



The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2022

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

The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2022

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

Preface

It has been my sincere honor and pleasure to work with the talented authors of the 2022 edition of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (MMUF) Journal. The goal of the MMUF program is to directly address one aspect of inequity within higher education by taking deliberate measures to increase diversity within the faculty of colleges and universities writ large. Since 1988, the MMUF has supported over 5000 undergraduate students from marginalized backgrounds with research funding, professional development, and the opportunity to work closely with a faculty mentor, among other experiences, to best prepare Fellows to enter a PhD program in the humanities or social sciences in the near future. For the past 25 years, as a branch of the MMUF program, the MMUF Journal has served to provide Fellows with an avenue to publish their original research. Going through the academic publication process—from submitting an article, to revising one's work through the peer review process, to ultimately preparing and polishing a piece for publication—is a crucial step in the life of a budding scholar. Our hope is that through this experience, our authors feel empowered to continue to publish their work as they progress in their respective academic careers.

The 2022 Journal features contributions by 27 authors from 18 colleges and universities that are part of the MMUF's member institutions. These articles often started as seminar papers or adapted chapters of senior theses and exemplify the breadth and depth of the humanities and social sciences, particularly emphasizing the interdisciplinary work that we find in so many fields today.

In these pages, several authors explored the varied experiences of people of color through analysis of poetry, music, literature, and film, both contemporary and throughout the 20th century, both domestically and abroad. Others probed questions regarding access to healthcare and ways to continue to improve upon diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives with higher education. And others explored the idea of fascism, using past and present examples to redefine the concept in itself and to present a deeper analysis of the implications and application of the word. Through nuanced, sophisticated, and sensitive analyses, each author in this Journal strives to make meaning of past and present events, experiences of others, and even their own personal identities to empower us all to have a more purposeful, open-minded, happy, and healthy future.

Very simply put: every single one of these works adds not only to academic scholarship, but contributes important voices and perspectives that need to be heard—the students' own and those that they represent in their work—in order for not only academia, but our culture and society writ large to continue to strive for inclusivity and to reap the benefits of a diverse array of experiences and voices. I urge readers of our Journal to truly take the time to consider these works to their fullest—grapple with the issues and dilemmas our authors present, react, be inspired to think, and then act, if you feel called to do so. Large and small actions alike make a significant difference when combatting the array of challenges that face many of us today! These authors inspire me through their bravery and tenacity and I hope that they do the same for you as well!

We are excited and proud to share their work with you!

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Modern Acropolis Turned Futurist Amoeba: The Socio-Spatial Implications of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art's Nascent Architectural Reconstruction

Storm Bria-Rose Bookhard, *University of Southern California*

Storm Bria-Rose Bookhard is a recent graduate of the University of Southern California (USC) with a BFA in Fine Art and minor in Art History (Modern Art Markets and Ethics concentration). She is currently an MA candidate in Curatorial Practice and the Public Sphere at USC.

Her research interests are rooted in museum and curatorial theory, with attention to post-colonial prerogatives and how museums aim to reflect contemporary conversations on race, equity, and inclusion through structural reform. She now holds a position at the Getty Research Institute and plans to pursue a PhD in Art History.

Abstract

Examining the architecture of art museums is a mode of investigating how institutions responsible for preserving visual and cultural histories position themselves to the public. Their facade inevitably informs our perception of these spaces, thus impacting how we approach the material within them. Using the Los Angeles County Museum of Art's ongoing reconstruction as a case study, this paper examines the socio-spatial implications of museum design through addressing the impact of architectural and aesthetic traditions as well as museums' complex relationships with their publics.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to my mentor, Dr. Hector Reyes, for your support of my research and continued academic guidance. To the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship program, thank you for the opportunity to pursue this scholarship and fearlessly explore my interests. This work is dedicated to my grandmother, Dr. Lily Newman Bagwell, who paved a pathway to higher education for Black women in my family and beyond.

The Museum as a Cultural Symbol

The origins of the public art museum take root in 18th-century Europe amidst a climate of philosophical and governmental advancement. During this time, various institutions strove to encapsulate the widespread intellectual, technological, and cultural developments—such as colonialist expansion and the Enlightenment period—through their physical and ideological presence. The public art museum in its conception and physical actualization symbolized this turning point as spearheaded by the upper echelon of Western society. Museums went on to be built and designed in ways that mirrored hierarchical standards; referencing temples, cathedrals, and other sacred spaces as a means of

perpetuating prestige and power. These architectural practices proceeded for centuries, contributing to the arguably advertent positioning of museums as infallible, monolithic sites.

Architectural historian Suzanne Macleod interrogates this tradition in her writing on the “social architecture of museums” and describes the conventions of museum architecture as a practice of “homogenous icon making.”¹ Macleod asserts that the museum edifice is a physical manifestation of the elitism that rests at the core of their history. Her argument pushes forth the notion that architecture is not merely a structural validation, but also a symbol of social positionality, inevitably leading museums' design to be resemblant of a public state of being. In the contemporary sociopolitical climate—which has centered the importance of equity and accessibility—various museums have embraced a newfound architectural prerogative. A prerogative that is grounded in physical change for the purpose of social change and the disassembling of systemic hierarchies as materialized through the physicality of a museum structure.

In 2013, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) announced its plans to undergo a large-scale rebuild that has since become a forerunner in the institutional practice of demolishing buildings to make room for an updated, inclusion-oriented museum. LACMA is the largest museum in the western United States and is home to a collection of over 149,000 objects from across 6,000 years of global history.² The museum's currently under construction building is conceptualized as a single-story, amoebic form whose design will challenge notions of spatial, geographic, or cultural hierarchy in museums specifically related to the presentation of their permanent collection.³ Set to open in 2024, LACMA's new building is taking form amidst the exponential growth of the Black Lives Matter movement and in the aftermath of Donald Trump's controversial presidency, a context that bolsters the relevance of its mission. LACMA is expressly working to depart from the “iconographic homogeneity” of pre-existing museum structures and instead embracing a “social architecture” that caters to the present moment.⁴ Consequently, LACMA's building is a loaded case study for the perils of transmuting sites that are traditionally symbolic of power into ones representative of progress. The unpacking of this project aids in characterizing the evolving state-of-the-art institutions and their strides towards social sustainability and ultimately their potential (or lack thereof) for growth.⁵

As an encyclopedic, county-based museum, LACMA takes on the undertaking of showcasing a diverse survey of visual culture with regard to its site specificity. The museum describes its underway \$750 million plan as an opportunity

to, “[Make] the experience of [their] collection richer and more accessible than ever before, while honoring traditions of all cultures and ensuring that the museum can be a place of reflection, expression, and empathy for everyone.”⁶ On the project-specific website, “Building LACMA,” the structure is further described as, “. . . Designed to mirror the diversity of [their] vast city and, through design and spirit, to advance LACMA’s mission to serve the public by encouraging profound cultural experiences for the widest array of audiences.”⁷ Through the museum’s mission for their rebuild, LACMA is in clear acknowledgement of their social responsibility that is informed by positionality. Examining the ideology of LACMA’s architectural prophecy, the museum’s response to the concerns of Los Angeles civilians and the philosophy behind the building’s design features is a synthesis of how institutional change works to be materialized as well as how ventures of museological reform function in relation to the public.



Figure 1. Exterior view northwest toward BCAM, Resnick Pavilion, Smidt Welcome Plaza, and *Urban Light* rendering of David Geffen Galleries at LACMA; courtesy of Atelier Peter Zumthor/The Boundary

Building LACMA

After six years of design debates, funding setbacks, and public backlash, LACMA secured funding to begin construction on its replacement of four central buildings that faced outward to Los Angeles’s bustling Wilshire Boulevard.⁸ The new structure will be owned by The County of Los Angeles, who has contributed \$125 million to the project. The remaining \$525 million was raised through private donations, the most notable being that of entertainment executive David Geffen, who gifted the museum \$150 million, which resulted in the project being named after him. The plan was approved unanimously by the Los Angeles City Council in April of 2019 and is set to open in 2024.⁹ Designed by Pritzker Prize-winning architect Peter Zumthor, the structure is composed of seven semi-transparent concrete and glass pavilions that support an organically shaped structure with a floor-to-ceiling glass facade (Figure 1).¹⁰ The building will extend over Wilshire

Boulevard to the parallel Spaulding lot, lending to 3.5 acres of new public outdoor space (2.5 acres in Hancock Park and 1 acre on the Spaulding lot) (Figure 2).¹¹ Additional features include: outdoor landscaped plazas, sculpture gardens, and native and drought-tolerant vegetation integrated throughout the campus.¹² LACMA CEO and Wallis Annenberg Director, Michael Govan, explained the conceptuality of the building’s design, stating:

Glass walls invite museum visitors to look out at the landscape and light of Los Angeles, and allow passersby to see in. This translucent exterior visually connects the galleries to everyday life on Wilshire Boulevard and in the surrounding park, and offers spectacular views of the city and mountains beyond. Zumthor’s design also adds ample new public outdoor space to create an even more accessible cultural and social hub for the community.¹³

This description of the buildings’ structural elements makes it apparent that the new building is intended to function as far more than an experimental architectural feat. It is an indicator of a new social era for a flagship of Los Angeles and a fabrication of a so-called “social hub.”¹⁴ The lust-worthy design checks every necessary box for a project to be greenlit in the current socio-political moment. Its mission is one of connection rooted in quite literally lowering borders to entry through its transparent quality. It boasts eco-friendly, yet chic features. It has curved edges, departing from formal rigidity and signifying a newfound institutional fluidity. It does everything it’s “supposed to do.” Despite its messaging, these intentions have been pulled apart by members of perhaps the most necessary stakeholders in outward facing institutional advancements: the public.



Figure 2. Aerial view of LACMA’s David Geffen Galleries. Atelier Peter Zumthor/LACMA

The contesting of the project by various civic movements and LACMA’s response to them address the social complications of reconstructions and bring to light the contradictions present in the initiative. Groups like Save LACMA oppose the amount of county funding that the museum received, while the Citizens’ Brigade to Save

LACMA protests how Zumthor's final design features less gallery space than previous drafts of the building. After the plans were opposed by the aforementioned groups—as well as through letters from citizens, various interventions at city council meetings, and even a resident-led “Call for Ideas” that yielded a list of alternate methods for LACMA's design—Govan crafted his response in a letter entitled, “LACMA's New Building is Visionary—and Big Enough.” The letter begins with, “The design of an ambitious project like LACMA's newest Wilshire Boulevard building is always hotly contested....I think key facts about the project have been lost in the debate about curves versus rectangles, and how big a museum should be.”¹⁵ LACMA's defense of the project was furthered by authoritative figures at a Los Angeles City Council meeting on April 6th of 2019. Concerned citizens gathered with questions while LACMA figureheads, members of city council, and celebrity acquaintances such as Brad Pitt celebrated the project. Artist and former LACMA employee, Oscar Peña, took the floor to comment on the museum's lack of transparency with the public stating, “While politically savvy, this shows that the director is more interested in preventing criticism than earnestly responding to the needs of the public.”¹⁶ After he concluded his statement, Board Chair, Janice Hahn did not thank Peña for his comments and moved forth with the vote for funding approval.¹⁷ The rebuttals of the museum's senior staff and their focus on high profile support welcomes the possibility that LACMA's design philosophy is an effort to appear at the crux of socio-cultural relevance rather than an earnest step in the direction of inclusion and community-building. These instances of contradictory interfacing with the public are an opportunity to consider the relationships that are strained within processes of museological development. Who are these structural changes truly for, the institution or the community? And with this question of ethics at stake, how do actions speak louder than mission statements particularly in an era that calls for systemic reform and reconciliation?

Design Features and Their Implications

Specific aspects of Zumthor's design reveal the theoretical intentions versus the potential outcomes of the new space in relation to theories of aesthetics as well as structural symbology. This analysis is crucial in understanding how architecture that is conceptually progressive (or regressive) qualifies a structure's position within contemporary cultural agendas. The most prominent element of the design is its horizontally situated form. LACMA describes the ideological reasoning for this shape as offering an “egalitarian experience of LACMA's diverse collections.”¹⁸ This physical defiance of the tendency to place certain objects on a higher level than others or have specific galleries more easily accessible via the orientation of a museum

holds tremendous conceptual viability. This centerpiece design feature that “challenges geographic or cultural hierarchies” functions congruently with post-colonial museum theory related to the reinvention of western spatial modernity.¹⁹ Author of *The Post Colonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of Histories*, Mariangela Palladino defines the postcolonial museum, “As a space in which to generate new narratives and alternative archives, to experiment and re-configure established understandings of spatiality.”²⁰ This idea of “re-configuring spatiality” is undoubtedly present in LACMA's project and is a theoretical alignment of which that LACMA is seemingly hyper-aware. However, there are formal elements of this design that poke holes in this philosophy and hold similar implications to “traditional” or neoclassical museums. Rather than the ornate Corinthian columns present at iconic museums like the Metropolitan Museum of Art, LACMA has sleek glass walls lining a futuristic edifice that sits on a raised plane, elevated above street level. These museum visages are parallel in their grandeur and lead both types of museum to be awe-evoking sites, countering notions of accessibility through an intimidating physicality. True experiential disruptions—as aligned with post-colonialism—have been theorized by scholars such as Colin Graham as rooted in radicalism and a “confrontation of paradoxes,” both of which are factors that appear overlooked in LACMA's initiative.²¹



Figure 3. Interior of concrete meander galleries in David Geffen Galleries. Atelier Peter Zumthor/LACMA

A distinctive interior design element of the new LACMA is the implementation of concrete “meander galleries” (Figure 3). These gallery spaces are essentially a series of hallways that will be the main exhibition spaces for artworks. Their formal quality of concrete references two architectural conventions that have tangential implications: the modernist rejection of ornament as well as the callous nature of brutalism. Moreover, the meander galleries function as a departure from the commonly used “white wall gallery” yet exist on a similar yet dramatized plain. In the

introduction of Brian O'Doherty's "Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of Gallery Space," Thomas McEvilley writes about the white walled art gallery, a form that arose in the aftermath of modernism. He claims that these galleries are a "Construction of a supposedly unchanging space... or a space where the effects of change are deliberately disguised and hidden, [which] is sympathetic magic to promote unchangingness in the real or non-ritual world."²² The physical impenetrability of concrete furthers what McEvilley describes as "disguising" change in that the walls carry the insinuation of permanence. This context makes it so the function of an artwork is disabled from extending beyond the gallery space and the work is placed within a site of material stagnancy. The landing page of the "Building LACMA" website addresses the need for shifts in museum structures in relation to changing social contexts reading: "So much has changed in the world; the art museum must evolve as well."²³ The concrete galleries work in opposition to LACMA's goals of growth. The persistence of certain aesthetics within the art space, including the overall structural layout and specific materials used to construct a site, function as an explicit aesthetic and conceptual return. The features of LACMA's project bring up the question of what does a culturally progressive, post-colonial, or radical museum look like. This speaks to broader concerns of how prominent museums at the forefront of the public eye work to exist on the cutting edge despite being inherent casualties of the cyclical nature of aesthetics.

As a high-profile example of museum development, LACMA's design plans have been discussed from both a social and architectural standpoint in contemporary media. Art critic Christopher Knight, addresses these topics in his series of Pulitzer Prize-winning articles on the museum. In one of his pieces, "LACMA, the Incredible Shrinking Museum: A critic's lament," he addresses the new building's reduction of the museum's gallery space. He comments, "From nearly 42% more gallery space when the Board of Supervisors gave preliminary approval to the rebuilding plan, there will now be about 8% less than LACMA has today. Frankly, that's a disaster for adequate display of the permanent collection."²⁴ Furthermore, according to journalist Catherine Wagley, this issue will lead LACMA to rely more heavily on rotating exhibitions, hosting shows at satellite museums, such as the Broad Contemporary, and programming taking place at other buildings they have acquired throughout Los Angeles.²⁵ This concept of museological sprawl seems to serve as both a solution to a logistical problem as well a question of site integration. As LACMA aims to "mirror the city," the museum no longer will stand as an isolated symbol of its cultural gravitas, but also as a widely dispersed element within Los Angeles.²⁶ This consequence of the new building signifies a shift in how a museum can operate within the larger context of the place it inhabits.

This integrated model creates the possibility for a museum to reach broader audiences and impact more of the population, tethering museum development to not only the evolution of art spaces, but also that of an urban landscape.

The Socially Conditioned Museum

LACMA's redesign and its timely mission as well as its blindspots speak to the wide array of social actors at play in museum re-structuring, revealing the apparent cultural stakeholders in museum development. While curatorial and programmatic decisions are at stake, so are broader issues of public opinion (and trust) and in the case of LACMA, a representation of city's identity in the contemporary moment. LACMA's initiative nods to a museological future (that arguably is the present) in which museums' social capabilities are proved or disproved by their physical structure. LACMA's website describes Zumthor's design as "grounded in his commitment to creating an 'emotional space,'" a statement that encapsulates this notion. This conversation repositions museums as entities with a human consciousness and complex life cycles that are contingent upon them rendering themselves antiquated and then resurrecting themselves anew. Rather than serving merely as a vessel for beholden objects, museums within this framework are they themselves the subject and become display sites for the physicality of a museum's mission and a materialization of ever-developing social conditions.

Endnotes

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Black Seeds: Botanical Imagery and the Appreciation of Black Aliveness: An Analysis of the Poetry of Ross Gay and Hanif Abdurraqib

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Tyler's interests include (but are not limited to) Black cultural politics, popular culture, education justice, and literature.

At the heart of all his projects is a commitment to unpacking the nuances of Black life in America as portrayed through art and cultural production while also engaging questions about human intentionality, identities, and cultural history.

*please, don't call
us dead, call us alive someplace better.*

—Danez Smith¹

Introduction

“What would it mean to consider Black aliveness, especially given how readily—and literally—Blackness is indexed to death?” asks Black Studies Scholar Kevin Quashie in the introduction to his book, *Black Aliveness, or a Poetics of Being* (2021).² It would mean to intentionally center Black being in a world where there is an oversaturation of Black death and suffering; not disregarding anti-Blackness, but rather reframing how we view Blackness and its relationship to being. Quashie chooses to center Black life with the understanding that life cannot truly exist without death. I extend Quashie's question and provide my own set of responses through interpretations of the work of contemporary Black poets Ross Gay and Hanif Abdurraqib. Kevin Quashie's *Black Aliveness* asks us as readers to consider Blackness outside of the parameters of anti-Blackness and to step into the realm of what is made possible by this reframing. Poetry, I will argue, is one of the central realms in which this reframing occurs.

To this end, each of the poems featured within this essay takes on the project of focusing on Blackness outside of death without ignoring its impact on Black being to different degrees. Both Ross and Abdurraqib fearlessly imagine and re-imagine the world we are living in, or in the words of Quashie: “we do not live in a Black world, but in a poem, there is an orientation of such being waiting for us, these poems in our hands as a world of invitation.”³

In reading contemporary works of poetry that explore aspects of Black aliveness, it became readily apparent that many of the poems that were doing this work most all relied on botanical imagery in some way. When we think about botanicals, they are often associated with human life, but also death and mourning, in the same way that Black aliveness is dealing with the inextricable nature of life and death. Flowers and plants best encompass this metaphorical duality. It all depends on the angle from which you decide to read the flowers. If laid on a gravestone or street corner, they may represent that which is lost forever or they may honor the fullness of the life that was. When picked, the flowers' lives are cut short but can be exchanged in an expression of love. Choosing to center the life-affirming in an anti-Black world is thus a radical act. And when considering botanical imagery within poetry, which has been a constant theme dating back to Shakespeare's sonnets, works of contemporary Black poets both fit into and complicate this lineage.

Abstract

I frame my analysis of Black poetry within the current conceptions of Black liberation to ask: “What new understandings of Black survival and kinship do we gain from the published works of twenty-first century Black American poets?” Drawing on Kevin Quashie's concept of “Black Aliveness,” I put forth an analysis of select poems by Ross Gay and Hanif Abdurraqib. This paper's central claim focuses on how, through the usage of botanical imagery, both Gay and Abdurraqib conceptualize Blackness beyond the bounds of death. In subverting stereotypes associated with Black masculinity, these poets provide a critical lens with which readers can better appreciate the holistic impact such work has on the vibrance of Black life.

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The subjects of the poems considered in this essay are all Black men, but flowers and nature more generally have feminine connotations. Likening Black men, whose masculinity is often seen as predatory, to historically-concocted feminine images of nature, is a reframing of Black masculinity that affords gentleness and majesty to people who are not typically associated with those characteristics. The poems “A Small Needful Fact” (2015) by Ross Gay and “How Can Black People Write About Flowers at a Time Like This” (2018) by Hanif Abdurraqib employ Kevin Quashie’s concept of Black aliveness through botanical imagery in order to break down stereotypes of Black masculinity, such that the poems’ subjects may consider “how to be”⁴ or embody a more nuanced personhood.

“A Small Needful Fact” by Ross Gay

In the opening line of his poem, “A Small Needful Fact,” Ross Gay establishes the subject as Eric Garner. I do not need to take up space to explain who Garner is for the same reasons that Gay chooses not to do so in his poem. Simply by invoking Garner’s name, Gay is able to call to mind the brutality of Garner’s death at the hands of NYPD, as his name became one of the many hashtags on the ever-growing list of unarmed Black folks killed by police. The circulation of his last moments subsequently invited millions of people to comment on what they believed to be the facts of Garner’s life without having so much as held the door for him at a grocery store, let alone having had an actual conversation with him. Conservative media outlets depicted Garner as an aggressive, criminal brute as a means of somehow justifying his death for selling loose cigarettes.⁵ The same hyper-masculine stereotypes attached to gangs are the ones underlying the portrayal of Eric Garner in the aftermath of his death. In the words of Quashie, “this equation of Blackness and death is indisputable and enduring, surely, but if we want to try to conceptualize aliveness, we have to begin somewhere else.”⁶ To move beyond Black masculinity as it exists in an anti-Black world, Gay begins the poem, “somewhere else” with the ways Garner, during his life, contributed to the world. The brilliance within this slim and rather simple poem is how Gay frames Garner’s life not by the circumstance and tragedy of his death, but by his time spent working for the “Parks and Rec. Horticultural Department.” By centering this small, seemingly mundane detail, or “A Small Needful Fact” of Garner’s life, Gay makes space for Garner’s multidimensional humanity or his “aliveness.”

Gay in his portrayal of aliveness does not rely heavily on poetic devices or extended metaphors instead through the usage of plain or even basic diction he is able to get straight to the point. About Garner’s gardening work, Gay writes:

which means,
perhaps, that with his very large hands,
perhaps, in all likelihood,
he put gently into the earth
some plants which, most likely,
some of them, in all likelihood,
continue to grow, continue
to do what such plants do, like house
and feed small and necessary creatures,
like being pleasant to touch and smell.⁷

The speaker in Gay’s poem displays a great sense of uncertainty throughout, stumbling awkwardly and repeating the filler phrases, “perhaps” and “most likely.” The hesitation of the speaker establishes them not as an expert on Garner’s life and certainly not as someone who knew him personally, but as someone attempting to offer him grace and the space simply to *be*. Because his death is certain, “we can’t will the violent reality away, nor can we not incorporate its impact.”⁸ But the stumbling effect conveys a carefulness on behalf of the speaker when discussing Garner’s life, so as not to jump to conclusions about the man but merely to show what could be possible in “the world of imagine.”⁹ It is thus possible for Garner to have “very large hands” that “put gently into the earth / some plants.” When one thinks of very large hands, they might not think them capable of doing the gentle work of gardening, thus disrupting this masculine stereotype. In this world of Black aliveness, the plants “continue to grow.” This subtle shift to the present tense communicates that what Garner planted, despite him no longer being alive, in all likelihood continues to exist. By musing on the possibility of Garner gracefully planting flowers into the earth, Gay is able to reinforce that Eric Garner is not some tragic symbol of police brutality but a person in every sense of the word. The poem ends with, “like making it easier for us to breathe.” The “us” here is the reader’s aliveness, which Gay is directly connecting to Garner’s death. Furthermore, it is because of Garner’s contributions in life (i.e., tending to the plants) that the lives of the readers are further enriched or “made easier.” Gay’s poem urges us as readers to consider that, above all, Garner was a person with a family, with dreams, flaws, who made mistakes, had a favorite flavor of ice cream, and deserved kindness.

“How Can Black People Write About Flowers at a Time Like This” by Hanif Abdurraqib

Hanif Abdurraqib’s “How Can Black People Write About Flowers at a Time Like This” is a poem that on the surface is about dandelions, which he remarks “is not a flower itself / but a plant made up of several small flowers at

its crown...¹⁰ The dandelion here is both a metaphor and Abdurraqib's jumping off point for his meditations on how Black folks are often mis-named and perceived differently than we actually are—often with fatal consequences. He continues a few lines later, "& lord knows I have been called by what I look like / more than I have been called by what I actually am..."¹¹ These lines call to mind how Trayvon Martin was perceived as being "up to no good"¹² for wearing a hooded sweatshirt when exiting a convenience store, or how Tamir Rice playing with a toy gun was mistaken for a real one, or Michael Brown, though armed with nothing but his dark skin and his name, was seen as too physically threatening, as a way to justify his killing. In each instance, their fate was determined by how they were perceived rather than by who they actually were. Black men have regularly had their masculinity weaponized against them. The speaker in this poem, like Martin, Rice, Brown, and Garner, cannot be individuals with histories, traumas, etc., because they are "collective[ly] indict[ed]"¹³ by their stereotypes. As Quashie writes, "There is no conceptual individuality possible for one who is Black in an anti-Black world,"¹⁴ but through reframing our perceptions of dandelions and Black men, Abdurraqib conveys that "anti-Blackness is part of Blackness but not all of how or what Blackness is."¹⁵

If Gay's poem is giving a glimpse into who Eric Garner might have been as person, then Abdurraqib's poem is doing something similar but also, "is an attempt at fashioning / something pretty out of seeds refusing to make anything / worthwhile of their burial."¹⁶ Abdurraqib is choosing to celebrate the beauty of the flowers in their existence. Furthermore, the speaker attempts to make "something pretty," or a good life in an anti-Black society that always points toward death, that says life is not worth living. Because "death is both a fact of anti-Black threat and a fact of being alive (this latter fact is the death that countenances the human's ordination of living),"¹⁷ the speaker must view death, or the scattering of the dandelions' seeds, from a perspective that centers Black life.

To end the poem Abdurraqib writes, "all it takes is one kiss & before morning, / you could scatter his whole mind across a field."¹⁸ In the last lines of the poem, the speaker blurs the dandelion with his own personhood, acknowledging the kiss of death to come, but he has not died yet. These lines' "focus is on one's preparedness for encounter rather than on the encounter [of death] itself" in saying, "*you could scatter.*" The image he paints is "*something pretty,*" perhaps making the death itself,¹⁹ the scattering of seeds "*worthwhile*" because the life lived was beautiful in itself. It is the relationship with an inevitable death that leads the speaker to value life that much more, and seek to cherish every single moment.

Abdurraqib drew the idea for this poem from an actual quote he overheard a white woman say aloud at Ross Gay reading, ironically in response to "A Small Needful Fact."²⁰ In this way, Abdurraqib's poem is also taking aim at the white gaze (anti-Blackness) by making this insensitive comment the impetus for an entire poem that cunningly illustrates why Gay, Abdurraqib, or any Black person for that matter, could and should choose to write about flowers amidst the pain and suffering that comes with surviving in an anti-Black world. Talking about his inspiration for the poem, Abdurraqib said: "What is the Black poet to be writing about 'at a time like this' if not to dissect the attractiveness of a flower—that which can arrive beautiful and then slowly die right before our eyes? I thought flowers were the exact thing to write about at a time like this."²¹ Finally, one more thought: There's nothing wrong or cliché in writing about flowers and evoking their beautiful imagery or other items related to nature and the world around us. If anything, writing about those things, despite all that's going on, is a helpful reminder of just how beautiful those things are.

Conclusion

The poetry of Ross Gay and Hanif Abdurraqib when analyzed through the scope of Black aliveness asks us as readers to consider Blackness outside of the parameters of anti-blackness and step into the realm of what is made possible by this reframing. I am reminded of how freeing it is just to be able to be and exist. Unbound and unrestrained. In the words of Langston Hughes "We know we are beautiful. And ugly, too." To be Black in America is to know intimately the threat and foreboding nature of death. To be Black in America is to know that every day you wake up that there is undoubtedly something waiting outside to kill you. Perhaps that something is right outside your front door, or maybe at the bus stop, on the freeway, lurking on the playground, in front of your local convenience store, in your living room while you watch TV, even in your bedroom as you rest. Each of the poems within this essay exhibit this understanding. Perhaps this is why they seem to always fit our current moment—because Black death is always of the moment in this country. And yet, despite this reality, we continue to persist, to live, to thrive, *to be*. I have found a sense of respite and a much-needed exhale in Black aliveness—and by extension these poems—amidst the perpetual state of grief that surrounds our present moment and for that I am thankful.

Endnotes

- 1 Smith, "Summer, Somewhere."
- 2 Quashie, *Black Aliveness, or a Poetics of Being*, p. 6.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 296.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

- 5 “Peter King Thanks Staten Island Grand Jury for Verdict | CNN Politics.”
- 6 Quashie, p. 6.
- 7 Gay, Ross. “A Small Needful Fact.” Academy of American Poets.
- 8 Quashie, 280.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Abdurraqib, “How Can Black People Write About Flowers at a Time Like This.”
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 “Transcripts of Calls in the George Zimmerman Case.”
- 13 Quashie, p. 62
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Quashie, p. 10.
- 16 Abdurraqib. “How Can Black People Write About Flowers at a Time Like This.”
- 17 Quashie, p. 280.
- 18 Abdurraqib. “How Can Black People Write About Flowers at a Time Like This.”
- 19 Quashie, p. 45.
- 20 Abdurraqib. “How Can Black People Write About Flowers at a Time Like This.”
- 21 Ibid.

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Writing as We Grieve, Grieving as We Write: Femicide and Maquiladoras in Erika L. Sánchez's Poem "Juárez"

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A senior at the University of Texas at Austin, Luisana Cortez is pursuing a double major in English and Plan II Honors, as well as a minor in Mexican American & Latina/o Studies and a certificate in Creative Writing. She plans on applying for an MFA in Creative Writing or Literary Arts soon and predicts an English doctoral program in the future. A published poet on the side and the recent first place winner of the James F. Parker Poetry Prize, Luisana is primarily interested in literary analysis and creative writing. Nevertheless, her research is also invested in the intertwined nature of neoliberalism and necropolitics in contemporary Mexico.

In the Mexican state of Chihuahua, Ciudad Juárez stands as a case example of how femicide, or the systematic killing of women because they are women, is intimately connected to the country's larger sociopolitical and economic conditions. In order to fill in gaps in knowledge of how this medium imagines and responds to modern violence in Mexico, this essay close reads Erika L. Sánchez's poem "Juárez" from her 2017 collection *Lessons on Expulsion* to answer the following question: How does the eponymous poem represent Ciudad Juárez's rampant cases of exploitative and gender-based violence? The poem depicts what Cristina Rivera Garza refers to as the Visceraless State, which operates with an apathetic, fatal disregard for the worth of the human body. By portraying the affective and material consequences of neoliberalism, maquiladoras, and femicide, "Juárez" serves as a mode of grieving as it rejects the hegemonic control and silencing effects of violence and exploitation as experienced under the Visceraless State.

Described as "the epicenter of violence" by poet Javier Sicilia, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua stands as a case example of how violent misogyny is intimately connected to Mexico's social, political, and economic conditions (Nathan, "Javier Sicilia's Poetry..."). Since 1993, Juárez has earned a national reputation for femicides, with women and girls found murdered across the city and in the desert every year, their bodies often exhibiting signs of torture and rape. As a relatively recent term but an ageless concept, femicide is defined by Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia L. Bejarano as "the murders of women and girls founded on a gender power structure," that, "rooted in social, political, economic, and cultural inequalities," implicate the public, or the state, as well as private actors (5). A significant amount of the victims were workers in maquilas or maquiladoras, American export-processing industries that offshore cheap labor in mostly northern Mexican cities and that demonstrate a "disavowal of responsibility" for the death of their workers (Wright, "The Dialectics of Still Life"). Separated into six sections, Erika L. Sánchez's poem from her 2017 collection *Lessons on Expulsion*, "Juárez" expresses a deep

mourning through the depiction of femicides, but also presents, in unflinching detail, the realities of poverty, drought, and economic exploitation in Ciudad Juárez. As will be shown, "Juárez" acts as a form of grieving, through its use of enjambments and contrasting imagery of nature and death. By portraying the affective and material consequences of neoliberalism, maquiladoras, and femicide, the poem presents the joint experiences of gendered violence and economic exploitation in language charged with horror, and beyond horror, the grieving that is allowed through the expression of suffering. As there exists little to no scholarly dialogue on the poem—despite the title's obvious significance with a city that has been largely reported on and studied—analyzing "Juárez" will also ideally draw in more academic attention to the severity of the violence and the social effects of its cultural representations.

