to be read as a biography. Instead, Bolaño told his friend Carla Rippey in a 1995 letter that *2666* "is MY NOVEL" (Valdes 2). *2666* is a magnum opus, not a character study.

It would require an incredible amount of academic sleuthing (as well as a Ouija board, perhaps) to solve the mystery of why a Chilean author painstakingly fictionalized the crimes against women in Ciudad Juárez. Though Bolaño lived in Mexico after being exiled from Chile, he never even set foot in Sonora (Valdes 2). We may never know if his aims were like Hartman's; that is, to illuminate the ways in which the past of Ciudad Juárez/Santa Teresa resonates

into present-day Latin America. But, regardless of Bolaño's intentions in writing *2666*, he produced a narrative, which I argue is subject to the same imperative of narrative restraint that Hartman believes is crucial to the practice of ethical historiography. Thus, Bolaño can be criticized for inventing the details of Jessica Lizalde León's death, and one can consider that passage to be a further act of violence.

Even if Bolaño wrote *2666* in the pursuit of personal glory, the novel has a similar effect as Hartman's project in which the reader is reminded how our present lives are affected by the past. *2666* is another entry into Bolaño's oeuvre that is dedicated to exposing governmental abuses against Latin American citizens. As a Chilean-American reader of Bolaño's fiction, I am particularly struck that a male Chilean writer would take up the stories of murdered women in Mexico. Though Bolaño addresses the abuses of the Chilean dictatorship in *Nocturno de Chile* and *Estrella Distante* and the Mexican dirty wars in *Amuleta*, this novel synthesizes the problems of both nations. Reading *2666*, I am reminded not only of my home country's complicity in creating NAFTA, which enabled the spread of the *maquilas*, but of a shared Latin American history of state-condoned violence against women. As I wear clothing made in Mexico, produced in the *maquilas* that NAFTA enabled, safe from violence solely due to my nationality, I am fervently aware of how "my age is tethered to hers" (Hartman 13). Yet, I would not have come to this analysis without synthesizing my knowledge of African-American studies to my reading of *2666*, which speaks to the productive kinship between these two genres and fields of study.

For all of its value, *2666* can also serve as an example of the dangers of narration, and the utility of historiography to fiction. As *2666* was published posthumously after Bolaño's death in 2003, he never could have read Hartman's work. But, any future Latino or Latin American writer wishing to construct a narrative of violence may be well informed by works in African-American studies like Hartman's. The two disciplines continue to grapple with similar questions, such as the role of transnational economies in violence against women of color, which concerned both Bolaño and Hartman. As writers of all races and disciplines turn to the archive, the limitations of narration are applicable in fiction and nonfiction. To borrow a phrase from Hartman, let the loss of stories in the Latin-American and African-American archive sharpen our hunger for each other's work, so that we may better recuperate those in the past whose experiences and silences echo into our shared future.

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Patriots: The Creation of the *Chaoxianzu* Ethnic Identity

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Maya Little graduated from Bowdoin College in 2015 with a degree in history and a minor in Chinese language. Her research focuses on the historical strategies of creating national and political identity in modern China. She is also interested in depictions of ethnic minorities in national media and politicized narratives of Chinese history. Maya's current work as a teacher at a rural school in Anhui, China allows her to pursue new lines of inquiry about local identity as well as continue her study of Mandarin.

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Korean immigrants in China were regarded with suspicion as permanent foreigners and enemies who were more loyal to the Japanese colonial regime than to China. However, during the Korean War many of these immigrants were given Chinese citizenship as members of the newly designed *chaoxianzu* (Chinese-Korean) ethnic minority group. They were praised for their patriotism and commitment to the Chinese Communist Party's goals in the Korean War. How did these Korean immigrants go from being despised and persecuted to revered and celebrated within such a short time span? In order to answer that question, this essay examines the methods in which the state, as well as Chinese-Koreans themselves, created an ethnic identity dependent on Korean patriotism for the Chinese nation.

During the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), the Chinese did not just grapple with casting off the yoke of Japanese occupation, but also with casting out the *erguizi*, the secondary devils who had entered their country from Korea. Many Korean immigrants, facing persecution at the hands of their Chinese neighbors and officials, eventually returned to their increasingly disparate homeland, Korea. The majority that stayed, however, gained Chinese citizenship only seven years after the Japanese fled China. They also gained an autonomous province, Yanbian, in Northern China as well as being designated ethnic minority members and Chinese patriots. The question that begs to be answered is: how did a hated minority become a model for Chinese nationalism within the timespan of only a decade?

The creation of the *chaoxianzu* (Chinese-Korean) ethnic minority category was a fairly uncontroversial decision made by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1952 as the CCP aided the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) during the Korean War. In shaping the political narrative of Koreans in China, the CCP focused on ethnic Koreans' service in the People's Liberation Army, demonstrating their Chinese nationalism and justifying their right to citizenship. The creation of this highly nationalist history of Koreans in China also helped shift dialogue about the Korean War from that of Chinese interventionism to defense of the Chinese nation.

This essay uses secondary texts along with Chinese propaganda, written during the Korean War, to analyze how and why the *chaoxianzu* ethnic category came about and who spurred on its creation. Through this essay one can see that the *chaoxianzu* identity is connected to patriotic "blood shed" and nationalist duty to China in the Korean War. Secondarily, this essay discusses how *chaoxianzu* themselves, specifically the war hero Chu Tokhae, also played a part in highlighting the patriotic origins of this identity.

Additionally, this essay gives more credence to the emerging dialogue about ethnic identity as a sometimes artificial and historically contingent phenomenon in China by arguing that the creation of the *chaoxianzu* ethnicity is closely related to Chinese nationalism during the Korean War and the "shedding of blood" for the Chinese nation throughout the bellicose 1940s. Hopefully, this essay raises new questions about the Chinese-Korean identity; Sino-Korean relations; who benefits from ethnic identity creation; and how rhetoric, nationalism, and group members take part in the process of identity creation.

Who are the *Chaoxianzu*?

As the CCP rose to power and entered the War to Resist America and Aid Korea, they faced a new challenge. What was to be done with the large number of ethnic Koreans living in Northern China? The construction of the *chaoxianzu* ethnic minority and its implantation into the politicized history of the Chinese nation was no easy process. This minority group, which continued to grow even in the early 1950s, differed from other Chinese minority groups in that many of these Koreans had not lived for even a single generation in China. They were mostly a large immigrant group rather than a group, like the Hui or Miao, who had existing pre-modern roots in China. Additionally, a Korean state (the DPRK) already existed and was fighting for its liberation.

The biggest struggle in cementing this ethnic identity into a Chinese historical and political narrative was the fact that the Korean War was supposedly an interventionist war to promote Korean self-determination and a sovereign Korean state (albeit one that was in line with Soviet and Chinese political goals). How could ethnic Korean immigrants who did not have a firm place in the history of China's interior and who fought for the creation of a sovereign Korean nation be considered Chinese citizens with rightful ownership to land and benefits in China?

To explain the process of creating the *chaoxianzu* ethnic identity, it is important to first consider the history of Korean settlement in China and the obstacles ethnic Koreans in China faced during the early and mid-20th

century. Past fluidity in China's borders led to many points in time when Chinese and Koreans traded and established life and livelihood just over the border in each other's homelands. Most of the Koreans who became known as *chaoxianzu* began migrating to Northern China during the late Qing dynasty in the 19th century. Despite the Joseon Korean dynasty's low level of interaction with the Qing, natural disasters drove poor Korean farmers into China looking for land and livelihood.[i]

As time went on, Japan occupied Korea in 1910 and Koreans again fled to China en masse to escape persecution and poverty under the Japanese colonial regime. Many joined the Korean Independence Movement (operating in exile in connection with both the Chinese Nationalist Party and CCP). Others aided Japanese colonial activities as collaborators and tax collectors in China. During the later years of China's occupation, the Japanese initiated a program in northeastern China that gave land to Korean farmers both to populate the desolate and rough northeast and to relieve land poverty in Korea.[ii] Many of the Koreans who migrated to and eventually settled in China came primarily for economic purposes rather than to support the Japanese colonial regime. However, when Japanese occupation ended, these Koreans were often regarded as collaborators with the Japanese occupiers and thus faced brutal reprisal from both the Chinese Nationalist Party (*guomindang*) and the CCP.[iii]

The suspicion many Chinese had for Koreans, although misguided, was not totally unreasonable. Koreans had willingly come as a part of a Japanese-initiated program to farm Chinese land. Many had also served as tax collectors, thus enjoying privileges that their Chinese neighbors did not, while helping to maintain the colonial regime. As Japanese occupation in Korea became more brutal and comprehensive than it was in China, many Koreans conspicuously acquiesced to Japanese assimilation programs that Chinese mainlanders resisted or were able to evade, such as the changing of surnames (*soshi-kamei)* and forced acculturation to Japanese language. Furthermore, regional tensions, occurring since pre-modern times, often flared up, and the Japanese media was happy to exploit Sino-Korean tensions in order to bolster its own colonial legitimacy. A dispute between Chinese and Korean farmers, known as the Wanpaoshan Incident of 1931, was sensationalized by Japanese media and caused subsequent anti-Chinese riots in Pyongyang. In the aftermath, massive protests and violence targeted Chinese living in Korea, which contributed to mutual distrust and affirmed the Chinese suspicion that Koreans could never rise above being Japanese collaborators.[iv]

Because of these incidents, the standing of Koreans who migrated and settled into northeastern China was incredibly precarious in the aftermath of Japan's defeat in 1945. For one, the *guomindang* (Chinese Nationalist Party) regime saw these Koreans as enemy collaborators and perpetual foreigners and did little to protect them from local retribution. The CCP was also not above regarding the Koreans with distrust—or even participating in their persecution. Often erased in the CCP history of modern Sino-Korean relations is the Minsaengdan Incident, in which paranoid CCP cadres in northeastern China purged hundreds of Korean communists for suspected association with a pro-Japan group. (One of the Koreans who barely escaped this massacre, and eventually gained the trust and support of the CCP, was the Supreme Leader Kim Il-Sung.)[v]

Despite persecution and mistrust from both the *guomindang* and the communists, the Chinese-Koreans would eventually be designated a "model minority" in China. Within the span of seven years from the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War to the twilight of the Korean War, a formerly despised, relatively isolated minority gained privileges, legal citizenship, and rights to Chinese land. How and why did the CCP begin to take an interest in legally incorporating *chaoxianzu* into the Chinese state?

How Was the Ethnic Designation *Chaoxianzu* Created?

The relationship between the CCP and the ethnic Koreans became stronger during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) and subsequent Chinese Civil War. It was simply easier and smarter for Koreans living in China to collude with the Communists than to find camaraderie in the *guomindang*. In the aftermath of the Japanese occupation, the *guomindang* made it clear that it would not support Korean permanent settlement and that it regarded Koreans as suspicious and permanently connected to the Japanese.[vi] The CCP, on the other hand, gained support from the Koreans living in the Northeast through economic plans to aid, redistribute land to, and lessen the tax burden of farming peasants, whom many ethnic Koreans in Manchuria identified with.[vii] Thus the impetus that finally convinced many Koreans to side with the CCP was economic rather than ideological.

The CCP had its own incentives for developing a closer relationship with the ethnic Koreans in Manchuria. Korean farming in northeastern China was feeding soldiers, industrial workers, and other portions of the Chinese nation. Many Koreans also volunteered to fight on the side of the CCP against the *guomindang*; they shed blood for the new Communist Chinese nation.[viii] During China's entrance into the Korean War in late 1950, many Koreans relocated back to North Korea to fight for its liberation but also to fight as Chinese citizens united with the North Koreans. A willingness to defend the Chinese nation did not go unnoticed,

and CCP rhetoric that was supportive of Korean immigrant inclusion and permanent settlement in China centered on propagating that there was a patriotic strain within these Koreans evident through their sacrifice for the Communist Chinese nation.

As the CCP's victory in the Chinese Civil War turned into struggle during the Korean War, CCP officials as well as ethnic Korean high-ranking soldiers, such as Chu Tokhae, began devising strategies to incorporate the Korean ethnic population of China into the Chinese nation. This meant both creating an ethnic identity and a national identity for these Koreans, as well as giving them some space to self-identify culturally and to have legal rights to Chinese land. However these new rights were conditional to a Chinese-Korean movement that espoused loyalty to the Chinese nation and followed CCP state goals, one of which was to help liberate the new Korean state to the north, the DPRK.

The problem inherent in this process was how to create an ethnicity with viable and strong national ties to China, against the background of a war that promoted self-determination for the Korean state. The Koreans living in China were not like Tibetans, Miao, Hui, or any other Chinese ethnic minorities who had strong cultural identities but also strong historical ties to the Chinese nation.

The ethnic minority designation that eventually arose from this process, *chaoxianzu*, was a layered identity, which served Chinese national goals as well as appeased Korean agitation for rights to land and freedom from being regarded as disloyal enemy collaborators. This notion of a multi-faceted identity was not entirely outside of the norm of CCP's historical development of ethnic identity and narratives in a multiethnic state. As detailed by Thomas Mullaney in *Coming to Terms with the Nation* (2011), the ethnic classification system developed both by CCP officials and ethnographers works to make ethnic identifiers flexible enough that ethnicity is cohesive with state goals of nationalism, efficiency, and Chinese-style communism.

Mullaney, whose research focuses on the southwestern province of Yunnan, states that many ethnic minority groups were combined in order to produce a smaller number of dialect groups. However, the combination process was not random. The representative dialect group is often picked based on its size and the willingness of minority elites to align themselves with, and help carry out, the goals of the CCP. These minority cadres also often become part of the process of producing films to appeal to the Chinese populace to showcase their ethnic identity. This media, just like the eventual ethnic designation and representative dialect that comes out of the categorization process, is not entirely false

but is heavily scripted to reflect the missions of the state and the classification system.[ix] And as state goals change, those qualities the ethnic group is said to possess also change, such that although ethnic identity remains a mode of self-identification, the ways in which this identity is discussed in media and politics varies with what goals it serves.

Understanding an ethnicity's flexibility clarifies its functionality. Ethnicity can also be constructed by ethnic minority group members themselves in order to gain leverage, rights, and privileges. It is used by the state to promote the state's values, legitimacy, and political goals. The *chaoxianzu* identity comes from the groups' own understanding of what it means to be ethnically Korean, paired with a national consciousness during the Korean War, and connected with the Chinese state's goals in Korea to promote a nationalist war, rather than one for Korean sovereignty.

The goals of this war were not simply to fight for the liberation of Korea, but also to fight a nationalist war to legitimize the CCP's political platform and to defend its own sovereignty. This is clearly seen in a propaganda piece from 1950 written by a spokesperson for the Chinese Central Government's Diplomatic Bureau:

> The Chinese people have every reason to accuse the American government of challenging and invading China. . . . So because of the Chinese people's righteous anger they have volunteered to send aid to the Korean people and help them resist the American invasion.[x]

> Thus the Korean conflict is tied to threats to China's own sovereignty, and in some ways to a chance for China (and by proxy, the communist bloc) to demonstrate the viability of its newly formed government and national mission. The spokesperson further legitimates the need for this nationalist war to resist America by writing: America's purpose in invading Korea is not just to get into Korea but also to try and get into China. To aid Korea and resist America is also for the purpose of preventing invasion in our own homeland.[xi]

Those Koreans who were active in fighting during the Korean War are no longer regarded simply as heroes against American interventionism and for Korean sovereignty. As demonstrated by the other goal of the war, "preventing invasion in our homeland," those Korean soldiers also become defenders of a Chinese homeland. They become nationalist war heroes who have brought glory to China, shed blood for China, and defended the CCP's mission on the world stage. However, it was not just the government that stood to benefit from the creation of this ethnic identity; ethnic Koreans in China were also active in creating this identity.

Who Shaped the Ethnic Identity *Chaoxianzu*?

Chu Tokhae, an ethnic Korean and a war hero, campaigned extensively for ethnic Koreans living in China to receive Chinese citizenship. He was also a part of the political process that drafted how exactly *chaoxianzu* would be regarded as Chinese citizens and as an ethnic minority in China. Chu saw the extensive benefits of becoming a citizen. Citizens received land and compensation from fighting in wars against the Japanese and the *guomindang*. Unlike immigrants with few property rights, citizens could maintain continuous rights to the land their families had settled and farmed for years. Additionally, with ethnic minority status came acknowledgement that these Koreans had some rights to continue practicing those cultural activities that did not come into conflict with CCP ideology. Chu fought for these rights by continually presenting himself and the Chinese-Korean community as heroic, model minority figures who were fiercely loyal to the CCP and who consistently fought for a Chinese nation against first the Japanese, the *guomindang*, and eventually the Americans in the Korean War.[xii] In a government conference set up to throw out ideas about creating the ethnic designation *chaoxianzu*, Chu states:

> For a hundred years the Chinese-Koreans (*chaoxianzu*), fighting alongside their Chinese brothers, have used their own sweat and blood to farm this land. They have shed blood and sacrificed their lives to protect this land from foreign invaders. . . . Although the Chinese-Koreans and Koreans are one race, the Chinese-Koreans receive the rights of the Chinese citizen.[xiii]

According to Chu, what separates these ethnic Koreans in China from other Koreans was the immense sacrifice they made to defend the communist Chinese nation.

But this was still a tricky argument to make, and the process of trying to turn Chinese-Koreans into Chinese citizens with ethnic minority status betrays those difficulties. Within this framework, it was important for Chu Tokhae and other ethnic Koreans to continue reaffirming loyalty to the Chinese state. It was also important to continue propagandizing for nationwide participation in the Aid Korea movement, while putting less emphasis on Korean liberation and self-determination and more on China's need to protect its own borders from American invasion.[xiv]

Even while affirming the goals of a nationalist war, Chu and others had to clarify who exactly were *chaoxianzu* and who were simply Korean immigrants in China. As more and more Koreans fled their homeland to escape bombings and war, the issue of who would receive Chinese citizenship became more and more unclear. Chinese officials would send back Chinese-Koreans who did not have apparent utility to the Chinese state. However, many scientists, mechanics, and soldiers, who were skilled and were needed to develop and protect the North Korean state, voluntarily left because of their own sense of patriotic duty to a Korean homeland, refusing citizenship in China.[xv] Those who were often rewarded with Chinese citizenship and became *chaoxianzu* were people who already had some legal right to the land through home ownership, farming, and small store and business ownership. Others were soldiers who had fought in the Chinese Civil War and continued to fight in the Korean War.[xvi] In this sense, property ownership and service in war played integral parts in determining who became a *chaoxianzu* and who did not.

Although Chu was cautious in campaigning for which Koreans in China should receive citizenship, he was uncompromising in his mission to gain citizenship for ethnic Koreans settled in northeastern China. Many other officials who were skeptical that China could ever be more of a homeland for Chinese-Koreans than Korea invented a system of three nationalities for Koreans. These three allegiances were to the North Korean state as homeland, to China as place of lawful residence, and to the Soviet Union as ideological home.[xvii] But Chu campaigned for acceptance of ethnic Koreans in China as ethnic minorities, who had cultural and ethnic ties to Korea, but nationalistic duty to China. Having three concurrent nationalities was precarious and would have been burdensome as relations between China and the Soviet Union were already beginning to sour. Furthermore, Chu was not just campaigning for citizenship in China but also for rights to land and community, to practice his culture, and to be deemed not just a Korean hero but also a Chinese *national hero*. Chu continually couched his argument for *chaoxianzu* citizenship in the Chinese-Korean sacrifice during the Japanese Occupation and the Chinese Civil War and Chinese-Koreans' continuous patriotic loyalty to the CCP.[xviii]

That rhetoric eventually garnered acceptance for the ethnic category *chaoxianzu*. This statement from a propaganda piece written during the Korean War displays that notion of sacrifice and patriotic duty to China: "Japanese Imperialists and the *guomindang* incite sabotage within the Chinese northeast committee, but Korean people are the instrument fighting against the Japanese bandits."[xix] The use of "instrument" at first glance seems condescending, but when the quote is unpacked one can see that the writer is uniting a Korean mission to a Chinese mission. It is not simply a Korean mission for independence from Japan, but in this text it is also a Korean mission to aid the Chinese on their own territory and to help protect China itself from

Japan. The Koreans are preventing sabotage and division that the Japanese and *guomindang* have created by dividing the Chinese committee. They are not just fighting against the Japanese but also taking part in a thoroughly Chinese nationalist organization and involving themselves in Chinese domestic issues.

Through Chu's and other Chinese-Korean leaders' agitation for citizenship came the designation *chaoxianzu*, the Korean ethnic minority group, which firmly placed Chinese-Koreans within the Chinese ethnic categorization system. This identity placed heavy emphasis on nationalism and loyalty to state while also allowing some room for Korean ethnic and cultural identity. Their identity was changed, but through this change they gained recognition in China as citizens and ethnic minority members rather than resident aliens.

Under Chu Tokhae's leadership, Korean language and culture took on a new level of importance for the Chinese-Koreans living in the Yanbian Korean autonomous region. Cultural awareness was encouraged during the early years of the PRC as long as the *chaoxianzu* clearly professed their role as Chinese patriots, loyal to the PRC and its political efforts. However, this dynamic changed in the 1960s when Mao Zedong condemned Chu Tokhae as a traitor and denounced the Korean cultural projects Chu had allowed in the schools and universities of Yanbian.[xx] Despite Mao's turning on Chu Tokhae, the residency and citizenship of *chaoxianzu* was never questioned, only the hindrance that Mao thought cultural projects put on the state's agenda. This is a testament to the power of campaigning for ethnic minority status so many years back.

One question may still remain: what did the invention of the *chaoxianzu* ethnic minority do for the war effort and how did it contribute to the nationalist rhetoric during the Korean War? Firstly, it continued to blur the lines between a Chinese nationalist war and an interventionist war for Korean self-determination. By aggregating many Koreans into Chinese citizenship with loyalty to a Chinese nation, ethnic lines were made more distinct while national lines were blurred. War rhetoric could furthermore invoke a territorial nationalism that confused and enlarged both the boundaries of nation and citizenship as well as changed national distinctions (such as Korean versus Chinese) into much more innocuous ethnic ones. This nationalist rhetoric turned a struggle that took place on Korean territory into a war against American aggression and for Chinese sovereignty. It portrayed Koreans as defenders of the Chinese nation, rather than as fighters for Korean self-determination.

Conclusion

This essay synthesizes information and analysis from a number of different texts on the Chinese-Koreans to give a more complete picture of one facet of identity creation in China, the ways in which nationalism can engender social change, and how the Chinese-Koreans came to be an ethnic minority in China. In writing this piece, I did not intend to necessarily find conclusive understandings of the complicated process of creating, changing, and molding ethnic identity in China. Instead to use a classic Chinese idiom, I hoped to cast a brick to find jade: to add information I gathered from my research to continue the dialogue around understanding and conceptualizing ethnicity in modern China.

Note: The cited evidence from "Chize? Ke Ase (Baogao) Ji Aositing Shengming de Shengming." November 11, 1950, as cited in *Kangmei Yuanchao Zhongyao Wenxian Yanlun Huipian*, is based on the author's own English translation of the original Chinese source text.

Acknowledgements

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iii Adam Cathcart, "Nationalism and Ethnic Identity in the Sino-Korean Border Region of Yanbian 1945–1950," *Korean Studies* 34 (2010): 28–29

iv Whitewall Wang, *Wanpaoshan Incident and the Anti-Chinese Riots in Korea* (Nanking: Internationals Relations Committee, 1931)

v   Hongkoo Han, "Wounded nationalism : the Minsaengdan incident and Kim Il Sung in Eastern Manchuria," (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1999)

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vii Dongji Jin, "Guogongneizhan yu Dongbei Chaoxianren de Chaoxianzu Huaguocheng," *Lishi Yanjiu* (2006): 70

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ix Thomas S. Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Berkeley: U of California, 2011), 124–125

x   Zhongyang Renmin Zhengfu Waijiaobu Yanren, "Chize? Ke Ase (Baogao) Ji Aositing Shengming de Shengming," November 11, 1950 as cited in *Kangmei Yuanchao Zhongyao Wenxian Yanlun Huipian* (unknown publisher, 1951), 20

xi   Ibid., 20

xii   Adam Cathcart, "Nationalism and Ethnic Identity in the Sino-Korean Border Region of Yanbian 1945–1950," *Korean Studies* 34 (2010): 34

xiii Dehai Zhu and editors, Zhu Dehai Yisheng, pg. 135 as cited in Dongji Jin, "Guogongneizhan yu Dongbei Chaoxianren de Chaoxianzu Huaguocheng," *Lishi Yanjiu* (2006): 71 "百年来朝鲜族同其它兄弟民族一道，用血汗开发了这块土地，在外敌入侵时又共同用鲜血和生命保卫了这块土地．．．这一切都说明中国东北的朝鲜族和朝鲜国土上的朝鲜人，虽然同属于一个民族，但前者已是享受着不同公民权的中国朝鲜族了"

xiv Adam Cathcart, "Nationalism and Ethnic Identity in the Sino-Korean Border Region of Yanbian 1945–1950," *Korean Studies* 34 (2010): 41–42

xv   Dongji Jin, "Guogongneizhan yu Dongbei Chaoxianren de Chaoxianzu Huaguocheng," *Lishi Yanjiu* (2006): 71

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xviii Adam Cathcart, "Nationalism and Ethnic Identity in the Sino-Korean Border Region of Yanbian 1945–1950," *Korean Studies* 34 (2010): 34

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The Madwoman Is Out of the Attic: A Literary Analysis on Contemporary Anthologies' Construction of the "Madwoman" in 19th-Century British Women's Literature

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Madison "Maddie" Nelson-Turner is a graduating senior English major (creative writing emphasis) from Irving, Texas. Upon the completion of her bachelor's degree, Maddie plans to pursue a doctorate in English with a concentration in creative writing. Ultimately, she aspires to become a professor of creative writing and a novelist. Her prospective graduate schools include Georgia State University, Binghamton University, University of North Texas (Denton), and the University of Southern Mississippi.

The general objective of this research is to analyze how contemporary anthologies have constructed the 19th-century British woman writer and her literary endeavors as an act of "madness." Specifically, this research analyzes the definition of the literary "madwoman," the origins of her confinement, and her progression into modern scholarship as it applies to Mary Shelley, one of the most influential 19th-century British woman writers. For the purpose of this study, *physical space* refers to the actual environment, whereas *psychological space* refers to academic discourse, imagination, social standards, etc. The "attic" functions as both physical space and psychological space for the 19th-century British woman writer. Literary creativity and/or "madness" resulted from the British woman writer's successful or unsuccessful navigation of these spaces, especially the social sphere of writing.

Introduction

The emergence of the nineteenth-century British woman writer was arguably one of the most radical experiences of the Victorian Era. Since the late 1900s, several anthologies have been published on these controversial figures, especially ones addressing their desire for literary autonomy and the reactions of their patriarchal societies. Mary Shelley is a prime example of this authorial archetype due to the questions of humanity and monstrosity in her critically acclaimed *Frankenstein*. Literarily speaking, Shelley is a creative literary genius for contributing a new perspective to nineteenth-century British literature; socially speaking, Shelley is a "madwoman" for engaging in a masculine profession. This juxtaposition of social status and creative integrity provides the fundamental question addressed in this research project: To what extent, if any, did "madness" shape the literary genius of nineteenth-century British women authors? This research analyzes how contemporary anthologies have constructed the nineteenth-century British woman writer and her literary endeavors as an act of "madness"—specifically, the definition of the literary "madwoman" as it applies to Mary Shelley.

In order to effectively evaluate the "madwoman" and Mary Shelley as a "madwoman," this research engages in

Hsin Ying Chi's *Artist and Attic: A Study of Poetic Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing* (1999), Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (2000), Annette Federico's *The Madwoman in the Attic after Thirty Years* (2009), and the Wordsworth Classics' edition of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1999). I have chosen to use the second edition of *The Madwoman in the Attic* because the added introduction by Gilbert and Gubar elaborates on the significance of their research: to understand and situate British women writers within the literary canon alongside their male counterparts.

Artist and Attic (1999)

Hsin Ying Chi's literary psychoanalysis discusses the effects of *space* on literary creativity, more specifically, the attic's effect on women's writings. Chi's introduction offers several definitions and connotations of *space*, but for the purpose of this article, the concept of *space* is limited to physical space (i.e., the attic, social standards), intellectual space (i.e., literary discourse, academia), and creative space (i.e., imagination, dreaming).

Applying the above description, the "attic" assumes a dual function: to both limit and liberate the British woman writer. The suppression of their social *spaces* enforced by patriarchal figures compelled these women to create an environment removed from masculine authority. This simple solution, however, perpetuated the women's plight. In escaping social confinement, British women writers found themselves physically and mentally incarcerated. Chi cites fellow scholar Marilyn R. Chandler, who illustrates this dilemma, stating ". . . the limitless space we create through the imagination is influenced by the limited architectural space we occupy" (Chi 3). Why, then, the attic and not some other room?

Attics are traditionally neglected due to their remote location in the house. Hidden from the rest of the structure and, therefore, from the rest of society, women reconnected with their history, which was largely absent from human antiquity. Chi cites another psycho-literary scholar, Gaston Bachelard, who:

> . . . concentrates on the space of solitude, especially the attic, in order to highlight the relationship between seclusion and creativity. The repeatedly used word "solitude" emphasizes the importance of solitariness in artistic creation. Solitude means freedom, and freedom leads to free imagination. (Chi 3)

If solitude is indeed necessary for limitless imagination, creativity—and not "madness"—is the end result. However, because the female writer was confined to the

attic, one may misconstrue her true intentions for artistic endeavors. After all, why create a masterpiece if you cannot share it with the world? Thus, society and scholars alike dismissed these trivial efforts and left the female writer to wither away in the attic.

The Madwoman in the Attic (2000)

Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's anthology of nineteenth-century British women writers elaborates on the role of gender in writing through asking the thought-provoking question: "Is the pen a metaphorical penis?" (Gilbert and Gubar 3). Gilbert and Gubar argue this phallic metaphor created the concept of "literary paternity," which granted male British writers the ability to circumvent the female in the process of creating life, literarily speaking. Male British writers "played God" within the worlds they created through their penmanship. The "metaphorical penis" (the pen) functions as one of the sexual organs necessary to conceive "offspring" (poem, short story, novel, etc.).

One would think the blank paper represents the unfertilized egg; however, no feminine gender quality is ascribed to any component of the writing process. Writing was a *male dominant* profession, and, therefore, it was deemed necessary and appropriate the completely exclude the female from the equation. Thus, male writers experienced total freedom in writing literature because he did not have to depend on the female "egg" to produce "offspring." Their "semen" (the ink) was sufficient.

Addressing the female's displacement in literature, Gilbert and Gubar indicate "the angel in the house" and the literary "madwoman" as twentieth-century terms used by scholars to describe the ideal nineteenth-century British woman and the nineteenth-century British woman *writer*, respectively. The British woman was expected to be the epitome of virtue, an "angel," a mere object solely intended for the study and pleasure of masculine audiences. She was spoken of and spoken for. In this patriarchy, autonomy was considered a male inheritance; the phallic metaphor ascribed masculine gender qualities to the art of writing. For a woman to attempt the pen was defying the very laws of nature. The pursuit of writing was, therefore, a pursuit of masculinity. Because society couldn't accept an "angel" with a "metaphorical penis," she was deemed "monstrous" and condemned to incarceration. Despite this breach of social norms, Gilbert and Gubar contend that these women were not attempting to redefine *literature*, but sought to redefine *themselves* and their literature outside of masculine dominance and gender conventions. Still, the trope of the "madwoman" provided the foundations for modern scholarship to include those who had been historically excluded from the literary tradition.

The Madwoman after Thirty Years (2009)

Nearly two centuries later, the literary "madwoman" slowly emerged from the attic. While more blatantly feminist-centric than the original *Madwoman*, Annette Federico provides an extension of Gilbert and Gubar's brainchild. Federico's critical anthology further expounds on the original *Madwoman in the Attic* through analyzing its first publication (1979) and the rapid progression of the literary "madwoman" into the contemporary period. Her selected essays demonstrate the influence of *Madwoman* on late twentieth-century feminist writers and critics. Federico's review is surmised in the following quote:

> Thirty years later, the image of the [literary] madwoman, no longer "cabin'd, cribbed, confined" by the explicit social structures and implicit psychological demands of the patriarchal order, has taken on a cultural and critical life of its own. (Federico 3)

Not only is the "madwoman" free from her social and historical restraints, her namesake is and should no longer be associated with its negative connotations (*masculine female*, *monster*). Furthermore, Federico's text engages the literary and social reactions to Gilbert and Gubar's unprecedented scholarship through providing modern critical interpretations of the *Madwoman* from current feminist and non-feminist critics and writers. How, then, do these contemporary definitions of the literary "madwoman," the origins of her confinement, and her gradual liberation play out in a work of literature? The answer can be partially found in one of the most frequently debated individuals of this genre and her most critically acclaimed novel.

Frankenstein (1999)

Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley was the daughter of two radical literary authorities: William Godwin, a utilitarian philosopher, and Mary Wollstonecraft, a woman's rights activist. This constant exposure to controversial, literary scholarship inclined Shelley to marry a Romantic poet and scholar of prose, Percy Bysshe Shelley. For the sake of this research, Mary Shelley and *Frankenstein* represent the progression the of nineteenth-century British woman writer due to the work's questions concerning humanity and monstrosity, the sources of creativity, and the dangers and/or benefits of "madness."

In this classic narrative, Shelley relates the chilling narrative of Victor Frankenstein, an aspiring young scientist, who attempts to play God through the creation of human life. His good intentions produce a hideous Creature, and Frankenstein abandons his child to a callous society that rejects it for its grotesque appearance. Alienated and unloved, the Creature executes his personal vendetta

against his creator; Frankenstein dissolves into madness at the mercy of his failed experiment.

The following excerpt, taken from Shelley's added introduction (1831), is her personal recollection of the birth of Frankenstein's ill-fated story:

> When I placed my head on my pillow, I did not sleep, nor could I be said to think. My imagination, unbidden, possessed and guided me, gifting the successive images that arouse in my mind with a vividness far beyond the usual bounds of reverie. . . . I saw the pale student of unhallowed arts kneeling beside the thing he had put together. I saw the hideous phantasm of a man stretched out, and then, on the working of some powerful engine, show signs of life, and stir with an uneasy, half-vital motion. Frightful must it be; for supremely frightful would be the effect of any human endeavour to mock the stupendous mechanism of the creator of the world. His success would terrify the artist; he would rush away from his odious handywork, horror-stricken. He would hope that, left to itself, the slight spark of life which he had communicated would fade; that this thing, which had received such imperfect animation, would subside into dead matter; and he might sleep in the belief that the silence of the grave would quench for ever the transient existence of the hideous corpse which he had looked upon as the cradle of life. He sleeps; but he is awakened; he opens his eyes; behold the horrid thing stands at his bedside, opening his curtains, and looking on him with yellow, watery, but speculative eyes. (Shelley 4)

First, Shelley mentions her imagination's role in writing this particular novel, a prime example of the influence of *space* (in this case, academic discourse in the natural sciences) on creativity and/or "madness" (Shelley's imagination). Second, Shelley's resulting nightmare-based novel not only demonstrates the influence of the male writer, but the power of suggestion in general. Earlier in the 1831 introduction, she references conversations she observed between two distinguished male British writers, Lord Byron and Percy Shelley (her husband), regarding the possibility of assembling and animating a human corpse. The mere thought was translated into a dream, which consequently inspired her to translate the dream into a short story. The power of suggestion resurfaces when her husband encourages her to develop the short story into a full-length novel. Lastly, Shelley's dream speaks to her dilemma (and possible phobia) of authorship, for she was quite abhorred at the thought that her own imagination could conjure such a terrifying scene.

While Percy insistently encouraged her to write, it was more so for the purpose of evaluating her personal worth to him as opposed to gaining literary recognition. Shelley originally intended to write *Frankenstein* as a short story; it was her husband who compelled her to further pursue the novel. Although originally published *anonymously*, Percy Shelley wrote the preface as if the novel were *his*. The dedication never explicitly names *Mary* Shelley, simply referencing her as "The Author." Her authorship would not be officially recognized until the 1831 edition.

Recreational writing was her favorite leisure, but Shelley ". . . had a dearer pleasure . . . the indulging in waking dreams. . . . What [she] wrote was intended for at least one other eye . . . but [her] dreams were all [her] own. . . ." (Shelley 1). This preference could be a plausible explanation to her disinterest in a full-length novel. When the publishers requested an account of *Frankenstein's* conception, she expressed opposition; in doing so, her personal thoughts would be exposed to public scrutiny. Instead, she opted for a general statement concentrated on her authorship. As long as her thoughts and dreams resided within her imagination, innocent or deviant, no one could judge her for them.

Still, Shelley sought to write something that ". . . would speak to the mysterious fears of our nature, and awaken a thrilling horror, one to make the reader dread to look round, to curdle the blood and quicken the beatings of the heart, [and] If [she] did not accomplish these things, [her] ghost story would be unworthy of its name," (Shelley 3). In a sense, she sought to establish her own autonomy, validating herself as a writer to herself and not to another. It was *her* child, *her* "hideous progeny" which she bade to "go forth and prosper," haunting the imagination for generations to come (Shelley 5).

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century British women were expected to be the "angels in the house": spoken of and spoken for. For a women to attempt the pen was considered monstrous, because in doing so she renounced her femininity; society could not accepted a "masculine female" and thus condemned her monstrous, a "madwoman." Still, these women desired their own voice and found their own *space* in which they could speak life into existence. The attic was equally limitless and limiting, for while women could gain their literary voice, no one was around to hear it. Thus, the nineteenth-century British woman writer spoke into the darkness, alone with an imagination bursting at the seams of the walls in her attic.

Hsin Ying Chi defines the spaces in which the nineteenth-century British woman writer was confined collectively as "the attic." Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar define the "angel in the house" and the literary "madwoman" as twentieth-century terms applied to nineteenth-century British women writers. Annette Federico applies these

concepts to twentieth-century feminist criticism and posits that the "madwoman" should no longer be treated as a stereotype but as a mark of distinction of female genius. All of these terms are then applied to Mary Shelley, who represents the nineteenth-century British woman writer due to her extensive background in literature and radical thinking.

Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* incorporates this compilation of knowledge and brings to light several parallels between Victor Frankenstein and Mary Shelley herself. Just as Mary Shelley defied the laws of nature by attempting the pen, Victor Frankenstein defied the laws of nature by playing God and giving life to a human body. Both Shelley and Frankenstein were confined to their own "attics," dark rooms in which to create their masterpieces. With no one to share their ambitions and no one to understand those ambitions, these "masterpieces" became the product of "madness" once revealed in the light to the eyes of an unforgiving society. As the Creature was abhorred for his grotesque appearance, Mary Shelley's child *Frankenstein* was abhorred by the patriarchal lineage of writing.

"Is there creativity in 'madness' or does 'madness' dictate creativity?" The answer is entirely subjective; the status of an individual's creation is dependent on time, region, social norms, and the dominant voice of the discourse, be it artistic or academic. Nonetheless, if one aspires to redefine or recreate the discourse, some "madness" is required.

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Producing "Reality": "Authentic" Representations of Black Women in Reality Television

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Golden Owens graduated cum laude from Bowdoin College in May 2015 with a bachelor's degree in English literature. Her academic interests center on the intersections of race, gender, and media, and on the ways in which media, society, and culture work to influence and even dictate each other. Golden plans to further explore these interests by pursuing a PhD in the near future.

The following article is an exploration of the ways in which Black women are represented in reality television. In the article, I examine how the tools that reality television uses to construct both its content and its characters as "authentic"—including typecasting, emphasis on specific events and behaviors, and post-production editing—work to present Black women as modern-day representations of historic stereotypes, and to present their behaviors, their interactions, and even their bodies as markers of their "authenticity" as Black women. I accomplish this by exploring and analyzing the treatment of Black women in MTV's *The Real World: Portland* (2013) and VH1's *Love and Hip Hop: Atlanta* (2012–present). I discuss how reality television manipulates its content in order to tell a desired story and present its cast members in specific ways; I also argue that reality television takes advantage of pre-existing stereotypes and preconceived notions of Black women in its construction and portrayal of its Black female participants. Allowing these persistent and still-dominant representations of Black women to go unchecked leaves room for reality TV creators to continue constructing and broadcasting these women as little more than walking stereotypes.

When it first appeared in the 1990s, many viewers and researchers dismissed reality television as "trash," arguing that it was cheap, inferior, and even moronic. Unlike other genres of television, the reality genre claimed to present real people and situations; and while some viewers were intrigued by this marketing, critics asserted that reality television lacked class and would ruin television as a whole. Regardless of these dismissals, reality programs have proven to be extremely popular: reality television is consistently one of the most-watched genres of television each year, and the number of reality programs on television has increased significantly since the genre emerged—according to *The Washington Post*, "hundreds of reality shows are produced every year for almost every channel" (Yahr et al. 2015). Over the past two decades, the increasing presence and popularity of reality programs has led researchers to pay closer attention to the genre and its presentations of supposed realness. At the same time, audiences drawn in by the "real-life drama" of reality programs (Orbe 2008) have become increasingly aware of how un-real the genre actually is. In spite of this awareness, however, research has shown

that audiences may still inscribe authenticity to parts of the programming (Hill 2005); and reality television, in spite of the fact that it selects participants by typecasting and is substantially edited, still claims to present authentic images of reality. The genre goes out of its way to construct people, events, and interactions as authentic, while also striving to make its content entertaining. While these efforts may entrance some viewers, this construction of reality is potentially dangerous for racial minorities, as reality programs often present one-sided images of these individuals and pass them off as markers of authenticity for an entire race.

While a number of scholars have explored reality television's treatment of racial minorities in their own research (e.g., Orbe 1998; Bell-Jordan 2008; Deo et al. 2008; Park 2009; Tyree 2011), several scholars, such as Ji Hoon Park (2009) and Herman Gray (2005), seem to have turned away from researching recognizably problematic images of these individuals in favor of studying newer, more representative, supposedly less problematic portrayals of people of color. While there is merit in researching these emerging images, the reality is that depictions of racial minorities which still adhere to and reinforce historical stereotypes—such as the Sapphire and the Jezebel, in the case of Black women[i]—are still present and dominant throughout television and, especially, in reality TV. By shifting their focus of study away from these portrayals, these researchers leave room for the creators of reality programs to continue broadcasting marginalizing, stereotypically coded representations of people of color, and thus contributing to and reconfirming existing sociopolitical understandings of what it means to be an "authentic" minority—without facing any accountability for doing so.