Published in 2017 by Graywolf Press, "Juárez" also serves as a valuable standpoint for analysis of poetry that can reach wider, United States-inclusive audiences. Feminist poets like Susana Chávez, Rosario Castellanos, and Natalie Toledo have already established an influential history of Spanish poetry against gendered violence in Mexico. On the other hand, less scholarly attention has been given to poetry challenging femicides in Ciudad Juárez that are originally published in English and from the perspective of a poet based in the U.S. While Mexican voices should remain at the forefront of poetic and journalistic discourses, English-speaking readers from the U.S. should also be reminded of their government's involvement in neoliberal policies that had unintended economic and social consequences, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 that opened doors for foreign industries to offshore labor for low wages ("Javier Sicilia's Poetry..."). The maquiladora industry, intimately tied to the femicides in Ciudad Juárez, forms part of the neoliberal economic ties between the United States and Mexico that indicate the American involvement in the violence along the border ("The Dialectics of Still Life" 456). This economic development into neoliberalism, or the type of economy that emerged in Mexico after the implementation of NAFTA, can be described as free trade, capitalist policies that encourage a laissez-faire economic approach and have historically benefited the United States (Fregoso and Bejarano 39).

Cristina Rivera Garza's 2020 collection of essays *Grieving: Dispatches from a Wounded Country*, draws connections between the epidemic of femicide and the Mexican neoliberal state that treats its constituents' bodies with fatal indifference and negligence. She conceptualizes this as the Visceraless State that, without a source of empathy, (or without viscera, with the word 'visceral' commonly associated with non-intellectual, instinctual emotions), "only conceives of itself as an administrative system, not as a

governmental relationship,” thus “establishing visceraless relationships with its citizens, [-r]elationships without hearts or bones or innards” (Rivera Garza 21). The Visceraless State denies human rights by allowing extreme conditions of vulnerability through both a failed judicial system and extra-legal third parties like exploitative maquiladoras and drug trade organizations. According to Rivera Garza, the Visceraless State enables situations of horrorism, or what Adriana Cavarero describes as an extreme form of contemporary violence that “exceeds death itself” as it makes spectacles out of death—when stumbling upon a decapitated head or a mutilated body, for example. The experience of horror leaves the survivor or the witness often unable to articulate the experience to themselves or others (Cavarero 34). Under the Visceraless State, the act of grieving through speaking out, creating art, or writing, which “gives us the tools to articulate the disarticulation [faced] on a daily basis,” rejects the silence caused by horrorism (Rivera Garza 7). Thus, Rivera Garza underscores the importance of “writing through pain” about Mexico’s modern crisis of violence so that the collective consciousness generated under these conditions can be named and preserved in writing. The potential of writing poetry through pain is addressed in a question posed by Cristina Rivera Garza:

The language of pain allows those who suffer, those who acknowledge their suffering and share it with others, to articulate an inexpressible experience as an intrinsic criticism against the sources that made it possible in the first place [...] Hence the aesthetic urgency of expressing, in the most basic and also the most disjointed language possible, This hurts me. Edmond Jabès was right when he critiqued Theodor Adorno’s dictum: It isn’t that after horror we should not or cannot write poetry. It’s that, while we are integral witnesses to horror, we must write poetry differently. Can writing demand the restitution of a Visceral State? (6–7)

While poetry cannot offer direct escape from violence, it can serve as an influential stepping-stone towards action and change. Therefore: yes, writing can demand the restitution of a Visceral State and the collapse of the Visceraless, as exemplified by “Juárez” in its articulation of suffering.

As such, the poem registers and reflects on a collective trauma produced from living under the violent Mexican patriarchy and the neoliberal, capitalist economy that make up part of the Visceraless State. Therefore, “Juárez” takes part of a kind of “language of pain...” that, by virtue of being a literary medium inviting communal performance—such as the relationship between the poet and the reader as well as between the reader and the listening audience, e.g. slam poetry or spoken word—is shared with

others and can be described as a mode of grieving (Rivera Garza 6). At the same time that it challenges the silencing effect of horrorism, the poem conceptualizes the body’s viscerality in ways that run counter to the apathetic, neoliberal ideologies of the Visceraless State, thus serving as a literary tool against its hegemony. It achieves this through subtle irony as its focus moves across different settings and perspectives, and as it employs enjambment and contrasting imagery of nature and death throughout the six sections. Through close reading, this paper reveals how “Juárez” serves as a mode of grieving as it rejects the hegemonic control and silencing effects of horrorism and exploitation as experienced under the Visceraless State.

The first two stanzas introduce the reader to the landscape of tragedy and brutality that is the Juárez desert and in doing so, registers scenarios of horrorism. The poem begins by following a migratory path into Mexico, necessarily crossing the United States-Mexico border wryly labeled “The Great Wall of Mexico,” and situating in the northern regions where the two countries meet (Sánchez).

Behind The Great Wall of Mexico,
pork fat crackles
and crackles. Bright pink
corpses lie coiled in nipple cacti,
Apache plumes.

Without the use of gory and detailed language, the depiction of desecrated bodies effectively implies the indifference of nature in the Chihuahuan desert, where bodies and mass graves have been found hundreds of times (Chin and Schultz). The enjambment between these two stanzas guides the reader from imagery of the everyday, such as pork sizzling and the color pink, to a harrowing portrayal of bodies among desert shrubs and cacti. These sentences, with strikingly contrasting imagery across line breaks, presents a horrifying implication to the reader. The once seemingly neutral imagery of the previous lines becomes distorted by the word “corpses” in its suggestion of bodies emitting a sound like sizzling pork and taking on a pink color due to fire or sun exposure (Sánchez). “Juárez” depicts the horrific context of Mexico for what it is: bodies treated without worth, more lowly than objects, in acts against the human condition.

In the following lines, the poem contrasts imagery of the serene beauty of nature in the Chihuahuan desert with that of the atrocities that are committed there. In subtle language that effectively constructs a scenario of horrorism without relying on gratuitous details, Sánchez writes:

Beyond the green, green
 lawns and the burnt
 smell of plastic.

Beyond the Pemex —
 gasoline rainbows iridescent
 as peacock feathers.

A ribbon flutters in a cottonwood.

The body as eruption.

The body as contraband.

An empty river runs and runs.

These slivers of nature only take a small part of the larger reality in Ciudad Juárez. As the poem continues, however, the reader also faces the implication that the burning of a mass grave, or what is commonly known as a “fosa común,” is taking place. The simple vibrancy of the “green, green lawns” stands in contrast to the “burnt smell of plastic,” as well as the gasoline that, a distance away from the Pemex, shines “rainbows iridescent like peacock feathers” to deny the proper burial of what one can assume to be murdered victims (Sánchez). Instead of describing the visual details of the fire, of the bodies burning, or of those committing the crimes, the speaker only offers visual glimpses and olfactory imagery of the sizzling pork, burnt plastic, and gasoline. Similarly, the description of the body as “eruption” and “contraband” reiterates the continued violence, mutilation, and exploitation that have become dangerously common in Mexico from the late 20th century to this day (Sánchez). The gendered body becomes an “eruption” in its vulnerability and is made disposable at the same time that it is “contraband” because it is a desired commodity that can be exported or imported without legal protection or oversight. Therefore, the scene of terror is established not in a hellish, visually dreadful site, but in the landscape of nature in a state where the illegal disposing of human bodies has become a commonly reported issue. Nevertheless, this juxtaposition of imagery does not dilute the implied severity of these acts of homicide and the desecration of bodies, but it instead creates a forlorn, non-gratuitous tone as the speaker matter-of-factly states that in this setting, bodies are treated as “eruption . . . as contraband” (Sánchez). The motif of dryness continues in the following stanza and emphasizes the scarcity experienced in Ciudad Juárez, with water markedly absent, like the absence of a Visceral State that can offer aid and assistance to a region struggling with poverty and lack of resources as well as crime. The contrasting imagery between nature/death and water/drought and the conceptualization of the body as a vulnerable commodity illustrate the city’s devastating socioeconomic conditions.

The sorrowful tone continues as the next section presents the reality of exploited, often Indigenous communities in Mexico who go without potable water (Sánchez; Pelliccia, “On the frontlines of drought . . .”). “Dirt and thistle / wait for Tlaloc and his water jugs” writes Sánchez, once again employing enjambment to counterpose water in abundance and in absence. This image of “dirt and thistle” that evokes scarcity and failed hope is accompanied by the sensation of dryness that is also reinforced by the details of the implied fire. The feelings of fear and desolation underlying these obvious scenes of violence and drought are emphasized by the paradoxical nature of an empty river that continues to run, as well. How the river runs is left to the imagination—the blood of dumped bodies or emptiness itself—but a sense of simultaneous fear and absence is created nonetheless. In the following stanza, Sánchez once again uses an enjambment paired with conventionally romanticized aspects of nature to create a morbid juxtaposition:

while the maquilas flower
 like tumors on a spine.

The contrasting connotations between the verb *flower* and the effects of cancer on the body implies the debilitating, progressive kind of harm done by these industries that often employ young female workers. It reveals a connection between the exploitative nature of maquiladoras under the neoliberal order and the afflictions of the body that often arise from grueling labor and poor working conditions (Figueroa). The nature motif that is more subtly expressed in this stanza evokes a dry kind of irony with imagery of blooming flowers, offering an aerial point of view of the sprouting factories before zooming into a personal case of a maquiladora worker in the last section. Taken with the preceding lines about Tlaloc, this simile reinforces the precarity of existing in this site of violence: that is, a precarity shown through abundance, like the ‘flowering’ or increase in numbers of maquilas, as well as scarcity, like the lack of drinkable water. This is contrasted by the presence of water in the following section—a distinction that is important to be made, at the same time that the speaker, at the sight of their own body, expresses empathy towards victims of feminicide.

From the desert, the poem moves to the speaker’s shower after asserting that victims of feminicide are usually young, dark-skinned, and of the working class. Perhaps because they share these same features, the speaker is “startled / by [their] own nakedness,” alarmed by the realization that their body carries a high susceptibility to the kind of violence that will likely receive no appropriate response from local authorities and the state (Sánchez). Thus, Sánchez suggests an empathetic identification in the speaker

with the murdered victims shown on the news. This is reiterated later in the poem when Sánchez alludes to the real pink crosses erected across Ciudad Juárez as symbols of resistance and remembrance for victims of feminicides. The speaker expresses the desire to erase the abject reality of the victims' deaths by the desperate act of scratching off their names from the crosses and burying them under "mud and ash" (Sánchez). Because they were denied proper burial, only their names can finally be put to rest under the ground. Before the poem changes in perspective from the speaker who grieves over these victims to that of a woman working at a maquiladora, it communicates the anger and sorrow that continues to spread after the violent act of feminicide is committed.

This change in perspective specifically draws from real-life working conditions in our modern, neoliberal capitalist economy (Brice). For meager wages a woman assembles circuitry in conditions with air quality so low it makes her nose bleed:

She breathes plastic, glue,
 memorizes the music
 of machines.

 for \$5.40 a day,
 her nose will not stop bleeding.

 On her way home —summer
 is flaming in the horizon.

 She picks a flower
 the color of a perfectly painted mouth.

The unanticipated effect of enjambed statements between two lines can be shown in "for \$5.40 a day, / her nose will not stop bleeding," as it brings attention to the tangible realities of foreign companies offshoring cheap labor (Sánchez). Victims of the first Ciudad Juárez series of feminicides in 1993 were portrayed by local authorities as immoral women living "double lives" —beginning a pattern of victim-blaming rhetoric that would continue across the decade (Nathan, "Work, Sex and Danger..." 26; Wright, "Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Feminicide..." 714). Discussing the public/private dichotomy espoused by Mexican authorities and government officials to condemn the victims of feminicide as "public women," Melissa W. Wright states that these "politics of violence" involve "the dead provid[ing] the raw materials... their bodies, their gender, their location, and their scars and mutilations are the basis for weaving tales of public women..." ("Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and feminicide..." 726). Instead of redirecting blame away from the perpetrators by focusing on the moral character of the victims, the poem demonstrates how this setting enables the treatment of

bodies, particularly women's bodies, as dispensable commodities or "as eruption... as contraband" (Sánchez). Moreover, the recurring anatomy in "Juárez"—the hands, blood, and nose—highlights the material consequences of the Visceraless State and reiterates the everyday nature of physical vulnerability. In doing so, the poem rejects these violent, misogynist discourses and thereby shifts common representations of feminicide victims by reminding the reader of their exploitation and imposed vulnerability. The poem ends ambiguously with an implication that the dark woman will meet the same fate as the countless others walking on their way home from the maquiladora. Nowhere does the government come into play regarding the violent acts shown in the poem, and its absence rings discordantly. In its critique of maquiladoras and feminicides that scar the social fabric of Juarenses, the poem also condemns the Visceraless State conceptualized by Rivera Garza, wherein the fate of the bodies of the states' citizens are disavowed.

The bodies in (Ciudad) "Juárez" are treated as disposable; if not left for dead, they are thirsty, injured, or ill. The epithet of "The Great Wall of Mexico" from the beginning of the poem ends up echoing ironically when compared to the brutal reality of living in Mexico. By placing these states of vulnerability vis-a-vis nature—the gasoline rainbows, the flowering of tumors, the Apache plumes—the poem presents the emotional and physical suffering that has become as characteristic of Juárez as its own nature. As a poem, "Juárez" expresses uniquely poetic features, such as more abstract configurations of emotional and physical suffering and the flexibility of smoothly shifting perspectives and settings. Frequently employing enjambment and contrasting imagery, the corporeality portrayed stands in contrast to the disavowal of the bodies' innards as demonstrated by the real-life political and economic forces at play in the poem, like the Great Wall of Mexico and the maquiladoras. By naming the horror, by "writing as we grieve, grieving as we write," and expressing the inexpressible, Sánchez presents the material realities in the city of Juárez: the desecrated bodies in a mass grave, the fear felt when looking at one's naked self, and the invasion of nature by details of modernity, like burnt plastic and spilled oil (Rivera Garza 8). "Juárez" articulates a joint suffering through the fear of a potential victim (the speaker) and the limited perspective of the victim herself (the unnamed maquiladora worker). Does "Juárez" thus demand the eradication of the Visceraless State? Not explicitly, but it certainly rejects its culture of silence by grieving through writing, as it relates to the experiences of working-class women in Ciudad Juárez that are often victimized for their class and gender.

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Latinas are (Bad)dies: Disruptive Gestures in *Euphoria*

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The HBO teen drama *Euphoria* has a finger on the pulse of the U.S.'s cultural consciousness with its controversial narratives, riveting cinematography, and editorial makeup looks. Therefore, this show becomes a vital object through which to view representations of Latina characters like Maddy Perez, who is bound within the false dichotomies established by neoliberalism. This article focuses on her signature and captivating blue eyeshadow makeup to center the relational potential of her “baddie” aesthetic and performance. Building from Jillian Hernandez’s conception of the sexual-aesthetics of excess, “baddieness” is introduced in terms of how racialized girls/women confidently display and own their excessive, loud, and burgeoning styling and behavior at the face of being designated as the automatic bad girl/woman. “Baddieness” is specifically denoted by an attitude and affect related to desire, of being desired and to desire, sexually or otherwise. Using a methodology of naming and analyzing disruptive gestures inspired from Juana María Rodríguez’s scholarship, Maddy’s “baddieness” as presented through her blue hues is shown to be transformative, joyful, and communal.

I would like to thank my family, advisors, mentors, MMUF Brown cohort, and friends, especially to all my comadres with your bright eyeshadows. My gratitude is immeasurable, and I hope you can see your mark in my writing.

Introduction

Blue eyeshadow stretches from the bow of actress Alexa Demie’s eyebrows to beneath the heavy, faux under lashes to the blended end of a cat-eye snatch. The white sparkle base adds depth to the surrounding azure color imitating the allure of a halo. Vivid, bold, fierce. This blue makeup look in the March 2020 Make-Up Art Cosmetics’ (MAC) campaign featuring Alexa Demie is fit for a “baddie” because she is at once captivating, creative, and confident (Figure 1).¹ This campaign is not just advertising makeup products, though, since the images allude to Demie’s

glamorous portrayal of Maddy Perez in HBO’s *Euphoria*. It is offering consumers, admirers, and fans the opportunity to be like Maddy Perez. As the campaign hashtag proclaims, there is more than meets the eye, and this rings true when discursively viewing Latina characters in mass-media entertainment as well.

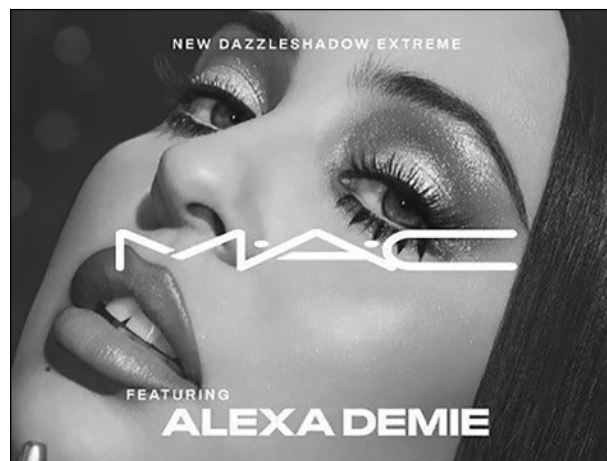


Figure 1. March 2020 Campaign for Make-Up Artist Cosmetics (MAC). Alexa Demie is featured for the new revamped shadows and brow gels. The campaign focuses on Demie’s signature makeup looks popularized by her glamorous portrayal of Maddy Perez in *Euphoria*. In this campaign, Alexa Demie is wearing her character’s iconic blue eye makeup look.

Euphoria is a popular and ubiquitous teen drama show, a space of fascination, irritation, pull, and push.² The show has many engaging elements such as its riveting cinematography and social media discourse, but in this paper, I will focus on the presence and significance of the character of Maddy Perez (Alexa Demie). Latina representations in U.S. television shows have historically been commodified, stereotyped, and objectified within the U.S. neoliberal order, which I will expand upon below. Consequently, it is important to investigate the affective and relational possibility of Maddy’s magnetic aesthetic and performance attributed to her expression of “baddieness”—a term I build from Jillian Hernandez’s conception of the sexual-aesthetics of excess—since Maddy’s “baddieness” disrupts the common sense of neoliberal valuation. “Baddieness” considers how racialized girls/women confidently display and own their excessive, loud, and burgeoning styling and behavior counter to neoliberalism’s categorization of them as bad girls/women.³ As we can see from Hernandez’s work, there are an array of ways that someone can present their own “baddieness,” but in the context of *Euphoria*, Maddy’s blue hues shimmer and glitter in a manner that foregrounds the seemingly intangible and powerful complexity of desire: of being desired and to desire, sexually or otherwise. By analyzing the show through the method of gestures as articulated by Juana María Rodríguez, Latina representations like

Maddy are centered as strong and relational subjects reaching towards their desired reality.⁴

Background: Latinas Are Bad If You Know What I Mean

Euphoria premiered on June 16, 2019, spanning two seasons at the time of this publication.⁵ Adapted, written, and majorly directed by Sam Levinson, the dark teen drama follows the trials and tribulations of Rue Bennett (Zendaya), a teenager dealing with narcotic drug dependency, and the people in her life who parallel her constant chase for a euphoric high through drugs, love, and money. While the overarching story revolves around Rue, each episode tends to focus on a focal character's backstory as narrated by Rue. These episodes heighten and highlight the weight of the character's plot.

For Maddy Perez, one of only two Latina characters in the show, her storyline revolves around her abusive relationship which predominantly and repeatedly places her in a subordinate position to her cis, white, and rich (ex)boyfriend, Nate (Jacob Elordi).⁶ Even in the one-line character descriptions from the official *Euphoria* HBO page, Maddy is described in tangent to being "Nate's on-and-off again girlfriend" who "finds herself bearing the weight of Nate's emotions" with only two words, "confident" and "combative," left to describe her as a person instead of her relationship.⁷ Maddy's key descriptions are used as justifications for and indifferent responses towards the relationship abuse she faces since she is not "fixing" her attitude and styling. Nate's character description, on the other hand, has no mention of Maddy. Instead, his characterization provides depth to his character because his description disrupts the wealthy, popular jock archetype.⁸ While gender-based violence in the media has been of importance to scholars in terms of the depoliticization of feminism and the vilification of feminine representations, Maddy's characterization importantly points to how Latina stereotyping is implicated in the messaging and understanding of gender-based violence.⁹ This pernicious view of gender-based violence as a corrective measure against Maddy's unwieldy behavior and fashioning is constructed from U.S. neoliberalism's system of valuations.

U.S. mass media configures Latina representations through the tension of good girl versus bad girl, a false dichotomy inseparable from racialization processes since Latinas are never meant to be good under neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is a term used by scholars to describe the sociopolitical context and fabric of the U.S. in which the country cuts avenues of social support for people to promulgate the supposed supremacy and innovative liberation of the free market system.¹⁰ Yet not all people find freedom and prosperity within this order since the free market also has to create "surplus" populations.¹¹ In particular,

neoliberalism designates racialized groups under the surplus label using racial stereotypes as justifications for the material consequences these groups face. In other words, stereotypes like those regarding a racialized person's sexual availability and promiscuity are in direct contradiction to the neoliberalism's ideology of respectability that supposedly helps foster a pure, individualistic, and productive nation. Jillian Hernandez explains these neoliberal valuations through her specific use of the sexual aesthetics of excess, defined as, "modes of dress and comportment that are often considered 'too much': too sexy, too ethnic, too young, too loud... a racializing discourse that correlates stylistic deviancy with sexual impropriety, and vice versa."¹² Thus, these parameters are utilized as tools to control and police Black and Latina bodies by devaluing their excessive style as a one-dimensional demonstration of their aberrant sexuality.¹³ Desire and disgust converge to dehumanize the Latina body to be mediator, metaphor, and different in ways that can be conquered and disposed, where the terms of being "good" and having "good representations" are but an illusion, veiling the impossibility of meeting neoliberal standards.¹⁴

With this understanding, it becomes clear that Maddy is portrayed within *Euphoria* as unstable, illegible, and false within the neoliberal valuation system. For example, during the carnival episode, Maddy is sporting a Selena-esque inspired purple outfit complete with hoop earrings and cutthroat gem eyeliner.¹⁵ Nate calls her a hooker in a derogatory fashion to diminish her value. Because Maddy is outside the bounds of "good" dress and behavior, Nate physically harms Maddy to put her in her place; inferior and sexually devious.¹⁶ Rather than try to reason within neoliberal logics that could "solve" Maddy's abuse by suggesting that audiences need to see "respectable" Latina representations, I argue that Maddy's aesthetic and performances offer interstices of affective connection, relationality, and world-building within the narrative and for audiences that break away from the limiting, harmful, and impossibility of the good/bad girl dichotomy. "Baddieness" can thus come in as a necessary vantage point that foregrounds all that is felt through creative and relational gestures—the messy attachments, conflicting desires, and determined aspirations.

Badness to "Baddieness"

The conception of "baddieness" is indebted to Jillian Hernandez's scholarship that focuses on the processes by which Black and Latina girls and women transgress, complicate, and trouble binaries of legitimacy and failure in the neoliberal project through their creative "bodily styling, art making, and cultural production."¹⁷ This text allows for a dialectic and nuanced consideration of the possibilities of the girls'/women's authorship at the face of designated societal scripts. Therefore, I chose the word "baddie/ness" as a

current colloquial term that refers to the recurring admiration, ridicule, embrace, and fear of a type of racialized girl/woman who is unabashedly confident in her looks and dress.

Defining the word “baddie” requires a look into its dualistic nature. “Baddie” is defined in *Dictionary.com*, as a “villainous or criminal person.”¹⁸ Being a “baddie” is the embodiment of everything immoral and shameless; a person who actively works to harm others and is implicitly always countering a hero. Furthermore, “baddie” has a risible quality when the adjective of bad is turned into noun through the diminutive *ie*. Yet using *UrbanDictionary.com* to bring forth slang definitions allows for a range of different interpretations from online commenters. When searching for “baddie” on this site, the definition characteristics of the multiple posts can seem contradictory, but that is because they are envisioning the aesthetic of their “baddie”: Instagram-ready “baddie,” sweatpants “baddie,” emo “baddie.” Even so, the definitions are related to each other because they define a “baddie” as confident, fierce, and attractive. Importantly, the definitions follow a narrative of “good girl” gone bad. Good in this context does not get you anywhere in life, possibly because the act of being a good girl is an impossible task that divides self from pleasure. Bad is thus morphed into a pathway to success and satisfaction.¹⁹ In other words, the slang definition of “baddie” transforms the diminutive into a reverential imagining. “Baddieness” thus captures all modes of desire, of being desired after and to desire, sexually or otherwise.

Here, desire is not just an acknowledgement of the objectification and commodification of Latina representations, desiring her body, but it is also a recognition that desire can be more than the limits of neoliberal thought. Within neoliberalism, the possibility of Latina’s own desire is distorted as disturbing, perverse, and above all else, dangerous. Yet “baddieness” foregrounds her desire for pleasure—a fulfilling state of being, feeling, and seeing—through different expressions such as her style, behavior, and relations. Thus, desire also includes the relational and affective nuances of liking the “baddie” character: wanting to be her and/or with her.

Desire in this sense is building from Audre Lorde’s articulation of eroticism. She states, “The erotic is a measure between the beginnings of our sense of self and the chaos of our strongest feelings. It is an internal sense of satisfaction to which, once we have experienced it, we know we can aspire.”²⁰ In other words, the erotic is a tenacious and all-encompassing power that can be embodied, captured, and observed in a variety of actions, aesthetics, and aspirations that includes, but is not limited by, the sexual. Yet an important aspect of using the erotic as power is the inherent break from the individualistic framework of

neoliberalism because to live in fullness of feeling is to share that internal process of contentment and knowing of oneself with others; the erotic “must be recognized.”²¹ Even though to desire starts as an inward process and feeling, this internal power can manifest itself in external labor and community-building. Therefore, to desire/to be desired is a relational project—although a messy and incoherent project—that confronts neoliberalism’s separation and division of communities as seen through the movement and relational potential of Maddy’s performance and visibility.

In the case of Maddy, while the narrative problematizes and diminishes her, she is a breakout character because of her vulnerability, dry humor, and strong sense of friendship.²² She is not just a sexually attractive character; her aesthetic and performance centers affective and relational possibilities counterattacking the shame and isolation inherent to her devaluation within neoliberalism. Accordingly, “baddieness” describes certain high-femininities that are particular because they are fashioned by the assuredness of the individual who can weave their confidence in their development of close relationships with others. Correspondingly, reading *Euphoria*’s Maddy requires a relational focus that sunders and breaks apart destructive ideologies and systems that place her as only the bad Latina so that the possibility of being a “baddie” can shine.

Methodology for Relationality Aesthetic and Performance Gestures

Maddy’s “baddie” aesthetic and performance carries insight into her personal and relational pleasures beyond the limitations and violences of neoliberalism.²³ In other words, her stylings and attitude are disruptive gestures against the common sense of neoliberalism. Juana María Rodríguez offers the notion of gesture to see movement, touch or almost touch, a space between tangibility and fantasy. In her scholarship on queer sexual politics as they are embodied in the public sphere, she comments on gestures:

“Metaphoric and material, gestures remain indeterminate, open to having their meanings transformed through other gestures and speech acts that follow in their wake or precede them into stages of signification. Thus, gestures form part of the ongoing impossible and necessary work of transmitting meaning, a deeply social process that reaches for connection.”²⁴

This means that those nuggets of seeming nothingness that hug between the transparent and accepted meanings are catalysts that move beyond binaries of bad/good girl or victim/perpetrator.²⁵ Using gestures as a method of investigation in *Euphoria* looks at social and sexual desires and their consequent pleasures to weave through and

destabilize the permeance of dominant ideology and meaning-making. The gestures pulled from narratives and specific scenes will recycle and recircuit the majoritarian public sphere's phobic messaging to empower and represent a view of "baddiness" that is much more than the tip of its wordly construction.²⁶ They allow a write-in of the worldly significance of such gestures like the application of blue eyeshadow makeup.²⁷

While Maddy has many adventurous styles, her blue hues are at once one of her signature looks and a messy visual symbol of desire and audacity. Season 1, Episode 5 is Maddy's character episode, and for a few minutes before the episode tackles the graphic and intense relationship abuse between Maddy and Nate, Maddy is far more than just Nate's girlfriend. Maddy is "confident" and "combative" through the effort and skill that goes into her makeup and well-coordinated outfits, specifically in terms of her blue eyeshadow. The consensus among makeup enthusiasts and commentators is that blue eyeshadow is either empowering and bold or clown-ish and trashy.²⁸ The lightness of the blue used is flirty and eye-catching, but it also hints to a dreamy disposition evoking a mysterious way of knowing for these dreams are not accessible and coherent to everyone. The blue is also too daring and excessive, reflecting on her character, which brings attention to the violent situation at hand while also overwhelming the commonsense of reality with its otherworldly composition. Therefore, Maddy's blue hues are a perfect representation of her "baddiness."

The episode starts with an extravagant pageant number where a younger Maddy dazzles the audience with her confident strides, leaps, and stage presence. Maddy is a natural leader and artist, someone who people gravitate towards because she knows who she is. Her self-knowing is spiritual and mental, and it lends itself into her physical adornments. Yet when her pageant days end abruptly, Maddy learns to love the act of doing "nothing" and doesn't desire acquiring or working for a career/job.²⁹ While the narration calls her goals "politically incorrect," the statement proclaiming her desire to do nothing is heard over quick shots of her engaging in the gestures of putting on and practicing the makeup the audience has come to know as her "baddie" face (Figure 2). In one background scene, the younger Maddy is framed as staring into her mirror. She has her iconic killer sharp eyeliner, the neutral blush, nude color lip, and unadorned hair which helps draw attention to the riveting blue of Maddy's eyes and thus on the makeup brush Maddy is so intently utilizing to blend the blue into her crease. The surrounding light bulbs of her mirror parallels her face to a stage where she can write, direct, and perform her inner confidence with a color and style most people would ridicule or shy away from. Even if for a split second, this is the first time, of only two, we see Maddy creating and practicing her well-known makeup looks with

such intense precision and detailing. Ironically, when narrating Maddy as someone who wishes to do nothing, the scene is simultaneously illustrating the immense time, creativity, and coordination Maddy puts into expressing herself. Her time, effort, and joy will never be recognized as valuable because it is grounded in her excessive and empowering desire where she transforms herself as something more than an object for normative productivity. She has no place in neoliberalism because she paves her own way to what she considers joyful and satisfying.



Figure 2. In Season 1, Episode 5 of *Euphoria*, a younger Maddy is shown applying her blue eye makeup. The narration during this scene states that Maddy did not want a career or job.

Maddy's journey to exploring her own desire by expressing her "baddiness" is extended to her relationships as well, specifically with the only other main Latina character, Kat Hernandez (Barbie Ferreira). In Season 2, Episode 4, Maddy steals away Kat during her birthday party celebration. In this scene, the hints of matching blue eye makeup exalt moments of care and relations outside the confines of the screen. There are close-up shots of Kat and Maddy speaking to each other, and the viewer is immediately drawn to the matching shades of a cerulean blue in their eye makeup (Figure 3). Maddy has on her gold hoops, a purple-brown lip shade, and her signature black eyeliner with blue surrounding the entire eye slightly on top of the black for a more defined look. The eyeliner tips have black glitter on top for that added dazzle to her "baddie" detailing. Kat is donning a reddish hot pink lip and eyeliner shaped similarly to Maddy's, but the black eyeliner is thinner so that the blue shade stretches out to the wing with a slight glitter finish throughout the eye.³⁰ This gesture of blue eye makeup invites scenes of them getting ready together, ecstatically

passing over the eyeshadow palette, and sharing beauty tricks to get the sharp wing just right. Instead of Maddy practicing her eyeshadow looks alone for her own benefit, the young Maddy scene detailed above becomes the precursor of the skills and knowledge Maddy can pass on to her friends in this scene. Relatable to the MAC campaign, fans and makeup enthusiasts have tried to recreate Demie's look as inspiration to embrace their "baddie" self. People can even follow Demie's makeup tutorials to learn useful makeup tips since her mother is a makeup artist.³¹ Yet Maddy's and Kat's looks are still distinct from each other to differentiate the uniqueness of each character. Thus, the atmosphere of Maddy's and Kat's makeup application could be described as fun and experimental rather than one-sided copying. Similarly, a fan hoping to recreate the look on screen and/or from advertisements will slightly differ in application and detailing, encouraging their own version of the makeup look. Thus, the desire to express one's "baddieness" moves beyond the screen, the normative, the expected. This is a relational place where desire can take many forms, even the blue hues of Latina representations.



Figure 3. In Season 2, Episode 4, Maddy and Kat have a heartfelt conversation during Maddy's birthday party. The picture is a side-by-side comparison of their heads; it is not a picture depicting how the scene was aired.