In this article, I refocus on the genre's treatment of racial minorities by looking exclusively into the ways in which it depicts Black women, in order to contribute to existing research on race in reality television. More specifically, I discuss the methods that reality television uses to present certain behaviors exhibited by Black women—usually behaviors that can easily be recognized or coded as stereotypical and/or invoke historical stereotypes of Black women—as markers of these women's "authenticity." To accomplish this, I explore the ways in which reality television endeavors to make every element of its content appear authentic while also striving to make this content entertaining for its viewers, and how this commitment to constructing authenticity translates into the genre's portrayal of Black women. I also analyze how the behaviors, the interactions, and even the bodies of the Black women featured in MTV's *The Real World: Portland* (2013) and VH1's *Love and Hip Hop: Atlanta* (2012–present) are framed in ways that create one-dimensional images of these women, invoke historical stereotypes of Black women, and allow these programs to

construct and broadcast their conception of an "authentic" Black woman.

Unlike scripted programs, reality television cannot rely on pre-written story lines to provide plot points, characters, and interactions that are both entertaining and quasi-realistic. Instead, reality programs must construct their own narratives using the footage captured over a given period of time. To create these narratives, those working behind the scenes of reality programs tend to manipulate a given show's content—before, during, and after filming—so that it tells a certain story and presents certain images.

One of the resources that reality television uses to shape the content of its programs is casting. Just as the casting directors of scripted television shows select actors who they believe will fit specific characters, the people working behind the scenes of reality television go through a casting process to select individuals that will fit a certain desired "type." This "type" is usually someone that will be likely to bump heads with at least one of his or her fellow castmates, usually on the basis of race, gender, or differing political beliefs. To increase the chances that cast members will clash, reality programs also tend to cast people with "opposite personalities or backgrounds," as they will be more likely to have disagreements and thus spark drama or conflict (Park 154); this is done with the goal of ensuring that a given show's content—and its carefully selected characters—will entertain its viewers (Murray and Oulette 2008).

Because reality television also strives to ensure that its content appears to be "real," the genre must also make sure that the people it casts will come across as "authentic." In casting racial minorities, for example, reality television often tends to choose individuals whose personalities and/or behaviors are or can be made to appear reminiscent of long-existing stereotypes. The genre selects such individuals largely because the stereotypes that are or can be evoked by these people's behaviors are often believed to be representative of racial minorities; these stereotypes have been recycled in television (and in society) for such a long time that they have repeatedly informed and continue to reinforce mainstream sociopolitical beliefs about these minorities.

In addition to casting, reality programs also heavily alter their footage in post-production. One technique that reality TV editors use to alter footage is "Frankenbiting," which involves stitching together clips from different scenes in order "to make participants say what the makers of the show wish they had said" (Poniewozik and McDowell, 62). Editors also make use of reaction shots, "shots that cut away from the person speaking or scene unfolding to show others' reactions (usually just visually)" (Pardo, 76). Like Frankenbites, reaction shots can be taken from any area

in the footage and inserted somewhere else. Both of these techniques allow producers, editors, and others working in post-production to create drama or tension, and to convey a desired message or idea—about cast members, conflicts, or day-to-day interactions—to the viewers. Additional techniques include overdubbing—adding noises and captions on top of scenes where characters are not actually seen to suggest that they are doing/saying something they may not be doing/saying (Poniewozik 2006); using non-diegetic mood music to dramatize certain interactions or situations (Pardo 2013); and playing with the placement and content of confessionals, in which cast members share their thoughts about their castmates or about in-show conflicts. By using these editing techniques, and by deliberately casting certain types of people in an effort to prompt drama and conflict, producers are able to "actively shape the reality" of their programs, and to "construct an entertaining show out of random and mundane events" (Park, 154). In addition, since many of these manipulations are used to depict reality cast members in very specific and often coded ways, reality programs are able to contribute to and reinforce sociopolitical understandings of minority groups. These calculated manipulations, and the ways in which they work to tell certain stories and present certain characters, are extremely visible in the reality genre's treatment of Black women.

Reality television's presentation of Black women as believably realistic relies on—and is largely successful because of—the way in which stereotypes of Black women have been replicated and reinforced throughout the decades in which television has existed. More than this pattern of repetition, however, coding these women as "authentic" is made possible by the reality that the use of these stereotypes works to reinscribe dominant social power and the sociopolitical positioning of Black women. In his essay "Look! A Negro," Robert Gooding-Williams notes, "Black bodies . . . have been saturated with significance, for they have been relentlessly subjected to characterization by newspapers, popular film, television programming, public officials, policy pundits, and other agents of representation" (1–2). This government and media saturation and characterization of Black bodies—that is, of African American men and women, who are often characterized in specific ways—leads to the re-establishment and reinforcement of what Gooding-Williams calls an "interpreted image": "a racial representation that was [originally] constituted by assigning a particular function (e.g., the function or role of causing fear in white people) to Negroes when they appeared in the legends and the stories we have inherited from the past" (9). These racial representations in turn work to present similar, often typified images as being representative of "real" Black people, as these images "[portray] the Negro as acting precisely as historically received legends and stories about Negroes tend to portray them as acting" (Gooding-Williams, 9). In this way,

stereotypes become concrete signifiers of "authenticity," at least for those who believe in the realness of a given medium's depictions of Black people: they serve as recognizable, repeatedly circulated "evidence" that solidifies continuously reinforced sociopolitical understandings of what it means to be a Black person. For Black women in reality television, these representations mean that any demonstrated behaviors, characteristics, and attitudes which are or can be made to appear stereotypical will be accepted—at least by those working behind the scenes of a given reality program—as "genuine," and will be coded as such. The reality genre's continued use of stereotypical representations of Black women reflects a behind-the-scenes effort to create images of these women that adhere to interpreted images of Black females and that audiences may be inclined to accept as "real." A clear example of the reality genre's exploitation of these stereotypes can be found in *The Real World: Portland*'s portrayal of Nia Moore.

From the moment she first appears on *The Real World: Portland* (*RWP*), it is clear that Nia, as the show's lone Black woman, will be portrayed as a problematic character throughout her time on the show. When she first arrives, the show places considerable emphasis on her body and her sexual nature, displaying shot after shot of her walking through the house half-naked and speaking bluntly about sex—something her castmates repeatedly condemn her for even though many of them behave similarly. Even more noticeably, *RWP* repeatedly emphasizes any anger and/or aggression that Nia displays on the show, which ultimately plays a large role in creating the drama that reality television strives to foster. Viewers first encounter this aggression in Episode Six, when Nia gets into a major altercation with roommate Jordan, a White male. What begins as a relatively playful interaction, with Jordan and Nia flirting and teasing each other, quickly becomes more serious after Jordan begins spitting Cheerios into Nia's face. After Nia threatens to hit Jordan over the head with an alarm clock if he spits at her again, the two end up screaming at each other, with Jordan offering insults and mocking statements while Nia curses profusely and continues to threaten him. The event comes to a head when Jordan begins making monkey noises at Nia, who responds by shoving Jordan backwards and screaming that she will kill him.[ii] In the end, Nia stops responding to Jordan's taunts only when Marlon, the show's lone Black male, confirms that she will be sent home if she physically attacks Jordan. This allows Marlon to get Jordan away from Nia, and for the confrontation to end.

While the incident itself comes to a close, discussions of the incident become the central focus of the next episode, with both Nia and Jordan sharing their feelings about the event with the other housemates. However, although Nia is able to tell her side of the story, the altercation is quickly framed as being Nia's fault. Jordan repeatedly claims that Nia provoked his behavior and that he only responded the way he did because he was drunk and wanted to prove a point; and other roommates repeatedly cut Nia off when she tries to speak more about the incident. By refusing to account for his own role in the altercation and blaming Nia for his behavior, Jordan and the housemates who agree with him both silence Nia and cause her anger and aggression to appear unfounded. By emphasizing Jordan's perspective on the incident throughout the episode, the show itself uses these judgments, and Nia's behavior, to portray Nia as an angry, aggressive woman, rather than as a person who was driven to anger and aggression by a series of frustrating actions and comments.

Ascribing Nia's behavior to her character rather than to her frustrations causes Nia to look very much like an Angry Black Woman, a centuries-old stereotyped character known for her "unprovoked" aggression against men. Nia herself picks up on this: in a conversation that she has with Marlon the day after the incident, she states that Jordan's behavior caused her to go "angry Black girl" on him. By including this admission, and by repeatedly focusing on Jordan and his supporters' opinions about the incident, this episode of *RWP*—as edited, produced, directed, and shot by those working behind the scenes of the program—emphasizes Nia's anger and aggression while de-emphasizing Jordan's role in contributing to her anger and aggression. As a result, Episodes Six and Seven both work to code Nia as an Angry Black Woman, and to code her behavior as a marker of her personality and of her identity as a Black woman.

Many other examples of reality television's treatment of Black women can be found in VH1's *Love and Hip Hop: Atlanta* (*LHHA*), a series that currently has four seasons and is preparing for its fifth. Unlike *RWP*, *LHHA* consists of an entirely Black cast and is executive-produced by a Black woman on a channel that targets Black viewers. Because of these factors, one might think that the women on this show would offer a more representative image of Black women as a whole, especially since the women on *LHHA* are the show's main characters. However, as is quickly revealed, the Black women on *LHHA* are also frequently coded by stereotypes and are depicted in much the same way that Nia is portrayed on *RWP*. One illustration of this coding appears in the third episode of Season Two, in which there is a verbal and physical conflict between feuding castmates K. Michelle and Rasheeda. The conflict occurs at a housewarming celebration for their mutual friend Mimi, during which K. Michelle and Rasheeda begin arguing after being encouraged to talk to each other. Rasheeda starts to leave in order to keep from causing a scene, but returns to the apartment when K. Michelle says something insulting about Rasheeda's husband. When Rasheeda gets into K. Michelle's

face, the former responds by kicking at Rasheeda and throwing a candle at her. When Rasheeda moves to retaliate, several men who were on the set (but not on screen) hold her back and separate her from K. Michelle. The two women continue trying to attack each other, trading verbal insults as K. throws another candle and Rasheeda picks up a bottle, non-verbally threatening to use it against K. Michelle. Finally, with the women being kept on opposite sides of the room, Rasheeda walks out of the apartment, effectively ending the confrontation.

The confrontation between K. Michelle and Rasheeda works to frame both of these two women as modern-day representations of the Angry Black Woman stereotype. Of the two, it is Rasheeda whose anger initially appears somewhat out of character: throughout the first season, Rasheeda exhibited a calm demeanor in her personal confessionals and in her interactions with her husband and her other castmates, even when she was visibly upset or frustrated. Rasheeda's exhibited calmness remains in place until this moment in Season Two, and her behavior during the confrontation directly contradicts what viewers have come to expect from her. In spite of this, *LHHA* uses a number of editing devices to establish Rasheeda's anger as a previously hidden aspect of her personality. First, just before she leaves Mimi's apartment for the first time, the show cuts to a confessional in which Rasheeda reveals that she can no longer keep her cool with K. Michelle. Second, the cameras focus solely or predominantly on Rasheeda for the majority of the altercation: though the cameras initially switch back and forth between Rasheeda and K. Michelle, the focus moves to Rasheeda the moment she first insults K. Michelle. The cameras follow her as she leaves Mimi's apartment, concentrate on her as she comes back inside and gets close to K. Michelle, and zoom in on her as she fights against the men holding her back and attempts to attack K. Michelle, all while screaming profanities and threatening to break the other woman's neck. This sustained focus on Rasheeda greatly emphasizes the anger and aggression that she exhibits throughout this confrontation. This anger is further accented by the fact that the music playing in the background of the scene abruptly changes just as Rasheeda begins to lose her composure: the instrumental hip hop beat that precedes Rasheeda's confessional is replaced by another hip hop beat that sounds slightly more aggressive and which continues to play throughout the rest of her and K.'s confrontation.

By focusing on and repeatedly emphasizing Rasheeda's anger and aggression, the show works to code both of these things as inextricable parts of Rasheeda's identity. Though Rasheeda did not exhibit this kind of behavior prior to this point in the series, the show's framing of her conflict with K. makes it appear as though Rasheeda has merely been holding back her anger and has finally lost control of it. This idea is especially supported by the fact that Rasheeda herself, both before and after the altercation, states that while she tried to remain calm, she could no longer bring herself to do so. The idea is further supported by Rasheeda's threats: she tells Mimi, as she is being ushered towards the door, that K. is messing with the wrong person and that she will break K.'s neck, both threats which suggest that the calmness Rasheeda had previously displayed in *LHHA* was at least a partial cover for her underlying anger and aggression. By presenting Rasheeda's anger as a previously hidden and now uncontrollable trait, the show posits that this anger, and the aggression that results from it, is a loosely restrained aspect of her personality, something that is bound to surface once Rasheeda's frustration reaches a certain level. Because this type of anger—uncontrolled, violent, seemingly appearing out of nowhere—is characteristic of the Angry Black Woman, *LHHA's* portrayal of Rasheeda works not only to reinforce this long-existing stereotype but to posit Rasheeda's anger as evidence that she is a "genuine" Black woman.

While Rasheeda's anger and aggressive behavior are at the forefront of this particular confrontation, the show also focuses heavily on the anger and aggression exhibited by K. Michelle. Unlike Rasheeda's anger, which seems to appear out of the blue, K. Michelle's anger has been established as a part of her personality since *LHHA* first premiered: throughout the first season, fellow castmates, representatives of her former record label, and others in the music business repeatedly described K. as being crazy, angry, and aggressive.[iii] Her behavior in this confrontation strongly supports these early claims, as do K. Michelle's own admissions—at various point in Seasons One and Two—that she tends to lose her temper when she feels that she has been treated unfairly.

In the confrontation with Rasheeda, K. Michelle is the one who causes the argument to escalate from words to physical action by throwing the candle. Furthermore, though the scene's focus is predominantly on Rasheeda, the cameras certainly do not ignore K. Michelle. Between shots of Rasheeda, viewers receive several glimpses of K., who continues to yell at, insult, and throw objects at Rasheeda, even as the large, previously off-screen men continue to hold both women back. As a result, K.'s actions, despite the fact that they are somewhat overshadowed by Rasheeda's comparatively more uncontrolled behavior, are presented as being both instigative and aggressive. One gets the sense, watching the scene, that K.'s actions are more problematic than Rasheeda's, even though Rasheeda's anger and aggression are more prominent, especially since the other cast members present for the altercation—Mimi, her friend Ariane, and Rasheeda herself—later blame the incident

entirely on K. Michelle. As a result, K.'s antics become the central focus of the scene and work to support the idea, as promoted by other characters and by K. herself, that K. Michelle is prone to responding to situations with anger and/or aggression. Because of this, K.'s anger is coded as being such an intrinsic part of her character that she cannot prevent herself from expressing it—an idea that is often presented in descriptions of the Angry Black Woman. By framing K.'s anger as a central part of her identity, *LHHA* presents K. Michelle as a modern-day incarnation of the Sapphire stereotype and as an "authentic" Black woman, just as it does in framing Rasheeda's anger as a hidden but inevitable part of her own nature.

The fact that *RWP* and *LHHA* portray their respective Black female characters so similarly is not surprising insofar as both are reality programs: reality television, as I discussed previously, relies on such depictions of minority characters in order to make them seem authentic, to create conflict, and to provide entertainment. Thus, it is less than shocking that both programs capitalize on their Black female cast members' stereotypical or seemingly stereotypical behaviors, attitudes, statements, and even physical appearances, using these things to construct and signify each woman as an "authentic" Black female. The similarity in the two shows' portrayals of Black women becomes surprising, however, when one considers the major differences in several behind-the-scenes factors. One such difference is in the audiences that each program targets. *LHHA* appears on VH1, while *RWP* appears on MTV. Both channels are owned by Viacom—a mass media company whose channels are broadcast all over the world—but each channel is geared towards a different kind of audience. MTV targets young adult viewers, specifically those between the ages of 12 and 34 (Elliott 2011), and primarily attracts White viewers, though there is no mention of whether the channel goes out of its way to do so. VH1, on the other hand, actively targets Black audiences. Much of the channel's programming is geared toward African American viewers, with an increasing number of shows starring entirely or predominantly Black casts; in 2014, VH1 was "the most watched cable network during primetime in black households, with 8.1 million viewers across four shows" (Brown 2014). The channel also attracts a large number of female viewers between the ages of 18 and 49, many of whom are drawn to these predominantly Black programs (*TV by the Numbers*, 2014). Considering that Viacom also owns Black Entertainment Television (BET), it is not surprising that it would try to direct the content of one of its more mainstream channels towards Black viewers, especially since Black American viewers have the highest rate of total TV usage of any demographic (Villareal and Braxton 2012). In light of this information, it makes sense that a show like *LHHA*, with its entirely Black cast, would appear on VH1, while a show like *RWP* would appear on MTV. Why, then, in spite of these differences in target audiences and viewer statistics, would the shows portray Black women in such similar ways? Wouldn't a network whose aim is to target Black viewers attempt to present them in a non-stereotypical light?

These questions become even more pressing when one considers the race of both programs' executive producers. The executive producer of *RWP* is Jonathan Murray, a White man; the executive producer of *LHHA* is Mona Scott-Young, a Black woman. In spite of their differences in race and gender, the executive producers of these two programs seem to have similar agendas when it comes to portraying Black female characters: *LHHA's* portrayal of Black women is just as stereotype-based as *RWP* and other White-produced reality programs, even though its executive producer is herself a Black woman. While looking at these two shows cannot, in any way, prove that the race of the producer has an effect on the way Blacks are presented, the evidence I have found in analyzing these shows suggests that the presence of a Black producer itself does not prevent the recirculation of radically limiting profiles. This evidence in itself suggests that even if Scott-Young and other Black Americans working in television wish to abolish the reliance on racial stereotypes, they may not have the real power to do so, and as such are present only to provide authenticity—or at least the illusion of authenticity—to the portrayals that are depicted. This notion adds an even more interesting layer to the idea that reality television goes out of its way to construct specific, supposedly "real" images of Black women. As Dubrofsky and Hardy note in their article on race in *Flavor of Love* and *The Bachelor*, all performances of Blackness in reality television "must adhere to a 'test of authenticity' (Hall 2003) by confessing an 'otherness' that 'preserves Whiteness'   `" (Shugart 2007, 115). In other words, these conditions exist regardless of the race of a show's producers, writers, and other workers; regardless of these people's individual beliefs and goals; and regardless of the target audience of a given program. The Black people—in this case, Black women—who are chosen for and depicted in reality programming must therefore adhere to mainstream audiences' preconceived notions of what it means to be a "real" Black woman. And in order to present its Black female cast members in accordance with these notions, *LHHA*, *RWP*, and all other forms of reality television must emphasize and manipulate behaviors, attitudes, statements, and appearances that are—or can be made to appear—stereotypical, and construct each of these elements as markers of Black female "authenticity." Only by performing these repetitions, after all, can these reality programs reinforce the stereotypes and the associated sociopolitical allegories that are, were, and continue to be associated with Black women.

The fact that these images of Black women continue to exist and to be fostered in reality television, even when Black women themselves are involved with the production of reality programs, also illustrates the necessity of continuing to explore the stereotypical representations of Black women in reality television. While nothing is wrong with researching more varied images of Black women or exploring what the emergence of these new images may mean for the future of Black women in television, it is essential to keep highlighting the fact that these images are still overshadowed by those that persistently portray Black women as one-dimensional characters, individuals whose behaviors and emotions are manipulated so that these women may be presented as recognizably and "authentically" Black. Ignoring or de-emphasizing this problem will not cause it to go away—it will only allow reality creators to continue churning out these images and positing them as representations of reality.

Acknowledgements

Endnotes

i The Sapphire, aka the Angry Black Woman, is described as violent and overly aggressive; the Jezebel is described as provocative and sexually promiscuous. Both have been evoked in TV depictions of Black women for decades.

ii Calling a Black person a monkey, or making monkey noises/gestures at them, is extremely racist; African Americans are often compared to monkeys and other primates, described as being ugly, stupid, and underdeveloped.

iii Or, at least, reminding K. that she has a reputation for being these things.

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Kara Walker's Pornographic Parody of the Black, Enslaved, Raped Woman

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Kara Walker's controversial art—in particular, her life-size depictions of psychosexual fantasies seeded by American slavery—has resulted in a nearly constant debate about whether the artist should be celebrated for her portrayal of our country's fascination with racial differences, or condemned as a perverse individual who rehashes demeaning imagery about African-American women. Through an analysis of a few of Walker's works, I argue that while the artist perpetuates stereotypes about black women's sexuality, her postmodern approach to parody also introduces an alternative way of thinking about the exchange of sexual pleasure between white males and black, enslaved women in the antebellum South.

Contemporary African-American artist Kara Walker addresses issues of race, gender, and sexuality within the antebellum past and their prevailing influence on contemporary race relations. Most of the artist's works are set within the context of a fantastical slave plantation world that depicts parodic images from black memorabilia, folklore, historical novels, movies, cartoons, old advertisements, Harlequin romance, and the nineteenth-century slave autobiography.[i] Walker is best known for panoramic friezes in her signature medium, cut-paper silhouettes on a life-sized scale in a reduced color gamut—typically black shapes against a white wall, though she has more recently placed black and white shapes against a slate gray background.[ii] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, silhouettes were used to capture an individual's personal image; they were also associated with the pseudoscience of physiognomy, which held that one could analyze psychological and racial types by studying facial features.[iii] In using the silhouette, Walker has appropriated this historical form of representation and reverted to caricatured aspects of blackness and whiteness, using racially coded ways to represent racial differences; her work engages the question of how one represents race through reduced means. With all figures shown on black paper, the identity of a figure as black or white can be shown through racially coded profiles. Walker uses the silhouette to outline caricatured, biological markers of blackness and whiteness (see Figure 1).