Implications and Conclusions

Maddy's mundane and everyday gestures of makeup are engaging moments of performance, self-discovery, and relational potential. Each swath of blue on the eyelid is loud where she is supposed to be quiet, visible where she is supposed to be nowhere, and relatable where she is supposed to be alone. An eyesore, statement, hideous, alluring. More than meets the eye, fleeting and/or bountiful gestures like these blue eyeshadow applications can lead to an envisioning of something more, the feelings and affect between each other that sneakily adds more depth and dimensionality to messages meant to dehumanize, marginalize, and violate. Therefore, looking at the aesthetic and performance of one of Maddy's iconic "baddie" looks—blue eyeshadow—foregrounds the multiplicity of desire, takes back time, and creates an end product that can be considered "too much" to those not in the know. Rather than feed

into the flux of good and bad representations which only serves to validate a structure that perpetuates individualistic explanations to violence, this paper looks at "baddieness" to imagine alternative worlds and realities without the need to patronizingly victimize nor ignorantly sideline Latina survivors of gender-based violence. My offering then is a communal gesture towards joy and creativity that can exist alongside, against, and beyond harm.

Endnotes

- 1 See Laura Pitcher, "'Euphoria' Star Alexa Demie Stars in MAC Cosmetics' 'More Than Meets the Eye' Campaign," *TeenVogue*, March 3, 2020, <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/alexa-demie-mac-cosmetics-more-than-meets-the-eye-campaign>.
- 2 Season 1's finale brought in more than half a million viewers the moment the episode aired, accumulating 1.2 million viewers across streams. The show became even more popular during season 2, averaging 16.3 million viewers. See *Euphoria*, created by Sam Levinson, aired June 16, 2019, on HBO, HBO Max App; Jennifer Maas, "'Euphoria' Hits New High in Viewers with Season 1 Finale," *The Wrap*, Aug. 6, 2019, <https://www.thewrap.com/euphoria-season-finale-ratings-viewers-high/>; and Jennifer Maas, "'Euphoria' Is Now HBO's Second-Most-Watched Show behind 'Game of Thrones,'" *Variety*, Feb. 28, 2022, <https://variety.com/2022/tv/news/euphoria-season-2-finale-ratings-1235192015/>.
- 3 See Jillian Hernandez, *Aesthetics of Excess* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020). To be clear, I use girlhood/womanhood with the understanding of its historical and ongoing social construction and performance rather than as an inheritable and static differential. Still, I make clear throughout my critical analysis of the real consequences, experiences, and affects stemming from gender as intersecting with race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality. For more on gender and performance, see Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519–531.
- 4 Juana María Rodríguez, *Sexual Futures, Queer Gestures, and Other Latina Longings* (New York City: New York University Press, 2014).
- 5 During the pandemic hiatus between both seasons, there were two special episodes. They are framed more so as separate case studies, but they do not directly involve Maddy except that her (ex)boyfriend is a topic of conversation. Season 3 has been confirmed at the time of this publication.
- 6 Maddy Perez, as well as Kat Hernandez, is never explicitly called a Latina, but their Latinidad is widely understood by audiences given the use of different signals of Latinidad that have been fundamental to Latinx representations in film and television shows. As Isabel Molina-Gúzman points out, there are certain corporal and performative markers that mark Maddy as Latina. She has dark hair and light-brown skin, but she also has a Spanish surname and her mom speaks Spanish. Additionally, she is widely regarded as a Latina by the public. While Kat Hernandez has lighter skin, she is also widely regarded as Latina. Maddy is played by Alexa Demie, who is of half-Mexican descent, and Kat is played by Barbie Ferreira, who is of Brazilian descent. Interestingly, there is a side character who could also be considered Latina because the actress Alanna Ubach is of Puerto-Rican and Mexican descent. Her character, Mrs. Howard, will not be discussed in full detail here, but it does reveal capacious and messy issues when designating who is Latinx since her character is designated as white. If her character is considered Latina, would her two daughters, played by white actresses, also be considered Latina? See Isabel Molina-Guzmán, *Latinas & Latinos on TV: Colorblind Comedy in the Post-racial Network Era* (Tucson, AZ: The Arizona Board of Regents, 2018).
- 7 See "Maddy Perez," HBO, Accessed June 18, 2022, <https://www.hbo.com/euphoria/cast-and-crew/maddy-perez>.
- 8 See "Nate Jacobs," HBO, Accessed June 18, 2022, <https://www.hbo.com/euphoria/cast-and-crew/nate-jacobs>.
- 9 For more on television and gender-based violence, see Sarah Projansky, *Watching Rape: Film and Television in Postfeminist Culture* (New York City: NYU Press, 2001); Lynne Joyrich, "Women are from Mars? Part 1," *Flow Journal*, January 23, 2007, <https://www.flowjournal.org/2007/02/>

- women-are-from-mars-part-1/; and Lisa Cuklanz and Sujata Moorti, "Television's 'New' Feminism: Prime-Time Representations of Women and Victimization," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23, no. 4 (2006): 302–21, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393180600933121>. For an understanding of television as a hegemonic process see Todd Gitlin, "The Hegemonic Process in Television Entertainment," *Social Problems* 26, no. 3 (Feb. 1979): 251–266.
- 10 Hernandez, *Aesthetics*, 20. For more on the ways that neoliberalism values the free market over lives and intends to destroy relationalities the continue the interlocked processes of colonial dispossession, racial categorization, and capitalism, see Jodi A. Byrd et al., "Predatory Value: Economies of Dispossession and Disturbed Relationalities," *Social Text* 36, no. 2 (2018): 1–18.
- 11 See Deborah R. Vargas, "Ruminations on Lo Sudio as a Latino Queer Analytic," *American Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2014): 715–26, doi.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2014.0046>.
- 12 Hernandez, *Aesthetics*, 12.
- 13 Ibid., 22.
- 14 See Myra Mendible, *From Bananas to Buttocks* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 1–28; and Racquel Gates, "Activating the Negative Image," *Television & New Media* 16, no. 7 (Nov. 2015): 616–30, doi.org (crossref), <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1527476415569363>.
- 15 I am referring to the Mexican-American singer Selena Quintanilla, who wore an iconic purple outfit for her Houston Astrodome concert.
- 16 See *Euphoria*, Season 1, Episode 4, "Shook Ones Pt. II," directed and written by Sam Levinson, aired July 7, 2019, on HBO, HBO Max App.
- 17 Hernandez, *Aesthetics*, 10.
- 18 See "Baddie," *Dictionary.com*, Accessed May 11, 2022, <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/baddie>.
- 19 See "Baddie," *Urban Dictionary*, Accessed May 11, 2022, <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Baddie>.
- 20 Audre Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic," in *Pleasure Activism*, ed. adrienne maree brown (Chico, Edinburgh: AK Press, 2019), 28.
- 21 Ibid., 33.
- 22 See Diamond Alexis, "Maddy Perez Is the Anti-Mean Girl 'Euphoria' Needs," *PopSugar*, March 4, 2022, <https://www.popsugar.com/latina/maddy-perez-isnt-euphoria-mean-girl-48735232>; and Laysha Macedo, "Maddy Perez: It Girl on 'Euphoria' and More than a Latina Stereotype," *HipLatina*, February 15, 2022, <https://hiplatina.com/euphoria-maddy-perez-latina/>.
- 23 I am specifically inspired by Charles Ramírez Berg's acknowledgement of the subversive element of performance where some actors "performative excesses are counterstereotypical" (pp. 4). In this case the excess is in the performance and aesthetic. See Charles Ramírez Berg, "SUBVERSIVE ACTS: Latino Actor Case Studies," in *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), 87–108, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7560/709065.8>.
- 24 Rodríguez, *Sexual Futures*, 4.
- 25 In many ways I follow the thread and implications of abject performances by Leticia Alvarado. For Alvarado the negative affect can, "... direct our attention to modes of community formation and social critique rooted in minoritarian abject performances as well as a refusal of identitarian coherence, a root and refusal that nonetheless coalesce into Latino affiliation and possibility theorized by a growing cadre of scholars as 'brownness'" (5). This is not a framework that seeks inclusion into the seams of colonialism and capitalism, rather this framework calls for another structure completely beyond the horizon of what we know to be the standards. Yet because of the negative affect, there is confusion and uncertainty after such a performance, which is the exact place to stop, think, and tie back to the personal. With characters like Maddy, though, she is abject, disgusting, nonnormative but also confusingly subsumed by the mainstream. She can be disliked, hated even when compared to other characters, but she is also loved. What can Maddy, specifically in her use of blue eyeshadow, force us to contend with when presented with Latina survivor of gender-based violence presentations? See Leticia Alvarado, *Abject Performances* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 2018.
- 26 See José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of color and the performance of politics* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 1999), 31.
- 27 There has been important scholarship on the relational and discursive use of makeup. While they are not directly related to television, "baddiness," or blue eyeshadow, they have validated my pursuit in analyzing makeup as more than just a tool of patriarchal control and vapidness. See Leticia Alvarado, "Malflora Aberrant Femininities," in *Axis Mundo*, edited by C. Ondine Chavoya and David Evans Frantz (Munich: Prestel, 2017), 94–109; Karla Padrón, "to decolonize is to beautify: a perspective from two transgender Latina makeup artists in the US," *Feminist Review* 128, (2021): 156–162, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/01417789211013432>; and Michele White, "Beauty as an 'act of political warfare,'" *Women's Studies Quarterly* 46, 1/2 (2018): 139–156, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26421167>.
- 28 For more insight into how people describe blue eyeshadow looks, see Paul Madley, "Shades of Blue," *V Magazine*, May 4, 2020, <https://vmagazine.com/article/shades-of-blue-fashions-obsession-with-blue-eyeshadow/#:~:text=Blue%20eyeshadow%20first%20became%20popular,and%20white%20striped%20maillot;and%20Danielle%20Pergament,%20How%20to%20Wear%20Blue%20Makeup%20and%20Not%20Look%20Crazy,> *allure*, June 22, 2015, <https://www.allure.com/story/blue-eye-shadow-liner>.
- 29 *Euphoria*, Season 1, Episode 5, "Bonnie & Clyde '03," directed by Jennifer Morrison and written by Sam Levinson, aired on July 14, 2019, on HBO, HBO Max app, 00:02:36–00:02:59.
- 30 *Euphoria*, Season 2, Episode 4, "You Who Cannot See, Think of Those Who Can," directed and written by Sam Levinson, aired January 30, 2022, on HBO, HBO Max App, 00:23:08–00:24:07.
- 31 For a tangible example of a fan recreating the MAC campaign look, see 0128rachel, "Sparkly Blue Halo Eye: Recreating Alexa Demie X MAC Campaign," YouTube video, June 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s8DsvDIB9rA>. For videos on Alexa Demie's makeup knowledge and how she sees it as part of Maddy's character, see *Vogue*, "Euphoria's Alexa Demie Shares her '90s Glam Tutorial: Beauty Secrets: Vogue," YouTube video, July 30, 2019, https://youtube/UxQg3_Cmwhw.

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Interventions in Queer Arab Scholarship Through a Comparative Analysis of *Siggara wa Kas* (film) and *Sharaf* (book): Juxtaposing Colonial Homophobia with Anti-Blackness and Distinguishing Same-Sex Violence from Homosexuality

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Queer Arab scholarship points to EuroAmerican colonization as a driving force for criminalizing homosexuality in Arab countries. This literature effectively contradicts Arab anti-colonial rhetoric claiming queerness as a Western import, which ironically maintains the colonial criminalization of homosexuality under the guise of imperial resistance. However, scholarship on sexuality and colonization of Arab societies lacks two major nuances: 1) a study of homophobia and anti-Blackness in tandem; and 2) a differentiation of same-sex violence from homosexuality. This article introduces these two nuances as interventions to the literature on queer Arab politics and history. Comparatively analyzing the Egyptian film *Siggara wa Kas* and the Egyptian novel *Sharaf*, the article examines attitudes in popular Arab media around sex, race, and colonization. The analysis finds that while *Siggara wa Kas* presents a sapphic subversion of colonial heteronormativity and an appraisal of darker skin, *Sharaf* perpetuates colonial violence through homophobic and anti-Black treatments of same-sex sexual abuse.

TRIGGER WARNING: Sexual Assault and Violence

Introduction

Numerous works synthesize the Orientalization of same-sex acts in the Middle East, beginning from the 19th century and persisting to the current day (A.L., 2018; Dalacoura, 2014; Wahab, 2021; Feki, 2015). Prior to colonization, Murray and Roscoe (1997) contend that “the regions of the world with the most visible and diverse sex-gender practices and identities were North Africa, Africa, and Southeast Asia” (p. 6). But, with the start of EuroAmerican colonization in the 19th century, British and French powers criminalized homosexuality throughout the Ottoman Empire and in over 47 now Muslim-majority countries (Falaky, 2018; Ozsoy, 2020; Ahmadi, 2012). Several European sources at the time demonstrated how the laws reflected British Judeo-Christian values and Orientalist attitudes. The British aimed to instill the “needed compulsory re-education in sexual mores” and “inculcate European morality into resistant masses” (Said, 1979, p. 555–556).

Although most Arab-Muslim majority countries became independent states in the 20th century, the legacy of colonial rule remains in these countries through the maintenance of homosexual criminalization (McDonnell, 2010). Meanwhile, the rise of the LGBTQ+ movement in EuroAmerican countries (Faderman and Timmons, 2006) led Western colonial and quasi-colonial powers to position themselves as the sole bearers of gender and sexuality rights, which they needed to disseminate to the rest of the world (Szulc, 2018; Fernández, 2021). Jasbir Puar (2013) coins this Orientalist desire to globally inculcate Western gender values as “homocolonialism,” particularly salient when “Transnational LGBTQ politics have allied themselves with neo-colonial and imperialist military intervention forces” (Fernández, 2021, p. 96). The homocolonialist mantra of sexuality and gender liberation justifies anti-terrorism initiatives within Western states and military intervention in foreign countries, including Middle Eastern countries (Haritaworn, 2012).

In response, anti-colonial nationalist discourse in Arab countries maintains laws criminalizing homosexuality under the guise of homocolonial resistance, even when this perpetuates the colonial legacy of homophobia imposed by the West (A.L., 2018; Dalacoura, 2014; Feki, 2015). In reality, Arab countries should contend with homophobic criminalization—not queerness or homosexuality—as an ongoing relic of European colonialism. But, the current power structures in the region deem queerness a Western import and dangerously persecute queer Arab bodies (Chamas and Allouche, 2022).

While the literature on queer and homosexual Arab politics succinctly points to Orientalist nuances forgotten in Arab anti-colonial nationalism, two elements should be more adequately discussed. First, homophobia and anti-Blackness should be analyzed together regarding colonization in Arab countries. Many pieces of literature discuss anti-Blackness in Arab countries as a perpetuation of EuroAmerican colonization¹ (Elsaket, 2017; Abubakr, 2021; Sabry, 2021), but few juxtapose colonial homophobia and anti-Blackness in Arab societies.

Additionally, too many articles put all same-sex acts in the pre-colonial era under the label of homosexuality, even when the sexual act described is an abuse of power, not an act of sexuality. In particular, Curran (2000), Schmitt and Sofer (1992), Dover (1978), and Williams (2010) characterize pederasty in pre-modern Muslim, Roman, and Greek societies as homosexuality, even though these relationships were sexual abuse—power imbalances between a man and a minor who cannot give consent. Thomas A. Foster (2010) maintains that “sexual abuse—in all its forms—is about power, not sex.” Thus, the institutionalized pederasty *and all*

other forms of same-sex abuse found in pre-colonial societies should not be characterized as homosexuality.

This article introduces two interventions to queer Arab scholarship, juxtaposing homophobia and anti-Blackness when analyzing colonization of the Middle East and distinguishing homosexuality and queerness from same-sex abuse. The interventions are introduced through a comparative analysis of two Egyptian media and literary works in the 20th century, the 1955 film *Siggara wa Kas (A Glass and a Cigarette)*, directed by Neyazi Mustafa, and the 1997 novel *Sharaf (Honor)* by Sonallah Ibrahim. The comparative analysis finds that while the sapphic² elements in *Siggara wa Kas* subvert the colonial presence of heteronormativity, the description of same-sex violence in *Sharaf* perpetuates colonial institutions and abuses of power. Contrary to the contemporary anti-colonial rhetoric pervasive in Arab political contexts, these findings significantly demonstrate an association between queerness and decoloniality and stress how sexuality should not be conflated with abuse. In the next section, I focus on the pairing of Western heteronormativity with Arab queering in *Siggara wa Kas* and I discuss the appraisal of dark skin in sapphic scenes contrasted with anti-Blackness in heteronormative scenes of the film. I then shift my analysis to *Sharaf* in the following section, critiquing the author's anti-Black, homophobic treatment of same-sex abuse as perpetuating colonial violence. The final section concludes with implications and further considerations for queer Arab scholarship, stating a need for scholarship to link Arab homophobia with other systems of oppression and develop careful language distinguishing sexuality from abuse.

***Siggara wa Kas*: Sapphic Queering of Racialized Western Heteronormativity**

In the dance film *Siggara wa Kas (A Glass and a Cigarette)*, nationally famous dancer Hoda Gamal (played by Samia Gamal) performs in her home country, Egypt, with her best friend, Tunisian singer Azza. While Azza continues her singing career and only seeks marriage to keep her Egyptian visa, Hoda ends her performance career to marry and start a family with Mamdouh, a young doctor (Mustafa, 1955). After Mamdouh opens a hospital with Hoda's financial support, he hires an Italian head nurse Yolanda, who schemes for Mamdouh's attention. Hoda's growing jealousy of Yolanda spirals her into alcoholism and jeopardizes her marriage and family (Mustafa, 1955). Throughout the film, Hoda attempts to manage her jealousy, her regrets about leaving her dance career, and her dissatisfaction with her marriage.

While little is known about the intentions of the film's director or writers, Mejdulene Shomali (2019) argues

that *Siggara wa Kas* and other mainstream belly dance films "made considerable space for homoerotic exchanges amid women"; the article significantly engages with queerness in Golden Era Arab art, refuting the "Orientalist representation of an explicitly homophobic 'traditional' Arab culture" (Shomali, 2019, p. 135). I add to this analysis by demonstrating how the sapphic non-heteronormativity embodied by Hoda and Azza corresponds with historical accounts of queerness in Egypt, subverting the colonial presence of heteronormativity in the film.

Azza's and Hoda's performances situate in traditional clothing and settings, reinforcing the call to Arab roots through queer sensuality. The most obvious display of queerness in *Siggara wa Kas* takes place in the first dance performance. While Hoda dances, Azza adoringly gazes at Hoda, reaches up to her, and touches her during the dance. Hoda enjoys Azza's tenderness and sways her hips toward her performance partner. The lyrics of Azza's song center her love for Hoda, including the lines "My heart is hers alone" and "The colors in her cheeks warm my heart" (Mustafa, 1955). On a set structured like a traditional Arab courtyard, Azza wears a Tunisian Blouza and Flouta, while Hoda wears an Egyptian Galabiya with a scarf at her waist. Azza's and Hoda's performance is accompanied by folkloric Arab music with the *ney*, *oud*, *darbuka*, and *qanun* as instruments. In scenes outwardly displaying traditional Arab dress and performance, Hoda and Azza feel most comfortable in their sapphic sensuality. The folkloric Arab location of Hoda's and Azza's sapphic interaction greatly contrasts with EuroAmerican-oriented scenes featuring Hoda's anguish over her marriage to Mahmoud. For example, when Hoda abuses substances to cope with her marriage-related restlessness and jealousy, she is at her home in a 1950s American swing dress, pin curls, and dark lipstick. She dejectedly stares at blank white walls only decorated with an impressionist landscape painting and passes out on a vintage French country sofa next to Greco-Roman paintings. The European dress and architectural influences in these scenes, in contrast with the traditional Arab dress and settings for the performances, only add to the association of Hoda's queer sensuality with Arab roots and her heteronormative anguish with Western influences. This suggests that European powers impose heteronormativity on Arab societies, while queerness has always been a part of Egypt's history.

Additionally, the queer-coded affection between Hoda and Azza is paired with admiration of dark skin, but more heteronormative interactions coincide with an appraisal of fair skin. Azza's song about Hoda expresses love for a "dark-skinned" woman, and when Hoda tries on a dress in the middle of the film, Azza says, "Lovely dark-skinned one, who do you take after? Your parents conceived

you in happiness” (Mustafa, 1955). However, in other scenes of the film, men praise fair-skinned women. The desire for dark skin within queered situations and fair skin within heteronormative situations in the film relates to larger systems of anti-Blackness in Arab societies. Since anti-Blackness in Arab societies worsened with EuroAmerican colonialism (Sabry, 2021), Azza’s praise for darker skin seems to subvert beauty standards connected to a Western presence. Her call back to non-Western beauty standards, queer in that it contests the normative and is situated within sapphic nonheteronormativity, further associates her queerness with decoloniality. Hoda’s and Azza’s queer affection pairs with a decolonial love for dark skin, while the heteronormativity in the film is associated with anti-Blackness. Although this example may be brief, it points to linkages between queerness, love for darker skin, and subversion of heteronormative colonialism in Arab contexts. It counters the anti-colonial nationalist rhetoric found in modern Arab countries, which deem queerness as a Western import (Feki, 2015) while claiming whiteness separate from African countries (Sabry, 2021). In contrast, *Sharaf* perpetuates anti-colonial nationalist attitudes around race and sexuality that ironically maintain legacies of EuroAmerican colonization.

***Sharaf*: Perpetuation of Colonization through Same-Sex Abuse and Anti-Blackness**

Sharaf furthers anti-Blackness and homophobia under the guise of anti-coloniality and insensitively deals with sexual abuse from colonial trauma. This book, which is the sixth novel of acclaimed Egyptian writer Sonallah Ibrahim, is named after the main character Sharaf, who throughout the novel realizes his sexual honor is futile if Egyptian national honor is subjugated to colonial globalization and corruption. At the novel’s beginning, Egyptian authorities imprison Sharaf for killing an English man who tried to rape him. The state does not factor Sharaf’s self-defense in their sentence, symbolizing their indifference to Sharaf’s sexual honor. Sharaf’s imprisonment subjects him to further same-sex violence until “he eventually accepts the role of penetrative passive partner” (Hammad, 2019, p. 1487). In *The Global Encyclopedia of LGBTQ History*, Hammad (2019) writes that “Ibrahim’s *Sharaf* is a statement that the emasculation of Egyptian men was started by the colonial West and completed by the Egyptian authoritarian state” (p. 1487).

Public discourse should seek justice for sexual abuse, an appalling part of colonial violence—regardless of gender. But rather than approaching sexual trauma with sensitivity, *Sharaf* focuses (perhaps obsessively) on the same-sex aspect of the abuse, characterizing it as an emasculation. The book is not structured in a way that respects or nuances the victims’ experiences; it instead victim shames, casting a wave of

disgust at the characters for accepting a passive role. For instance, after Sharaf is raped by a repeated offender inmate (*nabatchi*), fellow prisoners call Sharaf “the boy whom the *nabatchi* fucked” without even criticizing the man who raped Sharaf (Hammad, 2019). In turn, author Sonallah Ibrahim makes little room for criticizing the culture of blaming sexual assault victims depicted in the novel. However, Ibrahim does take the time to humanize another inmate who sexually assaulted Sharaf, giving space for an inmate to justify his actions:

“What happened was against my will. Don’t think that this is what I want from you. I can easily take care of my needs. You know this well. . . . As for the [sexual] drive, this is entirely natural. It is prison that is not natural. The world here is entirely delinquent. Do you think I don’t know the difference between a man and a woman? It is impossible for a man to ever take the place of a woman, even if he lies on his back. But look around. Do you see many women around? So what should one do?” (Ibrahim, 1997, p. 534–535, as cited in Massad, 2007)

If the sexual violence described in the book represents EuroAmerican colonization of Egypt, Ibrahim conflates anti-coloniality with prioritizing the maintenance of heteronormativity over representing sexual assault victims with dignity and justice. Obsessing over the same-sex aspect of the abuse instead of the act of violence itself only perpetuates the colonial violence Ibrahim purports to subvert.

Ibrahim’s fixation on the same-sex aspect of abuse also reproduces EuroAmerican colonial laws in the Middle East that criminalize homosexuality while still enabling pederasty. The Ottoman empire was not unique during pre-colonial times for institutionalizing same-sex relations that were problematically pederastic, involving a man with power or status pursuing an underage, “passive” boy (Zaharin, 2012). Because the minor in question cannot give consent, these abuses of power should not be conflated with homosexuality or queerness whatsoever. But far from addressing pederasty among those in power, Anglo-Western colonizers persecuted lower-class, pre-pubescent, “passive homosexuals” by instituting laws in Muslim societies criminalizing homosexuality (Naraghi, 2015). “Passive” bodies, or those in mutual homosexual relationships, are persecuted in Arab countries, while upperclassmen in power still take an active role in same-sex abuse. As a result, Arab scholarship, literature, and media on homosexuality criticize the “passive,” “buggered” individual for being homosexual but make little room for accountability of “active” individuals when they are wealthier than, older than, and sexually abusive to the “passive” individuals (Schmitt and Sofer, 1992). The obsessive fixation on emasculation in anti-colonial Arab rhetoric is not only homophobic, but it also enables

sexual abuse. Today, accounts still find pederastic abuse in Morocco, Iraq, and Afghanistan, countries that still enact laws criminalizing homosexuality (Pashang et al., 2018; Roscoe and Murray, 1997). The pervasiveness of pederasty in countries persecuting homosexuality demonstrates colonial structures and laws that obsess over same-sex sex while perpetuating sexual violence. Ibrahim's *Sharaf* does little to acknowledge this, instead mirroring the same-sex obsession and neglect to address sexual abuse found in the very colonial structures Ibrahim claims to critique.

Sharaf further cements itself as a reproduction of EuroAmerican colonialism by employing anti-Black characterizations of same-sex sexual abuse. When prisoner Dr. Ramzi directs a puppet show for fellow inmates, he includes a scene where two Egyptians search for work in the African jungle after globalization dries Egypt's job market:

"Audience Member 1: A story has just occurred to me that fits our topic. Its protagonists are two compatriots of ours. One is a Bahrawi [from the coastal area], while the other, as expected, is an Upper Egyptian [a peasant from southern Egypt whose inhabitants are viewed in Egyptian lore as 'conservative' and committed to virile manliness]. The two men's search for livelihood took them to the African jungle where they were captured by a savage tribe. The tribal chief was a very nice man who offered them two possible fates: The first is 'Honga,' and the second is 'death.' From the gestures of his hands, they both understood what was meant by 'Honga.' At once, the Upper Egyptian, who values his honor more than his life, declared that he chooses death. The Bahrawi had another point of view. After a bit of assessment, he said: 'Honga.' The tribal chief stared at them for a long time and then gave the orders to his followers: 'Both should get Honga, even the one who chose death!'" (Ibrahim, 1997, p. 121, as cited in Massad, 2007)

In *Desiring Arabs*, Joseph Massad (2007) addresses this passage, writing that it partakes in the "colonial trope of hyper-virilizing African natives while presenting Egyptian colonized men as castrated" (p. 379). Massad adds that the word Honga means "bribe or corrupt" in Swahili and that the Arabic word for anal penetration used in the passage (*yatasakhmat*) derives from other Arabic words meaning Blackness, coal, and soot. Ibrahim attempts to separate Arabs from Africans on homophobic terms to garner national sympathy for the colonially castrated Egyptian man, but it only "accepts and reproduces uncritically" the "sexual dichotomy of civilization and barbarism" that is part of an "imperialist episteme" (Massad, 2007, p. 379). In *Sharaf*, Ibrahim only maintains EuroAmerican colonialism

through a gross equating of sexual abuse with homosexuality and an association of homophobia with anti-Blackness.

Significance and Future Considerations

Through a comparative analysis of the film *Siggara wa Kas* and the book *Sharaf*, this article introduces two interventions needed in queer Arab scholarship: positioning homophobia and anti-Blackness in Arab societies together and differentiating same-sex abuse from queerness or homosexuality. *Siggara wa Kas* presents a subversion of colonial heteronormativity through sapphic spaces rooted in Arabness and an appraisal of darker skin. On the other hand, *Sharaf* perpetuates colonial violence through a homophobic and anti-Black characterization of same-sex sexual violence.

The interventions in this paper are far from complete; they instead invite future considerations to further nuance same-sex Arab histories. For future works, this paper first proposes a concerted juxtaposed history of homophobia and anti-Blackness within Arab colonial history and discourse. While Arab societies were by no means completely queer affirming or anti-racist prior to colonization, EuroAmerican forces worsened anti-queer and anti-Black structures in Egypt and other Arab countries (Zaharin, 2022; Sabry, 2021). More information is needed on Arab accounts that both subvert and perpetuate heteronormative and racist structures.

Second, this paper stresses a need to distinguish homosexuality or queerness from same-sex abuse in histories of Arab sexuality. Murray and Oscoe (1997), Curran (2000), Schmitt and Sofer (1992), Dover (1978), and Williams (2010) are among many authors casting same-sex abuse as homosexuality. Characterizing an abuse of power as sexuality perpetuates stereotypes of homosexuality dangerous for marginalized Arab queer bodies. Blurring these boundaries in literature arguably partakes in the fixation on homosexuality that overlooks and therefore maintains institutions of pederasty and sexual abuse found in Middle Eastern countries today.

Finally, the potential for subversion and decoloniality in Arab sapphic spaces should be further researched. Amer (2009) chronicles a history of medieval Arab sapphics and points to a medieval Arab *Encyclopedia of Pleasure*, including celebrations of sexuality that are mutual and not abusive. Arab sapphic expression and the *Encyclopedia of Pleasure* have been censored by assemblages of Orientalist forces censoring queerness and overshadowed by Arab male-male sexual histories. Focusing on sapphic and anti-racist Middle Eastern histories could provide a starting point for decolonial healing from sexual trauma.

Endnotes

- ¹ In particular, Sabry (2021) emphasizes that Arab societies are colonized by EuroAmerican countries but also participate in colonizing non-Arab Muslim countries. Writing specifically about Egypt, Sabry notes that “These findings fit with the notion of a colonized colonizer that has been suggested by Powell (2003). According to Powell, Egyptian national identity was formed during Egypt’s colonization of Sudan while being colonized by Britain. This perceived identity has been created within a power dynamic that associated Whiteness with superiority and power, while blackness with inferiority and backwardness” (Sabry 2021, 64).
- ² The word sapphic encompasses love between non-men, including women, nonbinary, and feminine presenting people (Garrity and Doan, 2006).

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Invisible and Uncounted: Healthcare Access, the Intersection of Race, and Citizenship Status

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Abstract

This study examines differences in health insurance coverage for Blacks and Whites, comparing citizens to non-citizens and rates of difference under the Obama and Trump presidential administrations, each of which purported to have different policies related to both immigration and health insurance coverage, namely Obamacare. Previous research has shown a disparity in healthcare accessibility between Blacks and Whites but has not considered the role of citizenship or of the presidential administration in contributing to or lessening this racial inequality. I utilized a dataset from IPUMS USA (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series), a survey that provides a representative sample of the American population. The sample consists of Black and White respondents for the years 2015 (3rd year in Obama's 2nd presidential term) and 2019 (3rd year in Trump administration), a total sample size of 6,386,558 converting to 649,658,344 with the use of per-person weights. Though there is a small drop in health insurance coverage for both Blacks and Whites during the Trump presidency compared to the Obama presidency, it is significant because it shows that there is a disparity in coverage between the two groups that remains relatively unchanged. In considering the role of citizenship status, citizens are far more likely than non-citizens to have coverage during both administrations and in similar proportions. However, contrary to expectation, White non-citizens are significantly less likely than Black non-citizens to have health insurance coverage. This study suggests that there is a stable quality of racial inequality in this country in accessing healthcare, even in the face of changing political landscapes. It also points to the role of a presidential administration and citizenship status in shaping access to healthcare. Being viewed as a vital component of our healthcare system, accessibility looks different for each racial group. As such, a comprehensive evaluation of the factors mentioned can provide tools geared at addressing them so that there can be some level of equality for all.

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Background

Access to healthcare is a perennial, widespread problem in the United States, especially for the minority and immigrant populations who have less access to care and suffer poorer health (MacAskill, 2010). In 2008, America elected its first Black president, Barack Obama. With high hopes and great expectations, many Black Americans and immigrant minorities believed that racial biases and tensions would have halted or at least been addressed, particularly with regards to obtaining public services which many felt they were being denied (Condon Jr. and O'Sullivan, 2015). In 2009 during his first year in office, Obama tasked Congress with healthcare reform. The system, however, was slow to change. Many Black Americans, both native and foreign-born, as well as other immigrant minorities were quite disappointed when the change they had expected from Obama was not forthcoming as quickly as they thought and as such they re-elected him to continue his work in racial equality, prosperity and growth for the economy (Riley, 2017). In contrast to Obama, Donald Trump's candidacy for president saw a rise in racial tensions and projected even higher levels of inequality between Whites and Blacks.

Elected in 2016, Trump promised voters that he would "build a wall" to restrict immigration. He also promised to limit immigrant access to public services and citizenship pathways, drawing on "public charge" to do so. His rhetoric discussing these goals increased social tensions between political parties and even local law enforcement officers within states who were not in support of his immigration enforcement, which they believe is a federal and not state responsibility (Felbab-Brown, 2017). In addition,

President Donald Trump sought to dismantle Obamacare, including the healthcare access that it provided to immigrants. Subsequent challenges to the healthcare bill took the form of court cases from different states that eventually reached the Supreme Court for a final ruling, leaving the final decision up to individual states (Thompson, 2022). Given the rhetoric and politics of each presidential administration, one might expect dramatic differences in access to healthcare for Americans overall and the potential for an exacerbation of existing inequality under Trump, particularly for Black immigrants. This study examines the difference in access to healthcare for Blacks and Whites under each presidential administration, taking into account the role of both race and citizenship, with hopes of showing that both race and citizenship status do indeed play an integral role in accessing healthcare services. Additional analysis into understanding the integral role that citizenship status plays is further explained by Ku and Matani who likewise clarify that disparity in access is primarily based upon two components: 1) non-citizens and their children who are more likely to be uninsured, and 2) non-citizens and their children who have less access to medical care than insured native-born citizens (Ku and Matani, 2001).¹

Access to healthcare services looks different for each racial group, thereby contributing to health disparities. Cultural differences and mistrust of healthcare institutions are a major barrier to accessing healthcare services for racial and ethnic minorities. For example, as Peterson-Besse, Walsh, et al., affirm,

“In addition, members of underserved racial/ethnic groups may have difficulty trusting physicians and health care systems due to a history of unethical treatment and institutionalized racism. Access is limited by gaps between the institutional culture of health care setting and the culture of the patient, poor physician-patient communication, and lack of cultural brokers, system navigators, and cultural acceptability of the care being offered” (Peterson-Besse, Walsh, et al., 2014).

Furthermore, they explain that a patient’s socioeconomic status as well as how they perceive health and well-being according to their cultural belief also impact whether and how often they access healthcare (Peterson-Besse, Walsh, et al., 2014). Another barrier relates to structural racism. Yearby asserts that structural racism separates the dominant from the non-dominant group by paralyzing their access to obtain or even use the resources that they need. Persistent racism in the healthcare system, according to Yearby, has led 22% of African Americans to avoid seeking any medical care, with 32% stating that they have been personally discriminated against when seeking medical care either at a

physician’s office or healthcare clinic (Yearby, 2018). With structural racism, even when Blacks and Whites have access to healthcare, the access may be different, whether in relation to the level of coverage or the quality of the healthcare they receive. Ayanian et al. revealed that African Americans were less likely than Caucasians to be evaluated or even be placed on the list for renal transplant even after controlling for patient preferences, socioeconomic status, the presence, or absence of coexisting illnesses, or even the patient’s current health status (Ayanian et al., 1999). Van Ryn explains that though this is unfortunate, a patient’s race can affect a physician’s questions that are asked in the preliminary diagnostic interview and subsequent referral for specialty care, further contributing to the structural racism that exists with accessing healthcare (Van Ryn, 2006).

Equally as important to structural racism is access to healthcare coverage which is the focal point of this research. Shi et al. have explained that community healthcare centers have been serving as the safety-net delivery role for America’s most vulnerable for decades. They further state that despite having safety-net health centers, some members within the vulnerable population still do not have adequate access to quality care. This could be the result of lack of availability of low-cost providers, a shrinkage in the number of providers who are willing to serve and care for the needs of the uninsured or Medicaid-insured, poor geographic accessibility, inadequate access to reliable transportation as well as lack of language and or cultural competency in care (Shi, et al., 2007). In addition, Shi et al. elaborated that those individuals who are able to gain entry and receive care are still at a disadvantage as they are either faced with long waiting times or limited appointments which unfortunately leads to an even greater reliance on emergency room visits (Shi, et al., 2007).

Presidential administrations have different ways in which they seek to address the issues of inequality and disparity within our healthcare system. In addition, different administrations would likely vehemently deny that current policies were designed to disrupt health and well-being. As such, each administration creates, tries to improve, or removes some aspects of existing healthcare policies in order to leave their mark. An example is ObamaCare in 2010 and TrumpCare in 2019. Though healthcare and its policies should be at the helm, it seems like each administration’s own agenda is being pushed, thereby forgetting and or ignoring the individuals who are not only vulnerable but are also the most affected. Previous research shows the separate influence of race, citizenship status, and presidential administration on access to healthcare in the United States. However, to date, research has not addressed the intersection of these influences. In this paper I explore the

combined effects of race, citizenship status, and presidential administration on access to healthcare illustrating how all three impact each other and the importance of understanding this intersection and the impact they have on the population accessing healthcare.

Methods

For this paper, I will use data from IPUMS USA (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series), a survey that provides a representative sample of the American population. My sample consists of Black and White respondents for years 2015 (the third year in Obama's second presidential term) and 2019 (the third year in Trump administration), a total sample size of 6,386,558, converting to 649,658,344 with the use of per-person weights.

The dependent variable, access to healthcare, is measured using the variable health insurance coverage. This is a binary measure of respondents' reporting of whether or not they had health insurance coverage. My independent variables are race, citizenship status, and presidential administration. Race is a measure that includes only those who identify themselves with one race on the survey as either Whites or Blacks. The measure is a dummy variable where the value is 1 for Whites and 0 for Blacks. If people did not identify themselves as either Black or White, they were excluded from the sample (other values were system missing). People who identified as multi-racial were also excluded from the data.

Citizenship status is defined as whether or not the individual is an American citizen by either birth or naturalization. I recoded this variable in IPUMS to reflect either citizen or non-citizen. Those coded as citizens were either native-born citizens, foreign-born individuals born to American parents, or a naturalized citizen. I recoded as non-citizen individuals those who reported they were not a citizen, not a citizen but has received first papers, or those for whom foreign-born citizenship status was not reported. If persons identified themselves as citizens, then it would be 1, if they identified themselves as non-citizens then it would be 0. Presidential Administration is defined by the year in which a president served in office. I selected 2015, the third year in Obama's second term, to stand for the Obama presidential administration, and I used 2019, the third year in Trump's administration, to stand the Trump administration. The years were selected as representative years to understand access to healthcare under each administration.

Applying the per-person weights from IPUMS, I utilized contingency tables to compare the health insurance coverage of Black and White citizens and non-citizens. For convenience of display, I broke out race by citizenship status in the table, creating four categories: Black citizen, White citizen, Black non-citizen, and White non-citizen. I then calculated the chi square statistics for each of the hypothesized comparisons.

Results

As previously stated, the total of the sample size is 6,386,558 converting to 649,658,344 with the use of per-person weights. Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for the sample. Of the total sample, 72.6% are White, 12.7% are Black, and 14.7% are missing demographic data (Table 1 reports valid percentages); it is statistically significant with a chi square value of ($p < 0.000$). In relation to citizenship status, 86.5% were citizens while 13.5% were non-citizens, a difference of 73 percentage points. 93% of white citizens had health insurance coverage compared with 75.2% of white non-citizens, a difference of 17.8 percentage points, and 89.1% of black citizens had health insurance coverage compared with 83.2% of black non-citizens a difference of 5.3 percentage points. Again, this is statistically significant with a chi square value of ($p < 0.000$) as shown in Table 2. I find that race plays a more limited role than expected in determining one's health insurance coverage. Overall, Blacks were less likely to have health insurance coverage compared to Whites, though the difference was only 3 percentage points. In contrast, citizenship status played a much more dramatic role in determining health insurance coverage, with a 15.9 percentage point gap between the health insurance coverage of non-citizens compared to citizens. Surprisingly, rates of health insurance coverage are lower for White non-citizens than for Black non-citizens. A possible reason could also be that Black non-citizens were more likely than White non-citizens to seek out healthcare services due to several factors, including but not limited to social, age, gender, country of origin, and educational level.

	Frequency	Valid Percent
White noncitizen	40547876	7.3
Black non-citizen	8150667	1.5
White citizen	430980882	77.7
Black citizen	74648469	13.5
Obama Administration 2015	321418821	49.5
Trump Administration 2019	328239523	50.5
No health insurance coverage	62186102	9.6
With health insurance coverage	587472242	90.4
White non-citizen – no health insurance	40547876	75.2
White citizen – health insurance	430980882	93.0
Black non-citizen – no health insurance	8150667	83.2
Black citizen— health insurance	74648469	89.1

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Citizen1			0 White	1 Black/ African American	Total
0	HCOVANY Any health insurance coverage	1 No health insurance coverage	24.8%	16.8%	23.5%
		2 With health insurance coverage	75.2%	83.2%	76.5%
1	HCOVANY Any health insurance coverage	1 No health insurance coverage	7.0%	10.9%	7.6%
		2 With health insurance coverage	93.0%	89.1%	92.4%
Total	HCOVANY Any health insurance coverage	1 No health insurance coverage	8.5%	11.5%	9.0%
		2 With health insurance coverage	91.5%	88.5%	91.0%
Total			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 2. Healthcare Status by Race and Citizenship Status

Citizen1		Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
0	Pearson Chi-Square	245481.317 ^c	1	0		
	Continuity Correction ^b	245480.869	1	0		
	Likelihood Ratio	261086.85	1	0		
	Fisher's Exact Test				0	0
	Linear-by-Linear Association	245481.312	1	0		
	N of Valid Cases	48698543				
1	Pearson Chi-Square	1395608.026 ^d	1	0		
	Continuity Correction ^b	1395607.466	1	0		
	Likelihood Ratio	1268526.481	1	0		
	Fisher's Exact Test				0	0
	Linear-by-Linear Association	1395608.023	1	0		
	N of Valid Cases	505629351				
Total	Pearson Chi-Square	756521.494 ^a	1	0		
	Continuity Correction ^b	756521.131	1	0		
	Likelihood Ratio	710582.683	1	0		
	Fisher's Exact Test				0	0
	Linear-by-Linear Association	756521.492	1	0		
	N of Valid Cases	554327894				
a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7437021.						
b Computed only for a 2x2 table						
c 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1914610.						
d 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5661845.						

Chi Square Test—Healthcare Coverage by Race and Citizenship Status

Figure 1 illustrates health insurance coverage by race, citizenship status, and presidential administrations. Under the Obama administration, 93% of White citizens had health insurance compared to 88.6% of Black citizens, a difference of 4.4 percentage points. Under Trump, 92.9% of White citizens had health insurance compared to 89.5% of Black citizens, a difference of 3.4 percentage points.

There are seemingly slight improvements in our healthcare system and they are statistically significant though small.

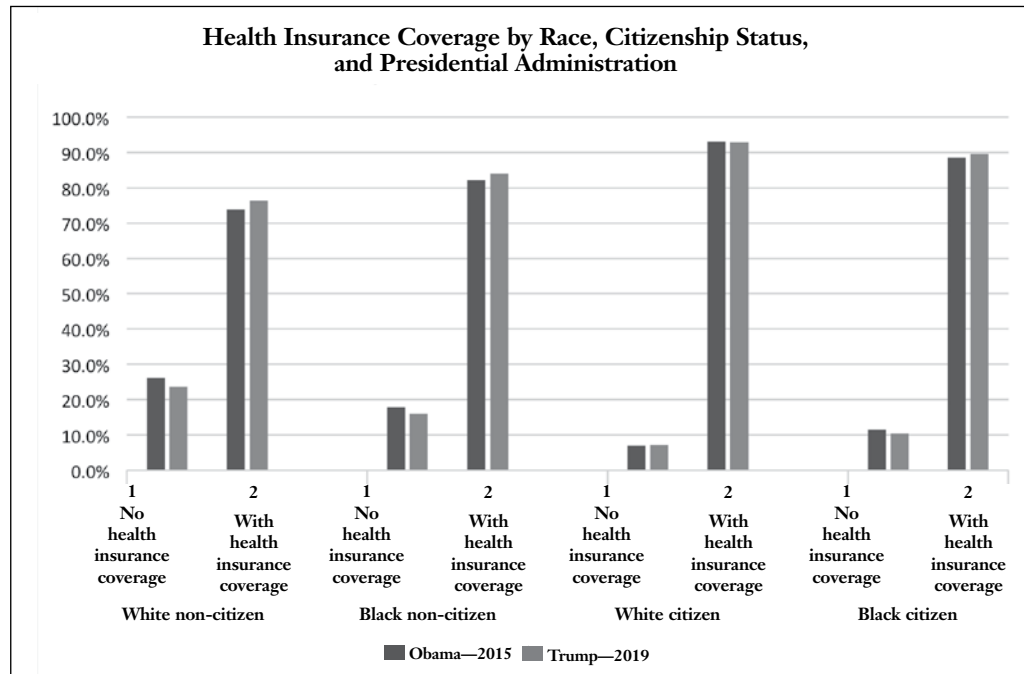


Figure 1.

Conclusion

This study examines differences in health insurance coverage for Blacks and Whites, comparing citizens to non-citizens and rates of difference under the Obama and Trump presidential administrations, each of which purported to have different policies related to both immigration and health insurance coverage. This paper contributes to the literature on healthcare inequality by illustrating the intersection between race, citizenship status, and presidential administration. I found that race and citizenship status have an impact on one's access to healthcare coverage, and these associations look different for Blacks and Whites, an idea that many had suspected for decades.

The main purposes for which ObamaCare was intended to address were to protect Americans against financial risks of illness, reduce the uninsured rate, and to improve access to care and lower out-of-pocket spending (Glied, Collins and Lu, 2020). Despite Trump's efforts to repeal ObamaCare, surprisingly, Blacks, both citizens and

non-citizens, still were more likely to have health insurance coverage under the Trump administration than under the Obama administration. While there was little overall change for White citizens, 93% having coverage under Obama compared with 92.9% under Trump, coverage also increased for White non-citizens under Trump. It is difficult to know whether these differences reflect the policy differences under the administrations or the slow pace of bureaucracy. ObamaCare was launched during his second presidential term and was highly scrutinized by many. TrumpCare, a rebuttal to ObamaCare, only had one year of implementation reflected in this analysis. Thus, the research does not accurately measure the effectiveness of either plan. It is even possible that the seeming changes under Trump reflect more on the maturation of ObamaCare, even in the face of challenges, than on Trump's healthcare policies, which might show more emphatically under the next administration.

In addition, the results of this research also do not reflect the expected inequality in healthcare access

outcomes between the Obama and Trump administrations. Under Trump, there are seemingly slight improvements in our healthcare system and they are statistically significant, though small. This speaks to the slow pace of policy change despite administration rhetoric that promises presidential elections can quickly transform governance of complex issues like healthcare access. A long-term, historical view of additional presidential administrations is needed to trace strides or setbacks in access to healthcare. The effects of slight changes in healthcare policy from different administrations on healthcare disparities and inequalities may not be reflected for some time. Expanding the time scale would provide a clearer view of trends, though perhaps not of their causes.

While this study has illustrated an important piece of the racial health disparities that exists for citizens and non-citizens, health insurance coverage is an imperfect measure of access to healthcare. From the data I extracted, there was not enough information to illustrate the different levels or kinds of health insurance coverage people had. By this I mean, individuals who reported having health insurance could also have been underinsured and faced high out-of-pocket costs or could have had temporary or intermittent coverage. In addition, the data did not show whether or not, even with health insurance coverage, individuals had access to care, utilized care, or the quality of care they received. Secondly, the race and citizenship status categories used in this study both lack important nuances. Furthermore, only a limited number of variables could be analyzed simultaneously with the crosstabulation analysis.

Lastly, with only two years used for comparison, it is difficult to determine changes in health insurance coverage trends under different Presidential administrations. In order to better assess the changes under Obama and Trump, I would need to add another year to my study, 2006, which is the third year in the second term of President Bush's administration to use as a baseline. Using this wider time-frame—2006, 2016, and 2019—would provide greater insight into trends in inequality and disparity for Blacks and Whites, citizens, and non-citizens.² Nonetheless, there is some level of inequality as well as disparity in access to healthcare between Blacks and Whites, citizens, and non-citizens. Even though there is no clear indication and or explanation of the underlining causes for this inequality and disparity, I believe that this is a great avenue for future research with the utilization of the variables, time periods and as well as an examination of socio-economic factors of both Blacks and Whites citizens and non-citizens.

Endnotes

- ¹ “For adults, being a non-citizen was associated with a 2.5 percent reduction in Medicaid coverage, an 8.9 percent decrease in job-based insurance coverage, and an 8.5 percent increase in the probability of being uninsured, compared with native citizens. Non-citizen adults were less likely to have a usual source of care than native citizens were. Naturalized citizens' insurance status did not significantly differ from that of native citizens after multivariate controls, but they were more likely to lack a usual source of care.” (Ku and Matani, 2001)
- ² This will be basis of my doctoral dissertation.

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Forced Sterilization of Latinas: An Issue of Reproductive Justice in the United States

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Abstract

Traditional conceptions of reproductive rights are often associated with abortion accessibility, or the binary of the pro-choice and pro-life debate in American political culture. As a result, reproductive rights scholarship predominantly appears to minimally address the issue of sterilization abuse in comparison to more frequent dialogues on abortion rights. This research project sought to subvert this trend by initiating a case study of two periods. First, sterilizations coercively performed on local Latina women at the Los Angeles-University of Southern California (LA-USC) Medical Center in 1970s California. Second, unwanted sterilizations performed on undocumented women an Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) Detention Center in the late 2010s in Irwin County, Georgia. Through a qualitative interview-based methodology, this research garnered perspectives which interpret the impact of unwanted sterilizations and conceptualize how cases of sterilization abuse should be approached in reproductive justice efforts. This project also includes public accounts of sterilization survivors from LA-USC Medical Center and the Irwin County ICE facility as secondary research for this paper. Altogether, five participants were recruited for interviews, all of whom are activists, authors, and researchers who have explored sterilization abuse and reproductive justice in their own work. Subsequently, the primary question of this research was: what political goals and methods should activists utilize in organizing against sterilization abuse, and conceptualizing justice? Based on interview data, it was concluded that reproductive justice campaigns should consider both traditional policy apparatuses and community-based activism, while centering consent and redress as key components for justice.

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Introduction

In the United States, numerous campaigns have aspired to curtail the growth of minority populations. For instance, in 1933, North Carolinian officials established the North Carolina Eugenics Board (NCEB), which initially formed to approve sterilizations of “feebleminded” and “epileptic patients.”¹ However, later in the 1950s, the NCEB began to target black women due to growing “white anxieties” about African Americans exploiting welfare programs in the state.² Similar messaging later arose in California, where eugenicists argued that future Latinx children would be “overly dependent” on welfare.³ The fear of this supposed economic burden eventually translated into several systematic, non-consensual sterilizations throughout institutions in California; including in the city of Los Angeles.

This research developed out of interest for two specific cases of coercive sterilizations. First, sterilizations inflicted on local Mexican and Central American women at the Los Angeles-University of Southern California (LA-USC) Medical Center in the 1970s. Second, sterilizations reportedly performed on detained South and Central American women at an Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) facility in Irwin County Georgia throughout the mid-to late 2010s.

Both cases were selected as they involve women from Latinx communities. In 2022, Latinx people were noted to be the largest non-white population in the U.S.⁴ For this reason, it was theorized that investigating abuses experienced by Latina women would thus provide insight on the state of reproductive autonomy in America through the lens of this key demographic.

Though this research addresses sterilization cases that have specifically affected Latinas, one can firmly assert that sterilization abuse can and should be a concern for those outside of Latinx communities as well. Sterilization campaigns can target other minority populations, such as those with special needs, and other underprotected people. This paper contributes to academic discourse concerned with sterilization abuse and puts forward possible methodologies for those who may organize against coercive sterilizations, specifically by demonstrating how coercive sterilizations are an ongoing form of an oppression, which

necessitate clear notions of justice and multifaceted strategies to pursue political reform.

Methodology

The findings of this project were compiled from one-on-one interviews conducted with authors, activists, and professors familiar with sterilization abuse or the LA-USC and Irwin-ICE cases. All interviews were executed over the video communication platform Zoom for a duration of forty-five minutes to one hour. Through Zoom, recordings were created to save participants' responses for later review and analysis. All primary research began after receiving interview review board (IRB) approval to interview human subjects in April 2021. This project sought out subjects who engaged with reproductive justice work in their careers. This standard was necessary to ensure participants had the experience and knowledge to contribute to dialogues on sterilization abuse and reproductive justice. For recruitment, participants were contacted via e-mail through snowball sampling to access "organic social networks"⁵ of possible interviewees.

Five participants responded to this study: Dr. Alexandra Minna Stern, Dean of Humanities, and Professor of English & History at the University of California, Los Angeles;⁶ Representative Gloria Molina, chair of the California Community Foundation;⁷ Dr. Natalie Lira, Associate Professor of Women & Gender in Global Perspectives, and Gender & Women's Studies at the University of Illinois;⁸ Dr. Grace Howard, Assistant Professor of Justice Studies at San Jose University;⁹ and Dr. Elena Gutierrez, Associate Professor in Gender & Women's Studies, and Latin American & Latino Studies at the University of Illinois, Chicago.¹⁰

Dr. Stern has written about the L.A-USC case in her book *Eugenic Nation*, which details how sterilization campaigns in California were shaped by the 20th-century American eugenics movement.¹¹ Rep. Molina had personal involvement in the L.A-USC case, representing the survivors of the LA-USC hospital through the advocacy group, *Comision Femenil Mexicana Nacional*, prior to her election to the L.A City Council in 1987.¹² Dr. Lira has served as co-director of the Sterilization and Social Justice Lab and wrote about coercive sterilizations in California with her book *Laboratory of Deficiency: Sterilization and Confinement in California, 1910–1950s*.¹³ Dr. Howard similarly has written and engaged in "practical support work" in abortion and reproductive justice efforts¹⁴ and is a Co-Director of the Rutgers University Informed Consent Project. Finally, Dr. Gutierrez is an activist, writer, and principal investigator of the Sterilization Policy Project and has published works

such as *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican origin Women's Reproduction*,¹⁵ which also delves into the LA-USC case.

Discussion

All commentary from interviewees were synthesized into three areas of discussion: *Roots of Injustice*, *Conceptualizing Justice*, and *Political Methodologies*. *Roots of Injustice* examines forms of prejudice which may influence sterilizers to perform coercive sterilizations. Likewise, *Conceptualizing Justice* envisions principles which may be useful in developing mechanisms for justice for those affected by unwanted sterilizations. Finally, *Political Methodologies* delves into political approaches which may be helpful in advocacy against sterilization abuse.

Roots of Injustice

Participants noted primarily how coercive sterilizations can be influenced by various racist ideologies. To begin, Rep. Molina articulated how the sterilizations at LA-USC resulted from "a racist decision" over beliefs that Latinas "were having too many children."¹⁶ Similarly, she asserted that the ICE sterilizations were performed out of "a very racist intent" against the migrant women at the Irwin County facility.¹⁷ That said, it was indicated that unwanted sterilizations are also motivated by a myriad of other discriminatory ideologies, beyond racism. Dr. Lira noted how, "...race, in combination with citizenship status in combination with class, sexuality...shape people's ideas about who deserves the right to parenthood..."¹⁸ Essentially, no one prejudice completely sways influences of who is worthy of reproduction. Rather, sterilization campaigns can integrate multiple views which are discriminatory towards Latinas and other communities deemed unfit to reproduce.

Another point of discussion was the matter of citizenship, or prejudice against undocumented people. In the Irwin-ICE case, the victims were mostly detained women from Central and South America. Dr. Lira observed: "...the sole reason why these women were in these detention centers, is because of their citizenship status."¹⁹ She emphasized how there is "anti-immigrant sentiment" in many detention centers, which makes detained women vulnerable to victimization.²⁰ Biases against undocumented people link to support for securitization, which construes non-citizens as a threat to the U.S. This can foster approval for sterilization campaigns to combat the population growth of the undocumented. Dr. Stern explained, "...if you think of demographic control, states have basically very few mechanisms, one is immigration control. And...the other is controlling reproduction..."²¹ In essence, concerns regarding citizenship and security are control-based ideologies. Through these doctrines, undocumented women are viewed

as a threat who may produce children undesirable for the future of the U.S.

It is thus feasible to conclude that intolerance plays a role in cases of unwanted sterilizations. Based on participants' analyses, sterilizations appear to be weaponized out of prejudice. In the two cases in question, biases would pertain to the victims being Latina and/or undocumented, though intolerance can be directed towards anyone based on factors like race, gender, citizenship status, age, or economic class. Participants' commentary on security rhetoric and citizenship also illustrate how those from migrant communities can be viewed as undesirables unfit to live in U.S. With the Irwin-ICE case, for example, desires to diminish migrant communities potentially contributed to the non-consensual sterilizations in the facility. Fundamentally, coercive sterilizations are a form of reproductive violence, which dehumanizes victims and their rights as medical patients.

The dehumanization of patients in cases of sterilization abuse links to larger problems regarding standards of care in medicine. It can be argued that those who inflict non-consensual sterilizations lack interest in humanely treating patients under their care. This attitude is harmful in the practice of medicine as it dissuades certain communities from seeking out medical treatment due to anxieties about being harmed. Dr. Lira explained, "...fear of sterilization...turns into a fear of medical professionals in general...and the fear of state officials."²² As narratives of violations are shared, survivors and their communities can be dissuaded from requesting medical care and resources. This illustrates how individual cases of non-consensual sterilizations can impact the public health of victims' communities, even long after the procedures occurred.

Conceptualizing Justice

After interviews with participants, it was concluded that two principles may help produce justice for survivors of unwanted sterilizations. First, is the notion of consent. Consent is absent in carceral settings, as, "...it is impossible for a prisoner by virtue of the fact that they are being held by the state to consent to anything."²³ This is relevant to the ICE case, as Dr. Lira conveyed, "...women...in conditions of confinement...are effectively powerless against...doctors, and workers in prisons that kind of make decisions about...their bodies and their forms of treatment..."²⁴ Essentially, carceral environments deny detained people the power to make many decisions about their healthcare and bodies. In both the LA-USC and Irwin-ICE cases, patients' consent was additionally circumvented as several survivors were denied medical information in their native language. This was problematic, as Dr. Howard signified that, "... (consent) needs to be in the language you...

a non-medical professional can understand..."²⁵ Without translations and translators, Spanish-speaking patients were left vulnerable to coercion and were unable to acquire full understanding about the medical care they received.

The second principle which may be beneficial for justice is redress, or amelioration for survivors of unwanted sterilizations. One form of redress is financial compensation. Rep. Molina articulated, though, that money is only valuable to an extent, expressing that, "...reparations is a good step...but you can never correct the damage that was done to these women and their families."²⁶ Dr. Howard mirrored this sentiment, noting that, "...you can't...uncut, a body...you can stitch it back together, but you can't undo the fact that you've cut it."²⁷ Rep. Molina's and Dr. Howard's statements re-emphasize how sterilization is a permanent, invasive procedure. As such, financial compensation may not "fully ameliorate"²⁸ victims, as it is difficult, or even impossible, to quantify trauma. Evidentially, participants also indicated that policymaking could have a role in redress. When asked about the merit of traditional legal apparatuses, Dr. Howard expressed, "...even though we can't trust the law, it is easier when we have the law on our side,"²⁹ affirming the value of policy reform. However, Dr. Guitierrez posited that people should not be "overly dependent" on the legal system, asserting that traditional policy mechanisms are insufficient to achieve equity for "family and human oriented" issues.³⁰ On this point, Dr. Lira articulated that victims should be the ones to determine redress, proposing, "...this is...a question that is best answered by the folks that have experienced this..."³¹ Dr. Lira's proposal suggests that survivors should be granted self-determination to decide what compensation they should receive for reparations, and if amelioration is possible at all.³²

Ultimately, consent and redress can be beneficial for conceptualizing justice because of their potential to provide protections for potential victims of sterilizations abuse and supply amelioration for past survivors of non-consensual sterilizations, respectively. Standards of consent are needed to protect the rights of patients. In the LA-USC and Irwin-ICE cases, many of victims did not speak English. In some instances, they did not realize that they were sterilized until years after the undesired procedure.³³ By further developing and protecting existing consent regulations it is possible to make it more difficult for medical practitioners to execute mass sterilization campaigns. Standards of consent could be a tool for people to empower themselves to make fully informed decisions about their medical care. Rather than maintain unquestioned trust in medical practitioners' judgment, activists should utilize the principle of consent to encourage communities to be more vocal about their medical treatment.

At the same time, this research determined that redress would also be useful for instituting justice. While principles of consent are concerned with preventing future cases of sterilization abuse from occurring, redress is more involved with remedying past abuses. Redress can be achieved via financial compensation, policymaking, and institutional reforms. Though, as Dr. Lira stated, it may be prudent to encourage survivors to facilitate dialogues on redress. This is because it may be equitable for survivors to speak for themselves, rather than delegate decisions regarding their amelioration to others. Overall, redress should enable empowerment for victims of sterilization abuse in addition to compensating their pain.

Political Methodologies

Near the conclusion of each interview, participants identified strategies which may be useful for advocacy against forced sterilizations. First, Dr. Stern asserted that it is essential for activists to maintain universal objectives and to utilize multifaceted methodologies for activism. To be precise, she argued, "...everyone needs to have (reproductive) rights, and they need to be supported ideally by the government and...community organizations...nonprofits and so on."³⁴ Likewise, Rep. Molina called on youths to be more involved in activist efforts. She urged for activists to remain on guard, stating, "We have to be vigilant and watch those...laws and those states and those influencers, those groups that are trying so hard to deny us our rights."³⁵ Rep. Molina additionally noted that even the most established protections can be "rolled back at any time,"³⁶ insinuating that reproductive justice opponents remain a threat in public politics.

In her interview, Dr. Lira called for activists to expand their political goals beyond matters of fertility or "abortion rights and sterilization abuse."³⁷ Dr. Gutierrez concurred, and added that advocates should shift their politics to other matters of daily life, including food accessibility, and "managing health."³⁸ Furthermore, Dr. Gutierrez suggested the merits of "...more on the ground, kind of mobilizing that captures and holds what gets lost in...state-based policy...frameworks."³⁹ This does not mean that it is unproductive for activists to utilize the state. Dr. Howard contended there is value in creating "good laws" in addition to fostering "grassroots activism."⁴⁰ However, she also suggested that "...people talking to one another and sharing their stories...can be so much more powerful than any law."⁴¹ Dr. Howard's statement alludes to narrative storytelling, an alternative approach to politics which documents the experiences of marginalized people.⁴² It is a form of outreach which extends marginalized peoples' experiences to "public memory,"⁴³ spreading awareness of injustice, and survivors' stories.

All the interviewees' responses suggest that activists should expand their political objectives beyond matters of reproductive autonomy. Basically, it may be advisable for activists who are against sterilization abuse to extend their political goals to causes that focus on improving the quality of life for all people. Quality of life refers to the pressing needs of the most vulnerable, including access to economic and social resources, protections of sexual freedom, and other policies supporting the welfare of people and families. It is not a dismissal of the problem of coercive sterilizations. Instead, it relates to a multilayered agenda, one that incorporates a wide range of items related to daily life and health. While advocates can and should combat non-consensual sterilizations, there is no reason to overlook other sources of inequities that affect vulnerable populations in society.

The commentary provided by the respondents also reflects the condition of American politics today. Regarding Rep. Molina's point that political reforms may be rescinded at any time, in the status quo, women in America have already started to observe threats to their reproductive autonomy. In 2022, the Supreme Court of the United States repealed the abortion protections provided by *Roe v. Wade*.^{44,45} The reversal of *Roe* illustrates how reproductive justice opponents remain active and in power in traditional institutions. For this reason, it would be inapt to suggest that activists should exclusively focus on utilizing traditional political arenas. Instead, political organizers should be more mindful of pursuing community outreach and on-the-ground activism. As Dr. Howard suggested, methods such as storytelling could be helpful by spreading accounts forced sterilizations. Storytelling specifically has the benefit of creating awareness of sterilization abuse, helping to ensure that narratives of survivors are not forgotten.

Conclusion

Coerced sterilizations are a form of injustice that has targeted Latinx women and other underprotected people in the U.S. While this research cited sterilizations of Latina women, coercive sterilizations are not only inflicted on Latinas. Rather, they can be performed on people of various identities. As such, it is prudent to suggest that activists should organize towards establishing mechanisms of justice and conceptualizing stronger standards of consent to empower patients' rights in their medical treatment. These actions would also ensure that past and future potential victims of unwanted sterilizations can have access to amelioration. Without mechanisms for consent and redress, coercive sterilizations likely can continue to occur in the future without consequence.

This research has found that advocates concerned with sterilization abuse should consider utilizing multiple

entities to pursue systematic change, including government, private, nonprofit institutions, and local communities. Activism can be local through one-on-one interactions or sharing stories, narratives, and experiences, all of which are critical in cultivating awareness of sterilization abuse. This paper strove to contribute to dialogues of forced sterilization, participated in information sharing, and allocated attention to how sterilization campaigns have continued to occur in the 21st century. In the future, it would be beneficial for more authors to conduct studies on forced sterilizations, both within, and beyond the United States. It is essential to recognize that unwanted sterilizations are a form of oppression that must be stopped for all communities, beyond Latina women. There are many political methods that can be utilized against sterilization abuse. It is essential for advocates to remain committed to ensuring that there are no nuances in who is entitled to humane treatment, justice, and protection from this form of reproductive violence.