To evoke an antebellum world, Walker relies on slave plantation stereotypes including the master, the mistress/missus, the Negress/slave mistress, the pickaninny, the mammy, the young buck, the field hand, the overseer, and the Southern belle.[iv] Walker's figures, transcribed by fluid line, engage in violent, interracial sex, which was once considered illicit, and debauchery. Her scenes range in tone from the humorous to the unspeakable. Walker's themes and motifs are a commentary on the system of slavery and its continuing legacy in the American consciousness.[v]

Walker is not the first African-American female artist to comment on the origin of racial relations in the United States. In postmodern fashion, previously marginalized artists challenge their exclusion within master narratives, which asserted the notion that only men are artistic geniuses, the idea that history and human experiences can be encompassed in totalizing theories, and the colonialist assumption that non-white races are inferior. Following the Civil Rights era, many female African-American artists belonging to a generation older than Walker's, such as Betye Saar and Faith Ringgold, used slavery as a theme and setting to question the complex set of relations of domination for which we still do not yet have a literary or visual language.[vi] Despite the relationship between Walker's works and the works of these earlier artists, some of these same artists have raised objections to Walker's racially coded figures and her seemingly mocking attitude towards the sexual exploitation of enslave females.

Following Walker's reception of the MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant at age 27 in 1997, there has been nearly constant debate about whether the artist should be celebrated because she portrays our country's ugly fascination with racial difference, or condemned as an intentionally spiteful and perverse individual who rehashes demeaning imagery because "sex sells."[vii] In my paper, I argue that even though Walker perpetuates stereotypes about black women in her silhouettes and prints—with regard to their biological markers and supposed hypersexuality—her postmodern pastiche simultaneously calls for a reconsideration of the black, enslaved, raped woman narrative.

Because Walker depicts black females through racially coded profiles and silhouettes, she is criticized for disseminating derogatory stereotypes. Black women have been regarded as icons of deviant sexuality since the European encounter with African peoples circa the fifteenth century. European scientists asserted this stereotype as fact due to black women's supposedly highly developed sexual organs, connoted through elongated labia majora, large breasts, and robust buttocks.[viii] Black women in Walker's oeuvre are represented with sexualized biological markers such as large breasts and rotund buttocks and "negroid" features including wide, prominent noses, thick lips, and kinky, curly hair. Walker further sensationalizes black women's sexual biological markers (breasts and buttocks) by rendering some as naked, so that the viewer can stare at their nipples and pubic hair, while the white women remain clothed (Figure 1).

Although Walker's intention is to evoke the sexualized perception of the black female body during slavery, the recurring depictions of black women with the same posteriors, noses, and hair only reinforces the idea that all black women share the same—and are characterized by—sexualized, biological markers.

Not only do Walker's images convey that all black female bodies share similar and easily distinguishable features, the pornographic actions that the enslaved females are partaking in immortalizes the trope that black women are lascivious creatures whose biological markers denote their hypersexuality. As revealed in various historical accounts—such as Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*—white plantation owners frequently asserted their sexual dominance over black female slaves either through violent rape or treating female slaves as their concubines.[ix] Despite the anti-miscegenation laws, sexual dominance over black women was considered a right of passage for young Southern men. Not only did it diminish black masculinity and disrupt notions of marriage and family among enslaved blacks, violent interracial sex also allowed white men to act on their socially unacceptable desires. Enslaved women were forced to bear many illegitimate children and were constantly at the beck and call of their master's sexual desires; but rather than being perceived as victims, they were considered promiscuous.[x]

When other artists have visually represented the rape of enslaved women, an attitude of mourning and outrage appropriate to a cultural tragedy has surrounded the image—which never *explicitly* depicts the sexually violent act.[xi] In contrast, Walker depicts the rape of enslaved black women in obscene ways, which is where most of the criticism against her is directed.

Rather than depict enslaved women as victims, Walker appropriates nineteenth-century stereotypes of black women to depict them as the sexual aggressors. Walker seems to draw inspiration for her female characters' sexual deviance from the Negress, a character in Thomas Dixon Jr.'s *The Clansmen: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (1905). The Negress is the figure of the promiscuous slave mistress who rivals the master's wife for his affections and emerges repeatedly in Walker's work.[xii] These women were often taken out of the fields so that their masters would have easier accessibility and greater freedom to violate their bodies. Field slaves and mistresses were not, in fact, sexually promiscuous, as the Dixon Jr.'s book details; rather, these women were often raped or forced to satisfy their masters and overseers to avoid retribution. Walker's works are confounding because she repeatedly represents sexual assaults on girls in which the women often appear to be assenting

to their violation and receiving pleasure in the process, or display no readable affect.[xiii]

In Walker's scenes, the silhouettes of black women engage in racy intercourse with their superiors. For example, fellatio is graphically depicted in Kara Walker's *Successes* (1998.) In this image (Figure 2), an enslaved female is bent over performing oral sex on a presumably white plantation owner, or the master. The enslaved woman is seemingly thin and is wearing a turban over her hair, which was typical of female field slaves to wear while they were working. Walker eroticizes the field slave's body by depicting her as naked, so that the outline of her breast and nipples are discernible. Their sexual encounter is made more illicit with the quote bubble above the slaver's head, conveying his moaning from sexual pleasure. The pornographic scene quickly turns nightmarish upon realizing that the white slaver has the claws, paws, and tail of Satan and the jaw of an ape.[xiv] The slaver's penis goes into the field slave's mouth and comes out of her buttocks, so that it appears the slave has her own tail. Walker's use of religious/folk allusions demonizes interracial sex, suggesting that it was inherently evil because of its forced nature. Despite her portrayal of the white slaver as a demon, the artist chooses to sexualize the black woman's body, sustaining the idea that black women's hypersexuality is a product—both literally and figuratively—of their biological markers.

Because the silhouettes do not provide readable expressions, the enslaved women are assumed to be complicit in their sexual violation and even willing to bestow sexual favors. Even when Walker adopts a different medium so that the audience can read these women's expressions, the artist continues to transform the icon of the enslaved, raped woman into the troupe of the hypersexual wench.

In an analysis of Walker's 2010 print, *the secret sharerer* (from "An Unpeopled Land in Uncharted Waters"), I discuss how Walker intentionally depicts the sexually aggressive nature of enslaved women through readable facial expressions, biological markers, and gesture. "An Unpeopled Land in Uncharted Waters" differs from Walker's other series in that it is a direct reference to the Atlantic slave trade, rather than the antebellum South. Thus, the setting is not a fantastical slave plantation but, instead, various bodies of water and coastal regions. Despite the difference of setting, the sexual exploitation of black female slaves is a theme in this work.

In *the secret sharerer* (Figure 3), a naked female slave is on top of a presumably half-naked white male. Rather than implement her usual silhouettes to depict figures, Walker etches the white male and black female. Walker also chooses to leave the figures white—instead of black—and

uses stereotypical biological markers so that the audience can decipher their races. The black female has a wide nose with flaring nostrils, thick lips, and nappy hair that sticks out in various directions. Although her breasts do not seem to be overwhelmingly large, the audience can tell that her posterior is plump because of the way it leaps away from the charcoal background. In comparison to the enslaved female, the primary signifier that reveals this man is racially white is his hair, which falls in gentle waves instead of being very curly. The juxtaposition between the multiple biological signifiers for the enslaved black female and the singular biological marker for the white male reinforces stereotypical biological differences between the white and black races.

Not only does Walker exaggerate biological stereotypes historically attributed to black people, she also reinforces the idea that black females are licentious creatures. Although the silhouettes in the foreground are partially obstructing the white male and black female, there are several erotic allusions to a sexual encounter. The black female's sexually dominant position, her lecherous sneer, and her hand caressing his neck all indicate that she is seducing the male. Their heated sexual encounter is further alluded to through the positioning of the man's head, which is thrown back into space, as though moaning from pleasure. In this alternative historical representation of sexual exploitation during the Atlantic slave trade, Walker chooses to depict the enslaved female as the sexual aggressor, not the white male.

The two silhouettes in the foreground obstruct the graphic sexual act between the white male and enslaved black female. The silhouettes seem to be removed from the scene in the background—given their difference in medium—and are conversing about what they see. The silhouette on the left is turned to the side so that her profile faces the audience. This silhouette is presumably that of a female because her hair is piled on her head, which is typical of Walker's white female figures. The female silhouette is turned towards the silhouette on the right—assumed to be a male—and is whispering something in his ear, given that his head is cocked to the side and the print's title. I would like to suggest that these two silhouettes are a representation of contemporary America and how we [the people] associate slavery with interracial sexual violence and the enslaved, raped woman narrative.

Because academic discourse has only recently acknowledged the hypersexualization and rape of black women during slavery, it is now at the forefront of African-American reconstructions of history and memory. These reconstructions result in dichotomous portrayals of slavery: those that are considered realistic depictions and those that are written off as fiction. In thinking about Walker's work, realistic depictions of interracial violence depict the enslaved

women as victims, whereas Walker's quasi-porn in which the women are the sexual aggressors would be considered fiction. It is this stark binary between portrayals of slavery that Walker addresses. In an interview, Walker argues that she and other Americans are informed about historical memories through fiction just as much as they are through fact.[xv] While we have Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* to grasp the details of interracial violence, we have no visual evidence. Instead, contemporary culture relies on films—which are usually fictitious—with graphic rape scenes to convey the horror of sexual exploitation during slavery.[xvi] Although Walker's complicit female slaves seem to be a fictitious representation of slavery, they are, in fact, supposed to be an alternative narrative or novel dimension that explores the complexity of these women's relationships with their masters.

Walker's "fictitious" representations contrast with what are considered realistic depictions of slavery. Older generations of African-American artists—who have personally experienced interracial violence—convey the sexual exploitation of female slaves in a solemn and critical manner. These older women have created a "culture of dissemblance," or community in which they conceal their feelings regarding the trauma of sexual violence.[xvii] Because older generations are still healing from the trauma of interracial sexual violence, they relate to the self-sacrifice, confusion, and pain that their enslaved female ancestors similarly experience, and simultaneously reject Walker's oeuvre, which discusses questions about sexual pleasure in the context of enslavement.

Unlike this older generation of artists, Walker is not interested in mourning enslaved, raped women; instead, she strives to create a visual language for the affective legacy of extended relationships of sexual domination. In trying to understand the subservient position of a woman who is not raped a few times but is sexually subjugated for years or for her entire sexual life, Walker imagines agency in sexual situations with the master and overseer class as a way to empower the helpless enslaved women.[xviii] In what ways did enslaved women exercise power in their sexually subservient positions? Were these women able to manipulate their masters with the sexual favors they bestowed?

Walker's interpretation of the past encapsulates the idea of unending context. In their seminal article, "Semiotics and Art History," cultural theorist Mieke Bal and art historian Norman Bryson suggest that in addition to considering the context of a specific historical moment, art historians have to consider how the present interacts with and interprets the past, in this way context is unending. [xix] While Walker considers historical accounts about the antebellum South such as *Incidents in the Life of a Slave*

Girl, she also questions how the present interprets the past. Walker's imagery challenges contemporary reconstructions of African-American history and the culture of dissemblance that attempt to leave out references to the complex emotional and psychological relationships between masters and slaves. While these reconstructions characterize the interracial relationships as instances of black complicity, Walker's assertion of women as sexual aggressors illustrates the combination of the enslaved female slaves' frustration, dependence on, love for, and overall hatred harbored for their masters. Through the postmodernist approach of parody, Walker brilliantly appropriates the icon of the enslaved, female victim and presents her as a sexual being with agency in an attempt to introduce a new way of thinking about the power dynamics and exchange of sexual pleasure between the white males and black females.

Kara Walker's work cannot be separated from the narrative of race in the United States, because it has been so deeply ingrained through the institution of slavery. Walker's imagery of illicit debauchery between female slaves and their masters causes discomfort and outrage because it upholds historical stereotypes about the black female body and the trope that black women are innate sexual deviants. Walker's consistent racial profiling in her archetypal images of black women rearticulates the nineteenth century belief that black women's bodies are fuller and more sensuous than white women's bodies, thus leading them to posses animalistic sexualities. While many scholars, activists, and artists find Walker's pornotroping of enslaved raped women to be disturbing and a mere reflection of her "lost black soul," the artist's choice to parody violent interracial sex is a commentary on slavery's legacy in the American consciousness and an attempt to unveil a novel dimension within the traumatic memory of violent interracial sex: the complexity of these women's relationships with their masters.[xx] Rather than produce a sorrowful mood to mourn the violation of enslaved women, Walker gives them sexual agency and imagines a world in which these enslaved women have sexual power over their masters and dominate them in the sexual realm. Walker's conflation of fact and fiction is a larger representation of American historical memory. Walker's alternative enslaved female narrative is a postmodern challenge to the dichotomous historical portrayals of slavery. Because there is no visual evidence of the interracial violence that occurred during slavery, Walker's choice to give these enslaved women sexual agency advocates that we cannot limit the enslaved female narrative to one of sexual exploitation, and disregard the possibility of sexual pleasure in the context of enslavement. As Keizer stated,

If we're not bent on forgetting that these relationships ever happened, what story do we tell ourselves about them and their lifelong effects on the dominated women and the generations of daughters to whom these women gave birth?[xxi]

In other words, history is not black and white, and American history and memory cannot continue to polarize it. Although Walker does recreate many of the historical stereotypes pertaining to black women, her exploration of enslaved women's emotions shatters the historical polarization between superior master and inferior victim and, instead, considers the possibility of fluxing power dynamics.

Appendix

Figure 1. Kara Walker, *Camptown Ladies* (detail), 1998, Wall installation of cut paper and adhesive, 22.86 x 127 cm, Rubell Family Collection, Miami.

Figure 2. Kara Walker, *Successes*, 1998, Wall installation of cut paper and adhesive on wall, 155 cm. x 165 cm., Collection James Patterson.

Figure 3. Kara Walker, *the secret sharerer* **from** *An Unpeopled Land in Uncharted Waters,* **2010, etching with aquatint, sugar-lift, spit-bite, and dry-point on paper; plate: 60.3 x 60.3 cm; sheet: 76.8 x 70.5 cm.**

Endnotes

i   Annette Dixon, "A Negress Speaks Out: The Art of Kara Walker," in *Kara Walker: Pictures from Another Time*, ed. Annette Dixon (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Museum of Art, 2002), 12.

ii   Ibid., 11.

iii   Ibid., 19.

iv   Ibid., 12.

v   Ibid.

vi   Arlene Keizer, "Gone Astray in the Flesh: Kara Walker, Black Women Writers, and African-American Postmemory," *PMLA* 123, no.5 (2008): 1649.

vii   Robert Reid-Pharr, "Black Girl Lost," in *Kara Walker: Pictures from Another Time*, ed. Annette Dixon (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Museum of Art, 2002), 27.

viii   Sander Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," *Critical Inquiry*, no. 12 (1985): 232.

ix   Harriet Jacobs and Lydia Maria Child, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 24.

x   Ibid., 23.

xi   Keizer, 1656.

xii   Dixon, 13.

xiii   Keizer, 1661.

xiv   Jerry Saltz, "Making the Cut," *The Village Voice*, sec. Arts, Nov 24, 1998.

xv   Reid-Pharr, 32.

xvi   Ibid.

xvii   Keizer, 1661.

xviii   Ibid., 1656.

xix   Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 73, no.2 (1991): 175.

xx   Reid-Pharr, 27.

xxi   Keizer, 1662.

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Speaking with the Dead: Encountering Psychic Violence in the Archives of Slavery and Colonialism

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Sharee Rivera is a senior at UC Berkeley studying rhetoric and interdisciplinary studies with emphases in performance, geography, and gender studies. For Sharee, social justice and pedagogy are intertwined endeavors. They are a published poet who writes about personal experiences of trauma, disability, race, and gender. They organize and facilitate educational community events with the Queer Alliance and Resource Center. They also participate in various forms of digital activism. Their research interests include the ways in which women artists of color confront and challenge colonial, Eurocentric notions of the human.

This paper focuses on the works of Gloria Anzaldúa and Saidiya Hartman, namely Anzaldua's *Borderlands/La Frontera* and Hartman's *Lose Your Mother*, along with the essay "Venus in Two Acts." Each of these works confronts the violence of writing history, especially with regards to race, gender, and sexuality. In taking an intersectional approach, Anzaldúa and Hartman counteract the archival violence that occurs at the epistemological level, erasing and imposing forms of knowing history. These epistemological harms also constitute psychic trauma, in denying how failures to see intersectionality serve to discard the lives of women of color, with the consequence of reinforcing power dynamics that oppress and marginalize women of color. However, at the same time that Anzaldúa and Hartman challenge dominant forms of historiography and historical narratives, we find that their alternative forms of historiography are also capable of (re)wounding subaltern subjects. Both authors engage in what Paola Bacchetta calls psychic transnational resistance, a mode of resistance that targets epistemological erasure and violence, yet their resistance is limited. This raises the question, what possibilities for resistance are there in light of the deficiencies and inadequacies inherent to archival practices?

This paper focuses on the works of Gloria Anzaldúa and Saidiya Hartman, namely Anzaldua's *Borderlands/La Frontera* and Hartman's *Lose Your Mother*, along with the essay "Venus in Two Acts." Although these are generally regarded as incongruent texts, each of these works confronts the violence of writing history, especially with regard to race, gender, and sexuality. Anzaldúa and Hartman counteract the archival violence that occurs at the epistemological level, erasing and imposing forms of knowing history. Dominant historical epistemologies effectively discard women of color, and in this way reinforce power dynamics that oppress and marginalize women of color. At the same time that Anzaldúa and Hartman challenge dominant forms of historiography and historical narratives, we find such alternative forms of historiography are also capable of (re)wounding subaltern subjects; Anzaldúa fails to ultimately fulfill this goal of resistance to dominant historical narratives for the very reasons

that she resists the archive. Hartman's disillusionment generates the question: what possibilities for resistance are there in light of the deficiencies and inadequacies inherent to archival practices?

The way in which history is written can enact violence regardless of intent because power is always already operating in the archive. The archive is the site at which historical inquiry begins, a source from which a narrative is drawn. As a textual form, "[e]ach historical narrative renews a claim to truth" (Trouillot 6), and therefore produces many silences with respect to the experiences and perspectives of subaltern or colonized subjects. When a claim to truth is made, other possibilities are implicitly excluded. Archives themselves can foment violent histories, whether or not these histories are intended as counter-readings of archives, because nothing operates outside of power. The production of history necessitates the selection of certain archival materials, which are already invested with power. Archives produce not only a particular perspective upon an historical event, but produce the historical event itself. What is included in the archive sets rules about what materials are pertinent to a topic: "The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events" (Foucault 129). Although the archive can be interpreted in many ways, what is contained in the archive has the power to prelude what can be said about a historical phenomenon; this can be thought of a containment strategy. If the archive does not exist, how could the event or phenomenon exist? A topic or event is brought into being through and by the archive. Never neutral but in accordance with certain logic or grammar, archives are curated within a certain field of intelligibility, including and excluding based on that logic.

Before demarcating resistance narratives from the hegemonic or oppressive histories, it is imperative to analyze the archives that produce the histories we encounter. Archives do not exist outside of power relations. When one makes a claim to truth, they make a claim to power. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues, "The presences and absences embodied in sources . . . or archives . . . are neither neutral nor natural. They are created" (48). The silences of history are actively produced through the construction of the archive. Any silence that might exist in the material world is also embodied in the archive. Even histories of resistance are capable of reproducing trauma through producing silences or leaving existing silences of an archive undisturbed, and so the process by which narratives of resistance are written must be carefully considered as well. This passage raises questions: what kinds of archival materials are available? By what logic are they organized? How do histories of resistance interact with the archives themselves? And how is state and state-sanctioned violence produced by the archive?

In the works of Gloria Anzaldúa and Saidiya Hartman, readers must confront the violence of the archives from which history is written. In their works, normative notions of resistance are questioned and, in some ways, displaced, to put forward a form of psychic resistance. As feminist scholar Paola Bacchetta writes of Anzaldúa's approach, "[t]his form of [psychic] resistance can be thought of as transnational. For the dominant grid of intelligibility, the official history that makes sense within it . . . are all produced, variously, through transnational relations of power" (44). Anzaldúa addresses the exclusionary forms of Chicano history and resistance, battling epistemological violence created by migration and language erasure, resulting in a work of psychic transnational resistance. Hartman also engages with transnational relations of power, focusing on the Atlantic slave trade as a global and transnational phenomenon, a source of trauma that erased lives, histories, and epistemologies. Both Anzaldúa and Hartman develop histories of resistance by engaging archives that were produced through transnational relations of power. However, Anzaldúa's work leaves significant silences unquestioned, making possible the re-wounding of subaltern subjects. In contrast, Hartman's work deals precisely with the ways in which historiography, even resistant forms that are supposed to address trauma, can reproduce violence. Her methods differ from Anzaldúa's in that she scrutinizes the process of merely looking at archives, whereas Anzaldúa fails to grapple with this kind of violence—which ultimately leads to her failure to create a principled strategy of resistance. While both authors, like all subjects, are formed within power relations, they are also capable of making visible transnational relations of power (re)produced in making archives. Acknowledging this strength, it is also important to note how making visible certain power relations does not equate to the suspension of said power relations.

Both authors describe their tensions with the past, the inability to know before the trauma of the forced disappearance of knowledge of the pre-colonial past from social memory. "There was no going back to a time or place before slavery," Hartman pronounces (40). The Atlantic slave trade created a rupture in history, an open wound. For Anzaldúa, her connection to her indigenous past was ruptured:

> To live in the Borderlands means knowing that the *india* in you, betrayed for 500 years, is no longer speaking to you . . . you are at home, a stranger (216).

In a state of amnesia, the only thing left to do is to visit the archives and the sites of trauma, which constitute archives in and of themselves. For Hartman, her journey to "excavate a wound," the wound of chattel slavery, brings her to slave trade posts in Ghana (40). She observes the effacement of the violence of slavery in what should have been a possible homeland, and subsequently becomes disillusioned at the prospect of return. Anzaldúa's site of trauma lies within the borderlands, where she simultaneously finds hope and injury. She describes a process of accounting for her history in a borderlands space: "Her first step is to take inventory. Just what did she inherit from her ancestors? This weight on her back—which is the baggage from the Indian mother, which the baggage from the Spanish father, which the baggage from the Anglo?" (Anzaldúa 105). The silences and absences of history become unnamable, unspeakable weights upon Anzaldúa's back. Her body is an archive of feelings, not metaphorically but materially, meaningfully, and holistically; her body is the origin of knowledge and the central site of excavation, and cannot be separated from the land. This connection between her body and the landscape is particularly generative because it highlights the effects of spatial power that become embodied in the form of pain. Return to her own body is more possible than a return to her past. The burden of uncovering and the work of fighting the erasure of women of color become the work of women in both Anzaldúa's and Hartman's works.

Anzaldúa attempts to reconcile her fractured identity by creating a counter-history that will make her feel whole again, but to the detriment of Black subjects. "I will have to stand and claim my space, making a new culture—*una cultura mestiza*" (Anzaldúa 44). She wants to form a new consciousness based upon mixture that goes against notions of racial purity, because she recognizes that her mixed identities are not anomalous but should be thought of together. To accomplish this, she returns to a nationalist Mexican source that contains its own ideas about *mestizaje*. "José Vasconcelos, Mexican philosopher, envisaged *una raza mestiza, una mezcla de razas afines, una raza de color—la primera raza síntesis del globo . . . la raza cósmica*" (Anzaldúa 100). What Anzaldúa leaves out of this romanticized definition of *mestizaje* is the fact that José Vasconcelos was a eugenicist, the minister of public education for the Mexican state under President Álvaro Obregón. Jared Sexton stresses the problematic nature of racial mixture discourse in his essay, "The Consequence of Race Mixture: Racialised Barriers and the Politics of Desire," writing: "we must carefully consider precisely against what multiracial identity asserts its actualisation and its empowerment in its purportedly affirmative moment" (242). Rather than being counterhegemonic, multiracial ideology is fraught with genocidal logic. This shows that what is empowering for one group can be oppressive to another, if these so-called discourses of empowerment are not scrutinized. As Anzaldúa attempts to reconcile a very real quandary, an inner conflict that is extremely palpable in her personal experiences, she makes erroneous claims about the genealogy of *mestizaje* discourse and its liberatory potential. Sexton quotes Vasconcelos:

> The lower types of the [human] species will be absorbed by the superior type. In this manner, for example, the black could be redeemed, and step by step, by voluntary extinction, the uglier stocks will give way to the more handsome. . . . [It would be] a mixture no longer accomplished by violence, nor by reason of necessity, but by the selection founded on beauty . . . and confirmed by the pathos of love (247–248).

For Vasconcelos, what cannot be accomplished through war (e.g., slavery and indigenous genocide) can be accomplished through a eugenicist process of racial mixture. The same goal of war nevertheless remains: to improve, if not eliminate, the undesirable Black and the Native. There is a sexual undercurrent at play here that is founded in eugenicist discourse. The biological, sexual undercurrents of racial mixing appear in *Borderlands*. "Indigenous like corn, like corn, the *mestiza* is a product of crossbreeding, designed for preservation under a variety of conditions" (Anzaldúa 103). This plays into biological formulations of race that essentialize racialized groups. Moreover, the term "crossbreeding" dehumanizes and dehistoricizes the process of *mestizaje*, ignoring how sexual or reproductive practices have often been historically violent. The racial mixture she speaks of is European and Indian—leaving out the possibility of African heritage altogether. The *mestiza* survives while the Black and indigenous, these pure types, die out, unable to navigate the modern world. Reflecting this ideology, the Mexican government only recently officially recognized the presence of Blackness in Mexico in 2015. From the archive that Anzaldúa uses—Vasconcelos' philosophy—to her self-identification, this blaring silence constitutes violence against Black and indigenous peoples. She looks at the archive and overlooks the way it is weaponized by the nation state, which is always already anti-Black.

What, then, can Saidiya Hartman's work say to Anzaldúa's? Can Hartman's work inform Anzaldúa's on the question of mourning erased and violated subjects, specifically Black subjects? Hartman grapples with the simultaneous presence and absence of Venus, who "appears in the archive of slavery as a dead girl named in a legal indictment against a slave ship captain tried for the murder of two Negro girls" (Hartman 1). In her book, Hartman is talking about an archival recording of the lives of two slave girls, of whom nothing is known. Not much is known about Venus in her various, spectral appearances in the archives of the Atlantic slave trade. What we do know is that none of her words or perspective or history is recorded. Hartman explains that the archive of racial chattel slavery is a site of trauma: "The archive is, in this case, a death sentence, a tomb, a display of the violated body, an inventory of property, a medical treatise on gonorrhea, a few lines about a whore's life, an asterisk in the grand narrative of history" (Hartman 2). The

only information that Hartman knows about the people she encounters in the archive is that something horrific happened to them. The Black girls she encounters in the archive only enter history through violent words scribbled in journals, in accounts of ordinary life. Quotidian violence defines the life of the enslaved. The violation and death of two enslaved girls is not an anomaly. After all, the captain responsible for the deaths of these two girls was acquitted of charges. The enslaved girl's dead body is marked with scandal only to be disposed of without any sense of justice. Captivity marks the life of the slave, as well as her death. The archive confines the possibilities of justice for these two girls; what was taken from them can never be returned, and there is no possibility of restitution for what was done to them. We can view the archive, as Derrida does, as contained within a certain place that is commanded by those invested with power and authority: "[T]he meaning of 'archive'. . . : initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the archons, those who commanded" (2). Archives are heavily guarded within spaces of power. Divested from humanity and power, the girls amount to a spectacle in the archive of slavery, without the possibility of ever receiving justice or escaping confinement. Confined during life, these girls are also condemned to silence and imprisonment in the form of historical narrative. This is not only because of the limitations created by the archive itself, but also because the conditions of slavery continue to characterize—to contain—Black life. By thinking of slavery as a bracketed event, one loses sight of the ongoing violence endured by Black people. Moreover, Black life can only be thought of in terms of violence and scandal if one continues to regard the archons, the producers of official history, as the singular arbiters of Black history's truth.

To investigate the past is to scrutinize the present. In *Lose Your Mother*, Hartman explains how investigating slavery is not merely telling a story about the past but is also speaking about her own present. *Lose Your Mother* is a narrative of Hartman's experiences in Ghana as a researcher of Atlantic slavery, as well as "a descendant of the enslaved . . . desperate to reclaim the dead" (6). In her journey she not only confronts the archives of slavery, but also herself. To write about Venus is to write about her own experience: "This writing is personal because this history has engendered me" (Hartman 25). Like all subjects, Hartman is shaped by history, and, in this case, it is a violent one. The conditions that defined the life of the slave persist until today. "Slavery had established a measure of man and ranking of life and worth that has yet to be undone" (Hartman 6). It is necessary to think of slavery not as an event, but as a continual process. Jean Laplanche, a theorist of psychoanalysis, describes trauma as not just one moment, but as a temporally complex process. Psychic "trauma never comes simply from the outside . . . it must be internalized, and then afterwards relived, revivified, in

order to become an internal trauma . . .the memory of [this experience] must be invested in a second moment, and then it becomes traumatic" (Caruth 1). One can witness the resonances today: the failure to indict the captain who murdered the enslaved girls, and the failure to indict police officers who kill Black women, men, and children in this country. History does not only exist in the past, but shapes the present. Indeed, the conditions that made slavery possible have yet to be undone, necessitating a revisiting of the past. Each traumatic event sets the conditions for another traumatic event to occur. "[N]arrating counter-histories of slavery has always been inseparable from writing a history of present" (Hartman 4). Counter-histories do not only attempt to tell a story about a violent past but also a story about a violent present. Entrenched in a cycle of violence, Black subjects are forced by the state and the archive to relive trauma over and over again.

One may ask, how can Hartman re-visit the archive without reproducing the violence of the archive? Why revisit the archive if it is such a re-traumatizing experience? In *Lose Your Mother*, Hartman imagines the different possibilities, different stories that might close the gaps of the archive. She wishes to write a counter-history of slavery "not to give voice to the slave, but rather to imagine what cannot be verified . . . and to reckon with the precarious lives which are visible only in the moment of their disappearance" (Hartman 12). To speak for the slave is to make a claim to truth, but that is not what she is after. As for Anzaldúa, the weight of the unsaid is a heavy burden to bear. Uncertainty surrounds each attempt by Hartman to explain away the pain of not knowing. Like Anzaldúa, she uses invention to create a counter-narrative, imagining different possibilities that can humanize the subjects she is looking for. Unlike Anzaldúa, however, Hartman reflects upon the consequences of going back to the archive, to the traumatic event: "Why subject the dead to new dangers and to a second order of violence?" (4–5). To look again at the archives, to open back up the casket or tomb, is to perform an excavation. The act of examining the wound can also be a re-wounding. Both Hartman and Anzaldúa hope to repair something, to make whole histories that cannot be told. Hartman looks at the sites of trauma: Ghana, the slave ship that she accesses through the archives, and herself. Anzaldúa identifies as sites of trauma the borderlands, but also explicitly identifies her own body as a site. She uses the borderlands as a metaphor for her body, and understands her body and mind as sites of trauma and of memory that cannot be separated. These are sites of pain, but they are visited in order to understand something about the past that has not yet been articulated. Each author attempts to articulate what has been lost through creating counter-narratives. In the invention of the counter-narrative, something is gained, but questions still remain: is it "possible to generate a different set of descriptions from this archive? To imagine . . .? To envision a free state . . .? The dangers entailed in this endeavor cannot be . . . avoided because of the inevitability of the reproduction of such scenes of violence" (Hartman 7). If there is a violence upon which slavery's archive is founded that "regulates and organizes the kinds of statements that can be made about slavery and . . . creates subjects and objects of power" (Hartman 10), is it ever possible to create alternative histories that somehow don't operate by the same logics as dominant history?

Healing is an aspect of resistance that is outlined in the works of Anzaldúa. For her, achieving consciousness is a way to move beyond one's current conditions. "'Knowing' is painful because after 'it' happens I can't stay in the same place" (Anzaldúa 70). To know the violent past is painful, and forces a transformation. To move beyond a state of psychic oppression, she seeks to achieve a state of consciousness that resists it. Although it may cause pain, she recognizes the need for psychic transformation. For her, the struggle is "inner, and is played out in the outer terrains. Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn come before changes in society" (109). Such an act of resistance is holistic because it includes not only material conditions as harmful, but also psychic ones that actually connect the body, emotions, and the mind, for "our psyches resemble the bordertowns" (Anzaldúa 109), in that they are fractured. Moreover, her intuitive connection between the borderlands and her body reflect an understanding of subjectivity that takes into account the landscapes of violence. She does not understand the self as merely the body or the mind, but understands the self to reside in multiple parts of our selves. Her understanding of the self is both plural and holistic. Although colonialism has fractured the self, through *conocimiento*—a concept roughly translated to new consciousness—one can heal and become whole again. Anzaldúa's path to recovering knowledge is through *testimonio*, in which she herself is the witness, testifying to her own experiences of trauma: "*testimonio* is connected to *conocimiento*, as it allows one to enter the process of healing through reflecting, recounting, and remembering the past" (Huber 397). When one thinks of the word remembering, there is both a temporal and spatial or corporal aspect of the word: recollection of past instances in the present, making the past present, and putting back together what has been fractured through these remembered instances. *Conocimiento* and *testimonio* create new possibilities for producing and recovering knowledge that goes against dominant forms of knowing.

What Hartman has examined about the writing of counter-histories and the act of looking once more at the past, reveals the damage done by Anzaldúa's inclusion of eugenicist archival material. A different psychic process is at work in Hartman—one of disillusionment and even of

pessimism. Without scrutinizing the traditional archives with a critical lens like the one Hartman provides, anti-Black genocidal logics can be unwittingly reproduced. Hartman's disillusionment about the possibilities of working with traditional archives is a psychically generative dynamic, because it forces us to look critically and honestly at power dynamics in historiography. While violence is perpetuated in attempts to create counter-histories, the work of psychic transnational resistance can be recognized in each of these works in order to generate future possibilities for principled historical accounts. To recognize that psychic violence is occurring in historically specific ways to women of color may in itself be an act of resistance to exclusionary archives, but even resistance can cause (re)wounding. If historians, especially non-Black historians, remain unaware of anti-Black logics, they are prone to reproduce them. Rather than writing historical narratives of resistance, their projects will serve to undermine the possibility of Black liberation.

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Rethinking *Respeto*: The Sexual Politics of Respectability in Queer El Paso, Texas

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This study explores how queer identified Mexican-Americans perceive and navigate their sexuality in the border region of El Paso, Texas at a moment in which homosexual identities and practices are being normalized. Utilizing feminist ethnographic research principles, I conducted two months of fieldwork among queer Mexican-American men and women between the ages of 18–50, integrating methods of participant observation, informal conversations, and in-depth interviews. This paper is a short summary of my senior thesis exploring the following questions: How are discourses of homonormativity translated into practices among the everyday lives of queer Mexican-Americans in El Paso, Texas? How is homonormativity enacted in the particular spaces queer Mexican-Americans navigate in this city, a place outside of the urban milieu in which theoretical debates about homonormativity emerge? I argue that although none of my informants was familiar with the term "homonormativity," they mobilized the rhetoric of respectability to discuss the ways in which their identities and sexualities were recognized and acknowledged in their communities.

> "It's getting better, I don't think it's where it could be or it should be for the size of the city but it's going in the right direction. Having seen what I've seen thus far I've noticed it's more out there. Homosexuality is more talked about, the community is getting a little larger and more people are less afraid of coming out. Especially with the recent push for equal rights, you know same sex marriage, and all that didn't exist 10 years ago, much less when I was in my early 20s. Yeah you would hear about it in other countries but not in the United States. . . . So you know we've come a long way and as a community in El Paso we've also taken baby steps."
>
> — Luis,[i] 45, interviewee

Introduction

Queer critics have been discussing homonormativity, or a turn toward the normalization of queer lives in the U.S., including a turn of queer politics toward domesticity and consumption (Duggan 2003:179). Imaginaries of queer lives have left the bar, the bathhouse, and the lesbian periodical, only to be replaced by comfortable images of the home and family. In this study, I explore how queer Mexican-Americans perceive and navigate their sexuality in the border region of El Paso, Texas at a moment in which homosexual identities and practices are being normalized. Although social attitudes about homosexuality have liberalized and same-sex marriage is now legalized in 37 states (Human Rights Campaign 2015), these benefits frequently privilege a specific *type* of normative or homonormative queer subject.[i] In this paper, I argue that the interviewees in my study mobilized the rhetoric of respectability to discuss the ways in which their identities and sexualities were recognized and acknowledged in their communities. To argue this, I show how the lexicon of respectability emerged as a dominant theme in the interviews I conducted. More specifically, I demonstrate how the rhetoric of respectability permeated the language my participants used when discussing their perception of the existence of a queer community in El Paso as well as their own membership within that community. In this way, I suggest that the politics of respectability, as enacted by the participants in my study, complicate Latino/Chicano analytical frameworks of *respeto* in the academic literature to include non-normative sexualities.

Homonormativity and the Politics of Respectability

Homonormativity is a theoretical framework that accounts for the privileging and assimilation of certain queer bodies into state projects. As feminist scholars remind us, not all people who are oppressed on the basis of their sexuality are oppressed in the same way (see among others Anzaldúa 1987, Collins 1990). In other words, the boundaries of the socially acceptable queer subject have been established so that some queer people have been incorporated into state projects while queer life has become increasingly more privatized and domesticated (see among others Warner 1999, Duggan 2003, Puar 2007, McRuer 2010). In the current context where transnational shifts in the political economy have caused the deregulation and liberalization of markets, queerness has become both an object of consumption and a signification of the global visibility of queer identity and culture in the global economy (Moghadam 2005: 22). Neoliberalism, including the diminishment of social services, increased privatization, and free market fundamentalism, cannot be separated from cultural and political life. By turning gays and lesbians into a "respectable" or "fit for assimilation" constituency, neoliberalism has enacted a new sexual politics or what historian Lisa Duggan refers to as homonormativity. According to Duggan, homonormativity is "a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them while promising the possibility of a demobilized constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption (Duggan 2002: 179).

Prior to the reorientation of the LGBTQ movement toward same-sex marriage, the 1960s and 1970s was a gay past characterized by pleasure-seeking sex radicals who actively engaged in a sexual culture replete with bars, bathhouses, porn theaters, and other public spaces where sex took place. In an effort to unremember a gay past characterized by a "careless and adolescent hedonism" that brought on the AIDS crisis of the 1980s, queer folks were urged to "distance themselves from the tainted past and to structure their lives along cleaner, healthier lines that end up replicating heterosexuality (Castiglia 2012: 48). By enacting a politics of respectability constituted through "performative acts that align one's behaviors with social norms that are gendered, white, middle-class and heterosexual," (Joshi 2012: 419) queer identity shifted *from* an alignment with sexual radicalism to death via the AIDS crisis of the 1980s *to* an identity aligned with productivity through same-sex marriage and reproductive kinship.

While homonormativity as a concept has gained popularity in academic writings, it is still unclear how homonormativity is reproduced through the everyday practices of people. As Gavin Brown points out, homonormativity has come to be represented as a "homogenous, global external entity that exists outside all of us and exerts its terrifying normative power on gay lives everywhere" (Brown 2014: 1066). There have been few works that look at how these discourses are translated into practice. In El Paso, many of my interviewees commonly referenced popular American television shows depicting queer life and desire such as *Modern Family*, *The New Normal*, and *The L Word*. As Luis, a 45-year-old gay-activist notes above, the visibility of the push for gay marriage across the country, especially the legalization of same-sex marriage in the neighboring state of New Mexico, have, in part, contributed to shifting perceptions of homosexuality in El Paso. In order to explore how these homonormative discourses become embodied among queer racialized bodies in a particular site, I conducted fieldwork in El Paso for three months. My research asks the following questions: How are discourses of homonormativity translated into practice among the everyday lives of queer Mexican-Americans in El Paso, Texas? How is homonormativity enacted in the particular spaces Mexican-Americans navigate in El Paso? As most studies on homonormativity focus on large metropolitan areas, how does homonormativity function in the everyday lives of queer Chicanos/Latinos living in El Paso?

Chicano/Latino/a Sexual Practices and Notions of *Respeto*

Since the 1980s, Chicana and Latina lesbians have been writing their own stories. Scholars such as Gloria Anzaldúa (1983), Cherrie Moraga (1983), and Carla Trujillo (1991) have written about their own experiences as queer women of color inside and outside of the academy. Although there is a wealth of creative work on Chicana/Latina same-sex sexuality, empirical work on Chicano/a and Latino/a same-sex sexuality remains nearly absent. Chicana feminist scholars researching Chicano/Mexican constructions of sexuality have emphasized the gendered construction of Chicana/Mexicana sexuality with regards to honor and shame (e.g. Alarcon, Zavella). According to Zavella, the cultural configuration of honor and shame is overlain onto the Mexican sexual/gender discourse where women should "submit to the sexual repression embedded in Catholic based discourse, institutions, and everyday practices in part because of the mythologized actions of one of their sex" (Zavella 2003: 392). Here, reference is made to La Malinche or Malintzin and the betrayal of her people in the national allegory because she served as the translator and concubine for Hernan Cortes. The Virgin of Guadalupe, on the other hand, symbolizes the proper servility and modesty for Mexican/Chicana women, including feminine passivity and sexual purity. In this way, Chicana/Mexican women are classified according to a classic virgin/whore dichotomy.

In Lorena Garcia's study on the sexuality of urban Latinas in *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself*, Garcia argues that *respeto* was redefined among the young women she interviewed to include the expectation of "*respetar a sí misma*" [respecting one's self]. According to the literature on *respeto*, *respeto*, or respect, has traditionally been understood as a cultural value and familial factor that impacts gender socialization practices in Latino families (Garcia 2012: 27). Cultural explanations of Latino/a sexual practices define *respeto* as the avoidance of those behaviors that could bring shame to the family. For young women, the expectation is that they will abide in a manner that is "good and decent." As Garcia argues in her study, *respeto* was redefined to "emphasize the importance of the honor that young women bestow upon themselves, particularly by taking care of their sexual and reproductive health" (Garcia 2012: 28). As perceptions of homosexuality are being influenced by national discourses of same-sex marriage, the mobilization of the rhetoric of respectability in El Paso are expanding notions of *respeto* to include same-sex desire. Nevertheless, this inclusion is not necessarily more liberating, as this notion becomes mobilized to police and marginalize Mexican-Americans within the queer community who do not adhere to its narrow confines.