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“Passing as Movement”: East-West Ambiguity in Han Suyin’s *A Many-Splendored Thing*

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Abstract

Cold War Hong Kong experienced incredible tumult as a result of it being a critical East-West intersection. Han Suyin’s 1952 film, *A Many-Splendored Thing*, is a microcosm of this complex world, in which the protagonist’s mixed-race identity is the lens through which Hong Kong is navigated. While the narrative follows contemporary Cold War Orientalist trends, it also subverts these to tell a story outside of the typical Western perspective. Though some critics have argued that Han’s subversive use of the Cold War Orientalist romance plot is a demonstration of integrating internationalism, I argue that the narrative refuses unification and instead embraces flexibility and ambiguity of identity.

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The 1955 film, *Love is a Many-Splendored Thing*, is widely remembered for its romance and musical theme—yet its enduring cultural memory comes at the expense of forgetting about its more nuanced source material: Han Suyin’s 1952 semi-autobiographical novel, *A Many-Splendored Thing*. The film adaptation’s fame has overshadowed Han’s text and created a misleading reputation for the story in spite of the superficial similarities between the two works. The adaptation is broadly loyal to the novel’s basic plot, with Jennifer Jones and William Holden starring as the illicit lovers Han Suyin and Mark Elliot. Han, a British-educated, Eurasian doctor, and Mark, a married British correspondent, meet and fall in love in early Cold War Hong Kong. Their interracial affair is met with social backlash and despite their determination to overcome this scorn, the relationship meets a tragic end with Mark’s sudden death while covering the Korean War. The film’s focus on the central romance formulated itself as part of the popular Cold War Orientalist romance trend, which include works such as *The King and I*. As discussed by Christina Klein, these romances helped shape the tumultuous East-West relationships within Cold War Western imagination, using

“the processes of education, participation, and the cultivation of emotions, [to] create a new community that includes Asians and Westerners” (17). To achieve this integrating “global imaginary based on connection,” interracial romances were often employed, with such romances generally taking place in an exotic Asian locale and the central taboo relationship ending tragically (Klein 18). Yet while both Han’s novel and the film adaptation follow this general plot, the film flattens the source material’s intricate, wide-reaching investigation of Cold War Hong Kong. As evident by the reworked title, the film’s fixation on the central affair results in the omission of the original novel’s scrutiny of Cold War East-West intersections, and its ultimate refusal to offer any tidy solutions to these tensions.

The novel, *A Many-Splendored Thing*, extends beyond its core romance to deliberate upon the social and political concerns tied to its setting. Mid-century Hong Kong, at once a small place—a “sea-wet rock” (267)—and a large one—a “Beautiful island of many worlds” (17)—is a contentious crossroads of the East and the West. Under British colonial governance but threatened by Chinese Communism, Hong Kong is both geographically and culturally caught in-between, seemingly trapped in the middle of the chaos of the early Cold War. Its status as part of the East or the West is undecided and uncertain. In this way Hong Kong reflects Han, who, being mixed-race, half-Chinese and half-white, also embodies East-West intersection. Due to her ability to utilize her mixed-race perspective to complicate the simple discourse of the typical East-West narrative, her novel separates itself from other Cold War Orientalist plots. Writing neither from an Orientalist Western viewpoint nor one that is wholly Chinese, Han introduces a differing lens from between the two that captures a multilayered, fluid picture of Cold War Hong Kong and of fluctuating identity.

In part, the novel is unusual in its explicit subversion of Orientalist plot tropes. This comes, notably, in Han being the story’s writer and narrator, resulting in her having full narrative control, and also circumventing any fetishizing Orientalist exaggeration. Instead, as critic Alex Tickell argues, Han “tends to reverse the trope, objectifying and ‘orientalizing’ Mark’s gazed-upon youthful body” (248), formulating him into “the antithesis of the overbearing, Kiplingesque colonial fictional hero” (249). Further complicating Cold War romance tropes, she is not a Hong Kong local, instead staying temporarily, like Mark. Han is also much more Western acclimated than most Cold War heroines and has no need for rescue or white saviorism. And while the typical tragic ending is still observed, it is upended in having the white lover, instead of the typical Asian counterpart, die. According to Tickell, it is the grief from this “highly relevant” wartime death that fuels the narrative’s

creation of a universal “intimacy,” much like Klein’s “global imaginary” (Tickell 249). Through this channeling of grief and the use of trope subversions, Tickell claims that *A Many-Splendored Thing* “is effectively double-coded: rehearsing the inter-ethnic romance tropes of an integrationist Cold War orientalism, while textually ‘embedding’ a more radical internationalist message” (249). To Tickell, the novel transforms the East-West divide into a united whole.

However, Tickell does not greatly consider how Han’s mixed-race identity fits within this “internationalist message,” and he sidesteps the novel’s unstable politics. Acknowledgement of Hong Kong’s East-West intersecting nature is also reduced; he ties its “changeable... precipitous landscapes” to the novel’s “emotional landscape” (Tickell 248). What Tickell overlooks is that Han is already the result of an East-West relationship and spends much of the novel rejecting whiteness, to which she has an unwilling adjacent relationship. Han is not shy in remarking that she has learned “to hate Europeans” (50) and “could not have dreamt of being touched by a foreigner” (51). She is only in Hong Kong because she is looking to return to China (after having studied in Britain) to “do medicine. Not because [she is] a communist, but because [she is] a Chinese” (10). Moreover, Han pointedly depicts the “stratified... immiscible layers” of Hong Kong society throughout her novel, describing it as “divided by hedges of prejudice and hearsay” with little hope of reconciliation (59). The imagery of division, from within both Han and Hong Kong, counters Tickell’s argument that Han “use[s] her own cosmopolitan history of personal relationships to imagine new practices of international solidarity and communication” (247). This ‘international solidarity’ is difficult to locate—a cocktail party with both British and Chinese guests is referred to condescendingly as a “mixed affair” that the host is “So brave” to hold (59). Though the condescension is not Han’s, she agrees with the sentiment, yet makes little attempt to ‘bridge’ the two sides in any large way. Any potential solidarity, except perhaps her short-lived romance with Mark, remains hypothetical.

Instead of the cosmopolitanism that Tickell sees as central to Han’s subversion of Cold War Orientalism, I argue that Han’s narrative follows more closely the form of ambiguity, with this ambiguity being one of fluid, ever-changing identity. Jennifer Ho, in *Racial Ambiguity in Asian American Culture*, describes racial ambiguity as something that “permutat[es] across time and space” and “is inherently unstable and cannot be fixed” (4–5). Though her focus is on Asian American culture, Ho’s conceptualization of ambiguous identity is also applicable to *A Many-Splendored Thing*, as the narrative refuses to maintain consistency in how it perceives Han’s identity. This ambiguity comes through Han’s fluctuations between ‘Chinese’ and

‘Eurasian’; when Mark, during their first meeting, comments, “You can’t be both East and West at the same time. You have to choose between the two.” Han neither agrees or disagrees and “turn[s her] face away, and smile[s],” privately delighting in being “both” (20–21). Other times she asserts, “I am a Chinese” (10), or else she “correct[s]” misidentification of being Chinese to “Eurasian” (76). Specifically, Han takes part in what Ho terms “passing as movement,” in which “the mobile subject, in transit, is elusive” (98). Unlike the constancy of cosmopolitanism or traditional racial passing (as white), “passing as movement” embodies a flexible multiplicity in which different aspects of an individual’s identity become relevant depending on context.

This ambiguous racial movement is often facilitated in the novel by literal movement, in and out of various locations and social circles. Han, walking at dusk to her Chinese friends’ apartment, where she is considered fully Chinese, describes the transition of day to night as a “mobile moment, the fluid passage into another world” (32). Yet it is also a description of her transitional movement between the Western social world, where she had just interacted with Mark, and her destination, the Chinese social world. In another instance, when Han is preparing to visit her hometown, Chungking, in China, Mark describes her as changing with location, stating she will “look at [him] from over there with purely Chinese eyes” instead of the ‘Eurasian eyes’ she has in Hong Kong (89). As with Ho’s “passing as movement,” it is clear that *A Many-Splendored Thing* perceives identity as something possessing a fluidity relative to location.

Yet the fluidity of “passing as movement” is not the only form of racial understanding within the narrative and the novel’s inclusion of the more traditional form of passing—passing as white—underscores the overall instability and limitation of racial conceptualization. Suzanne, a childhood friend of Han’s who is also half-Chinese and half-white, functions as a foil for Han by actively passing as white. She is “[f]rom the back a complete European,” though “there [is] Chinese in her face behind the foreign way of making up and moving her eyes and mouth,” and her eyes are “incongruous with her golden [dyed] hair” (49). Han, often identifying and perceived as fully Chinese, is the visual opposite of Suzanne. The stark division allows the narrative to present mixed-race as an identity caught between two options. Fluidity is reduced, due to Suzanne’s and Han’s differing self-presentations of identity being irreconcilable—neither can fully pass in the ‘opposite’ way unless they begin a new life in a new location, thus demonstrating the limited reach of “passing as movement.” However, that such opposing presentations can occur

alongside one another maintains racial ambiguity, though on a more constrained and nuanced scale.

This perceived duality, between white and Chinese, is demonstrated through Han's rather pessimistic description of mixed-race identity as "schizophrenia," which frames mixed-race identity as split (76). Calling it "awful to be two or more people all the time" in response to Mark's envious comments that she can "become different worlds, different beings," Han clearly views being mixed-race as a disjointed affair (76). Yet Tickell views this exchange as one in which "the disparaging 'colonial' response to Dr. Han's racial hybridity is countered by a striking positive valuation of hybridity... not as a loss or dilution but as an enabling sense of multiplicity" (248). That this response seemingly empowers identity is seen as a "literary theorizing of a form of cultural hybridity and an ethic of affirmative cosmopolitanism" (248), something which underscores the novel's "internationalist message" (249). However, this reading glosses over Han's concluding statement that she "could not understand... [Mark's] wish to be me," and it also ignores her continued description of ambiguous identity as "schizophrenia" later in the novel (Han 77). The use of "schizophrenia" also works against any internationalist or cosmopolitan reading due to its dividing nature—Suzanne stands on the opposite end of Han's understanding of mixed-race as "schizophrenia" and though they may interact, their differing interpretations of mixed-race identity cannot be reconciled within one cohesive whole.

Instead of attempting to harmonize all these "different worlds, different beings" into one body, Han continues to perform Ho's notion of "passing as movement," allowing herself to remain ambiguous and fluid. Though Suzanne demonstrates that passing racially "for what you are not" is a possibility, Han's passing between 'Chinese' and 'Eurasian' more closely resembles the "passing for what you are" that Ho scrutinizes (97). Han never pretends to be something she is not, but because she is both 'Chinese' and 'Eurasian,' she can shift between the two depending on context. However, this continual fluidity proves to be a source of internal conflict; the one occasion in which Han fights the negative implication of her own "schizophrenia" label—to take pride in what Tickell refers to as "an enabling sense of multiplicity"—results in a dismantling of this pride. Attempting to comfort Suzanne, who worries she will be discovered as Eurasian, Han declares "Look at us, and envy us, you poor, one-world people, riveted to your limitations. We are the future of the world" (208). Though critic Melisa Eriko Poulsen states that "[Han's] assertion, with its eugenicist logic and implied superiority, is a discomfiting one," Han's sudden confidence is at odds with her usual denouncement of mixed-race identity (125). Instead, this declaration of "superiority" can be understood as overcorrecting the

racial insecurity awakened in Han by Suzanne's white-passing.

After first reuniting with Suzanne and realizing that she passes for white, Han "strip[s] and look[s] at [her]self in the mirror a long long time. [She is] unhappy for nearly an hour" (53). With the context of her insecurity, Han's self-assuring "Look at us, and envy us" comments now stand opposite of Tickell's "positive valuation of hybridity," and instead show a slip from her usual "passing as movement." While Ho writes that, "Passing as a form of identity predicated on animation allows mixed race Asian[s...] to define themselves without relying on the reflective surface of others' definitions or the solipsism of the mirror," Han's overcorrection demonstrates a hyperawareness of outside perception (99). This "solipsism of the mirror" becomes reality when she scrutinizes herself, as she allows her outward presentation to wholly define her. Attempts to embrace concrete multiplicity, to move beyond those "riveted to [their] limitations," only leads to unhappiness, just as with her being "unhappy for nearly an hour." Thus, it is through the avenue of "passing as movement," with its fluidity of identity, that Han is able to extricate herself from insecurity.

It is also through "passing as movement" that Han can resolve the pessimistic label of "schizophrenia." The divided nature inherent in her "schizophrenia" term had manifested in Han's belief that her "two worlds rushed away from each other" and that she "would choose between Mark and China" (239). Unable to choose both, due to Mark being barred from China, Han lives in a state of "traveling back and forth, back and forth in spirit and body between Hong Kong and China. Between Mark and China" (240). Here, Han identifies Hong Kong as the ambiguous ground, "a little gap... [a] come-and-go rock where [she] might sit... [for] enough time perhaps to find a way out" of choosing (240). It exists as a location in-between—a haven beyond the rigid "schizophrenia" division. Yet with the end of the novel, in which Mark dies suddenly while reporting on the Korean War, Han herself becomes like Hong Kong, mapping herself onto the "small interstice stretched between fixed stars" (240). Both bodies, Han and Hong Kong, are caught within the tense East-West relationship, yet crucially neither are fully trapped in any one position. Han's utilization of "passing as movement" in regards to her identity can be extended to Hong Kong, whose identity is also fluid and dependent on context. Staying in Hong Kong, "the only place where [she] could write this book" (305), Han defies those who view her and Mark's "many-splendored thing... [as] an offense" (304) to memorialize what she had known in her stay. The moment of choosing between the two worlds of East and West never materializes and instead

Han produces her novel, a product of grief and love full of ambiguity.

Though Han transcends the need to choose between an assumed duality, in many ways the novel does not fully conclude. Broadly, there is no resolution for the background politics, as the novel was both written and published while the People's Republic of China was still establishing itself and the Korean War had yet to end. More personal to Han, the ending self-referentially details the beginning of her writing the novel, which both interrupts and prolongs her grieving over Mark. Furthermore, despite Mark's death, Han's next actions remain ambiguous; her return to China seems uncertain, and, in reality, the author Han never does return to her home country. What is left is the novel's title, *A Many-Splendored Thing*, which is also her concluding line. While the film adaptation specifies *Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing*, the novel never pins down what this many-splendored "thing" truly is. It is applicable, certainly, to Mark and Han's romance, and yet the increasingly diverse Hong Kong also seems to fit the description. What the title fully encompasses is the ambiguity contained within the narrative. Nothing is easily made comprehensible, be it the Cold War politics underlying the novel's relationships or the central romance. Though working within the form of a Cold War Orientalist romance, Han does not deliver an "internationalist message" (Tickell 249), but rather presents her inconclusive "wonderful dream" (Han 306) that leaves both her and Hong Kong hanging in suspension. Instead of a singular identity, or one which unites East and West, everything, multi-faceted, glories in shifting, fluid ambiguity.

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Finding a Place for Women of Color: An Examination of Definitions of Inclusion, Neoliberalism, and Their Effects on Women of Color in Higher Education

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Xochitl Ellery Husted is a recent graduate of Pitzer College, who received her Bachelor's degree with honors in Political Studies and Sociology. She is currently attending Stockholm University's Master's Programme in Sociology, a two-year program in which she is projected to graduate in the spring of 2024. Xochitl's research interests include intersectionality, meaning-making, boundary work, and inclusion. For her master's thesis, she plans to conduct research on the absence of racial categories within the dominant Swedish discourse and the ways in which this affects the identity construction of second-generation immigrants in Sweden. Following her master's programme, she hopes to work within Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion programs.

Abstract

This ethnographic study examined the ways in which definitions of inclusion differ among classroom actors, within discussion-based classrooms, at Cactus College—a predominately white, small, private, liberal arts college in Southern California. The purpose of this analysis was to determine how variations among definitions of inclusion affect the experiences of women of color in higher education. Critical analysis of inclusion is necessary because an assumption that inclusion has been achieved, within any given space which claims to prioritize inclusion, ignores the possible exclusion occurring within that same space. It was found that all definitions of inclusion were embedded with tenets of democracy, conceived as a way of life. Dominant democratic values found within definitions of inclusion included: acknowledgement, rhetoric, participation, engagement, community, belonging, and understanding. However, women of color's definitions of inclusion contained key differences, specifically in relation to the democratic value of acknowledgement, that were not raised by any other demographic of respondents. These differences among definitions of inclusion led to feelings of exclusion from course discussions, discomfort, and fear of being perceived stereotypically among women of color. This research highlights that women of color were attune to the importance of distinct, democratic practices that further inclusion because of the ways in which their unique positionalities affected their experiences both in the classroom and on campus.

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In this current historical moment, in which a heightened awareness of different identities exists, many universities and colleges across the United States have adopted the language of diversity, equity, and inclusion. It is now common to see colleges advertise themselves as inclusive institutions who strive to incorporate many identities and backgrounds into campus culture. One college in particular, Cactus College, is known for the emphasis that it places on social justice and inclusion within its core values and curriculum. Cactus is a predominately white, small, private, liberal arts college in Southern California and enrolls less than 5,000 students a year. The college's educational objectives include intercultural understanding, social justice and responsibility, and interdisciplinary learning. These values are intended to be the reference point for all institutional operations and help to build the image of diversity and inclusion that the college wishes to uphold. However, an assumption that inclusion, as a principle and a practice, is present within an institutional setting that claims to be inclusive ignores possible instances of exclusion. For this reason, it is necessary to critically question the ways in which inclusion is understood by university actors within this college setting and how this understanding of inclusion affects the experiences of women of color within the Cactus community in particular.

Women of color's experiences with inclusion in the academy warrant investigation because of their unique positionalities. This demographic sits at the intersection of a gendered and racialized identity, exposing them to both patriarchal and racist structures in their everyday lives. It is important to emphasize that women of color are not a monolith and that their experiences are diverse because of the distinct power dynamics that affect specific racial groups in particular ways. At the same time, it is also important to recognize that, because women of color share a position at an intersection of identities, their experiences may contain similarities.

Inclusion, as discussed in this paper, does not have a singular, operational definition. Instead, as established by this study's findings, definitions of inclusion are distinct, specific to individuals, and reflective of an individual's positionalities and experiences. Although definitions of inclusion differ, they may be oriented around a singular ideology. As found in this study, definitions of inclusion largely reflect, and emulate, key tenets of democracy. However, due to the small scale of the study, this research only speaks to a characterization of inclusion specific to respondents, of various demographics, from Cactus College.

This study utilized two main research questions: How do definitions of inclusion differ among classroom actors within discussion-based classrooms? How do these

various definitions affect the experiences of women of color at Cactus College? The researcher conducted an examination of differences among definitions of inclusion, provided by university actors within discussion-based classroom spaces, and presents an analysis of the ways in which university actors understood their role in establishing an inclusive classroom to answer these questions. While all definitions of inclusion emulated tenets of democracy, as an ideology, women of color's definitions of inclusion contained key differences that were not raised by any other demographic of respondents and led to feelings of exclusion within the classroom and on campus in general. Specifically, this paper focuses on the variations among respondent descriptions of the democratic value of acknowledgement present within the definitions of inclusion provided. Overall, this research highlights the importance of collaboration with individuals of diverse positionalities, specifically women of color, in order to cultivate an inclusive culture that considers the differences among definitions of inclusion.

Literature Review

Many scholars note the influence of public attitudes on the trajectory of institutions of higher education (Ortega, 1966; Zeigler and Peak, 1970). Ortega (1966) illuminates, "The school, when it is truly a functional organ of the nation, depends far more on the atmosphere of national culture in which it is immersed than it does on the pedagogical atmosphere created artificially within it" (pg. 97). Therefore, public opinion may impact the organizing practices of institutions of higher education, when these institutions wish to remain "truly functional" (Ortega, 1966). This influence can be attributed to the privatization of higher education within a competitive, globalized, neoliberal market¹ which motivates educational institutions to view both prospective and attending students as "consumers" (Saunders, 2007; Morrissey 2015). As argued by Saunders (2007), "Education is increasingly dominated by individualistic goals and extrinsic benefits in which students are consumers of an educational product" (pg. 4). In order to attract consumers, educational institutions need to foster an "institutional identity" that is appealing to these consumers (Hartley and Morphew, 2008). Fostering an "institutional identity" includes the commodification of race and other social categories of difference, as well as diversity, equity, and inclusion rhetoric, for the purposes of attracting capital gains from white demographics who view diversity as functional (Berrey, 2011; Lewis and Shah, 2021) because of the popularization of identity politics within the public sphere.

As a result, diversification policies are not always written with the purpose of being implemented and may, instead, function as an alternative for action (Ahmed, 2012). Establishing the existence of diversity and inclusion policies

allows an institution to perform racial equality and to maintain a public appearance because the policy, not the actions of the institution, becomes the metric for diversity and inclusion (Ahmed, 2012). Diversity, equity, and inclusion policies that are centered around whiteness, utilized for profit, or that exist as an alternative for action have ramifications for women of color within higher education when these policies allow colleges and universities to turn a blind eye to possible exclusion taking place on campus. The popularized push for inclusion motivated the main objectives of this study.

This study sought to fill gaps in the scholarship on inclusion. Research has focused on the barriers to inclusion in the academy that women of color face (Michelson and Monforti, 2022; Turner, 2020); the burden placed on women of color to navigate the racial and gendered structures of the academy when included (Scott and Elliot, 2019; Ward, 2022); and ways to cultivate inclusive settings for women of color in the academy (Jackson, 2019; Lin and Kenette, 2022). However, research on: ideologies that motivate the methods and practice of inclusion; support for a singular definition of inclusion; intrapersonal understandings of inclusion; and the effects of inclusion policies or practices on female students of color in higher education, is lacking. This research seeks to contribute to a larger conversation by characterizing inclusion and its effects on women of color in higher education.

Methodology

Utilizing a mix of qualitative methods, an ethnographic study was conducted to answer the driving questions of this research. Methods included semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with 12 students and professors as well as classroom observations in 5 discussion-based courses at Cactus College. Of the 12 respondents interviewed, 8 were students and 4 were professors. Of the eight student respondents, two identified as women of color, both with Black lineage, five identified as white males, and one identified as a white female. Of the four professor respondents, one identified as a woman of color, one identified as a white male, and two identified as white women. Overall, methodologies complied with the Institutional Review Board guidelines established prior to the conduction of this study.²

The observed discussion-based courses ranged from a variety of academic departments, including the humanities, social sciences, and STEM fields. Participant interviews allowed the researcher to become aware of the various definitions of inclusion present at Cactus College and the effects of these definitions on the women of color who participated in this study. Classroom observations allowed the researcher to determine if the structures of the observed

courses aligned with definitions of inclusion provided by students and professors.

The COVID-19 pandemic placed limitations on data collection, which occurred between January 2021 and March 2022, that may have affected the nature of the data. Specifically, the small sample of respondents drawn from only one research site restricts these findings to a depiction of inclusion particular to the context of a small, liberal arts college in Southern California. Additionally, interviews and classroom observations either took place via Zoom or in person, depending on the COVID safety measures in effect and respondent comfortability. Observations conducted via Zoom affected the manner in which classroom dynamics could be observed, due to the nature of the platform, limiting the classroom observations conducted. Despite these limitations, this study produced important and valid findings that warrant analysis.

Discussion

The findings of this study indicate that all definitions of inclusion provided were embedded with, and oriented towards, notions of democracy—not as an organizing structure for governmental or administrative processes but conceived as a way of life. The democratic values embedded within definitions of inclusion included: acknowledgement and rhetoric (Young, 2000); participation and engagement (Pateman, 1970); and community, belonging, and understanding (Mouffe, 1992).³ While all definitions of inclusion emulated tenets of democracy, as an ideology, definitions of inclusion were specific to individuals. Differences among definitions were present within the emphasis placed on democratic values, in the sense that some participants heavily emphasized acknowledgement and community while others stressed participation and understanding and the characterization of values. Regardless, these values existed within a reciprocal relationship, often reinforcing or overlapping with one another, and suggested that respondents aspired to cultivate a democratic community realized through democratic commitments and ways of relating to each other, in the classroom and on campus in general. However, women of color's definitions of inclusion contained key differences, absent from the definitions provided by any other demographic of respondents, specifically in relation to the democratic value of acknowledgement. The democratic value of acknowledgement will thus be the main focus of this paper.⁴

Acknowledgement

Acknowledgement, as described by political theorist Iris Marion Young (2000), is a linguistic tool that can further inclusive democratic deliberation between disagreeing or differently situated individuals. On a deeper level,

acknowledgement allows for the recognition of, “Relations of discursive equality and mutual respect among the parties to discussion, as well as to establish trust and forge connection based on the previous relationships among the parties” (Young, 2000, pg. 70). Examples of acknowledgement used in the classroom, by both students and professors, included: the recognition of one's own identity; the recognition of the identities of others in the space; the crediting of student contributions to discussion; or the provision of credit to an individual or community who had contributed to an understanding of concepts covered in class. Uses of acknowledgement promoted the establishment of discursive equality (Young, 2000) in the classroom because these practices helped to foster respect among individuals of different positionalities and exhibited deference to the contributions of students within the classroom and individuals or communities outside of the classroom.

In relation to the acknowledgement of identity, a white, male, student respondent explained in an interview, “There's also the white guy thing. So, I just feel I should, in general, put a limit on talking because I may naturally be inclined to take up more space than my peers in the classroom, and so just a thing to be thinking of.” In this case, this student recognized how his identity might hinder the inclusion of others in conversation, as white voices are often prioritized in academic spaces and discussions (Harwood, 2015; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008). This was not necessarily a form of public acknowledgement, but instead a form of acknowledgement that occurred internally. Respondents referred to the practice he employed, of limiting commentary due to an awareness of identity, as “making space” and many indicated that they utilized this practice. This practice exhibited the importance of acknowledgement, in relation to the inclusion of others, specifically within the context of discussion. Overall, definitions and practices of inclusion that stressed acknowledgement demonstrated a desire to construct an inclusive, deliberative, democratic classroom that reflects political equality and promotes justice (Young, 2000).

Differences in Conceptions of Acknowledgement

Women of color, however, framed acknowledgement differently and were the only demographic to stress the need for acknowledgement of narrative and wrongdoing when cultivating inclusion. Narrative is defined by Young (2000) as a tool to “foster understanding among members of a polity with very different experience or assumptions about what is important” (pg. 71). Female student respondents of color considered narrative important because they viewed narrative as the provision of social knowledge intended to broaden thought (Young, 2000). In their eyes, narrative promoted reflection on the ways in which identity shapes individual's realities, allowing for an understanding to

develop between themselves and those in the classroom often positioned differently, due to the nature of the predominately white institution studied.

Both female student respondents of color expressed that at Cactus College they had been made to feel as though their personal experiences were not considered academically relevant to discussions in class. In the event that female student respondents of color did offer narratives, they often went unacknowledged by peers or professors, leading to the belief that others perceived these narratives as invalid contributions to discussion. Unacknowledged race- or gender-related narratives provided by female student respondents of color led to feelings of discomfort in the classroom, a fear of being perceived stereotypically, and a withdrawal from traditional forms of participation, effectively excluding these respondents from the classroom.

The lack of acknowledgement of narratives may also have been a symptom of the inclusive practice of “making space” employed by white student respondents. Although female student respondents of color considered this practice integral to inclusion, they advocated for the employment of “making space” to occur in tandem with the acknowledgement of narratives. In this case, recognition of the narratives provided was crucial to fostering an inclusive classroom space for women of color.

Additionally, women of color emphasized the importance of the acknowledgment of wrongdoing, conceived as the recognition of an offense. This type of acknowledgement required personal reflection and accountability, distinguishing it from the acknowledgement of identity or credit often suggested by white respondents. Women of color wished for the acknowledgement of wrongdoing on both an individual and an institutional level and viewed it as a necessary inclusive practice because it indicated a willingness to change exclusionary behavior and allowed for the establishment, or reestablishment, of trust (Young, 2000) between women of color and those acknowledging wrongdoing.

A female professor respondent of color explained the importance of institutional acknowledgement of wrongdoing in an interview. The professor wished for Cactus College to re-establish trust with her by acknowledging the harms that they had committed against her and other female professors of color who had endured exclusion within this institutional setting. Because this accountability had not yet been taken on behalf of the college, this professor indicated that she did not feel that the adoption of inclusive rhetoric by the college, or the change of inclusive policies, exhibited a push for inclusion: “I’m not going to feel like Cactus College really has included me just because now we’ve changed our inclusion policies or something.” Inclusion, in

her eyes, was dependent on the acknowledgement of the college’s history of exclusion against women of color.

Overall, this study found differences in definitions of inclusion, highlighting that identity plays a role in the ways inclusion is conceived by individuals. The differences present within definitions showed that women of color were attune to the importance of distinct, democratic ways of relating to one another because of the ways in which their unique positionalities affected their experiences in the classroom and on campus.

Conclusion

Though all respondents aspired to build inclusive democratic classroom communities, realized through democratic ways of relating to one another, women of color still experienced feelings of exclusion, indicating a failure to construct these spaces. This may be due to the differences within definitions of inclusion or the presence of neoliberalism at Cactus College (Husted, 2022).⁵ Regardless, this research highlights that inclusion cannot be assumed to be achieved after the implementation of a policy, an enshrinement of inclusion within a mission statement or institutional values, or a common desire to realize inclusion within a given space or community, because of the ways in which definitions of inclusion are specific to individuals.

Due to the variances among definitions of inclusion, institutions hoping to maintain an inclusive culture on campus, or in the classroom, must invest time into constructing mechanisms of collaboration through which to ensure the realization of inclusion. As one female student respondent of color noted, “With racism or sexism or anything like that, you are not innocent until proven guilty, because being an ally requires active work and if you’re not actively working and actively showing that you’re an ally, then you’re not one.” Therefore, inclusion requires active and attentive oversight by individuals who wish to support those who feel excluded, dialogue between individuals of diverse positionalities, and personal reflection on the true meaning of inclusion on behalf of all university actors to be achieved within the classroom space and on campus in general.

Respondents suggested practices that could further inclusion, including: student evaluations, institutional mediation of the acknowledgement of wrongdoing on the institution’s behalf, racial training on overt and covert racist structures, and the prioritization of hiring women of color within faculty and administrative positions. The differences present within women of color’s definitions of inclusion can be utilized as prescriptions for inclusivity as well.

Further research is needed within other university and college settings to determine whether definitions of

inclusion stem from other ideological backings; if women of color in alternative contexts are also experiencing exclusion despite the adoption of inclusive rhetoric and policies; and how definitions may be affected by varying institutional environments. If given the opportunity, this study would be conducted on a larger scale with the addition of interviews of administrative faculty members and more research sites. Moving forward, it is imperative for scholars to continue to critically question the effects of spaces, programs, or policies that claim to prioritize diversity, equity, and inclusion on marginalized groups and, more specifically, women of color.

Endnotes

- ¹ Neoliberalism is defined as a political economic ideology that promotes deregulation of the market, privatization of public goods and utilities, and economic influence in all aspects of social life.
- ² Due to IRB restrictions, I have included as much information about the institution studied as possible, while remaining attentive to the guidelines established.
- ³ The democratic values of participation and engagement were derived from Carol Pateman's (1970) theory of a participatory democracy. Though, I did not utilize a definition of these terms provided by Pateman (1970), in the same manner in which Young's (2000) definitions of acknowledgement and rhetoric were utilized.
- ⁴ The democratic values of community, belonging, and understanding were derived from Chantal Mouffe's (1992) theory of citizenship. Though I did not utilize a definition of these terms provided by Mouffe (1992), in the same manner in which Young's (2000) definitions of acknowledgement and rhetoric were utilized.
- ⁵ Discussion regarding the democratic values of rhetoric, participation, engagement, community, belonging, and understanding can be found within the larger work from which this piece originated: Husted, 2022.
- ⁶ This article is part of a larger work, which speculates that the presence of neoliberalism at Cactus College worked to deconstruct the democratic values respondents hoped to manifest within the classroom space (Husted, 2022). For literature regarding the effects of neoliberalism on democracy, see Brown, 2003; Giroux, 2003; Mohanty, 2013.

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Death, Drugs, and Martial Law: Fascism in Rodrigo Duterte's Philippines

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Abstract

The election of Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos Jr. to the Philippine presidency in May 2022 represents a continuation and acceleration toward the martial law-era illiberal policies advanced during the tenure of the preceding president Rodrigo Duterte. Through a coordinated campaign of historical whitewashing and spreading misinformation in school curricula, the joint efforts of the Duterte and Marcos families have succeeded in concealing the human rights abuses and atrocities committed during the rule of Marcos Sr. in the late twentieth century. In this essay, I will explore the concept of fascism and support the validity of accusations of fascism toward the previous Duterte regime in the Philippines through a discussion of recent historical events. The Philippine turn toward illiberal and fascist leadership follows a global trend of democratic backsliding that relies on the use and abuse of technology to spread “fake news” and manipulate public opinion using computer-generated, automated social media profiles.