Methods

At the disjuncture of three states (Texas, New Mexico, Chihuahua) and two nations (United States and Mexico), El Paso's unique location provides a permanent contact zone of ethnic, national, linguistic, economic and social difference. Situated in a historically Chicano/Mexican area, the

racial and ethnic composition of El Paso is 80% Hispanic or Latino (U.S. Census Bureau 2010), making it a prime location to study cultural shifts in the Mexican-American and Mexican community, especially as it relates to queer Chicanos/Latinos who occupy untraditional spaces outside of urban gay milieus such as New York or San Francisco. Utilizing feminist ethnographic research principles, I conducted semi-structured formal in-depth interviews with 14 queer Mexican-American men and women ages 18–50. Interviews covered a wide range of questions but focused on participants' engagement and perceptions of gay spaces in El Paso. Although participants opted to be interviewed in English, participants spoke to me using a mix of Spanish and English words. Interviewees identified under the queer umbrella of identifications including gay, bisexual, and lesbian.[ii] Overall, the majority of interviewees identified as Latino/a, Mexican, Mexican-American or Hispanic. Eleven out of the fourteen participants lived in the middle- to lower-middle-class neighborhood of Sunset Heights. In addition to conducting interviews, I participated in local events and LGBTQ activist spaces. Queer men for my study were recruited after conducting participant observation for several weeks at an LGBTQ center called the Outright Center. Since activist spaces were primarily composed of queer men, queer women were recruited through queer social media pages such as the Facebook page called the El Paso Lesbians.

Findings and Discussion

Respectable Acts, Respectable Spaces

Notions of homonormativity including sexual respectability complicate heteronormative frameworks of *respeto* in the academic literature. In other words, I found that homosexuality was perceived as socially acceptable as long as queerness abided to the narrow confines of homonormativity or respectable ways of enacting queerness. Participants spoke of having and showing respect for oneself by behaving in ways that were well-mannered and well-behaved in order to counteract the negative stereotypes associated with homosexuality. When asked whether there were particular gay spaces or events they disliked the most, twelve out of fourteen of my interviewees agreed that they disliked the gay bars of downtown El Paso in an area called Pride Square. Ignacio, 25, most clearly illustrated this belief:

> It's very trashy I believe. I don't want to say lower class, but it can be very ghetto. It's not very conservative in the sense that there is no such thing as having value for yourself. It's very promiscuous. There has to be a radical change in our mindsets as gay people or members of the LGBT community. I think we need a revival when it comes to those things in El Paso because I don't think we can value

what we have without respecting ourselves. We cannot change anything in our community without valuing ourselves.

Similar to Ignacio, other interviewees associated the gay bars of Pride Square with immorality, drugs, and promiscuity. Respectability had its own spatial lexicon, including references to this space as "ghetto," "trashy," and "disease–ridden." Thus respectability was aligned with a moral discourse associated with moral terms. Interviewees classified certain spaces such as Pride Square along moral lines, while certain practices, including refraining from participating in these immoral spaces, were understood as particular practices that produce respectable queer subjects. Participants enacting respectability through practices of self-correction, self-care, and behaviors classified as well mannered, understood this as an emancipatory act of liberation from the mainstream LGBTQ movement they perceived as "in your face," or flamboyant. Although the participants in my study frequently told me that they did not frequent these spaces, participant observation indicated otherwise. During my short stay there, many of the interviewees I worked with at the Outright Center would attend Pride Square for after-work leisure and socialization.

No Pride in Being that Kind of Gay

The queer men and women I interviewed often told me that there was nothing to be proud about embodying a queerness aligned with excessive flamboyance and participation in gay bar culture. Rather, drawing off of an assimilationist discourse, participants discussed particular practices and behaviors they deemed respectable in their community. In addition to frequenting the gay bar, attending mainstream PRIDE parade events in El Paso was perceived as being too "out there," flamboyant and rowdy. Having or showing excessive pride in one's queer identity was marked with a lack of education, low self-esteem, and associated with a need for affirmation. Angelica best exemplifies this viewpoint, saying,

> I am not happy with the gay community here. . . . It's really embarrassing to me. All they do is drink, and party and hey all you biatches and hoes. You know it's sad that people don't think more of themselves and respect themselves and it's also sad that there is a fine line between pushing forward your agenda and making a clown of yourself . . . like the guys running around in pink feathers or panties on their head or whatever because in my opinion, we shouldn't be trying to add to the circus or to let heterosexuals believe the negative stuff they already do.

Similar to Angelica, the participants in my study described particular practices that produce respectable queer subjects in the community. Practices such as having

or showing excessive public pride in one's queer identity, partying, drinking, or "running around in pink feathers or panties," are devalued. As Sergio further put it,

> We really need to take a focus on how others see us as members of the gay community. . . . Look at how successful this person is, look at how well behaved and well mannered this person is. I'm pretty sure the population and community in general would think very different of gay people because it is by experience you know. Why is it that we are not there yet? What does that tell us about our behavior, you know?

Similar to Sergio and Angelica, importance was placed on presenting a well-mannered and well-behaved self-presentation as a strategy to combat homophobia within their communities and as a way to counteract the alienation they felt from the mainstream LGBTQ movement. *In their eyes*, queerness within the confines of these narrow terms produced respectable, "good" queer subjects in the community.

Conclusion

As queerness has become increasingly more liberalized in the United States, the main purpose of my study is to understand how queer Mexican-Americans perceive and navigate their sexuality in the border region of El Paso, Texas at this particular historical moment. While gaining academic popularity in queer theory, homonormativity has become conceptualized as a homogenous, external global entity exerting its normalizing force on queer subjects. Consequently, it is still unclear how homonormativity is reproduced through the everyday practices of people. After conducting fieldwork for three months, I found that my participants mobilized rhetoric of respectability to discuss their place as queer members of the El Paso community, especially their relationship to space and to an imagined queer community. On the one hand, participants mobilized the rhetoric of respectability through their discussion on space to highlight the ways their sexualities and identities were acknowledged in their community. On the other hand, this discourse also shaped attitudes toward queer bodies that did not abide by the narrow confines of homonormativity such as transgender bodies in El Paso. Through the mobilization of the rhetoric of respectability, my research also suggests that homonormativity is complicating Chicano/Latino analytical frameworks of *respeto*, which have traditionally been predicated on heteronormative interactions in the academic literature. In homonormative times, where the script is well defined and rigid for queerness, participants in my study are valuing and upholding certain types of queerness through the intimate practices of everyday life.

Endnotes

[i] All names presented here are pseudonyms.

[ii] I am employing queer here as a term that includes individuals who identify as gay, lesbian, and bisexual as well as on a wide spectrum of non-heterosexual or non-normative sexualities and genders. I acknowledge that during the course of fieldwork those interviewed did not refer to themselves as queer, nor did they not understand what the term meant. Thus my use of the term queer here is an effort to be inclusive of the diverse ways my informants self-identified their sexuality under this umbrella.

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Editor's note: Since receipt of the original manuscript, same-sex marriage became legal in all 50 states per the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges.*

The Effects of Floods on Educational Attainment for Young Children in Bangladesh

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This paper aims to understand the medium- and long-term schooling consequences associated with exposure to flooding early in life for young people living in rural areas of Bangladesh. This project takes advantage of the Barker hypothesis and the random nature of flooding. Since time-of-birth and flooding are assumed to be random, this paper analyzes whether exposure to floods around the time of birth has an impact on the number of years of education children achieve. Those children affected by floods are regarded as the "treatment" group. Likewise, those children who were not affected are regarded as the "control" group. This paper controls for different factors to ensure that, roughly, the only difference between the two groups is whether or not either group was affected by floods around the time of birth. The difference in the number of years of education attained should be regarded as a consequence of the exposure to floods during the time of birth. This paper finds that exposure to floods in the second trimester of pregnancy and in the first and second trimester after birth have a significant and negative effect on the number of years of education attained. The effect is stronger for males than for females.

Introduction

The consequences of natural disasters range from direct physical damage to long-term associated consequences (Brookshire et al. 1997). Floods are one of the most devastating of all natural disasters potentially experienced by society. In 2013, 33% of the victims of natural disasters were victims of floods (Guha-Sapir 2014). Post-disaster losses associated with natural disasters are being overlooked because they are not easily observable. Consequently, the majority of current efforts are concentrated to mitigate conspicuous and/or sudden natural disasters (Anttila-Hughes et al. 2013).

Studies of such post-disaster losses are relevant because it is important to analyze the medium- and long-term consequences of natural disasters. It is more so if we, as society, remember that climate change is expected to raise sea levels and increase the frequency, magnitude, and severity of natural disasters such as flooding (Chu 2014). Usually, support and resources are targeted to the immediate relief of natural disasters. Unfortunately, the medium- and long-term consequences of natural disasters are ignored most of the time by policy makers and disaster relief agencies around the word. In fact, we do not have a precise knowledge of those consequences on the most vulnerable populations and the different forms in which those consequences are manifested. The situation is even worse in developing countries that are prone to suffer from natural disasters (Kahn 2005). In some cases, the natural disaster in question has to be out of the ordinary or devastating to be mentioned in the international media and to attract meaningful international disaster relief. This is the case in Bangladesh, which is a low-lying country routinely affected by floods.

Research on the effects of natural disasters has typically focused on the short-term direct consequences of such disasters. Recently, researchers have discovered evidence that medium- and long-term, as well as indirect, consequences of natural disasters may outnumber the short-term direct consequences of natural disasters in scope as well as in costs. For instance, Anttila-Hughes et al. (2013) found that, in the Philippines, the instant post-typhoon damages and loss of life outnumbered unearned income and additional infant deaths by approximately 15 to 1.

There is a substantial body of evidence about the effects of complications during the time of pregnancy on people's desirable outcomes later in life. Particularly with respect to cognitive outcomes, Talge et al. (2007) found that if a mother is stressed during pregnancy, her child is more likely to have emotional or cognitive problems. Likewise, Bergman et al. (2007) found that prenatal stress significantly affected the cognitive ability and behavioral fearfulness of children born in Chelsea Hospital, London between 2001 and 2005.

In utero malnutrition or other complications cause the fetus to shift blood and nutrients from vital organs to the brain. This diversion is an attempt to protect the fetus and improve the chances for survival (Brenseke et al. 2013). According to the "fetal origins hypothesis" or "Barker hypothesis," that diversion leaves certain organs preprogrammed for failure in later life (Osmond and Barker 2000). Among others, Landrigan et al. (2005) present a compilation of several studies which provide evidence about the

effect of "early environmental origins on neurodegenerative diseases in later life" (1230).

There exists compelling evidence on the validity of the Barker hypothesis. Moreover, scholars have found indication that the negative effects of exposure to harmful or stressful situations early in life are not limited to prenatal exposure. For instance, Stein et al. (1999) found that respiratory tract illnesses in early childhood (up to three years old) are associated with the subsequent atopic status at age 11. Studies such as this one are trying to examine whether exposure to hazardous conditions during pregnancy and early in life have negative consequences on other desirable outcomes, such as future health status and educational attainment, in addition to long-term chronic disease risk. For that reason, this study analyzes the educational outcomes of exposure to flooding during pregnancy and six months after birth in rural Bangladesh.

Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a low-lying country with poorly protected land inhabited by a large population. Flooding is one of the most devastating natural hazards that continuously affects Bangladesh, the coastal region being particularly vulnerable since it is located in the path of tropical cyclones (Karim and Mimura 2008). Flooding in South Asia is primarily driven by the South Asian monsoon. Bangladesh's shape (wide and shallow) and the funneling shape of its coast make it a particularly flood-prone area. In fact, that kind of natural disaster has occurred several times in the past and has taken the lives of thousands of people (Emdad Haque 1997). The well-known Bangladesh vulnerability and the predicted increases in sea level due to climate change have made flooding in Bangladesh, and other flood-prone areas, a major policy concern (Field 2012).

The level of education of rural children in Bangladesh has been traditionally low. Many areas do not offer secondary school, and the quality of instruction in primary school needs a lot of improvement. In many cases, education is just for those families that can afford to send their children to town. Unfortunately, that remains out of reach for most families. People living in rural areas of Bangladesh are particularly vulnerable to poor conditions of life in general. Most of the people inhabiting rural areas in Bangladesh do not have the resources necessary to prepare in advance for natural disasters to prevent or diminish their negative consequences. To summarize, flooding in Bangladesh is decreasing the standard of life of people living in rural areas.

Guiteras et al. (2013) found evidence that, in Bangladesh, exposure to abnormal floods at the time of birth or *in utero* leads to an increase in stunting on the order of 1–2% and an overall decline in standard measures of height-for-age among children less than 5 years of age. This study tests whether that negative effect persists and if schooling is affected as well. Potential strain on education could represent a significant extra cost which is associated with environmental impacts in Bangladesh and other flood-prone developing countries. Such costs will be exacerbated as climate change increases the frequency and severity of flooding over South Asia (Brecht 2012).

Data Description

Flood Data

Flood data is calculated from satellite observations of surface reflectance taken from the Moderate-Resolution Imaging Spectroradiometer (MODIS) instruments operated by NASA. These data are available from the year 2000 until now at 250m x 250m resolution. MODIS provides an observation every 16 days, the time the satellite takes to go back to the same point over the planet.

Socioeconomic Data

This study uses the 2007 and 2011 rounds of the Bangladesh Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS). These surveys provide information at the household and individual level. These surveys ask questions related to education, among others, to individuals 5 years old and older.

Population of Interest

Since flood data is available just from the year 2000 and forward, our population of interest, using the DHS-2007 survey, is children 5 to 7 years old. Likewise, our population of interest, using the DHS-2011 survey, is 5- to 11-year-old children who lived in rural areas in Bangladesh. The sample population provided by those surveys is of 6,359 children.

Methods

Measure of Flood Extent

For the current statistical purpose, I wish to look historically at the exact timing of floods. I follow the Sakamoto method (2009), which provides a measure of percentage of area flooded. That measure (DVEL) is constructed by the difference between the index of surface covered by water (LSWI) and the index of vegetation (EVI) as follows:

$$LSWI = \frac{\rho NIR - \rho SWIR}{\rho NIR + \rho SWIR}$$

$$EVI = \frac{\rho NIR - \rho RED}{\rho NIR + 6 \times \rho RED - 7.5 \times \rho BLUE + 1}$$

ρ: Intensity of light at a particular wavelength
LSWI: Land Surface Water Index. Approximate Measure of Blueness
NIR: Near Infra-Red
SWIR: Short Wave Infra-Red
EVI: Enhanced Vegetation Index
RED: Reflectance of Red
BLUE: Reflectance of Blue

The DVEL provides us an index, by cluster area and by date, that ranges from 0 to 1 to determine what percentage of the cluster area was flooded. As clouds are impervious to visible and infra-red light, the practice of using images to identify surface properties is limited by cloud cover. To diminish the cloud interference, I took simple averages of area flooded for periods of approximately 3 months.

Econometric Analysis of the Impact of Flooding

I expect flooding to be an exogenous random treatment since children do not choose their date of birth. After establishing the place where a child was born, I determine what percentage of that area was flooded around the time of birth for each individual, trimester by trimester, 3 trimesters before a child was born, and 2 trimesters after that. I constructed 5 indexes of the percentage of the area flooded, one for each trimester, from 0 to 1, where 0 means no flooding and 1 means that the area was totally flooded. These indexes were normalized, and I analyze the effect of deviating 1 standard deviation from the mean. Using the random nature of flooding, exposure to flooding is regarded as a "treatment." In this sense, this is a natural experiment: the idea is to compare children that around their time of birth were affected by floods (treatment group) with children who were not (control group).

In order to measure the effect of flooding on education attainment, I control for a series of factors to ensure that both groups differ, roughly speaking, only on the level of exposure to flooding around their time of birth. Because of their geographic location, some areas are more susceptible to flooding; therefore, I isolate the effect of being born in a particular area using a cluster variable fixed effect. This variable also contains the effect of living in an area where most of its people, for any reason, tend to attain higher (or lower) levels of education if compared to other areas. Likewise, some years, the level of flooding in the country can be particularly higher or lower. I isolate the effect of being born in a specific year using the birth year fixed effect. To control for the seasonality of the monsoons that affect this country, I use the birth month fixed-effect variable. In addition to the mentioned fixed-effect variables, I control for some socio-economic variables that are well known to affect the level of education achieved by children: gender, mother and father's level of education, religion, and birth order.

The fixed-effects strategy used means that I am comparing children who, when *in utero* or just after birth, were affected by floods with children who were not. I model the education of children in single years as a linear function of flood exposure during the 5 trimesters referenced above. The model is estimated using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) as follows:

$$Y_{i,T,c} = \sum_{t=-3}^{t=+2} [\beta_t \times FLOOD_{t,c}] + \delta \times X_{i,T,c,} + BMTH_{i,t}$$

$$+ BYR_{i,t} + V_c + \varepsilon_{i,T,c}$$

i: Individual

T: Year interview

c: Cluster

t: Trimester. t-3 is the first trimester of pregnancy. t-2 is the second, so on and so forth until t +2, which is the second trimester after an individual was born.

$Y_{i,T,c}$: Education of the child in single years

$FLOOD_{t,c}$ Average percentage of area flooded in a trimester

$BMTH_{i,t}$: Vector of controls

$BYR_{i,t}$: Birth year fixed effect

V_c: Cluster fixed effect

$\varepsilon_{i,T,c}$: Error term

Vector of controls:
• Gender
• Mother Education
• Father Education
• Religion
• Birth Order

Results of Analysis

All the control variables are significant and have a positive (or negative) effect as expected. Floods, in the second trimester of pregnancy and in the first and second trimesters after birth, have a significant negative effect on the number of years of education attained for rural young people in Bangladesh. It seems that children who were affected by floods attained, on average, fewer years of education compared to their peers who were not affected by floods. When the regression is run separately for males and females, the negative effect in males persists, but the same effect for females disappears. Therefore, the effect is stronger for males than for females (see Table 1). The stronger effect in males reaffirms the premise that male fetuses are weaker than female fetuses (Catalano et al. 2005); it is evident males are likely to be affected by floods more severely (see Figure 1).

Conclusions

Vulnerability is a key factor in risk assessment, management, prevention, and adequate strategic planning. Most research evaluating the effects of natural hazards focuses on the short, direct effect of such phenomena. Lately, evidence has been presented about the indirect, medium-, and long-term negative consequences of those disasters. Such research shows that, sometimes, the indirect, medium-, and long-term negative consequences of natural disasters may in fact outnumber the negative consequences of the more immediate observable consequences. That evidence is suggesting that even though they are not easily observable, post-disaster losses must be assessed with the aim of providing scientific evidence of vulnerability to help create adequate policies to mitigate or even prevent adverse consequences associated with natural disasters.

This paper shows evidence that in rural Bangladesh, pregnant women and recently born children should be provided with specialized care in the event of flooding to prevent long-term negative effects. Specifically, it appears that the stress caused by being exposed to flooding around the time of birth has a negative cognitive effect which is translated, later on, to the number of years of education rural children in Bangladesh achieved. This effect is evident when children affected by floods around their time of birth are compared to children who were not affected by floods.

The results of this study are of special importance, since people living in rural areas in Bangladesh suffer, in general, from particularly low conditions of life and natural disasters, which are beyond their control and for which they do not have the resources to prepare in advance and diminish their negative consequences and are even more worsening their conditions. It is well known that human capital is one of the most important resources to improve one's quality of life. It seems that in rural Bangladesh even the possibility to overcome adversity by taking advantage of one's human capital is being systematically undermined just because this is a poor, flood-prone country.

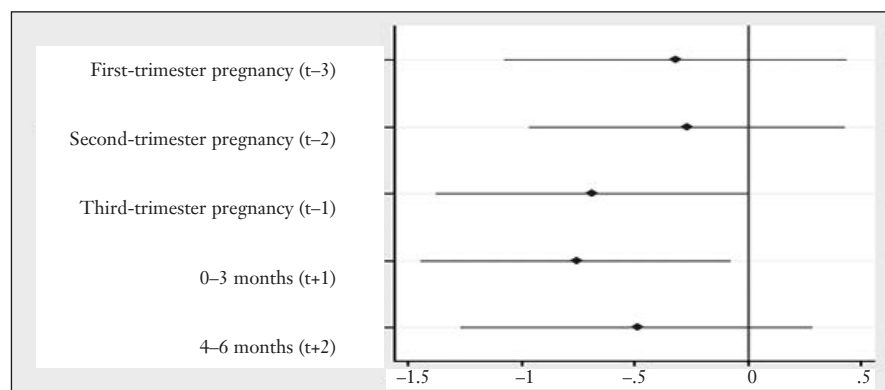|	All	Male	Women
First trimester (t–3)	0.080	–0.282	0.431
	(0.274)	(0.381)	(0.432)
Second trimester (t–2)	–0.419+	–0.326	–0.555
	(0.251)	(0.352)	(0.385)
Third trimester (t–1)	–0.305	–0.664+	–0.174
	(0.248)	(0.347)	(0.383)
0–3 months (t+1)	–0.442+	–0.788*	–0.221
	(0.247)	(0.344)	(0.382)
4–6 months (t+2)	–0.461+	–0.570	–0.493
	(0.280)	(0.391)	(0.430)
R–squared	0.461	0.428	0.486
N	6359	3245	3114
S.E. in parenthesis p<0.10,* p<0.05,** p<0.01			

Table 1. Results

Figure 1. Flood variable plot for males.

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A Late Antique Conversation on Paideia

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Jiemin (Tina) Wei is a senior at Princeton University, majoring in philosophy and earning certificates in Hellenic studies and values and public life. Focused on the fields of history of philosophy, history of ideas, and intellectual history, her scholarship primarily seeks new ways to think about the relationship between identities, race, gender, and canonicity. Her independent research has included Pascal's Wager, musical training in Plato's Republic, *gender and travel in Francis Bacon's philosophy of science, and a history of self-help—from Samuel Smiles to today.*

The historical period of Late Antiquity (A.D. 150–750) was a key transitional moment from the Classical civilizations of Greece and Rome to the Medieval Era in the West. Some have argued that this era of transition bore witness to key contests between the waning Greek tradition and the emerging Christian tradition, as each attempted to establish itself as the intellectual authority in the Roman Empire. Some have argued that Emperor Julian's policies in the fourth century A.D. to diminish Christian influence actually galvanized the Christians, who eventually successfully secured their tradition's intellectual dominance. The concept of "Paideia," traditionally used to describe the ancient Greek tradition of learning, became the model by which both sides sought to assert their influence. The major flaw of these arguments was that there was not any specific evidence for this claim. In my paper, I explore a specific case study by comparing two documents that shed light on this key moment in history: Emperor Julian's "Rescript on Teachers" and Basil of Caesarea's "To Young Men, on How They Might Derive Profit from Pagan Literature." I argue that the latter successfully responded to the former, thereby establishing the authority of the Christian tradition over the Greek tradition.