Acknowledgements

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Following the election of Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos Jr. in May 2022, the domestic and overseas Filipino community faced the sobering realization that the authoritarian regime of President Rodrigo Duterte was not merely a historical aberration, but instead a shift in the political culture of the Philippines marked by skepticism of democracy under the constant threat of martial law. During his term from June 2016 to 2022, President Duterte declared a “War on Drugs,” leading to the extrajudicial killings of many citizens by soldiers and police officers in the Philippines. This War on Drugs involved the declaration of martial law in the province of Mindanao in May 2017, which resulted in the deaths of over 12,000 Filipinos according to Human Rights Watch (Human Rights Watch 2017). Bongbong Marcos has pledged to maintain the suspension of the International Criminal Court's investigation into Duterte's extrajudicial killings, which will absolve Duterte from responsibility for the violent actions of his presidency. Many contemporary Philippine scholars, such as Joy Sales and Carmina Untalan, have not hesitated to label the Duterte regime ‘fascist,’ which invites a discussion of the nature of modern fascism and its applicability to the events of Duterte's regime. In this essay, I will argue based on Umberto Eco's “Ur-Fascism” and Shane Burley's “Twenty-Five Theses on Fascism” that the allegations of fascism against the Duterte regime are substantiated by a modern conceptual understanding of fascism as a social media-driven phenomenon rallying behind a powerful leader against internal enemies. The value of recognizing contemporary fascism as fascism is the ability to recognize and combat the effects of deadly, repressive regimes without trivializing the need for action.

First, it is important to distinguish between the historical phenomenon of 20th century fascism and contemporary fascism, as my position does not aim to fully equate the two. As Geoff Mann argues, “it is not that the defining features of mid-20th century fascism are not fascist, but rather that fascism can be far more boring and indeterminate [...] it can easily become part of the everyday rhythms of history” (Mann). The ability to acknowledge the events of contemporary fascist regimes does not depend on a rigid or “precise” definition of fascism, but rather an observation of the regime's effects and the characteristics held to be valuable by its supporters. As a result, I follow the example of Mann by eschewing a comprehensive definition of fascism in favor of acknowledging several signs or features that point us towards the observation that the Duterte regime was indeed fascist. Mann is supported in this belief by Umberto Eco, a survivor of Mussolini's regime, who put forth the idea of “Ur-Fascism” or “Eternal Fascism” as a list of features characterizing a starting point for the formation of a fascist movement. The major points of attention for this essay will be Eco's emphasis on popular elitism, the

appeal to social frustration, and the sexual machismo of the fascist leader (Eco 5–6). Eco does not present an exhaustive list of all the elements necessarily present to label a phenomenon as fascist; instead, Eco draws attention to phenomena capable of planting the seed for a fascist movement to grow organically into a repressive and hostile regime.

While there are commonalities between 20th century fascism and contemporary fascism, merely focusing on historical resemblance can be detrimental to our goal of understanding contemporary fascism and its applicability to the case of Duterte's regime. Turning to "Twenty-Five Theses on Fascism," Burley rejects the scholarly focus on antiquated studies that lead theorists to search for conditions, players, and tactics no longer present, which obscures the distinct features of contemporary fascism in scholarly debates (Burley). Paralleling Mann and Eco, Burley views fascism as a fuzzy, indefinite concept which has different instantiations based on temporality and location. Rather than presenting conditions of possibility for fascism, however, Burley focuses on important features of contemporary fascism to call attention to modern movements like the American Alt-Right and France's National Front. In response to Robert Paxton's "Five Stages of Fascism," Burley argues the conditions and movements are fundamentally different now from what they were like before and during the Second World War in Europe (Burley). Though Burley disagrees with the relevancy of Paxton's writings, I maintain that the "mobilizing passions" described in Paxton's *The Anatomy of Fascism* can still be seen in contemporary fascist movements. For instance, modern fascist leaders like Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro and America's Donald Trump embody Paxton's concept of "the national chief who alone is capable of incarnating the group's destiny" and "the superiority of the leader's instincts over abstract and universal reason" (Paxton 41). In addition, both the approval and endorsement of violence and the belief that a state is in decline due to being victimized by internal and external enemies are foundational to a contemporary understanding of fascist movements. While we do see resemblance between contemporary and historical fascist movements, the conditions of the modern world necessitate different tactics from contemporary fascists unseen in the most visible historical examples.

Concluding my exploration of contemporary fascism's characteristics, social media and mass politics have entirely changed the way a regime can take power through success in the court of public opinion. A vital part of contemporary fascism is the use of information, often misinformation, to rally support behind controversial causes such as denial of a country's history or to instill belief in fringe theories like white genocide. In historical times, the process of controlling the spread of information was a matter of

censoring the press; however, modern access to information being democratized through the Internet invites a new strategy of "spamming" or indiscriminately posting a message repeatedly through as many channels as possible, along with other tactics employed to abuse the algorithms of social media websites. This can be done using a large community of dedicated commentors or automated message bots that do not correspond to actual Internet users but can imitate the appearance and behavior of a real Internet user. The use and abuse of Internet algorithms by fascist leaders, their followers, and bot accounts have effectively mobilized popularity to bring legitimacy to candidates who depart from traditional party politics toward more radical stances. Bringing my observations about the use of social media and misinformation together with the less stringent definitions of fascism I explored earlier, we are left with an understanding of fascism that combines characteristics of historical fascism with modern methods of political messaging and will-formation through social media and Internet forums. Particularly in the Philippines, a nation which ranks highest globally in social media usage on a yearly basis (Statista), it is relevant to examine how the Duterte regime embodies contemporary fascism at its core—using social media to drum up support for Duterte's extrajudicial use of lethal force.

An important aspect of contemporary fascism is the ability to punish speech, whether it is punishing those who engage in protest or those who try to publicize the wrongdoings of the regime. In Anna Romina Guevarra and Maya Arcilla's article "The Source of Actual Terror: The Philippine Macho-Fascist Duterte," the authors highlight repressive and misogynistic cases of state sanctioned violence following the passing of the Anti-Terrorism Law (ATL) by Duterte in 2020. The ATL expanded the definition of terrorism to include types of behaviors associated with free speech and protest, which are typically protected by the Philippine Constitution's Bill of Rights (Guevarra and Arcilla 490). Returning to Eco's concept of the sexual machismo of the fascist leader, Duterte has been notorious for publicly making rape jokes and condoning sexual violence toward women. The authors illustrate multiple examples of Philippine police officers arresting and executing protestors and civilians following a Pride rally speaking against the ATL, particularly noting the execution of sixteen-year-old Ryan Hubilla for documenting victims' testimony of torture along with the public execution of fifteen-year-old Fabel Pineda for reporting sexual assault committed by police officers (Guevarra and Arcilla 490). The Duterte regime victimizes journalists and takes up arms against those agitating for basic human rights for women, who are subject to systemic state violence and sexual assault, particularly during its martial law period in Mindanao.

The 2017 declaration of martial law in Mindanao as part of Duterte's "War on Drugs" embodies the fascist effort by the Duterte regime to commit acts of violence against all forms of social outcasts and dissenters. There is a lamentable history of martial law in the Philippines, as the declaration of martial law under Ferdinand Marcos's regime (1965–1986) infamously led to the unfettered jailing and torture of Filipinos who were seen as "communist" threats to the Marcos regime, particularly teachers and the political enemies of Marcos. This fourteen-year period of martial law in the Philippines has been whitewashed by contemporary history books, which is a major source of protest for Philippine activists and those who were victimized by Marcos' martial law period. One activist group, Campaign Against the Return of the Marcoses and Martial Law (CARMMA), has a declared goal "to educate the millennials about the horrors brought by martial law and its negative implications to the Filipino people[...] it is their right to learn about the truth and appreciate the importance of history" (Sales 304). The control of information is crucial to the dominance of a fascist regime, and this is no different in the case of Duterte, who also utilized martial law to wage his War on Drugs and famously allowed for the controversial burial of Ferdinand Marcos in the Heroes' Cemetery in Manila, Philippines. The declaration of martial law in Mindanao, like the ATL, also victimized journalists, who are essential to a functional, healthy democracy. To illustrate the importance of journalism, Eco recalls "Until [seeing a newspaper signed by five or six political parties], I had believed that there was a single party in every country and that in Italy it was the Partito Nazionale Fascista" (Eco 6). While Duterte did not take direct action to eliminate all other political parties, his infamous social media "troll army" has played a crucial role in attracting popular support for, and rewriting history on behalf of, Duterte and his partisans.

Along with the victimization of marginalized people through state-sponsored violence, the Duterte regime has not relented in its attack on democratic legitimacy through social media-driven misinformation campaigns. As Burley notes, "fascism's ability to adapt to changes in technology, social systems, values, ethics, and the politics and practices of the Left is profound" (Burley). Duterte, positioning himself as a candidate on the left with anti-elitist sympathies, effectively did nothing to curb the power of Philippine oligarchs and even allied himself with Bongbong Marcos who is heir to the Philippines' most infamous political dynasty. According to Untalan, "[social media in the Philippines] grew malevolent, antidemocratic tentacles that pitted the people against the people and distracted the public from actual policy priorities" (Untalan 170). The social media focus of the Duterte regime enabled it to galvanize popular support for the extrajudicial killings of those allegedly

involved in drug use or distribution, which allows for witch hunts that can effectively repress all opponents of the current regime. Furthermore, the Philippine government has been implicated in spending \$200,000 to recruit online trolls to support the regime according to a preliminary study by Bradshaw and Howard (Untalan 172). This manipulation of public support in Duterte's favor is merely one way the Duterte regime, like the Alt-Right in the United States, takes advantage of modern social media to attract support for violent and exclusionary fascist rhetoric.

One element of Duterte's regime which challenges its fascist nature is the usage of the derogatory term "bobotante" as a way of re-positioning Duterte's followers as more intelligent than the poor, uneducated citizens who are supposedly blameworthy for the country's woes. Bobotante, a portmanteau of the Tagalog word "bobo" (fool) and the word "botante" (voters), was coined during Filipino political discourse on social media and is meant to justify popular elitism for Philippine voters who believe themselves properly educated on issues (Untalan 170–71). One segment of the discourse that buys into the threat of the bobotante is the Duterte Diehard Supporters (DDS), who take their name from Duterte's "Davao Death Squads" which committed acts of extrajudicial killing during Duterte's cumulative twenty-two years as mayor of Davao City between 1988 and 2016. DDS blogs like "Thinking Pinoy" and "We are Collective" exemplify the notion held by Duterte's supporters that they are not merely more in touch with their "common sense" but are simply more rational or intelligent than other voters (Untalan 171). The concept of the "rational" fascist contradicts traditional understandings of fascism as a "cult of action for action's sake" (Eco 5). While this is true, the role of the DDS as purveyors of fake news on social media challenges the claim that they are meaningfully more educated or inherently more intelligent than other voters. Instead, the rhetoric and behavior of Duterte Diehard Supporters indicates they have bought into a form of conspiratorial thinking that places their narrative of the Philippine War on Drugs above concerns of human rights and democratic legitimacy. The Duterte regime, like any fascist regime, relies on the presence of internal enemies to advance a culture of necessary death. Even if the enemies are a fabrication authored by the people themselves, the Duterte regime has sanctioned a politically expedient assault on the so-called bobotante.

Despite its human rights violations, the Duterte regime has been unquestionably popular as a ruling power in the Philippines, especially among Philippine citizens. We must be careful as to not draw a false equivalence between a regime possessing, in our minds, a negative fascist character and the idea that the actions of the regime would not be popular or inspire nationalism among its subjects. Given

that Duterte's platform relied strongly on responding to a perceived increase in drug-related crime and violence in the Philippines, his popularity stems from the view that he is qualified and experienced in taking swift action against perpetrators of drug crimes. Despite the costs of Duterte's drug war including extrajudicial killings performed by police and private citizens, many citizens have shown through their votes that they believe that the ends justify the means regarding the reduction of drug proliferation in the Philippines. From an outsider's perspective, Duterte has enabled gruesome human rights violations in his country; however, a Philippine citizen may not interpret this as a threat to their safety, as the victims are otherized drug dealers and drug users whose actions are viewed as detrimental to society. As a result, certain lives become expendable in service of a "cleaner" or "safer" nation. We must remember, however, that even if citizens accept my premises and acknowledge the latent fascism of the regime, the regime will remain popular if citizens are made to believe that they are the beneficiaries of its actions.

The Duterte regime strongly exhibits characteristics of modern-day fascism, centered on a leader who has historically situated himself as an enemy of women's rights and acted as a demagogue who will sacrifice the lives of citizens to position himself as a hero and savior. Duterte's "War on Drugs" has been a blatant violation of human rights from his 2017 declaration of martial law in Mindanao to the passage of the ATL during the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic. Many features of the Duterte regime conform to the well-informed descriptions of fascism offered by Burley, Eco, and Mann. Although I have argued the fascism of the 20th century and contemporary fascism should not be equated, there are salient findings in the writings of Paxton and his contemporaries that can be compared to Duterte's public persona and the way he has governed the Philippines as an authoritarian police state. In my estimation, the greatest argument for Duterte as a fascist leader is in his persecution of enemies within the state, whether it is the poor, the bobotante, or any citizen engaging in journalistic practices that may publicize more truths about the harsh realities of the Philippines under Duterte's regime. Philippine theorists have been justified in labeling Duterte a fascist, although scholars may never be able to close the book on the ongoing debate regarding the ability to rigidly define fascism. With any luck, the debate will be cast aside in favor of recognizing the incipient and ongoing emergencies caused by the empowerment of populist demagogues throughout the world. Ultimately, a crisis is not defined by our ability to define it, but instead by our ability to identify its existence and act in turn.

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“Y’all Don’t Wanna Hear Me, You Just Wanna Dance”: An Analysis of Multimodality and the Commodification of Black Art Through Outkast’s “Hey Ya!” (2003)

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Abstract

Andre “Andre 3000” Benjamin and Antwan “Big Boi” Patton have influenced Black American popular culture and American popular music with their records released under the music name Outkast. Building upon established theoretical frameworks within musicology, such as multimodality, this paper considers how Outkast’s 2003 single “Hey Ya!” utilizes lyrical and compositional stylings to express the song’s themes. Through examining hip-hop studies as a school of thought and discussing the historical subjugation of Black American people, this paper also analyzes how “Hey Ya!” (2003) comments on the commodification of Blackness and Black culture.

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I must also thank my amazing family for their love and guidance throughout my personal and academic life. Thank you all for always believing in me and cheering me on. Lastly, I would like to thank my Lovely friends, my MMUF cohort, and anyone else who let me riff on my research interests with them.

Hip-hop studies is a relatively young discipline within musicology scholarship. Like many fields of study that center Black-American art forms, the disparities between the accessibility of “Black” and “white” musicological research are apparent to anyone narrowly familiar with academic musicology discourse. While the field of hip-hop studies has begun to receive more space and respect in the academy in recent years, many intellectuals have pushed back against this progress due to the anti-Black attitudes conflated with musical genres like rap and hip-hop in music criticism; attitudes which have been associated with the genres since shortly after their inception. Pioneers of hip-hop studies include University of Pennsylvania professor Michael Eric Dyson and University of Southern California

professor Todd Boyd. Their work has been at the forefront of the academic inquiry of hip-hop studies for over two decades. However, scholars such as Harvard University historian Martin Kilson believe that the field of hip-hop studies and its subsequent work are inconsequential, stating in 2003 that “there’s nothing whatever that’s seriously radical or progressive about hip-hop ideas or values. It is sad that there are university academics among us like Michael Dyson and Todd Boyd... who fail to recognize the political emptiness of most hip-hop expression” (Kilson). Ideas such as these continue to exist in the present day. Columbia University’s John McWhorter, for example, in a 2022 editorial published in the *City Journal* entitled “How Hip-Hop Holds Blacks Back,” details his experience of having lunch at a Harlem KFC, which had unruly young Black male patrons. McWhorter wrote, “What struck me most, though, was how fully the boys’ music—hard-edged rap, preaching bone-deep dislike of authority—provided them with a continuing soundtrack to their anti-social behavior... Rap was the running decoration in their conversation” (McWhorter). Assuming that McWhorter would not have had the same response if the boys were listening to “The Times They Are A-Changin’” by Bob Dylan or “Another Brick in The Wall” by Pink Floyd, classic rock songs written by white performers, which also explicitly writes against authority and oppressive power structures, is simply conjecture. It is important, however, to question if McWhorter’s biases against rap influenced his anti-Black reactions toward those boys. What is most apparent in these common criticisms against hip-hop studies and rap and hip-hop more broadly, besides the anti-Black racism, is the lack of knowledge of the genres and the culture they have created. Bakari Kitwana, an internationally known leader in the area of hip-hop, youth culture, and Black political engagement, writes in his 2004 article, “Hip-Hop Studies and the New Culture Wars,” that “the new breed of [hip-hop] critics should study the music and culture they’re critiquing, not just a few shocking lyrics you heard courtesy of Clear Channel or Viacom. No literary critic fathoms to offer an analysis of Toni Morrison having read only a paragraph or two of *The Bluest Eye*” (Kitwana 77). The reach of rap and hip-hop continues to expand. *Billboard Magazine* reported that rap overtook rock as the most popular musical genre in the United States of America in 2017. However, many academics continue to refuse to legitimize the genre enough to engage with the music and culture that has widely shaped American popular culture.

The legitimacy of hip-hop, however, is evident in how songs and artists in the genre interact with and contribute to emerging theoretical frameworks in musicology. Multimodality, the production of meaning-making or communication via the convergence of multiple semiotic modes, for example, has been an intriguing school of thought since

the 1950s. Repopularized in the 1990s to analyze written communication in the digital age, as written information was commonly circulated coupled with visual stimuli, the applications of multimodality began gaining interdisciplinary popularity. In other words, multimodal stylistics are “the approaches that understand communication and representation to be more than about language, and which attend the full range of communication forms people use—image, gesture, gaze, posture, and so on—and the relationships between them” (Jewitt). In his article, “Towards a Musical Stylistics: Movement in Kate Bush’s ‘Running Up That Hill,’” Massimilian Morini proposed “a model of stylistic analysis that considers the role of both lyrics and music in meaning-making and affective responses to music” (Morini). Contending that “songs and albums are rarely studied for their multimodal structure,” most likely due to the “difficulties inherent in the combination of musical and linguistic analysis: since few scholars possess the required minimum of expertise in both fields, most musical studies tend to concentrate on either side of the divide” (Morini). This article attempts to integrate both fields—musicology and literary studies—in a similar vein as Morini, with a particular focus on hip-hop music, to highlight how hip-hop artists have also been implementing theoretical frameworks outlined by leading musicologists. Through the compositional analysis of the song’s music and the literary analysis of the song’s lyrics, this article will closely consider how Outkast’s “Hey Ya!” (2003) utilizes multimodal stylistics to highlight the commodification of rap and hip-hop, and perhaps Black-American art more broadly.

Outkast is a popular American hip-hop duo comprised of Andre 3000 (Andre Benjamin) and Big Boi (Antwan Patton). The group, formed in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1992, is widely considered one of the greatest and most influential hip-hop performers of all time (*Medium*). The duo helped popularize the Southern hip-hop subgenre and is known for their multi-genre experimentation by combining rap and hip-hop with genres such as funk, jazz, psychedelic rock, R&B, and techno. In the contemporary moment, Outkast has been the focus of various academic works across various disciplines, which consider a breadth of facets of the duo’s works, including but not limited to: musical genre combination and experimentation, Afrofuturism, concept albums, and Southern hip-hop. However, the focus of this article is on a track from the duo’s debatably most compelling album, *Speakerboxxx/The Love Below*. *Speakerboxxx/The Love Below* is a “double album” or two albums on a single record. Following the release of the duo’s fourth studio album, *Stankonia* (2000), the members decided to temporarily part ways and work on their respective projects. This separation resulted in Big Boi’s *Speakerboxxx*, a classical Southern hip-hop-sounding record which, according to music journalist Roni Sarig, explores “a wider emotional

terrain...from melancholy to outrage to exasperation” (Sarig 214). Andre 3000’s *The Love Below* was also a result of the duo’s time apart. The record heavily blends Andre 3000’s classic sound with “jazzy pop funk steeped in the eclectic influence of Prince” (Sarig 214). The focus of this article, however, and arguably the duo’s most famous track, is “Hey Ya!” From Andre 3000’s *The Love Below*. “Hey Ya!” has received international acclaim from critics and consumers alike. The song, which topped the American Billboard Hot 100 for nine consecutive weeks, was the first to reach one million downloads on Apple iTunes and won the Best Urban/Alternative Performance award at the 46th Grammy Awards.

“Hey Ya!” exemplifies multimodal stylistics in how the song communicates parallel themes through its lyrical and compositional stylings. Overall, “Hey Ya!” can be reduced to a narrator coming to terms with the realization that modern-day romantic relationships are seemingly becoming unsettlingly more detached than the narrator had previously believed. Best put by the songwriter himself, the song “is pretty much about the state of relationships in the 2000s. It’s about some people who stay together in relationships because of tradition because somebody told them ‘you guys are supposed to stay together’ but pretty much being unhappy for the rest of your life” (MTV). The narrator’s introspective questioning of the ethics of romantic relationships is seen lyrically in the verses and bridges and the compositional structures of the choruses parallel these themes as well. Although in 4/4 time, the track is split into cycles of six phrases, with every fourth phrase being a measure of 2/4 time. The song uses what is known as a deceptive cadence or, as defined by Merriam-Webster, “a musical cadence in which the dominant resolves to a harmony other than the tonic.” The chords follow an I-IV-V pattern, where the V (D major) chord is cut short as the fourth 2/4 timed phrase before resolving to the VI (E major) chord. This is notably strange, given that the E major chord is non-diatonic or not native to the song’s key. However, it is also interesting, given how this chord progression parallels the themes in the song lyrically.

Lyrically, particularly the lyrics in the verses, mirror this deceptive cadence. The song follows a relationship going smoothly (I) and then changes (IV) to a point where the conclusion is imminent (V). However, the conclusion is interrupted by something that feels wrong (VI). It is this feeling of unnatural resolve that lasts for two phrases. Finally, the cycle repeats with no reprieve, signaling the incessant monotony which disturbs Andre 3000’s narrator lyrically throughout the piece. The first verse of the piece, for example, follows this structure. The narrator describes a seemingly stable and loving relationship (“My baby don’t mess around/Because she loves me so, and this I know for

sure”). The narrator quickly questions the stability of the relationship, however in the following line (“But does she really wanna/But can’t stand to see me walk out the door?”), seemingly questioning whether or not the two are together simply out of the greater fear of being alone. The “imminent conclusion” is depicted in the following lines—

Don’t try to fight the feeling
 ’Cause the thought alone is killing me right now
 (uh)
 Thank God for Mom and Dad
 For sticking two together ’cause we don’t know
 how (c’mon)

Nevertheless, the conclusion never comes. Lyrically, the song pushes into the titular and receptive “Hey Ya!” that nearly lulls the listener into forgetting the melancholic contemplation altogether. This occurs again in the second verse when the narrator questions love more holistically:

If what they say is, “Nothing is forever”
 Then what makes, then what makes, then what
 makes
 Then what makes, what makes, what makes love
 the exception?
 So why on, why oh, why oh, why oh, why oh
 Are we so in denial when we know we’re not
 happy here?

This verse, too, slides right into the repetitive chorus. However, the chorus’ seemingly nonsensical and receptive lyricism is supplemented by the intricately placed composition. The thematic parallels of the lyrics and composition ensure that the overall themes of the piece are preserved but creatively and interestingly presented in distinct ways.

Due to the history of the hip-hop and rap genres and the emphasizing of the commodification of Black-American art made by Andre 3000 in this piece, it is vital to address how the racialization of this art form impacts the piece’s multimodal stylistics. Black American art is intrinsically unique in the way American society interacts with it because Blackness as a construct has been commodified since the inception of the United States. When discussing hip-hop, a genre of music created by Black Americans, it is common knowledge that it has been demonized and commodified by white and other non-Black people across the globe. Perhaps this contributed to how a song about the heartbreaking realization that a failed relationship only remains because the fear of being alone is so overwhelming became one of the top dance tracks of the 2000s. It is clear, however, that Andre 3000 felt the growing commercialization of hip-hop and commented on it in this piece. The most explicit

example of Andre 3000’s attempt to highlight the commodification of Black music is seen on the cusp of the end of the second verse and the beginning of the second chorus when he does not sing, but says, “Y’all don’t wanna hear me, you just wanna dance.” The act of speaking removes Andre 3000 from his position as the mouthpiece of the narrator. The directness of the use of “y’all,” especially when used in such proximity to “we” within the song, also implies an in-group and, consequently, an out-group. Andre 3000’s spoken, “y’all don’t wanna hear me, you just wanna dance,” seemingly acts as a pulling back of the curtain, in which Andre 3000 is critiquing his growing yet continuously uninformed non-Black audience. The last line is also so poignant because the sentiment rings true for many Black artists in the genre and is reminiscent of contemporary conversations within the rap and hip-hop community regarding rappers’ distaste for performing for predominantly white crowds. According to an article in *PAPER* magazine, “From white entertainers in blackface, to singing the n-word in rap songs, the fetishization of the Black experience by white people is reminiscent of the larger social and power dynamics in this nation” (*PAPER*). Although “Hey Ya!” proves to be a technical and theoretical feat of musicianship and lyricism by Andre 3000, the commodification of Black art seemingly overshadowed the track’s message. “Hey Ya!” then becomes a manual on how to explicitly scream into the void with the knowledge that, due to the positionality of Black artists in America, they will be commodified and unacknowledged.

The knowledge that Black art, and perhaps Black thought more broadly, is often unrecognized or unacknowledged, however, should not dull the efforts of Black artists and intellectuals. The field of hip-hop studies, much like the rap and hip-hop genres themselves, is relatively young. Yet discussions about established theoretical frameworks within the field of musicology through a rap or hip-hop-specific lens, however intriguing, need to continue being developed and further analyze the implications of the racialization of the genre. The anti-Black attitudes towards the genres should refrain from interfering with the progress made by hip-hop scholars and ethnomusicologists who are collectively striving for the widely acknowledged legitimacy of the field. Outkast’s “Hey Ya!” is simply a singular example in a breadth of work within the genre that illustrates musicological theoretical frameworks, and others deserve to be critically analyzed. Outkast’s “Hey Ya!” is both an impressive musical, lyrical, and theoretical accomplishment on the part of Andre 3000 but is also a stealthily executed commentary and consideration of the commodification and simultaneous rejection of contemporary Black American rap and hip-hop music.

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The Limits of a Fascistic Minimum: A Reconceptualization of Japanese Fascism in Imperial Japan

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Edmund Kennedy is a recent graduate of Amherst College, majoring in History. His research interests focus on the impact of American Imperialism throughout the Pacific, as well as trans-national and post-colonial spaces. These themes and ideas laid the conceptual framework for his senior honors thesis. This past semester, Edmund applied to doctoral programs in 20th-century U.S. History.

Abstract

The association of fascism with the Japanese Empire of WWII is neither new nor fully accurate. When Japan allied itself with the fascist regimes of Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy, the assumption became that Japan too was a fascist-led state, doing away with its liberal values instilled during the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and enshrined in the Constitution of 1880. However, this assumption ignores Japan's significant and distinct cultural and historical conditions. Furthermore, the current conceptual framing of Japan during the second world war as "fascist" or "not" lacks the critical analysis required for rigorous engagement. Thus, this paper seeks to do two things: First, challenge the conceptual framework of a fascistic binary, arguing instead for evolutionary or progressive analysis of fascism, specifically when contextualizing Japan. Second, the analysis of several documents, with significant focus given to *Kokutai No Hongi*, will show how Japan's imperial structure did not allow for a similar trajectory for fascism's rise. Thus, through this recontextualization of Japan during the age of fascism, we can more fully understand the extent and limitations of fascism as a label on Imperial Japan.

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The association of fascism with the Japanese Empire of WWII is neither new nor accurate. When Japan allied itself with the fascist regimes of Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy, the assumption became that Japan too was a fascist-led state, doing away with its liberal values instilled during the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and enshrined in the Constitution of 1880. However, this assumption ignores Japan's significant and distinct cultural and historical conditions. Furthermore, the current conceptual framing of Japan during the Second World War as "fascist" or "not" lacks the nuance required for rigorous engagement. Thus, this paper seeks to do two things: First, challenge the conceptual framework of a fascistic binary, arguing instead for evolutionary or progressive analysis of fascism, specifically

when contextualizing Japan. As Peter Duus and Daniel I. Okimoto articulated, "If finding a minimal characteristic shared by all fascist countries in Europe is difficult, then the task is virtually impossible if we try to include China, Japan or Korea."¹ Second, I analyze several documents, with significant focus given to *Kokutai No Hongi*, to show how Japan's imperial structure did not allow for a similar trajectory for fascism's rise. Thus, through this recontextualization of Japan during the age of fascism, we can more fully understand the extent and limitations of fascism as a label on Imperial Japan.

Among historians and political theorists, defining fascism remains an elusive task. Instead, many opt for their own "fascistic minimum," or list of prerequisites for any state to be considered fascist. Asserted first by Ernst Nolte in the 1960s, this framing led to an intense debate around fascist ideology and its proliferation.² Nolte's framing focused on six points: "anti-Marxism, antiliberalism, anti-conservatism, the leadership principle, a party army, and the aim of totalitarianism."³ Similarly, Noel O'Sullivan constructed his own fascist standard, identifying five distinct features of fascism: corporatism, revolution, the leadership principle, messianic faith, and autarky.⁴ These definitions certainly paint a clear picture of perceived requirements for fascism; however, they also suggest a fascist dichotomy, suggesting an "all or nothing" framework from which some "fascist" regimes might diverge. Roger Griffin's *Fascism: 'Rebirth' and 'Ultra-Nationalism'* creates a conceptually succinct and cogent model for defining a "fascistic minimum" or generic fascism.⁵ Griffin explains, "Nationalism is practically the only common denominator of all previous accounts of fascism's definitional characteristics," showing a common theme applicable to all fascist regimes rather than a few.⁶ This definition provides a starting point for conceptualizing a fascistic spectrum, the theoretical framework through which I analyze Japan.

I believe that the fascistic spectrum works best for fascistic analysis for two reasons: First, instead of a dichotomic analysis, this spectrum allows the consideration of *all* features which might be perceived as fascistic. Second, it allows for the analysis of additional features not explicitly mentioned in the definitions offered by Nolte and O'Sullivan. This attempt to reframe the standards for defining fascism is heavily influenced by the description provided by Robert Paxton and his progressional approach to fascistic analysis.⁷ Through this new lens, blindspots left by previous scholars can be addressed with a coherent analytical starting point, which in turn will lead to a more cogent understanding of Japanese "fascism." Before that, however, it is important that we turn to Japan's past in order to elaborate on the progressive ideas of the Meiji Restoration.

As previously mentioned, the Meiji Restoration and the following Constitution twelve years later in 1880 enshrined liberal ideals within Japan's new Westernized society. In the first chapter of the constitution, the powers of the Emperor were laid out in seventeen different articles, outlining his divinity and control over the Imperial Diet. Articles three, four, eleven, and thirteen clearly outline the Emperor's role and authority leading up to and through WWII. Those articles read: "The Emperor is sacred and inviolable (Article 3); The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining Himself the rights of sovereignty (Article 4); The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy (Article 11); The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties (Article 13)."⁸ These articles enshrined the Emperor's authority into the new constitution, making any assertion of Japanese fascism hard to defend without also making the claim the Emperor was fascist as well. However, scholars have seldom referred to Emperor Hirohito as fascistic.

The 1880 constitution was explicit in defining the role and power of the Emperor. In *Emperor Hirohito and The Pacific War*, Noriko Kawamura argues the centrality of the Emperor in wartime decision-making while also pointing to the apathy Emperor Hirohito was projecting. Kawamura acknowledges the Emperor's initial reluctance to join the war but further explains, "once Japan commenced the war with the United States and the Allied Powers, the official task of Emperor Hirohito... was to command both the army and the navy."⁹ This reluctance or ambivalence would only continue to be part of the Emperor's personality for a large part of the war.

Emperor Hirohito had several fears about the war, one being the likely unwinnable circumstances and the other being the possibility that the war would foster a civil war at home.¹⁰ It would, ironically, be the fear of a coup d'état and the breakdown of diplomatic relations, which would "force Hirohito to sanction a war he did not want."¹¹ Additionally, the relationship between the Emperor, the government, and the military was as strained as ever. In the time leading up to the attack on Pearl Harbor, "Hirohito and his close advisors did act together as a brake to slow the final decision [for the attack] for one and a half months."¹² However, in the end, Hirohito felt "compelled" and, to some extent, "persuaded" by the Tojo government's decision to join the war. While this in no way absolves the Emperor for his role in the Pacific War, it does show an ideological chasm at the macrosocial level, which could facilitate the proliferation of fascism at some level but restrict it at others.

This macro-micro level analysis was offered by Duss and Okimoto in order to separate and individually analyze

ideology at the macro, governmental, micro, or societal levels. Any argument that fixates on the "macrosocietal level," with specific emphasis on the political system, ignores the complexity of thought at that level.¹³ This allows for an implicit assumption on the microsocal level as being reflective of the characteristics of the primary political system.¹⁴ Put simply, if there is a fascist at the top of the political system, then a similar fascist ideology must be reflected below. Thus, if we accept the breadth of macro-level analysis, we must also recognize the distinct ideological differences at the top of the Japanese government, most notably found with Emperor Hirohito and his rule over Imperial Japan. To tighten the lens over the microsocal level then, an analysis of *The Essence of National Polity* is needed.