Since Peter Brown published his field-defining book, *The World of Late Antiquity*, the historical period of Late Antiquity, defined roughly from A.D. 150 to 750, has been regarded as a fascinating field of study. Serving as the key transitional moment from the Classical civilizations of Greece and Rome to the Medieval Era in the West, this period tracked both major continuities and discontinuities in the historical progression which were crucial for understanding how the modern Western world subsequently developed. One major site for the contest between things that would persist and those that would change was in the intellectual and religious arenas.

One work which addresses these complex interactions between Greek and Christian learning in the Mediterranean world in this period is *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* by Werner Jaeger. While giving a sweeping account of the broad arcs of the disruptions in Classical Greek learning and the rise of Christianity, Jaeger paused to note an event in the fourth century A.D. which went against these trends. Although Christianity was growing in its influence in the Roman Empire, Emperor Julian, also known as "Julian the Apostate," was notable for turning his back against Christianity. Overturning many policies which preceded him, Julian began reviving pagan religions and instituting anti-Christian measures. In these policies, Julian used religion as "an object of political and educational pagan restoration." To combat Julian's measures, Christians fought for their intellectual, political, and religious influence under the leadership of the three great Cappadocians, who were the authoritative church fathers. This event marked a time of "higher cultural aspirations," in which both sides waged a battle "to take over cultural and intellectual leadership," and to authoritatively establish the Empire's Paideia; i.e., the society's educational and cultural upbringing. The concept of "Paideia," traditionally used to describe the ancient Greek tradition of learning, became the model by which both sides sought to assert their influence. Both emphasized their tradition of learning and argued for its superiority (Jaeger 72–73, 137). Jaeger's argument about the contest between Greek and Christian learning in this moment in the fourth century A.D. is that the pressures exerted by Julian's policies actually galvanized the Christians to fight for their intellectual influence, allowing them to subsequently secure their position of cultural and scholarly domination, which "exercised a lasting influence on the history and culture of the later centuries down to the present day" (Jaeger 75).

The major flaw of Jaeger's grandiose argument was that he did not provide any specific evidence for this claim.[i] In my paper, I discuss a specific case study comparing two documents that shed light on this key moment in history: Emperor Julian's "Rescript on Teachers" from 362 A.D. and Basil of Caesarea's famous work "To Young Men, on How They Might Derive Profit from Pagan Literature," thought to have been written in Basil's old age (Deferrari 365). Although these two documents are not necessarily responding directly to one another, they *are* addressing roughly the same issue, at roughly the same time. They are offering competing arguments regarding the dominance of the Greek versus the Christian tradition of learning, with the former arguing that Christians cannot be allowed to teach the Greek Paideia and the latter arguing that Christians should teach the Greek Paideia. In reading the two documents in conversation with one another, I argue that Basil's treatise successfully responds to Julian's challenges, thereby establishing the authority of the Christian tradition over the Greek tradition, incorporating the traditional Greek Paideia into an emerging Christian Paideia, and subjecting the former to the authority of the latter.

Julian and Basil serve as particularly good counterpoints to one another. Emperor Julian was raised in a

Christian court and taught by Eusebius, the famous and authoritative bishop of Nicomedia. However, he was also known as Julian the Apostate because he famously turned away from Christianity toward the pagan religions and cultures. The roots of this could likely have been found in his education, since he was taught pagan classics by a eunuch named Mardonius (Bowersock 23–24). By contrast, Basil of Caesarea would eventually become a famous Christian rhetorician as one of the three renowned Cappadocians. It was well known that Basil received rigorous training in the pagan classics (Jaeger 75). The two men were rough contemporaries, with Julian living 330–363 A.D., and Basil living 330–379 A.D. It was suggested that they might even have been "former fellow-student[s] from the days in Athens," having both received a classical Greek education there in their youth (Bowersock 64).

These two documents were both quite influential, marking a key juncture in the history of the relationship between Christianity and the Greek Paideia. Julian's rescript was an official edict which banned Christians from teaching the Greek Paideia and was a widely influential law that the imperial government enforced for some time (Jaeger 137). Additionally, some Christians were so infuriated by this law that they wrote Christian literature to replace the Greek works Christians were not allowed to teach (Julian 63 editor's footnote). Likewise, Basil's treatise, which may have originated as a speech, had lasting significance in the "history of education" and was widely circulated (Deferrari 371). It would serve as "the charter of all Christian higher education for centuries to come" (Jaeger 81).

Both documents took the task of education to be of the utmost importance. These documents, contrary to Jaeger's claims, seemed less immediately concerned with cultural domination. Rather, it seemed that what was at stake for them was the proper education of the young person's soul. These two men employed the same analogy of forking roads to describe the situation of giving a young person a moral education. Julian wrote that "we ought, I think, to teach, but not punish, the demented." The "demented" people who would especially benefit from the proper moral education were "boys who are still too ignorant to know which way to turn" (Julian 62). Likewise, Basil indicated that he was in a particularly good position to adjudicate regarding the education of young men because his many experiences in his life—he was now in old age—"made [him] conversant with human affairs, so that [he could] indicate the safest road" (Basil 379).

Both men considered it to be a key task of education to provide people (or, more likely, men) with the correct kind of *moral* upbringing. As such, neither man was satisfied simply to confer upon students academic knowledge—they

also wanted to confer a certain lifestyle. Julian wrote that good teachers "teach, in addition to other things, not only the use of words, but morals also, and they assert that political philosophy is their peculiar field" (Julian 61). For Julian, the moral life appeared to also be the proper political life. He was trying to shape a good citizen. What was at stake for him was the proper functioning of his empire. Similarly, Basil thought education was tasked with inculcating a great deal of knowledge. He "exhorts" the young men to acquire "virtues" via a proper moral and religious education the way they would acquire "travel supplies" for a long journey. In life, he told them, their task was to prepare for the immortal soul's long journey through "that long and ageless eternity" (Basil 429–433). For Basil, the moral life appeared to also be the religious life. He was trying to shape a good Christian; what was at stake for him was the salvation of people's souls.

Julian's rescript forbade Christians from teaching the Greek Paideia in imperial schools, which had switched over to a pagan curriculum under Julian's rule (Julian 61 editor's footnote). Julian made one key argumentative move. He put forth the premise that "a proper education results, not in laboriously acquired symmetry of phrases and language, but in a healthy condition of mind," which he defined as "a mind that has understanding and true opinions about things good and evil, honourable and base." Although the rescript was not directly addressed to Christians (indeed, it only mentioned Christians once in passing), the implication was that he was intending to bar Christians from teaching the Greek Paideia. He argued that "a man [who] thinks one thing and teaches his pupil another . . . fails to educate exactly in proportion as he fails to be an honest man." Julian seemed to be writing as if he did not need to explicitly state it for the people receiving and enforcing the rescript to understand that he considered Christians to be such unfit teachers. Clearly directing his attention at Christians, without speaking their name, Julian wrote that he thought "it is absurd that men who expound the works of [pagan] writers should dishonor the gods whom [the pagan writers] used to honour." Thus, he concluded that for people befitting his description, i.e., Christians, to teach the Greek Paideia was for them to "harbor in their souls opinions irreconcilable with what they publically profess" (Julian 61).

Basil's treatise argued that the Christian education needed to incorporate the good components of pagan works and discard the bad components. There were many people in Basil's Christian community who were skeptical and suspicious of Basil's openness toward incorporating pagan works into a Christian curriculum (Jaeger 80). Basil's arguments appeared to be very sensitive to this Christian opposition and sought to address their concerns. To this end, perhaps the most important argument that Basil made was that one should use the pagan works as a kind of crutch

for understanding Christianity. He wrote that, ideally, "the Holy Scriptures [would] lead the way" in providing a proper religious education, by "teaching us through mysteries." However, "it [would be] impossible" for the young person, due to his youth, "to understand the depth of the meaning" of the Holy Scripture. Thus, "in the meantime," we needed to give the youth their religious education "by means of other analogies which are not entirely different." These analogies would serve as "a preliminary training" for the "care of our soul" so that eventually we would come to know the deep, complex meaning of Holy Scriptures (Basil 383–385). This argument responded to the concerns voiced by the Christian opposition about Basil's open attitude toward the Greek Paideia because it clearly established a limited purpose for the teaching of pagan writings in Christian curriculums.

In addition to the above argument, Basil gave the reader many guidelines in deciding what constituted evil pagan works, which had to be avoided in a Christian curriculum, and what constituted good pagan works, which had to be included. Regarding the avoidance of the evil literature, Basil noted that one had to avoid all depictions of "men engaged in amours or drunken, of when they define happiness in terms of an over-abundant table to dissolute song." It was of the utmost priority that the youth avoid the bad literature because "familiarity with evil words [is] a road leading to evil deeds" (Basil 387–389). Regarding the embrace of the good literature, Basil wrote that "it is possible . . . for those . . . pursuing not merely what is sweet and pleasant in such [pagan] writings to store away from them some benefit also for their souls." Most importantly, Basil emphasized that it was possible to simultaneously embrace the bad and reject the good in one's engagement with pagan literature. He argued, "if we are wise, having appropriated from this literature what is suitable for us and akin to the truth, [we would] pass over the remainder" of the literature (Basil 391).

Basil offered us one final argument. Even though we could distinguish between keeping the good pagan literature and discarding the bad, the good pagan literature we kept, beautiful as it was, would still pale in comparison to Christian teachings. He compared the relative goodness of good pagan literature to Christian literature by providing an analogy to vegetation. He argued that just as "beautiful fruit" often wore leaves that "furnishes both protection to the fruit and an aspect not devoid of beauty," so, too, was "the fruit of the soul," i.e., truth, "clad with the certainly not unlovely raiment . . . of wisdom drawn from the outside," i.e., pagan literature. In other words, even if pagan literature was not quite as beautiful, true, or deep as Christian literature, it could still possess its lesser forms of beauty, truth, and depth that serve as a complement and support for Christian truth.

Having examined the two sides of the debate, we see that Basil's robust arguments pretty resoundingly defeated Julian's single argument. Julian's argument depended not so much on the Christians being Christians, but depended on the notion that one could not teach texts that contradicted with one's views without being dishonest to oneself or the student. There was an additional option that one could take in reconciling a mismatch between the teacher's beliefs and the text's arguments: reinterpret and reappropriate the text's arguments. Julian briefly considered this option in his rescript when he wrote that it would be "absurd" for people who did not believe in pagan gods to teach the writings inspired by those gods, while "dishonor[ing]" those gods (Julian 61). However, this was precisely the approach that Basil took in incorporating the pagan Paideia into the Christian Paideia.

One might think of Basil's argument as a systematic account of how one could (and, he argues, should) disambiguate the bad parts of a previous tradition from the good in order to incorporate the good parts into a new tradition, subjugating the former to the authority of latter. Both in his arguments and in his frequent allusions to the pagan literature, Basil's text is a masterful demonstration of how such incorporation and subjugation of previous traditions was to be accomplished. Structurally in his argument, the pagan tradition was subsumed into the Christian tradition via his first and most important argument, which I call the "crutch" argument. By articulating a compelling vision in which the pagan tradition could be cut up and used *only to the extent* it could serve the purposes of the Christian tradition, Basil, indeed, insured that the pagan tradition would survive the death of pagan society. However, this arrangement allowed the pagan tradition to live a kind of post-death existence, surviving not as a continuation of its own tradition, per se, but as the disarticulated and reappropriated building blocks for a new tradition.

The complicated relationship between Julian's rescript and Basil's treatise that I present above brings to light many questions regarding continuity and discontinuity as historical processes. Regarding Basil's willful reappropriation of the pagan tradition, we (especially from an imprecise, contemporary gaze) might see this, at first glance, as an instance of continuity. Just like many other instances of continuity, the Christian theologians drew from traditions and practices that came before them in order to forge ahead with new traditions and practices. On the other hand, after we examine the fourth-century A.D. context out of which we identified Julian and Basil's documents, we see that this was a time of great discontinuity, in which both Julian and Christians opposed the Christian teaching of pagan works. Given these details, we might think of this scenario as one in which a seeming continuity (the preservation of pagan

works) emerged out of a time of discontinuity (the temporary discontinuation of the Christian teaching of pagan works, via Julian's rescript). In addition, in this case, we are met with the question of how we are to conceive of the notion of continuity. Can we really speak of the pagan tradition "continuing" into the Christian era if the Christians had already, in Late Antiquity, remade paganism for their own purposes? Perhaps, as I describe above, pagan experiences a kind of "post-mortem" survival[ii] in Late Antiquity, in which it does not survive in its own right, but depends on the sustenance extended to it by Christianity, via Basil of Caesarea.

Endnotes

[i] This was likely due to the fact that this work was originally given as a lecture, and was thus more schematic in its argumentation.

[ii] Although it is not exactly the same idea, I was inspired by Bart Simon's notion of "undead science" in thinking about paganism's post-death existence. Bart Simon, "Undead Science: Making Sense of Cold Fusion After the Arti(fact)," *Social Studies of Science* 29 (1999): 61–85.

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Early 2000s Dancehall, Hip-hop and R&B Collaborations and Audio-Visual Politics of Resistance

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In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Jamaican dancehall artists like Chaka Demus and Pliers and Shabba Ranks reached major international success. In the U.S. during the late 1990s and early 2000s came what seemed like an eruption of dancehall and contemporary hip-hop and R&B collaborations. Most tracks in this booming crossover category of the early 21st century reached international success, peaking at low numbers on Billboards' Hot 100 and Hot R&B/Hip-Hop Songs charts. This paper examines the ways in which a radical Black politics of resistance and autonomy emerges in these musical collaborations. Via close analysis of Beenie Man and Mya's song and music video "Girls Dem Sugar," this paper ultimately argues that these collaborations represent a radical Black and utopian politics of resistance even as they negotiate their complicity within processes of culture commodification, and that this radical potential can be best understood via the theory and politics of Black sound.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Jamaican dancehall artists like Chaka Demus and Pliers and Shabba Ranks reached major international success. In the U.S. during the late 1990s and early 2000s came what seemed like an eruption of dancehall and contemporary hip-hop and R&B collaborations with tracks like Beenie Man's "Girls Dem Sugar" (2000) featuring Mya, Sean Paul's remix of "Make it Clap" (2002) featuring Busta Rhymes and Spliff Star, and Elephant Man's "Jook Gal (Wine, Wine)" (2003) featuring Twista. Each of these tracks—and most in this booming crossover category of the early 21st century—reached international success, peaking at low numbers on Billboards' Hot 100 and Hot R&B/Hip-Hop Songs charts. This paper takes seriously collaborations between Black American and Black Jamaican/Caribbean music artists and their implications under a multi-billion-dollar U.S. culture industry. Via close analysis of Beenie Man and Mya's song and music video "Girls Dem Sugar," this paper highlights how these collaborations represent a radical Black and utopian politics of resistance even as they negotiate their complicity within processes of culture commodification, and ultimately argues that it is the radical potential of sound and Black noise in particular that enables this resistance.

Scholars of hip-hop and Caribbean music forms have long been engaged in a debate on whether hip-hop is distinctly American or part of a larger Afro-Atlantic culture (Gilroy 1993 and Perry 2004). Placing the debate of African retentions and the African aesthetic origins of hip-hop aside, the linkage between Black American hip-hop and R&B and Caribbean dancehall is still a logical one, given the social and structural conditions that led to their similar origins and formats as well as the influence that both have come to have on each other over time. This is less to say that hip-hop is part of a larger Afro-Atlantic culture and more to say that the formation of hip-hop cannot be separated from the formation of what are considered distinctly Afro-Caribbean music genres. Their similar origins point to the fact that dancehall, hip-hop, and R&B are not necessarily discrete genres but musics born under similar conditions. In a 2013 Red Bull Music Academy interview, DJ Kode9 explains that no matter how local a genre might be, they are still syncretic musics "based on looting and pillaging of any music from anywhere at any time in any way." This understanding of the ways genres are always infused with outside influences helps make sense of how dancehall's influence can be simultaneously local and global and central to the formation of hip-hop and R&B, as well as how hip-hop and R&B elements have influenced and can be found in dancehall (Perry 14). What follows is a brief overview of the cultural, political, and aesthetic linkages between dancehall, hip-hop, and R&B, and an analysis of the song and music video "Girls Dem Sugar," highlighting its sonic and aesthetic politics of Black utopian autonomy and resistance.

To think about shared formations is particularly helpful in understanding what kind of Black politics are at play in collaborations between dancehall and hip-hop and R&B. Dancehall's origins are believed to lie in the inner-city dancehall culture of 1940s Jamaica and its records—often featuring ska, roots reggae, and American R&B—played from large, home-made sound systems (Cooper 2004). Similarly, hip-hop's 1970s origins were inaugurated via the introduction of Jamaican sound system culture and the practice of dubbing, or "scratching," as it is referred to in the U.S., to the South Bronx. DJ Kool Herc is specifically credited with having imported his Caribbean style—namely, dancehall sound system culture—to the Bronx after his immigration from Jamaica in 1967. Additionally, just as Jamaican dancehall emerged out of Trench Town and expressed the community's social unrest under structural and economic oppression, hip-hop began growing in the South Bronx as a form of cultural and identity expression that empowered Black working-class youth. Though both music forms are inevitably highly localized and have thus adapted unique forms based on their specific contexts, it is critical to remember that the influence of both is global in scope, that they were both started as live music in their respective underground dance venues, and that reggae (as a precursor to dancehall) assisted U.S. hip-hop with the

technology and dub method that would later give rise to its formation as an identifiable music genre.

To recognize hip-hop's origins as influenced by Jamaican dancehall, however, is not to say that hip-hop and R&B have not had a similar influence over Jamaican dancehall artists. "Roots and Routes: The Connections between Dancehall and Rap," an article on JahWorks.org, highlights that "both formal and informal imports and exports carry music and culture back and forth" between the U.S. and Jamaica, conceding that American exports have a stronger economic reach in Jamaica rather than the other way around. This inequality in the import and export relationship between the U.S. and Jamaica is undeniably tied to economic and cultural imperialism, and it is clear that this influx of U.S. cultural material has influenced dancehall artists as Jamaican musicians and DJs are constantly traveling to the U.S. seeking the "lucrative cross-over market" (JahWorks 2012). It is this "cross-over" between dancehall and Black American hip-hop and contemporary R&B that is the focus of this paper, particularly as it represents a Black politics of resistance even as it participates in a lucrative culture industry. Participation in culture commodification, however, does not preclude the critical work of a Caribbean and American Black audio-visual politics of resistance.

In *Prophets of the Hood: Politics and Poetics in Hip Hop*, Imani Perry argues that hip-hop is deeply concerned with the regional and local, and that in many ways it is "arrogantly American" (20). She also argues that Black Americans as a community do not consume imported music from other cultures to any large extent and that although influences of dancehall can be seen in Black American hip-hop aesthetics and production, Black American youth do not actually understand "the range of deep cultural, political, and linguistic symbols embedded in the music" (20). By suggesting that Black Americans are solely responding to a "rhythmic structure, not unlike what occurs when most white Americans listen to Black American music" (20), Perry fails to recognize the ways in which Black Caribbean and American communication is heavily at play even as dancehall and R&B music and culture is mediated, mass disseminated, and moved from the margin to the mainstream. It is true that dancehall and R&B are commoditized for an American multi-billion-dollar industry (Holsendolph 1999) and that Black Caribbean and American dancehall and R&B musicians participate in this commodification. What is seldom acknowledged, however, is that Black youths may receive some benefits by participating in this marketing project, including financial stability and a medium of some form in which to express themselves. The irony at play here is that the very white-supremacist conditions that produced "black rage" and motivated the formation of genres like reggae, dancehall, hip-hop, and R&B are the very forces that now enable their commodification (Wright 2004), oftentimes in an attempt to reduce their threat against Euro-centric cultural dominance.

Jamaican dancehall and Black American R&B can indeed be traced back to their early formations and linked to their initial threat even as they are complicit in the "mainstream" packaging and selling of their brand. Though the dancehall and R&B collaborations of the early 2000s were not necessarily associated with insurgent, "conscious" rap, this paper—taking up Gilroy's (1993) position that Black music opposes the world as it is and reaches for the world as they would like to see it—argues that early-2000's dancehall/R&B collaborations such as Beenie Man and Mya's "Girls Dem Sugar" and its accompanying music video constructs a utopian setting through which alternative societies might be imagined against U.S. white supremacy.

Thus far, this paper has used hip-hop and R&B interchangeably as it has referred to both rapped (hip-hop) and sung (R&B) vocals, but entering a discussion of a Caribbean and American Black audio-visual politics of resistance via an analysis of "Girls Dem Sugar," it will from now on refer mostly to the dancehall/R&B collaboration. This analysis is informed by the politics of the Black Audio Film Collective (BAFC) and Kodwo Eshun's understanding of the important critical work that BAFC was producing in the 1980s and 1990s. Though Paul Gilroy (2010) would likely argue against the idea that a song and video like Beenie Man's "Girls Dem Sugar" could embody a Black audio-visual politics of resistance or imagine a counter-hegemonic alternative to the current world, this paper is critical of overly nostalgic positions that may fail to recognize the subtle politics of resistance at work in more contemporary music forms. Sonic aesthetics are indeed a viable way of escaping the exploitative boundaries of entities like the white-supremacist state and constructing a freeing and autonomous Black diasporic community rooted in common political struggle. Recent discussions taking place in Black studies between scholars such as Fred Moten, Richard Iton, Robin Kelley, Saidiya Hartman, and Paul Gilroy have seriously considered the power and politics of Black cultural and aesthetic production. A common focus in the work of each of these thinkers is perhaps best articulated by Fred Moten's notion of phonic materiality; that is, the resistance of the object from a sonic context.