Few documents have been regarded as the genesis of Japanese fascism more than *The Essence of National Polity* or *Kokutai No Hongi*.¹⁵ Created in 1937, *The Essence of National Polity* in a so-called "self-referential assertion of authenticity" fashion identified and, thus, created a myth around the idea of the Japanese state and "Japaneseness."¹⁶ Often compared to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, it drew upon the myth of Japan's past and proposed a tale as "a model to be imitated, but *not* thought through [emphasis added]."¹⁷ The document relied heavily on palingenetic, or ideas of national rebirth, demanding the masses recognize the truth of their past that different systems of thought had since obscured.¹⁸ Whether this conceptual "past" was the truth was irrelevant; more than anything, it was a rhetorical choice. A stark difference between this document and others of the same vein lies in its lack of a call to action. Instead, *Kokutai no Hongi* focused on creating what Hitler called a "mystical synthesis," or an inseparable connection between the individual and the race.¹⁹

Several writings and policies implemented by the Japanese government could be considered filled with quasi-fascist, if not outright, fascist rhetoric; none are as famous as *The Essence of National Polity*. In the introduction to *The Essence of National Polity*, the authors clarify the negative implications of rapid industrialization and westernization. It begins with, "The various ideological and social evils of present-day Japan are the fruits of... [a] lack in sound judgment, and of failure to digest things thoroughly."²⁰ Maintaining their position, they state that, "since the days of Meiji so many aspects of European and American culture, systems, and learning have been imported and too rapidly."²¹ This assertion suggests an external threat or enemy to blame, a feature ostensibly required for a fascist regime. However, these threats are ideological and material and thus cannot be fought with conventional warfare. The ultranationalist rhetoric reveals itself further in Chapter Three, titled *The Way of the Subjects*.

In this third chapter, the document expressly indicated the uniqueness found in the country and people of Japan. It states, “The relationship between ruler and subject is not of a kind in which the people are correlated to the sovereign.”²² The document maintains that “the relationship between the Emperor and his subjects arises from the same fountainhead, and has prospered ever since the nation’s founding as one in essence.”²³ In one swift move, the document further deifies the Emperor while simultaneously idealizing the people as inseparable from the Emperor. In the section titled *Mutual Harmony Among The People*, the essentiality of community and the perseverance of harmony throughout the community is explained. It requests “to do one’s appointed task with the utmost faithfulness each in his own sphere.”²⁴ The document then further illustrates this position by applying this ideology to the community and the state: “In order to bring national harmony to fruition... Those in high positions, low positions, rich, and poor... should not stand aloof one from the other by being taken up with themselves, but should not fail to make harmony their foundations.”²⁵ These ideas suggest the highest level of nationalistic ideology, one where the people are so fundamentally tied to their ruler and the land itself that presenting a single iota of space between them would be to misunderstand this country fundamentally.

Such idealistic rhetoric begins to appear fantastical in the following section of the chapter: *Loyalty and Patriotism*. For these authors, of which there are scholars and government officials, loyalty means an extreme level of implicit obedience, by which they mean “casting ourselves aside and serving the Emperor *intently* [emphasis added].”²⁶ However, this “casting aside” does not require self-sacrificial actions. Instead, it calls for “the casting aside of our little selves to live under his august grace and the enhancing of the genuine life of the people of a State.”²⁷ The reluctance of this document to call for the fanatical, self-sacrificial zealotism often found in other fascist regimes reinforces the argument of this paper that Japan, for one reason or another, fails to fit squarely into the previously determined fascist definitions. This document also places filial piety as a foundational tenet of their society, which is also seldom found in other fascist states. Again, we can see apparent differences in the focus of *Kokutai No Hongi* compared to other ideological documents of other fascist states.

In sum, this paper has attempted to provide insight into the limitations of previously established definitions and analytical tools used to examine fascist states. The key conceptual challenge of the definitions lies in their inability to be applied convincingly to a nation as culturally and historically different as Japan was from the German and Italian regimes. While Robert Paxton’s assertion of a progressional and evolutionary analysis offers a good place to begin

analyzing Japan, Payne’s distinction between a fascist movement and a fascist state becomes the linchpin necessary to encapsulate what occurred in Japan. He rightly argues, “Much of the confusion about defining a typology of fascism has stemmed from the failure to distinguish” between the two concepts.²⁸ Instead, my theoretical framework of a fascistic spectrum intends to take features and ideas offered by Payne and Paxton and weigh the countries under analysis as “more likely” or “less likely” to become a fascist state based on the features considered. Just as the ideological views of Hirohito’s government varied greatly, so too should the analytical approach we choose to apply to his administration and Japanese society as a whole. The fascistic spectrum offers the nuance required for deep conceptual consideration of a tremendously complex and contentious conversation.

Japan was certainly not spared from the rise of fascist movements led by self-designated fascists like Kita Ikki, Nakano Seigo, Nagata Tetsuzan, and Araki Sadao.²⁹ That being said, those individuals’ movements never reached the upper echelons of the Japanese government; thus, it becomes hard to designate Imperial Japan as a fascistic state. The analytical consideration of the macro and micro societal levels supports my analysis further by illuminating the complexity of each level while rejecting the previous dichotomic analysis, which begged for simplicity. This debate will undoubtedly continue among historians and political theorists alike. However, it is my hope that by applying this new theoretical framework to other culturally, socially, and governmentally different nations, we can begin to understand fascism through a lens that is cognizant of fundamental differences, whether they be cultural or governmental, and considers those differences during analysis.

Endnotes

- 1 Duus and Okimoto, “Fascism and the History,” 3.
- 2 Payne, 5.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Kallis, 156.
- 5 Ibid., 175.
- 6 Ibid., 179.
- 7 Ibid., 89–96.
- 8 Miyoji, Ito. “The Constitution of the Empire of Japan.” <https://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c02.html#s1>, May 22nd, 2022.
- 9 Kawamura, 111.
- 10 Ibid., 88.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Duus and Okimoto, “Fascism and the History,” 66.
- 14 Ibid., 66–67.
- 15 Tansman, 150.
- 16 Ibid., 152.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.

- 19 Ibid.
20 Hall, 52.
21 Ibid.
22 Hall, 79.
23 Ibid.
24 Hall, 97–98.
25 Ibid.
26 Hall, 80.
27 Ibid.
28 Kallis, 86.
29 Duus and Okimoto, “Fascism and the History,” 67.

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The Doubly Independents: Nontraditional Students at Elite Colleges

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Abstract

Independent students at elite colleges are a small, invisible population. Traditionally, college students entering higher education are perceived to be dependent students, meaning that they receive financial support from their parents. Yet, independent students don't necessarily follow this traditional narrative—they are not supported by parents. This study does not just focus on the experiences of independent students at Upham College, an elite, private, liberal arts institution. Rather, it examines the similarities and differences of two groups of independent students (Regularly Independents and Doubly Independents). The results reveal that while regularly independent students were able to navigate collegiate life while remaining in contact with their parents, the doubly independent students could not do so. Ultimately, this difference revealed varying challenges associated with being at an institution that presumes a culture of parental support.

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Preface

Before the beginning of school breaks, there's always a question that stumps me: what are you doing? Most students at Upham College¹—an elite, private, small liberal arts college in the Northeast—would respond by saying that they are going “home.” Others say that they are going to visit family members. Yet, as an independent student, I don't have a home to go to, or family members to visit. This difference has made me feel like an “other,” and isolated from the traditional model of a college student. My experiences of isolation have led me to ask of how other independent students experienced Upham College. In a sense, this study

is an exercise of what sociologist C. Wright Mills would call “the sociological imagination” (Mills, 1959).

Introduction and Literature Review

Traditionally, college students entering higher education are perceived to be dependent students, meaning that they are coming from either a single-parent or two-parent household; “a dependent student is assumed to have the support of parents” (Federal Student Aid, 2022). On the other hand, the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) defines an independent student as someone who is either 24 years old or older, married, a graduate student, have dependents (children) who receive more than half of their support from the applicant, a part of the Armed forces or a Veteran, are an emancipated minor, lived in foster care, or an unaccompanied youth who is homeless or at risk of being homeless.^{2,3} The underlying rationale for the criteria attempts to define those applicants whose parents' incomes are not considered in determining one's aid eligibility status.

Facts and figures on independent students show that independent students make up a large portion of all college students across the U.S. As of 2018, just over half (51 percent) of all college students were “independent” (Cruse et al., 2018). Thus, the typical college student is no longer an 18-year-old recent high-school graduate who enrolls full-time and has limited work and family obligations (The Center for Law and Social Policy, 2011).⁴

Existing scholarship notes how the current structure of higher education does not adequately cater to independent students' needs (Ellis, 2019, pp. 24–32). For instance, most colleges take for granted family relationships and establishes a student culture which presumes that everyone is dependent (Bland, 2016). Due to this culture, independent students have a hard time adapting and fitting into many higher education institutions; they often struggle to interact with other students and often feel isolated and alone (Ellis, 2019, pp. 24–32). Aspects such as having external life and work responsibilities (Ellis, 2019, pp. 24–32)⁵ or struggling during school breaks because they “very rarely have a family home to utilise during the long summer break” (Bland, 2016), cause difficulty for independent students to fully immerse themselves in the academic environment (Goncalves and Trunk, 2014, p. 164–172). As such, independent students also have higher rates of attrition in comparison to dependent students (Goncalves and Trunk, 2014, p. 164–172).

Thus, this study seeks to explore two aspects: 1) the ways in which independent students navigate an elite private institution through a case study of independent

students attending Upham College and 2) to highlight the similarities and differences in experiences faced by Doubly Independent students and Regularly Independent students. Though existing works of literature written by Bland (2016), Ellis (2019), Dahlberg (2003), and Goncalves et al. (2014), poignantly point to the experiences and difficulties of independent students navigating higher education in general, they come short of understanding the extent to which independent students experience limitations at a college such as Upham College, institutions who particularly emphasize and make a concerted effort to bring in students with diverse backgrounds. In addition to a lack of studies on independent students in general, there are currently no studies on the varying experiences of independent students in elite colleges. Thus, this study is an important first step in starting this conversation in academic scholarship.

Methodology

Apart from the assumption of not having parental support, independent students experience Upham differently from one another. For instance, an independent student who meets the federal definition due to age, military association, marriage, or have dependents might not necessarily have their education supported by their parents, yet they might still be in contact with their parents throughout their undergraduate experience. In my study, I refer to these students as the *regularly independent students* (henceforth mentioned as RI). In contrast, other independent students (ex. an emancipated minor, a ward of the court, at risk of being homeless) are likely to have limited to no contact with their parents. Sax and Wartman's exploration of the impacts of parental involvement on college students reveals that overall, student-parent interactions "can lead to positive outcomes for students such as adjustment to college, identity development, and career exploration" (Sax and Wartman, 2010, pp. 245). But what about college students who don't have this parental support? These students are in a unique position where they are both federally defined as independent as well as independent from familial structures. This group of students comes to be what I call the *doubly independent students* (henceforth mentioned as DI). While independent students are a unique group at Upham, it is also important to examine the different experiences within the independent student population. They experience institutional culture differently and thus each independent student is presented with their own unique challenges that permeate student inequities.

Although the issues present in academic literature generally reveal a variety of ways in which independent students face difficulties in larger schools of various kinds, they might not necessarily reflect the institutional structures of small elite private colleges such as Upham. For instance,

whereas Cruse et al. (2018) report that 51 percent of all college students are independent in the United States, only 2.8 percent of the student population at Upham are independent students. Furthermore, although larger public universities can enroll independent students as part-time students, all students at Upham are full-time students.

For the purposes of looking at the experiences of independent students, I took the approach of conducting semi-structured interviews. Yet, as mentioned before, less than 3 percent of students at Upham identify as independent students, and the number of students identifying as doubly independent students is even smaller. Having a highly specific, niche group of students as my research population presented some challenges. I decided to find participants through multiple avenues including snowball sampling through five independent students with whom I have become acquainted in the past year and through social media. I conducted intensive interviews with 10 independent students, on average lasting 30–40 minutes. Six of the participants were DI while four were RI students. Due to my positionality as an independent student, my disclosure of my status allowed me to gain the trust of my participants.

Exploring the intricacies of the experiences of both the doubly and regularly independent students might not be best explored through surveys. Semi-structured interviews can get at the nuanced qualities of students' experiences through conversation. Furthermore, due to the unique positionality of independent students at Upham, as well as the sensitive nature of discussing parental relations, I chose to conduct in-depth interviews to create a private environment for the participant, as well as to attain information regarding the complex experiences of being an independent student at Upham. The interview guide for this study was designed to explore each aspect of an independent student's life at Upham over time. This included questions about their involvement in academic and social life at Upham, the participant's relationship with their parents, and how these students perceived the support, or lack thereof, that they received from Upham.

Findings

Lack of an Affinity Group

Independent students at Upham do not have the kinds of affinity groups that Asian or Black students do. As such, their unique identities and experiences cannot really be shared amongst other independent students within a collegiate culture which presumes that all students are dependent. RI students compensated for this lack of an independent student affinity group by connecting with other groups such as the transfer students association and/

or the veteran students association. As all the RI participants in this study were both veterans and transfer students, having the two associations created a community for them to connect with one another:

“Transfer students and fellow veterans hang out the most because the culture gap [from other students at Upham] is different. I feel like the Freshmen and Sophomores here at Upham have a very specific mindset...you don’t fit in unless you have a certain criteria. So, it’s very hard to connect with them on a personal level.”

When asked what this criterion was, Kevin responded, “I’m not too sure...it’s weird... it’s like certain social norms and rules that you have to follow...can’t pinpoint, but you have to act a certain way.” Kevin was unsure of what exactly these social norms and rules at the institution were, but it was apparent that it was challenging for him to abide by these institutional social conventions, which is why he spent most of his time with other veteran and transfer students. Similarly, other RIs spent most of their time with other transfer/veteran students because they held similar identities and experiences as them.

DIs, on the other hand, did not have a way in which to connect with other independent students like that of RIs at Upham. DI Clara notes:

“I wish we could find out who’s all independent students, or like a community for that...like just knowing there are other students like me, if I had known that as a freshman it would have been really nice.”

Similarly, DI Lizzie states,

“If we had an independent student housing that would be so nice! Or even like a floor...being an independent student is so unique...it’s definitely easier to live with people that you can have certain conversations with...or even exist!”

Lizzie also seems to explicate the need for an independent student community, but by also saying that “being an independent student is so unique...it’s definitely easier to live with people that you can have certain conversations with,” she highlights a sociocultural difference between dependent students and independent students that drives her to wish to have an affinity space for independent students.

DI and Dependent Student Social Norms at Upham

For DIs, the social norm of being dependent seems more pronounced in moments of socializing with dependent students. DIs remark that dependent students either misunderstand or can’t even conceptualize the experiences of being a DI student; they suggest a knowledge/culture gap. For instance, DI Nate points out how he does not even

entertain the idea of speaking to dependent students about what it’s like to be DI: “People have tried to talk to me, and be real [about my independent status]....And I feel like, at a certain point, no one gets it...I try not to talk to them about my situation.” Interestingly, DI Lizzie conceives that part of the reason why this knowledge gap persists is because of a lack of conversation surrounding independent students.

“Independent students aren’t something people know about. It’s crazy to me because we have all these conversations about diversity, race, religion, socioeconomic status....I don’t understand why independent students aren’t a part of that [conversation].”

She suggests that dependent students lack knowledge surrounding independent students because they are not talked about as an identity at Upham.

Parental Contact

One social norm that differentiated DIs from RIs and dependent students was having parental contact. While DIs were more likely to express grievances related to not being able to be in contact with their parents, RIs did not. Part of the reason for this might be because RIs still have contact with their parents—they are able to interact with dependent students and talk about having parental relationships—whereas the DIs don’t possess the same relationship/connection with their parents. When I asked RI Kevin about his parental relationship, he briefly said that he mostly talked to his mom, but not so much to his dad who was in China. Similarly, RI John responded “my relationship with my parents is not too close, but not far. I call my mom and talk to my dad intermittently.” DI Jenness, on the other hand, notes,

“In terms of looking at me and other students at Upham...like in terms of family yes, I feel different. Because a lot of people here and I don’t know why I didn’t expect that, will have two-parent homes or parents, come from a nuclear family structure...they’ll call them, get homesick....And that differentiates me.”

The different responses between the DI and RI students suggest that although both groups of students do not receive financial support from their parents, they experience parental relationships differently. In examining RIs’ brief and matter-of-fact responses, it seemed as if parental contact played less of a role in feeling a sense of unbelonging at Upham. In contrast, DIs were quick to identify their limited contact with their parents as a differentiating factor in comparison to the Upham population at large. As such, staying in contact with parents seemed to be a sociocultural norm at Upham that DIs felt especially excluded from, and RIs did not.

Insufficient Support from the College

While the responses between the DI and RIs indicate discrepancies in how they perceive points of exclusions such as parental contact, RIs connecting with other independents through transfer students and veteran students associations, they also both sense an exclusion from the campus norm that assumes all students are dependent. This assumption also leads to inadequate support systems for independent students. Both the DI and RI students recognized how Upham brought them into the college—Upham “makes a concerted effort to get independent students here”—but the existing support systems do not adequately help them once they are brought in. Considering independent students’ frustrations in this way revealed ways in which Upham College operates with a dominant culture of dependent students that does not necessarily consider the needs of independent students.

RI Richard was frustrated by having to continuously plead to the administration for the extra support (housing over break, outstanding financial obligations, etc.) that he needs. His frustration suggests that while the college has brought him into the institution with the promise of catering to diverse needs, the administration lacks knowledge of how to support him while he is there.

“Every summer we have to apply and state our case to the administration of why we don’t have anywhere else to go. Every time we try to apply for a job, we have to state and explain why we need extra jobs or why we need this.... And so I think the college has done a good thing by making that concerted effort on the front end [welcoming independent students to apply], but it has done nothing as far as consistently continuing that help while they are here. And I think that it’s somewhat frustrating because...you hear all these things before you get here.... We’re trying to focus on non-white students, veterans, low-income, all these things, right? And you’re like, “Yeah, that sounds great.” Then you get here and it’s like, “oh, where did all the help go?”

His response implies a structural and administrative knowledge gap that hinders independent students from receiving the adequate support that he was promised when he applied to Upham. DI students also point out how administrative knowledge gaps foster support systems that don’t cater to their needs. As Clara points out,

“I don’t think Upham does a good job like acknowledging that independent students don’t need the same things as your typical college student [dependent].... I feel like independent students shouldn’t have to work off campus or they shouldn’t have to have five jobs just to survive, you know? When it’s break then what do we do? We’re not necessarily

supported by the campus...you’re bringing these independent students to campus. It’s also your responsibility to support them.”

As we can clearly see, both the doubly and regularly independent students note a knowledge gap between the institutional support system and independent students.

Discussion

My study did not focus on just the experiences of independent students at Upham, rather, it examined the similarities and differences between the experiences of the DI and RI students. Due to the multitude of variables that can characterize independent students, it would be a gross misrepresentation to group independent students together. As such, my research has shown the ways in which the DI and RI students can experience Upham both similarly and differently from one another.

An overarching theme postulated the differences in experiences between the DI and RI students: having parental contact. Apart from seeing the different responses to the frequency of parental contact between the DI and RIs, this aspect also seemed to dictate a sense of belonging on campus. DIs more frequently gestured towards interactions with other dependent students as a measure of feeling excluded, while the RIs minimally did so. This difference made me realize that while the RIs could possibly relate to other dependent students on having familial/parental communication, the DIs might especially feel a sense of exclusion due to their lack of such communication or structure.

While the results indicate that it is not so much the case that there are not any resources for independent students, the participants still sensed that there are not enough resources that are specifically catered to independent students’ needs. For instance, while there were jobs available, it was difficult for independent students to seek out extra jobs without reasoning with the administration. Moreover, although the jobs supplemented extra income, it was still insufficient to support independent students’ unique situations.

Conclusion

The results of the study indicate a need for institutional reform. Paying attention to the participants’ responses highlighted how there needs to be more direct and coordinated aid facilitation at Upham, the creation of an independent student community, and the existence of an administrative liaison to specifically support independent students’ needs. As there has been little research done to explore independent students at an elite private institution such as Upham, this study can serve as a foundation upon

which to expand knowledge of a specific student population. Furthermore, this study can broaden examinations of institutional cultures and structures to create an equitable environment for all students.

Endnotes

- ¹ I have used the name Upham College as a pseudonym for this study. I have used Upham as a case study due to its status as an elite private institution as well as its mission to create a diverse student body.
- ² Definition provided by Federal Student Aid (<https://studentaid.gov/apply-for-aid/fafsa/filling-out/dependency>).
- ³ A student can be considered an independent student through meeting multiple aspects of being an independent student.
- ⁴ Historically, independent students were tenuously included in higher education. Growing public resistance to government spending in the 1990s resulted in federal budget cuts; “colleges faced diminished federal and state subsidies while simultaneously experiencing a decrease in the number of high-school graduates necessary to generate tuition revenues and maintain stable program levels. . . . The recruiting of independent students stabilized enrollment figures and enabled public colleges to justify requests for sustained public funding at a time that colleges and universities were forced to prove their worth to maintain their share of the budgetary pie” (Dahlberg, 2003, pp. 169–195). This analysis provides a reason to the rise in the independent student population.
- ⁵ Ellis argues that “nontraditional students are often characterized . . . with external life and work responsibilities” (Ellis, 2019, pp. 24–32). The external factors that shape the conditions of independent students result in “feelings of isolation, inattention to nontraditional student needs, administrative inflexibility in special circumstances, and the lack of a nontraditional student organization and liaison were identified as obstacles that continue to persist for nontraditional students’ academic success and engagement in their academic environment” (Goncalves and Trunk, 2014, pp. 164–172).

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Oppression-Derived Identity: An Investigation of Machismo and Misogyny in Alfonso Cuarón's *Roma*

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Abstract

Alfonso Cuarón's *Roma* tells the story of an indigenous Mexican woman, Cleo, working as a live-in nanny for a middle-class family in Mexico. Cuarón carefully recreated the physical and social atmosphere of 1970s Mexico, allowing the audience to get a glimpse of this tumultuous period of Mexican history. Included in this history is Mexico's dirty war, a time in which the Mexican government launched massive counterinsurgency operations on their citizens in the fight against communism. This decade, too, marks a time when American capitalism began to heavily influence Mexico's people and culture. This essay argues how the relationship between the U.S. and Mexican men causes them to develop a hypermasculine and machismo identity that Gloria Anzaldúa theorized in *Borderlands/La Frontera*. When considering history in relation to identity, machismo is found to be derived from an American oppression.

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Introduction

The last decade or so has seen a shift in the kinds of films that are being produced and subsequently consumed by mainstream audiences. Films centering on people with marginalized identities are becoming part of popular culture discourse, encouraging more audiences to engage with these important stories. Amongst the oeuvre of diverse cinema, Alfonso Cuarón's *Roma* stands out amongst the rest as it received three Academy Awards and further critical acclaim when it released in 2018. This personal passion project of a film would have likely garnered attention because of Cuarón's already established directorial reputation, but, in an era where there is a cultural push towards diversity,

Cuarón also used his position to highlight the personal narratives of people that we would not often get to hear about. Audiences, then, are asked to analyze and deeply consider the lives of these people as Cuarón's deliberate choice of storyline pushes them to do so.

The story presented in *Roma* is that of an indigenous Mexican woman, Cleo, who works as a live-in nanny for a middle-class family in Mexico during the 1970s. The film's premise is based on Cuarón's own memories of his childhood nanny, Liboria. Cuarón placed an intense emphasis on recreating his memory and worked meticulously with his crew to create scenes exactly as he remembered them when creating this film (*Road to Roma*). In the documentary where he speaks about the film's production, Cuarón says, "I had hundreds of notes about my memories. Memories that were not just anecdotes and events, but also small details" (*Road to Roma*). He strove to make the cinematic adaptation of his memories as accurate as possible, thus creating an environment in which he could tell the story of his nanny in a genuine portrayal. Though most of the focus is on his nanny, Cuarón makes sure to also represent the stories of the people in her community. The men and women of *Roma* let audiences see what the relationships between men and women were like in this time. Specifically, Cuarón's adamant drive for accuracy resulted in the critical representation of Mexican men and how they treated their lovers.

The characters of Fermin and Antonio in *Roma* act as the core way that Cuarón decides to portray masculine identity. These characters and the mutual abandonment of their respective partners offer a point of investigation that probes viewers to think about how masculine identity was instilled in men due to their social positionality. In this paper, I argue that Cuarón's representation of Mexican men during the 1970s resonates with Gloria Anzaldúa's theory of the origin of machismo presented in her *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. However, Cuarón also extends her theory by showing how it can be manifested in areas outside of the physical border between Mexico and the United States. U.S. influence during the dirty wars and on Mexican culture operates as an oppression that ultimately results in the development of a toxic machismo identity within the characters of Fermin and Antonio. Together these characters act as oppressors of their respective lovers, pushing viewers to consider how Cuarón presents the American, oppression-derived machismo identity as a threat to the Mexican woman and family throughout history and in our present moment.

Anzaldúa's Theory of *La Mestiza* and Machismo

To analyze the film's representation of machismo identity, Anzaldúa's seminal work *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* and her theory of the *mestiza* consciousness serves as an important lens. Written in 1987, Anzaldúa offers this theory of *la mestiza* just as the dirty wars came to an end in Mexico during the early 1980s. Part memoir and part critical theory, Anzaldúa's *Borderlands* functions as a space where she investigates the nuances surrounding her identity as a queer Chicana living in the borderlands. The borderlands, which exists in the surrounding physical space of the U.S.-Mexico border, is a site where a constant clashing of culture and society takes place. Anzaldúa posits that this conflict-oriented environment fundamentally changes the identity of Latinx and Chicana folk who live in a borderlands space. These folk are forced to develop the *mestiza* consciousness, a borderlands consciousness that results from the "racial, ideological, cultural, and biological cross-pollination" between Mexico and the United States (Anzaldúa 99). Those with the *mestiza* consciousness live in state where they must deal with the conflicting cultures that influence their identity, what Anzaldúa calls a "mental nepantlism, an Aztec word meaning torn between ways" (100). As Anzaldúa continues her investigation of *la mestiza*, she turns her attention to the development of machismo identity in an aptly titled section, "*Que no se nos olviden los hombres.*"¹

Machismo, in general, has been a term used to encapsulate the traditional, hypermasculine, and patriarchal attitudes that Latin American men hold.² The common understanding of machismo identity, which Anzaldúa refers to as a "false machismo" (105), is usually centered on aggressive or exaggerated traits of masculine pride. Anzaldúa states that this machismo is derived from the relationship between the U.S. and Mexico, that machismo is "actually an Anglo invention...an adaptation to oppression and poverty and low self-esteem. It is the result of hierarchical male dominance" (105). Indeed, as the Mexican man is met with oppression from the United States, he adopts the aggressive elements of machismo identity as a response to prove himself as a man. The U.S., as a dominant culture and global power, begins to overshadow and oppress Mexico while the individual Mexican man adapts his identity to overcompensate through the development of the false machismo. This multi-faceted oppression from the United States presents itself in several ways throughout *Roma*, but the most prominent is through Cuarón's cinematic recreation of the dirty war in Mexico.

Guerra Sucia, Dirty War in Roma

Spanning the 1960s to the 1980s, several governments across Latin America (including Mexico) enacted acts of repression against their own citizens in a fight against communism. Repression tactics included clandestine imprisonment, kidnapping (also disappearances), torture, and murder (Keller 231). Latin American governments had opted for violent, war-like tactics in their fight against communist subversion during this period, hence it is referred to as the "dirty wars." The government of Mexico recruited Mexican men into paramilitary groups, training them in counterinsurgency and repression tactics (Keller 222–225). One such example of these paramilitary groups was *Los Halcones*, who were responsible for a well-documented massacre in Mexico known as "*El Halconazo*," referred to in English as the Corpus Christi Massacre (Keller 222). This massacre revealed that the U.S. was involved in Latin America's dirty wars as the U.S. government was shown to have provided training to military personnel, police, and other officials across Latin America, including Mexico (Keller 223). Cuarón weaves in this history as a part of his story in *Roma*, emphasizing this important aspect of Mexico-U.S. relations. Cuarón, too, highlights that this kind of relationship would result in *la mestiza* consciousness that Anzaldúa had previously theorized. U.S. involvement in the dirty wars creates a borderlands space where Mexican men, like Fermin, are caught between the cultures of Mexico and the U.S. as they engage in their military training.

Fermin's Militarized Machismo

Cuarón recognized the reality of a metaphoric borderlands space within paramilitary groups and presents Fermin as an example of how machismo identity is developed through this experience. After Fermin finishes his martial arts training alongside several other men, he says to Cleo, "I'm sorry, training has been intense. They even brought a gringo coach and Korean. Well, the American was already here, but the Korean is new" (*Roma*). Mexican men like Fermin are recruited to paramilitary groups and are subjected to tough training to be more effective soldiers. Cuarón expressed that he feels a sympathy for these recruited men, claiming that they were victims of exploitation and oppression by their own government and the U.S. (*Road to Roma*). Mexican men were not only used to attack their fellow citizen but were also exposed to the United States imperialist methods and violent military tactics. The combination of exploitation and oppression by the U.S. and Mexican government pushes Fermin's identity to be molded into Anzaldúa's concept of false machismo. Indoctrination and militarization extract and enhance the violent elements of this machismo, facilitating a loss of dignity and respect that leads a man to belittle women, to brutalize them

(Anzaldúa 105). Fermin's experience as a paramilitary soldier causes him to establish the military-appointed identity of a machista.

Cleo's relationship with Fermin reveals how his militarization heavily influences his understanding of intimacy and ultimately contributes to the violent end of their relationship. In the budding stages of their romance, Cleo and Fermin prepare to engage in sex for the first time. As Cleo lays in bed in the safety of her sheets, Fermin removes the shower rod from its position and begins to do a military training routine while naked. He violently swings the shower rod in a performance of masculinity to prove himself to the woman with whom he is about to have sex. His weapon of choice, the shower rod, acts as an extension of his phallus and links the understanding of romantic relationships and love to his military training. Fermin's conceptual link of love and war would show itself to be a threat to Cleo's safety later in the film. Having become pregnant after their sexual encounter, Cleo tries to find Fermin after he ran away once he learned about her pregnancy. She finds him in the middle of training and tells him about her baby once again. He aggressively responds, saying, "I told you, no **** way. And if you don't want me to beat the **** out of you and your 'little one,' don't ever say it again, and don't ever come looking for me again" (*Roma*). Fermin's usage of violence as proof of his masculinity has been repurposed to become a threat for Cleo and her unborn child. After his violent threats, Fermin once again employs the use of his military training weapon, the staff, as he waves it angrily in front of Cleo before yelling and walking away. His military training has instilled a tendency for violence in his relationship with Cleo; it has resulted in the hypermasculine, false machismo that Anzaldúa writes about. The character of Fermin is representative of the broader context of Mexican men who were trained by the Mexican government and U.S. personnel. Fermin's violent identity is not an anomaly, but rather, a result of a systematic instillation of machista ideology through the military.

American Capitalism and Antonio's Infidelity

While Fermin represents a militarized machismo, Antonio's development of machismo identity is derived from his relationship with the oppressive nature of American capitalism and exceptionalism. Antonio and his wife, Sofia, are parents to the middle-class family that Cleo works for. The first time we see him in the film, Antonio is smoking a cigarette, loudly listening to classical music, and struggling to fit his Ford Galaxy into the home's parking garage (*Roma*). These few moments immediately characterize Antonio as a man who values opulence, but specifically an American opulence. Antonio's Ford Galaxy, a full-sized American-made car, conflicts with his home not only by its

inability to fit in the parking space, but also by the several piles of dog waste that it drives over. An artifact of American capitalism and symbol of success, the car must be handled with intense precision to not damage the Mexican home, but more importantly, the car itself.

Although this scene is followed by charming moments of familial bonding, the illusion of a happy family is soon interrupted as Cleo overhears an argument between Antonio and Sofia about the state of their home. Antonio says to Sofia, "This house is a mess. The fridge is full of empty cartons and there's dog crap everywhere" (*Roma*). Antonio expresses dissatisfaction and frustration with his home/family, culminating in his infidelity and eventual separation from Sofia. His infidelity resonates with the false machismo that stems from his doubts about being able to protect and provide for his family (Anzaldúa 105). As Antonio feels inadequate in the face of the American images of success that he strives for, he proves his machismo by belittling his wife and cheating on her. The traditional beliefs that men "have to *chingar mujeres*"³ to be men and that they "are superior and therefore culturally favored over *la mujer*" (Anzaldúa 106) fosters an environment in which women are unsafe; acts of infidelity, aggression, and physical violence begin to manifest with little repercussion as false machismo is instilled in Mexican men.