We can think of this sonic rupture in relation to Gilroy's discussion of the "slave sublime" as well as to DuBois' understanding of the power of slave song, where the master does not possess the sonic vocabulary to understand slave song and cannot know the degree or kind of threat it poses. Gilroy writes, "though they were unspeakable, their terrors were not inexpressible" (1993, 73). Gilroy's conception

of a "politics of transfiguration" and "lower frequency" (37) sees Black song and performance as housing utopian desires in disguised iterations. This is to say that Black music entails a space in which the terror of an anti-Black world can be expressed supra-linguistically. Stephen Best and Saidiya Hartman (2005) term this kind of sonic politics "Black noise," or, "the kinds of political aspirations that are inaudible and illegible within the prevailing formulas of political rationality . . . illegible because they are so wildly utopian and derelict to capitalism" (9). During slavery, we can speculate that the purposeful unintelligibility of Black noise corresponded with the master's watchful eye (utopian desires expressed through music could incite a rebellion), but also with the shared experience of racial enslavement based on their blackness—a condition perhaps inaugurated by the white colonial master but a world to which they will never have access to. This rupture continues to shape the form and content of Black music contemporarily.

The dancehall/R&B fusion of Beenie Man and Mya's "Girls Dem Sugar" features what is described as "sweet coos" by Mya about wanting to be Beenie Man's girl while he "zagga zagga[s]" along, chatting her up and bragging about how all the girls in the club need him (AllMusic 2010). The video opens with Beenie Man pulling up at a Flatbush club to walk through and mingle with an all-Black crowd of what seems like mostly women. I am less interested here in what could be read as the objectification of women and more interested in what kind of Blackness and Black sound is being performed. A poster on a wall at the video's opening reads "Beenie Man Live!!"—a clear reference to dancehall's live-performance roots—and later we see the flags of several Caribbean nations (Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados, among others) hanging above a large dancehall sound system. At this point, we also see and hear track dubbing and break spinning as Beenie Man asks the crowd to hold up their lighters and Mya continues to enchant the audience with her sultry vocals. Given these overt references to Jamaican/Caribbean dancehall culture, including the fact that the club is located in the predominantly Caribbean community of Flatbush, Brooklyn, it seems that Beenie Man is invested in representing Caribbean Blackness, all the while centering Mya, who musically represents a hip-hop and R&B Black American aesthetic. Though viewers cannot really know who in the club is a Black American or Black Caribbean (if we are to even consider the two groups to be mutually exclusive), the music video depicts an integrated Black American and Caribbean community.

Though based on what is admittedly a romantic reading of the video, through this sense of community there is a sense of Black diasporic alliance and pride in a Black space. This kind of representation, however, should not be misinterpreted as solely counterhegemonic. In Kodwo Eshun's "The Ghosts of Songs" (2007), he argues that the work of the BAFC was invested in the potential of aesthetics and the power of self-inauguration beyond social instrumentality. BAFC has never produced material from an overtly counter-hegemonic stance, nor do they aim for audience approval or even widespread understanding of their work. This kind of politic is primarily concerned with the empowerment that comes with sovereignty, self-expression, and the creation of material as one sees fit.

This sort of politics is present in Beenie Man and Mya's "Girls Dem Sugar" and many other dancehall/R&B collaborations. Particularly in the music video for "Girls Dem Sugar," it is only too clear that the Blackness performed is a Blackness that is autonomous and working beyond the politics of representation—though it is clearly a Black American and Caribbean space. This may be precisely where a Black Caribbean and American audio-visual politics of resistance lies. The club in "Girls Dem Sugar" is lit with lights, flags, and carefree Afro-Caribbeans and Black Americans having a good time. Not only does this kind of aesthetic represent a break from their experiences in reality, but it actively engages in a politics of building a utopian space that is unwelcoming to white supremacy and Eurocentric cultural dominance. Further emphasizing this is the Black sound: a Black Caribbean and American sonic politics in which most of Beenie Man's lyrics are indecipherable to a non-Black American or Anglophone Caribbean audience. Thus, although dancehall and hip-hop have become hot, fetishized commodities for white America, there remains within these Black Caribbean-American musical communities and collaborations a politics of resistance in which a more utopian space can be imagined and temporarily fulfilled.

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South African Healthcare: Utopian Dream or Failed Reality?

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In 2011, South Africa released their proposal for National Health Insurance, "premised on the ideology that all South Africans are entitled to access quality healthcare services." The National Health Insurance scheme has not yet been implemented, but follows up on the constitutional promise to provide free basic healthcare for all South African citizens after years of unequal treatment of Black South Africans, Indians, and Coloured people. In this paper I argue, based on the Peoples' Health Charter, that the National Health Insurance alone is not enough to fix health disparities in the country if the commodification of healthcare and the alienation of rural and unpaid healthcare workers is not first addressed.

Introduction

The 1978 Alma-Ata Declaration, developed and endorsed by multiple countries, proclaimed access to quality healthcare an inalienable right. This belief, however, has not stopped the commodification and privatization of healthcare. The Alma-Ata Declaration, established during the International Conference on Primary Health Care, sought to fight against widening the health disparity between the rich and the poor by declaring that primary healthcare was in crisis. Modeled on the Alma-Ata Declaration, the 2000 South African People's Health Charter serves as the backbone of South Africa's new National Health Insurance (NHI). Proposed in 2011, yet still not implemented, NHI plans to cover all South African citizens and long-term residents with free healthcare for basic services. The NHI model invests heavily in the public sector, but what will happen when privatization is solidified in ink? This paper builds upon Greenberg's (2006) notion that "privatization of health care leads to the consolidation of inequality" (p. 91). In a country with a history of a private sector that serves the 'haves,' and an under-resourced public sector that serves the 'have-nots,' will the implementation of such a program truly benefit the underserved? This paper argues that while NHI may alleviate health inequalities in South Africa today, NHI cannot successfully deliver equitable healthcare services without simultaneously addressing the commodification of healthcare and the alienation of the healthcare workers.

The People's Health Charter

The Peoples' Health Charter further develops the concept of holistic health developed in the Alma-Ata Declaration, declaring health a right. In this view, "health" is more than just "the absence of disease or infirmity" (Declaration of Alma-Ata, 1978, p. 1). Health is not just about disease, but also about the economic and social determinants of health that play a crucial role in overall wellbeing (People's Health Assembly, 2000, p. 3). These determinants of health encompass not only the minimal resources required to meet daily needs such as housing and sustenance, but also the ability to access basic resources. One cannot live a healthy life without access to basic services such as adequate sanitation, electricity, or civil societal functions like proper education and community hubs. These services and societal functions exemplify the interlocking nature of health, society, and the economy, highlighting that health is a fundamental human right that is not currently treated as such.

The major problem South Africa faces in achieving this vision of universal healthcare, according to the Peoples' Health Charter, is ridding itself of the unfortunate consequences of globalization. Globalization refers to the interconnected nature of the globe today, seen through the movement of capital between countries and the rise of multinational and transnational corporations as the result of innovative technologies like airplanes and the internet. The Charter details the devastating effects of such globalization on health and healthcare, and condemns the uneven distribution of globalization's negative effects on postcolonial nations like South Africa. Francis B. Nyamnjoh (2006) describes globalization as "a process marked by accelerated flows and, paradoxically, accelerated closures" (p. 1). Nyamnjoh's globalization manifests in accelerated capital that funds national healthcare coverage for more citizens while simultaneously closing rural health clinics. Globalization's endless pursuit for profits is met by outsourcing cheap labor to private corporations. Stephen Greenberg (2006) defines privatization as "the outright sale of state assets to private interests" (p. 3). In other words, a private owner or corporation takes over a formerly public entity and prioritizes profit. For example, under the NHI, a private corporation can take over a facility and ignore rural patients that the previous iteration of the hospital was previously helping. The process of privatization places the focus on generating income and

cutting costs in all fields—including the costs of care—even if this focus actually reduces care.

The Charter identifies the commodification of care and the privatization of healthcare as major threats to a holistic understanding of quality healthcare. Commodification refers to the process whereby services like healthcare become commodities, products, to be bought and sold. However, the right to basic healthcare should not be repackaged in quick fixes, but instead delivered in a holistic manner considerate of various social determinants of health like home environment (Lake & Reynolds, 2010). The Charter seeks to eliminate privatization and commodification, which are arguably toxic byproducts of globalization. Scholars like Nyamnjoh (2006) often discuss how joining the global economy—where private forces take over public entities—threatens the average worker or migrant. Unfortunately, this focus on reduced employee wages ignores those citizens most affected by the high cost of recently privatized healthcare, the poor and working-class people of color. The NHI proposes broader coverage and new jobs, but does not address healthcare workers who do not fit into the private industry of selling care as a commodity. The aim of the People's Health Charter is to champion the unpaid healthcare workers and patients who do not fit neatly into public or private healthcare schemes.

Private vs. Public Healthcare

As far as the South African healthcare system is concerned, the disparity in both funding and quality between private and public systems and institutions is rooted in privatization. The unequal distinction between public and private healthcare stems from South Africa's racially destructive apartheid legacy. Greenberg (2006) writes, "under apartheid, healthcare services were fragmented, inefficient, and ineffective, and resources were mismanaged and poorly distributed" (p. 87). This trend of fragmented healthcare services continued over time along racial lines and economic class lines, where the poorest populations access low-quality public institutions and the middle-class and rich populations access high-quality private institutions (Greenberg, 2006, p. 91). According to Classen (2011), the "payment on motivation" system—where doctors' salaries directly correlate to the economic class standing of their patients—has contributed to the commodification of care in South Africa. Classen (2011, p. 54) argues that "markets are compatible with caring," yet the vast majority of doctors are working within the private sector and leaving the severely under-resourced public sector, both rural and urban (Child, 2011).

The lack of formal hospitals and clinics within rural areas stems from a lack of profit motive: the patients in rural areas cannot afford private medical schemes, or insurance plans and are, therefore, patients "unworthy" of the doctors' time. The NHI's number one enemy is, in fact, the "unequal distribution of health professionals between the private and public sector, and between urban and rural areas," (Republic of South Africa, 2014, p. 14). The NHI plans to increase medical school graduates—encouraging professionals to return to their home country of South Africa from abroad—and recruit from other countries. However, given that this is a pilot program limited to select areas, this particular solution will not solve the current doctor shortage anytime soon. The NHI hopes to boost the public-sector doctors who would attend rural populations, yet even with these proposed measures, the more attractive route for students and doctors is the private sector. The higher wages in the private sector reflect the higher cost of healthcare that establishes the private-sector medical practice as more lucrative. This theme is made clear by the Treatment Action Campaign (2011), which reports that public-sector and private-sector spending are equal—R57 billion—yet the private sector covers only 15% of the population (p. 8–9).

Although the Charter—on which the NHI is based—recognizes that the privatization of healthcare increases health inequalities for poor and rural areas, the NHI has still turned to a public-private partnership (PPP) to deliver comprehensive primary care for all regardless of their ability to pay. At first, the PPP approach appears consistent with the Charter's outline in that all citizens are covered, thereby actually reducing health inequalities by increasing access to preventative services and treatment. However, the Charter merely serves as a guide, not as fully developed policy recommendations, so it is questionable to what extent NHI can deliver the Charter's stated goals of healthcare for all. Additionally, both the Alma-Ata Declaration and the subsequent People's Health Charter call for cooperation among South Africa's various sectors, among all countries, and generally "peaceful aims" to achieve a comprehensive national health system (Declaration of Alma-Ata, 1978, p. 1). While the PPP premises itself on uniting public interest with private assets, the question is always "at what cost and on whom does that cost fall?" There is not a reliable standard in South Africa for evaluating how these private assets will be used in the public interest of healthcare services. There is also cause for concern regarding the current and historical national environment on human rights abuses, including healthcare. For example, South Africa has signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, but it remains one of the few countries yet to ratify this major treaty addressing human rights issues (Pillay, 2014).

Convincing the Public

A general lack of confidence in the NHI's PPP approach comes not only from the structural level, as former United Nation High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay points out, but also the individual level. The Charter calls for community participation at all levels, but social movements and legislation can only go so far in turning individuals from spectators into participants in a vastly unequal country (Declaration of Alma-Ata, 1978, p. 1). Needless to say, South Africa has a sordid legacy of apartheid. In that vein, recovery programs designed to close racial gaps such as the Black Economic Empowerment programs have not been favorably received (Greenberg, 2006). Likewise, the dominant public narrative pushes back against NHI, classifying it as an additional program whereby poor people are further relying on the state (Page, 2005). Such claims ignore systems of structural oppression that, for example, block access to higher education and the safer, higher-paying jobs that often accompany such upward mobility. Instead, poor, Black working-class women have to ask themselves, "Which is more important: me, or [cleaning] the [asthma-inducing] carpet?", balancing their respiratory health with the need to earn an income from available domestic work (Grossman, 2007).

Two of the largest public concerns have been around the notion of subsidizing the poor and the current state of the public healthcare system. And in spite of assertions that both private and public healthcare financial backing will come from the same fund with the same quality of care, the general public is skeptical (Republic of South Africa, 2014, p. 9). The NHI will run on the NHI fund, which will be subsidized through general governmental taxes as well as additional contributions by employed workers who meet a to-be-determined income threshold (Republic of South Africa, 2014, p. 8). Basic healthcare will be free, but many middle class citizens oppose the very notion itself, particularly in a country with an almost 25% unemployment rate (AfricaCheck.org). Such high national unemployment rates create an environment where survival takes precedence over a policy that can be reduced to "paying it forward." These middle- and upper-class citizens often feel that they because they earn money, that allows them the choice to spend it as they please, rather than how the government mandates. In truth, they can still choose to keep their medical aid—the South African equivalent to medical insurance—but they *will* have to pay for it in addition to the mandatory contribution to the NHI Fund. In paying their dues, they are taking the necessary step toward allowing those who are not fortunate enough to be employed the access to the healthcare they so desperately need. Returning to the argument of this paper, it is clear that private healthcare has hitherto encouraged individualism. This individualistic ethos where citizens look out for themselves and not their neighbor leads to alienation from each other as well as the alienation from the people providing care for the children in the home and care for individuals in healthcare facilities.

Alienation of Healthcare Providers

The NHI has the potential to eliminate the two-tiered system (public-private system) (Nair, 2009) by closing the gap in service, but it is not clear if the government is ready to take this next step. The African National Congress—the majority-Black governmental party in power—has the political authority to implement the NHI, but the NHI will not be successful unless the commodification of care and the alienation of the healthcare workers and patients are also tackled. Borrowing from Chris Yuill (2005), alienation can described as the "lived experiences of [workers under] capitalism" (p. 126). Yuill argues that capitalism—and, in this case, globalization—creates a sense of human detachment where health and care are deprioritized (Yuill, 2005, p. 141). Not only are unpaid care workers separated because they are relegated to a form of underclass, but the commodification of care creates a hierarchy where paid workers only see patients who can *afford* care. Care is a commodity to be bought and sold by those with the privilege of medical aid in the unbalanced South African market. It can further be argued that the privatization of healthcare exacerbates the alienation of healthcare workers who happen to be primarily non-white. When those with the socioeconomic privilege and educational capital are those who land well-paying jobs or access high-quality healthcare, where does that leave historically disenfranchised populations? Globalization does not just breed commodification or alienation, but also xenophobia and classism, both intraracially and interracially (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Black South Africans are just one group othered based on "the hierarchies of humanity informed by race, nationality, culture, class and gender" (Nyamnjoh, 2006, p. 38). Globalization creates the circumstances where those with intergenerational wealth continue to encounter opportunities while those without capital fall further behind in the wake of privatization.

In actuality, this has been exemplified at all levels of healthcare practice. Physicians sometimes bear the brunt of the work both in the field and long after they have gone home. For example, in 2009, Dr. Wasserman and his colleagues—public-sector doctors in the township of Gugulethu—went on strike for better wages and to bring attention to "inadequate delivery of this most basic service," calling their daily work "soul destroying" (Wasserman, 2009).

Medical specialists and specialty practices are completely unable to meet the demand for their services. For example, the Gugulethu Clinic is the sole dental clinic in

charge of serving multiple poor Black communities with only one state dentist. Thus there is one dental specialist for a population of 98,000 (according to the 2011 Census). Gugulethu serves as a case study; however, their dilemma is not unique. The Department of Health (2014) reports that only 1 in 10 dentists in 2008 worked in South Africa's public hospitals or clinics (p. 16). And while there is a Black middle-class in South Africa, the majority of the poor people are of color, as opposed to white. This disparity in care is not just along class lines, but also along racial lines. The need is so great that for U.S.$2–$3 one can buy a spot in the line, because the queues for the dentist begin as early as 2am, and people have to walk to reach their places of work (Mzantsi, 2014).

Finally, home-based healthcare workers in the public sector are aware that no matter how great the needs, the reality rarely matches the necessity. Underpaid and overworked, these workers are considered lucky to have work in the face of so many people who provide care for free. There is often little to no clean water or soap to perform the most basic functions, even though these neglected caregivers are on the front lines of public health (Industrial Health Resource Group, 2012, p. 4). These workers all experience a sense of alienation, or disconnection, in one form or another. The lowest-paid ranks, such as community health workers, are ignored and taken advantage of, furthering their distance from the patients they serve and the doctors they support. They fill in the "skills gap" when and where the lack of nurses and doctors are unavailable, but they have few chances for career progression or even a living wage (Sander & Lloyd, 2009). The highest-paid ranks often work within the private sector, further defining themselves as different from the rural village or the very poor and very Black townships. Individual townships are teeming with the Black, Colored, and Indian mothers, grandmothers, sisters, aunts, neighbors, and community service workers who are most likely to give unpaid care in South Africa. While these populations will have access to NHI services, they still bear the responsibility of providing non-basic services for their loved ones. It is important to consider who provides care to those performing daily care work.

Broader Implications for the Commodification of Care

Care requires more value within post-colonial nations like South Africa where apartheid was the literal manifestation of alienation and state-sanctioned violence; not just the care that occurs within hospitals or clinics, but also the care provided within homes by poorly paid domestic workers and unpaid caregivers. Care, as defined by Classen (2011), "refer[s] to a restricted set of activities: caring activities on a structural basis for people who are in a position

of dependency or vulnerability . . . both a kind of action ("caring for") and a motive ("caring about")" (p. 44). This theory of care—further explored in Paula England's (2005) "Emerging Theories of Care Work"—shows an opening on how market care, or care to be bought and sold as a commodity, could be a "welcome form of care" in that it would meet the gap in care provided within the home (p. 60). Yet, when care if classified as a "thing" to be bought and sold, the result is a care deficit (Block, 2003). The country of South Africa is in a care deficit that NHI proposes to fix, but NHI provides only basic health services, which maintain advanced care as a luxury. If water, a public good, can be commodified and privatized in South and Southern Africa, care will definitely not be the one exception to the capitalist rule (Bond, 2003). When the exclusivity of healthcare and the efficiency of care take priority over genuine care itself, it is evident that access to free healthcare is an inalienable right that the South African government is failing to deliver.

The 2014 wave of Ebola is a critical global example of how *genuine* care should never become a commodity. The effects of Ebola in West Africa were devastating due to both a lack of resources and the nature of the virus itself. The Ebola virus viciously attacks anyone who has contact with the slightest bit of infected bodily fluid, often from a loved one for whom one is providing care (CDC, 2016; Hale, 2014). In many African countries, formal care workers are not the first respondents, unpaid caregivers are. While Western Africa and Southern Africa are very different, it is worth noting that neither region compensates or officially recognizes the unpaid caregivers providing daily preventative care. Even with an expanded network, genuine care must never become a commodity because of the informal nature of care explored by Classen (2011). This sort of care is motivated by personal connection, and ultimately love, love that a private-public partnership or a large salary cannot provide. Due to the level of care required, the lack of professionals, and the lack of respect, these *pro bono* caregivers are currently isolated and will continue to be, even with the introduction of NHI. Until unpaid healthcare workers are valued as much as private-sector salaried healthcare workers, thereby reducing worker alienation, the NHI will only add a patch to a broken system.

Conclusion

The final challenge for NHI's transformation of primary care is placing trust in any government with the responsibility of one's life and health, let alone the African National Congress (ANC) government. It is not a secret that South Africa's leadership has often been publicly and vehemently criticized for "corruption" (Motsoeneng & Toyana, 2015). Combine this with a PPP, which traditionally focuses

on "value for money and affordability," rather than compassionate care, and the problems are apparent (Khanyile, 2009). Although the author believes that truly compassionate, genuine care can never be commodified, the NHI is a step in the right direction. South Africa has discussed the possibility of universal healthcare for seventy years, and, if implemented, the NHI would provide support to millions who need it. Additionally, the Department of Health and the ANC government will reduce the unbalanced market power of the private sector if they implement the NHI. Nevertheless, this paper asserts that healthcare, much like access to clean running water, needs to be thought of outside of the context of the economy and inside the context of a given right for every single human being, regardless of age, gender identity, class, race, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, political affiliation, or ability.

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