Danger to the Woman and Family

With these two characters and the elements of machismo that they represent, Cuarón shows how Anzaldúa's concept of machismo can become manifest outside of the physical borderlands and is a danger to Latin American women. Fermin's relationship with Cleo, especially, reflects a horrible truth about the dirty wars of Latin America: the immense violence leveled against indigenous people, but especially indigenous women. Members of paramilitary groups, men like Fermin, would target indigenous populations and kill their defenseless children, leaving people in agony after being mortally wounded and slitting open the wombs of pregnant women (Franco 53). Tragically, these are but few examples of the high levels of violence that indigenous peoples experienced at the hands of the paramilitary groups. Fermin's violence to Cleo, an indigenous woman, reflects the very real tragedy that Latin America has faced. During the climax of the film, Fermin holds a revolver to Cleo as she shops for a crib for her soon-to-be born child. The stress of the situation causes her to go into labor, and after a grueling scene, her doctor tells her, "Cleo, I'm very sorry. Your baby was born dead. We did all we could, but there was no response.... Would you like to meet [your baby]?" (*Roma*). This scene forces the viewer to consider the real deaths that hypermasculine machismo causes amongst indigenous populations of Latin America.

The American-derived machismo is not something used simply for cinematic tragedy; it is a real aspect of Mexican culture that has resulted in the deaths of many indigenous people.

These facets of machismo identity are aspects of culture that will be passed down to the next generation. The cultural scars and impact of the dirty wars left on Mexican men in their relationship with the United States created a trauma that is indeed intergenerational. Fermin and Antonio did not live in the physical borderlands of the U.S.-Mexican border, but the clash with the United States through military training and U.S. dominant culture forces them to inhabit a metaphoric borderlands space. The violent and toxic elements of machismo that are developed through a relationship to the U.S. will be passed through people like Fermin and Antonio onto to the next generation of impressionable young men. Throughout the film, Paco, one of Antonio's sons, constantly berates and insults his younger sister. Men like Antonio prove to be role models for the next generation, passing down their machista values. These men can influence the next generation and can inflict a traumatic harm on them. Fermin was adamant that he would physically beat Cleo if she ever returned; what were the other members of the paramilitary group capable of? How would these men have treated their partners, sisters, or daughters? We have come to understand that abuse and violence create a cycle that breeds further abuse and violence. Fermin's and other paramilitary men's actions are the catalyst which allows this violent behavior to continue. Indeed, the issue of femicide and femicide are phenomena that we can recognize in our contemporary moment (Franco 217).⁴ The machismo that has proven to be a threat to Latin American women has become a trauma that continues to persist.

Conclusion

Cuarón's book-end approach to *Roma*'s finale suggests that he recognizes the continuing existence of cultural phenomena that manifested during the 1970s. *Roma* begins with a shot of an airplane reflected in a pool of water and ends with a pan towards the actual sky, with another plane flying above. Cleo's story begins and ends as the live-in nanny of this middle-class family. Even after developing a close and intimate relationship with the children, and saving their lives, she remains a domestic worker for them. The mirroring of beginning and end suggests that Cleo, along with the other characters of the film, are unable to progress past their current selves. A year has gone by, but the ending of the narrative is just a reflection of the beginning. Issues of machismo, and other struggles not presented in this essay, are very much still present in our contemporary moment, raising the question of whether we have made

enough progress to resolve the issues that oppression creates, machismo or otherwise. Cuarón is not wholly unoptimistic, however, as the ending shot looks towards a real plane, not just a reflection. Perhaps Cuarón believes that there is still hope to move Mexican society forward. The first step in this progress is to reflect on our past and recognize the problems persisting from our history and the problems we have created.

Endnotes

- 1 "Let us not forget the men."
- 2 The patriarchal attitudes mentioned here are not adopted by all Latin American men, of course, but for the sake of clarity, I refer to them as a group because these ideas are prevalent during the period.
- 3 "beat women"
- 4 Femicide is defined as the killing of women and girls with brutality and the murders of women and girls founded on the gender power structure. Femicide is defined as the murder of women and girls because they are female. Franco provides these definitions in the notes of *Cruel Modernity*.

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Herculean Allusions in *Clarissa*

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Abstract

The current, dominant theory of allusion is one of succession, where a writer passes down an allusion as if it is an inheritance. In this article (excerpted from a larger work) I argue that another theory should be used: one where allusion is instead a poisoned shirt. This poisoned shirt theory comes into focus through Samuel Richardson's allusion to Hercules and his wearing of the poisoned shirt in *Clarissa*. Through my analysis of this allusion, the theory demonstrates a dramatic exchange, one that has the allusion quickly becoming, in the words of Christopher Ricks, "self-delightingly about allusion," where it "can catch fire from the rapidity of its own motion."

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In *Clarissa*, Samuel Richardson likens the eighteenth-century English aristocrat Robert Lovelace, who tries to seduce the virtuous Clarissa Harlowe, to the ancient Greek demigod, Hercules: Why? After Clarissa eludes Lovelace's clutches when separated from her family, he manages to track her down to Hampstead. When he catches up with her, the answer to Richardson's comparison comes as an allusion that Lovelace makes when reacting to Clarissa's scorn toward him. Throughout the novel, Lovelace deals out allusions, or "brief, indirect, and deliberate references... [to] a person, place, event (fictional or actual), or other work of art."¹ In the scene in question, Lovelace's allusion compares himself to Hercules. More specifically, Lovelace equates his own pain from Clarissa's rejection to the Greek demigod's death. As she recounts his cruel treatment to all those present, the rake describes his reaction:

The women looked upon one another, and upon me, by turns, to see how I bore it. I had such dartings in my head at the instant, that I thought I should have gone distracted. My brain seemed on fire. What would I have given to have had her alone with me!—I traversed the room; my clenched fist to my forehead. Oh that I had anybody here, thought I, that, Hercules-like, when flaming in the tortures of Dejanira's poisoned shirt, I could tear in pieces!²

Lovelace's declaration that his "brain seemed on fire" initiates the allusion as he portrays himself as Hercules "flaming in the tortures of Dejanira's poisoned shirt." (Dejanira was the wife of Hercules who gave him the shirt under the belief that what she applied was only a love potion but was instead the poisoned blood of Hercules's love-rival, Nessus.) Just as Hercules tried desperately to alleviate the burning agony by going into a violent rage, so does Lovelace here upon his rejection. However, there is a lack of clarity as to what exactly the equivalent to "the poisoned shirt," the crux of Lovelace's allusion, is in his life. The poisoned shirt may be Lovelace's own inflamed brain "on fire." Or, perhaps, the shirt is the "dartings in [his] head" plaguing him. In that case, the "dartings" are also able to set his brain on fire. In this essay, I argue that the "poisoned shirt" is both but also something more: the allusion itself. Lovelace's literary technique that is so second-nature to him, that he constantly makes use of it throughout the entirety of *Clarissa*, produces, in this moment, a genuine, physical, painful effect on his brain. The allusion moves from being inherited words from a past writer to being a way for the audience to enter the role of the figure(s) in the allusion.

Lovelace's reference to the poisoned shirt demands a new theory of allusion, which, in turn, requests that we modify our understanding of literary history. Current scholarship on allusion follows a theory that scholar Christopher Ricks describes as "the poet's inheritance." According to Ricks, allusive poets are preoccupied "with succession, with primogeniture, with a burden that is a crown or a prophetic mantle which falls to you with or without a double portion of your father's art."³ Allusions act as if they are something passed down: From "father," the originator of the work to which the allusion is made, to "son," the poet who is now alluding to the work. An issue then arises with "the poet's inheritance": "Allusion is a way of containing one's predecessors. They could overshadow all one's potentialities."⁴ The issue with allusion as a form of inheritance is that it creates a competition between the originator and his or her inheritor for influence over the text, with one gaining over the other's loss. This theory of inheritance separates each writer of an allusion, going all the way back to the allusion's progenitor, causing each version of an allusion to be compared to the other. The overshadowing of "all one's

potentialities” signifies how, as the inheritor gains the authority of the past as a result of their allusion to another work, the inheritor simultaneously loses his or her own literary voice. Rather, the theory of allusion as a poisoned shirt prevents any loss of authority. Instead, it is an exchange that continuously grows the more that it is spread.

In thinking about how allusion itself is a poisoned shirt, allusion can be interpreted as spreading further through the act of gift-giving like how Dejanira gifted the shirt to Hercules. An allusion can be reenacted by its teller as a result of the allusion’s own subject matter as Christopher Ricks has noted. He writes:

“We should notice when the subject-matter of an allusion is at one with the impulse that underlies the making of allusions at all, because it is characteristic of art to find energy and delight in an enacting of that which it is saying, and to be rendered vigilant by a consciousness of metaphors and analogies which relate its literary practices to the great world. There are many ways in which allusion can be self-delightingly about allusion, can catch fire from the rapidity of its own motion.”⁵

That idea of “allusion being self-delightingly about allusion” is at the core of this paper. Lovelace feels an inflamed brain, which has caught fire “from the rapidity of its own motion.” His brain is like a shirt doused with a burning poison, coming about because of his allusion to Hercules. But where did Lovelace, and, by extension, Richardson learn about Hercules?

That question of where Richardson received his sources for allusions is central for Richardson scholars.⁶ Among possible sources that Richardson might have read to create the allusion to Hercules’s death, the most prominent is a passage from John Dryden’s *Aureng-zebe* (1675). Richardson and/or Lovelace—I will discuss the stakes of the difference between the two—may have used Dryden as a reference as scholars have identified a quantity of allusions to Dryden in *Clarissa*. As noted by Rachel Trickett, Dryden shares a quality that attracts Lovelace and that also serves as a symbol for Richardson’s disapproval: a lack of spirituality.⁷ *Aureng-zebe* tells the story of the titular prince of India and his familial troubles; his step-mother, Empress Nourmahal, is in love with him while his father, the Emperor, believes his son to be a fellow love-rival for the affections of the captured queen Indamora. In the passage from Dryden’s play that shares distinct similarities with the passage from Richardson, the Emperor is arguing about the lack of love between him and his wife, stating:

“Sure of all ills, Domestic are the worst;

When most secure of blessings, we are curst.

When we lay next us what we hold most dear,

Like Hercules, invenom’d Shirts we wear.”⁸

The last line of the passage, “Like Hercules, invenom’d Shirts we wear,” strongly resembles the comparison that Lovelace makes between himself and Hercules: “Hercules-like, when flaming in the tortures of Dejanira’s poisoned shirt.” However, Richardson scholars noted that he might have also found the passage elsewhere.⁹ The single act of allusion does not require Richardson’s knowledge of Dryden’s play. Instead, many of Lovelace’s allusions and, by extension, Richardson’s, can be found in Edward Bysshe’s common-place book, *The Art of English Poetry* (1708), which compiles literary quotations, or, as Bysshe describes:

“the most Natural, Agreeable, and Sublime THOUGHTS, viz. Allusions, Similes, Descriptions, and Characters, of Persons and Things; that are to be found in the best English Poets.”¹⁰

The book itself is divided into topics, with the selection from *Aureng-zebe* placed in the category of “Husband and Wife.” Richardson may have seen the collected text and, with no further context beyond these lines, may have adjusted them for *Clarissa*.

What I ultimately want to suggest is the idea that allusion circulates like a poisoned shirt. This approach to allusion opens new ways of thinking about literary history beyond the model of succession described by Ricks. Dryden’s usage of “we” in the line, “Like Hercules, invenom’d Shirts we wear,” inspires the idea that, instead of dividing generational gaps between writers and the linear line of history this division entails, those making the allusion are instead part of a gift exchange. We can look at the “we” used by the Emperor in *Aureng-zebe* to determine the criteria for this exchange: being a scorned lover. The Emperor and his wife in *Aureng-zebe* have fallen out of domestic bliss, with one’s existence acting as a “invenom’d shirt” to the other rather than a blessing. They experience pain with the other’s presence as much as Hercules felt when he put on the shirt.

However, *Aureng-zebe* has two characters directly speaking to each other, which allows for the reading of “we” as scorned lovers. In the context of Bysshe’s common-place book, by contrast, “we” might refer to a different group. As the reader recognizes the allusion, he or she collects many possible references for “we.” Lacking the context of the *Aureng-zebe* passage, we can interpret the “we” as a more

general category that includes the reader as well. The “we” from “Husband and Wives” ends up bringing all the alluders together as if they are wearing this shirt of Hercules. Lovelace may be seen as an outlier in this regard; he uses “I” instead of “we,” but he is actually still part of the exchange because he references the same poisoned shirt. As Lovelace reads about Hercules, as he makes the allusion, being hurt by the woman he eventually rapes, Clarissa, his personal Dejanira, he joins the gift exchange of poisoned lovers.

Yet this gift exchange does not act like the line of inheritance, two-dimensionally moving from originator to successor. No, it behaves more like a three-dimensional structure, full of tiers. An allusion can be transmitted from character to character but also beyond: From character to reader. The poisoned shirt theory collapses history and fiction. As a result of hearing the allusion, one is in the same role as Hercules, a husband (or wife in the Empress’s case) poisoned by his (or her) spouse through a shirt. The couple is no longer passing the allusion down but rather putting each other in the same shirt as Hercules. It becomes a never-ending poisoning, one that now places the character, the writer, and the reader on the same level, as someone else wearing this poisoned garment. This theory would have these figures not focus on the economics of a situation, on what is gained and/or lost, but instead focus on alleviation, what the “tearing” mentioned after “I traversed the room; my clenched fist to my forehead” is supposed to do.

Later in the novel, the titular protagonist herself tries to alleviate her symptoms through the tearing of her letters as she suffers from Lovelace’s allusion later in the novel. After Lovelace recaptures Clarissa from Hampstead, he soon rapes her, which results in her mental breakdown. She attempts to send a letter to her companion, Anna Howe, but, in the words of Lovelace’s servant, Dorcas: “What she writes, she tears, and throws the paper in fragments under the table.”¹¹ Despite Clarissa never having read Lovelace’s allusion, she behaves like Hercules, tearing things apart, all the while “distracted” as Lovelace described himself. This is signified by the fact that the book titles her writings not as letters as have been previously done but as “papers.” Lovelace, having redirected violence at Hampstead as he suffered from a lack of “anybody” to tear, aimed that feeling later towards Clarissa, who afterwards found her “anybody”: her letters. The allusion, the sensations of intense agony that Lovelace felt, is now a part of Clarissa. She has become Hercules, poisoned by her own Dejanira, Lovelace.

As allusion acts as a poisoned shirt, making those that become aware of it Hercules; its dissemination to different audiences only increases its intensity. One of Lovelace’s

other lovers, Sally Martin, demonstrates this when she uses his own words when he was courting her against him. She has a verbal exchange with Lovelace and recalls an allusion that he told her long ago:

“False women to new joys unseen can move;
There are no prints left in the paths of love,
All goods besides by public marks are known;
But what we most desire to keep, has none.”¹²

She then proceeds to recite her own rendition of the same allusion from a work of Dryden:

“*We* women to new joys unseen may move:
There are no prints left in the paths of Love.
All goods besides by public marks are known:
But *those men* most desire to keep, have none”¹³

Not only can this recitation be considered a re-poisoning, it can even be viewed as an increase in the dosage as the allusion affects the original speaker, Lovelace, more the second time it is told. When an allusion is “self-delightingly about allusion,” when it “can catch fire from the rapidity of its own motion” as a poisoned shirt, being told more and more, even to its original speaker, it only becomes more powerful as part of an exchange.¹⁴ The poisoned shirt, ever-expanding, becomes a costume worn by more than one person as the novel shifts into the dramatic form. The theory of allusion moves from the linearity of inheritance to a new focus, one that is based on the presentedness of the dramatic script from the past: an allusion as a poisoned shirt, a gift that makes one Hercules.

Endnotes

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- 3 Christopher Ricks. *Allusion to the Poets*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 16. See also Walter Jackson Bate. *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014) for further discussion on poets and their usage of the past “for authority or psychological comfort” (38).
- 4 Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets*, 32.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 9
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- ⁸ John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, (London, 1808; Project Gutenberg, 2005), vol. 5.
- ⁹ For a brief history of this debate, see A. Dwight Culler's article, "Edward Bysshe and the Poet's Handbook," *PMLA* 63, no. 3 (1948): 858–85.
- ¹⁰ Edward Bysshe. *The art of English poetry containing I. Rules for making verses. II. A collection of the most natural, agreeable, and sublime thoughts [sic]. . . . III. A dictionary of rhymes. By Edw. Bysshe. gent.*, 3rd ed. (London: printed for Sam. Buckley, 1708).
- ¹¹ Richardson, *Clarissa*, 889.
- ¹² John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, (London, 1808; Project Gutenberg, 2005), vol. 4.
- ¹³ Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa, The Complete 3rd Edition* (London, 1751; UPenn), vol. 6, letter 46.
- ¹⁴ Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets*, 9.

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The Relationship Between the Underdevelopment of Countries from the Global South and International Financial Institutions

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Abstract

The 1950s were a period of much optimism and buoyancy as many African states were in the process of obtaining democracy, whilst some had already gained it. As many states embarked on nation-building, international financial institutions played a key role in the development programs of many countries in the South, especially African states as they appeared to be an impolitic source of funds. Studying the role of multilateral financial institutions in the development programs of countries from the South is important as it explores the political nature of these institutions as they are greatly influenced by hegemonic world states such as the U.S. Moreover, much research on early development of African states ignores the role played by financial institutions such as the World Bank in defining and shaping what it means to develop in the world system. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to explore how multilateral financial institutions' autonomy in the post-colonial era created space for these institutions to define what development is and therefore cripple the economies of many countries in the South especially African countries.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

The field of development studies has been largely dominated by scholars and theorists from countries in the Global North. The nature of the scholarship produced by such scholars is often directed towards creating a template of what development is with an intention of making this definition a standard that is supposed to be emulated by all countries in the world, and especially those from the Global South. This trend is residue from the exploitative relationship between the Global North and the Global South that emanates from the colonial period. Development in the context of this article is founded on historical events such as the industrial revolution which brings a justification of the unsustainable exploitation of the earth's resources which are often unfairly obtained for the purpose of economic and

political gains. This article understands development as defined by Alan Thomas to be "a vision, description or measure of the state of being of a desirable society" (Thomas 2007, 777). A key aspect of this piece is to analyse what this desirable society looks like and how it can be achieved. In the contemporary period, multilateral financial institutions have played a pivotal role in defining and assisting in implementing what is perceived as "development." There is little published data regarding the motive behind the large presence of multilateral financial institutions such as the World Bank in developing countries.

This article provides insight on the effects of international financial institutions on the development of countries from the Global South with an understanding that the under-studying of this issue creates a narrative that the slow-paced development of countries in the Global South is solely domestic, free from external influence. The central argument of this article is to critically assess the role of multilateral financial institutions in controlling the domestic development strategies of countries in the Global South by specifically looking at the involvement of the World Bank in Colombia and Lesotho. These case studies are important because the former examines the founding principles that World Bank officials used when attempting to assist countries in the Global South in development whilst the latter identifies how these principles become widespread and thus negatively affecting countries that were in the process of nation-building. Ultimately, I argue that the lack of economic power and autonomy that many countries in the Global South are subjected to because of colonisation deprives them the right to truly pave their own path towards development.

Background and History

The history of analyzing directed progress dates to before the 1930s when Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch created the term "predevelopmentalist development" which explained what David Anderson analyzed when looking at the different phases of the growth of various industries in Britain's economy at that time (Cooper and Packard 1996, 7). Politicians and theorists in this period debated on if "late industrializing nations" should duplicate their social, economic, and cultural policies towards the already booming "European bourgeoisies" economy which was influenced by the laissez-faire economic model (Cooper and Packard 1996, 7). Considering this, many financial institutions such as the World Bank systematically channeled newly independent states towards adopting Western models of development with an inherent understanding that it would yield the same result as that of Western states. The concept of development in the 1930s and 1940s academic world was largely understood to be "a framing device bringing together a

range of interventionist policies and metropolitan finance with the explicit goal of raising colonial standards of living” (Cooper and Packard 1996, 7). In this context, industrializing is seen as the first step towards development and since countries from the North industrialized first, they saw themselves as the guardians of development making other countries, especially those formerly colonized, to imitate their ways. Such a belief blinds the reality that countries in the North industrialized through the exploitation and oppression of countries in the South. It was imperialism and colonization that offered Western countries the resources to industrialize and grow their economies. Therefore, speaking about Western development and not mentioning that part of history is a systematic erasure of a history that influences even modern-day realities of the Global South. The rise of the U.S. as a hegemonic state in modern-day politics cannot be overlooked as much of the work done by multilateral financial institutions was influenced by American foreign policy.

Role of the USA

International financial institutions are key in understanding the nature of the development of countries from the South as they provide the economic prowess that these countries often lack. After the Second World War, Escobar (1995, 21) argues that there was a widespread narrative about the “discovery of poverty in Asia, Africa and Latin America.” As a result, many politicians and theorists from the West preached for the need to ‘assist’ countries in the South by waging “war on poverty in the Third World” as highlighted by President Harry Truman in his inaugural address in 1949 (Escobar 1995, 21). He argued that the poor and developing countries of the world threaten the wealth of more developed states (Escobar 1995, 3). This led the U.S. in taking an active role in the development programs of countries in the South and driving a narrative that their actions are based on “concepts of democratic fair dealing” and through these actions, they are assisting in “greater production” initiatives (Escobar 1995, 3). The hegemonic power that the U.S. had in the world at time together with it being one of the key contributors to the World Bank’s source of funds ensured that it had big influence on how the bank implements its project grant loans and, in essence, to which countries it offered development assistance. This is important because the implementation of development policies and strategies for many multilateral financial institutions is heavily influenced by wealthy countries as in the case of the World Bank; its main funders are the countries that founded it, which include the U.S., Germany, the U.K., etc. (The World Bank Group n.d.). The economic assistance these countries give to the World Bank permits them the autonomy to have the most voting power. The U.S. has a percentage share of the total subscriptions of about 42%

which is by far the highest compared to its next competitor Japan at 19% (World Bank Group Finances n.d.). Therefore, the period between the 1930s and the 1940s is vital in understanding the influence that hegemonic states have in how multilateral financial institutions function.

The main argument that wealthy countries in the Global North in this period promoted was that the mass poverty and instability of poor countries will ‘spill over’ and disrupt the whole world, thus making it the responsibility of developed countries to prevent this spillage from happening and in the process, also prevent the ‘poverty disease’ from affecting developed nations. The anxiety that many developed states experienced led to a systematic portrayal of the “Third World” as in dire need of saving and the message that if the international world does nothing, their own wealth and progress will be at stake. What this narrative hides, though, are the colonial ways of power and control that developed countries utilized when dealing with lesser-developed colonies in situations where it justifies intervening in a state’s domestic environment for the purpose of “saving” the state from poverty and therefore being developed. Thus, using the case of Colombia and Lesotho this article will assess the nature of the financial assistance that multilateral financial institutions give to countries in the Global South.

The Case of Colombia

Similar to the Marshall Plan period, international financial institutions played a vital role in the post-independence strategies of many countries and in defining what “development” means in international standards. Moreover, to create a strategy for the development of the “Third world,” the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) conducted its first survey mission to Colombia which was led by Currie and Hirschman in 1949 (Alvarez, Guiot-Isaac and Hurtado 2017, 3). Prior to this, the Colombian President Mariono Perez requested a loan from IBRD and the bank resolved that before the loan was authorized, “a field investigation in order to assess the general conditions of the country” was required (Alvarez, Guiot-Isaac and Hurtado 2017, 4). This mission was the first of its kind for the bank which became a footprint on how other world financial institutions assist developing countries with “development” policies and strategies going forwards.

There were many issues that were brought by the bank’s involvement in the Colombian economy as there were critiques that the bank worked closely with the country’s elite. As a result, there were contestations between various political parties for playing an active role in the General Survey Mission that led to the ultimate

assassination of a popular leader of the liberal party, Jorge Gaitan (Alacevich 2009, 16). Gaitan's assassination revealed that the bank was not free of political biasness and a political stance as it chose to portray itself as among the Colombian President Perez's supporters. As a result, the mission failed to solve many of Colombia's issues as it was clear in the eyes of its citizens that the country was an elitist society that excluded the working class and ethnic minorities from occupying key positions in the country's economy. Additionally, the bank was strongly influenced by the economic and political pursuits of its funders or shareholders. According to Alacevich (2009, 17), in this period the "Bank management was walking a fine line between the Bank as a multilateral organization and as a resource for intergovernmental financing," as the bank's policies were so intertwined with that of its shareholders, especially the U.S. The bank in many instances was a foreign policy tool for its shareholders especially the U.S. The need for the U.S. to be a major contributor to the bank at that time was to advance its own internal political ideologies, which include advancing Western and capitalistic views regarding development in contrast to the Soviet Union's ideology of development as it was the period of the Cold War.

Another major issue with the involvement of international financial institutions in the development of countries from the Global South is that it creates an unequal relationship between the country and the bank that demands that the lender has power over the borrower. Considering this, George (1990, 143) states that debt is the most efficient mechanism that ensures the lender's access to the "raw materials and infrastructure" of the person has borrowed the money. Moreover, the involvement of financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) increases the dependency of countries from the Global South towards countries from the Global North and the institutions themselves. As a result, Shah (2013) states that the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) initiated by IMF to ensure debt repayment has forced poor countries which are mainly in the Global South to reduce spending on critical domestic development issues and thus prioritize the payment of loans. This creates a situation where growth in these countries is delayed, as they are trapped in an economic system where their dependence on institutions such as the World Bank and IMF is inevitable.

Moreover, the prescribed neoliberal policies that the IMF and World Bank use to assist developing countries financially, which include establishing an "export-oriented economy, minimizing the role of the state in the market and deregulation" has devastating effects on the economies of these countries as instead of growth and development, poor countries are kept in the poverty trap (Shah 2013). Similarly,

Smith (1994, 139) states that "developed countries grow rich by selling capital-intensive (thus cheap) products for a high price and buying labor-intensive (thus expensive) products for a low price." Thus, much of the work done by the World Bank and IMF increases world inequality rather than alleviates poverty. Additionally, it produces in essence, a World System that is systematically capitalistic which maintains unequal trade relations where market shares and prices are controlled by wealthier nations of the world. At the periphery of this capitalistic world system are countries in Africa.

The Case of Lesotho

The inherent biases that financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF hold towards emerging economies causes them to create a social hierarchy when relating with these countries. This inevitably causes these financial institutions to see themselves as superior and with expert knowledge and therefore in a position to understand the complex societies that many emerging economies encompass. This is seen in the Lesotho case, as the failure of several development projects was argued by many theorists to be because "local people were being defeatist or not serious" about developing themselves (Ferguson 1994, 178). Such an analysis of Basotho's lack of enthusiasm in championing development projects blinds the failure of the World Bank in accurately defining Basotho's reality at that time.¹ Moreover, most of the development projects were highly politicized, favoring the elites of the country especially those in the ruling party (Ferguson 1994, 178). Therefore, rather than bringing growth and development in Lesotho, these development projects brought underdevelopment instead.

In 1975 the World Bank issued a report about Lesotho that became pivotal on how developmental assistance was given to the country by outsider funders. The report stated that "virtually untouched by modern economic development, Lesotho was and still is a traditional subsistence peasant society. At independence, there was no economic infrastructure to speak of. Industries were virtually non-existent" (Ferguson 1994, 176). This narrative justified the large amounts of loans that were then given to the country by multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. Furthermore, the problem with such a narrative is that it gave a "half-truth" about the situation in Lesotho as the country had functional and established industries from the mid-1800s producing "wheat, mealies, wool, horse, cattle, etc." especially for the South African market (Ferguson 1994). The effects of the misinterpretation by the bank affected the country's entire development pursuit. This report also misguided the development

projects that the bank would later fund and made them irrelevant to the country's reality.

Ferguson (1994, 176) alludes that the assumption made by the World Bank that Lesotho was a "rural proletariat which scratches about on the land" led to an inaccurate conclusion that 85% of Basotho live based on agricultural produce rather than the "wage labor from South Africa" that it received. According to Ferguson (1994, 177), the failure of the various initiatives conducted by the financial institutions in their quest for development in Lesotho is that "the picture of Lesotho constructed by the Bank and other 'development' agencies bears a little resemblance to reality." The misinformation that the bank had about Lesotho coupled with liberal principles of development made it extremely difficult for the money loaned to Lesotho to yield their expected ends.

Considering this, it perhaps comes as no surprise that the "official development assistance" that was given to Lesotho by various institutions and governments did not improve the country's economy and poverty rate in its post-independence period and instead contributed to the poverty and the political instability that country was experiencing. Moreover, many of the projects funded and conducted by the World Bank present themselves as politically neutral, but in the process ignore the party politics and political conflicts that affect the progress of a development project. In Lesotho's case, the strong influence of the ruling party was not adequately analyzed by the bank when giving recommendations and conditionalities on how the country ought to grow. This was mainly because the bank chose to partner with the party in power and not speak against the atrocities it committed in the country at that time.

The African Context

The main problem with the involvement of multilateral financial institutions in the development of countries from the Global South is that they had a preconceived idea of what development is and how it can be achieved. Ferguson (1994, 178) states that "according to a pre-determined plan, development officials assumed the projects were givens and all they had to do was implement them" (Ferguson 1994, 178). Therefore, it is for this reason that the Bretton Woods system of financial management, for example, was not the same blessing to countries in the Global South especially in Africa as it was to Europe and North America. Moreover, the liberal ideologies that were adopted in many revolutions in Europe became the basis for how such financial institutions functioned and as a result failed to tackle the various issues that countries from the South faced. In contrast, non-Western countries, especially African societies, have a communitarian rather than liberal

history, basing their social life on social African philosophies such as Ubuntu and political ideologies such as African Socialism.

With all these issues at play, in the period between 1990 and 1993 the IBRD gave aid to many "emerging markets" allowing them "easy access to private capital markets" (Dreher and Vaubel 2004, 5). This led to the bank initiating many "institutional development and sustainability" projects; 30–40% of these projects did not yield expected returns whilst the projects in the poorest countries had a higher failure rate of about 65–70% (Dreher and Vaubel 2004, 5). Therefore, the development that the World Bank envisioned to bring into many countries in the South was not achieved. Instead, the world saw these projects as active contributors to the underdevelopment of developing countries. The assumptions that the bank adopted from its first survey in Colombia caused it to generalize what development looks like in underdeveloped countries and therefore ignore the specific realities of each country it encountered.

Conclusion

The creation of the development ideology as a continuous improvement of society over a period systematically side-lined countries from the South as the inherent understanding at that time was that industrialized and capitalistic states were the only ones capable of developing. With a lack of capital, many countries from the South depended on international financial institutions to advance their development strategies, but the Westernized idea of development of those institutions rendered them ineffective in the context of the South. It is the influence of the IMF and the World Bank that led to the underdevelopment and the impoverishment of many countries of the South leading to countries from the North occupying a dominant position in world affairs. Critically analysing the presence of multilateral financial institutions in the development of countries from the South is essential as it allows for a more nuanced understanding of development whilst also highlighting the impact that these institutions have on the domestic life of these countries. Lastly, it is vital to continuously dig into the presence of these institutions as financial control of the development strategies of countries in the South is largely influenced by those who have the means to fund those strategies.

Endnote

¹ For more on the history of Lesotho and on the Basotho people, see <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/basotho>.

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“The Wall Is Jazz...”: *The Wall of Respect* and Its Influence on Mural Making

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Abstract

This research project is art history-centered, investigating the relationship between the Black Arts Movements in Chicago and Los Angeles by comparing the art produced, the methods of production, and the ideology of the movements. This paper explores the ways in which Chicago's *The Wall of Respect* (1967) mural subsequently affected art production and organization in Chicago's movement. This is accomplished by analyzing *The Wall* and similar murals created thereafter and discussing specific artists involved in the creation of the mural and their art. *The Wall of Respect* was a mural created by a coalition of Black artists in a collage-like ode to Black public figures; its uniquely mutable quality and its distinct technical elements are later echoed in murals of the Chicago Mural Movement. Scholarship by Rebecca Zurich, Romi Crawford, Abdul Alkalimat, Wadsworth Jarrell, and Larry Neal are utilized throughout the research process and referenced in this paper.

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The Wall of Respect (1967) was a collaboration between numerous Chicago-based Black artists and the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC). This mural project was erected in the Bronzeville neighborhood on the corner of 43rd Street and Langley, which was the epicenter of one of the many Black communities in Chicago at that time. *The Wall* was meant to be a beacon of hope for those living there, a proud display of the heroes and heroines of the Black community.¹ *The Wall* launched a national mural movement and served as a hub of artistic, political, and social gatherings in the Black community. *The Wall* was impactful, not only because of its content, but also because of its artistic innovation and the subsequent influence it had on Chicago's Black Arts Movement. It displayed innovative

formal elements that were emblematic of the national Black Arts Movement's drive for a unique Black aesthetic.² The ongoing process of creation that extended beyond its initial fabrication was distinctive and became characteristic of Chicago's movement and its art production. This influence can be seen throughout the art and organizing of the Black Arts Movement in Chicago, reflecting the distinctive manifestation of the Black Arts Movement in Chicago. *The Wall*, like the Black Arts Movement itself, is a significant yet understudied part of Black art history. Though more historians are discussing the diverse art created in this movement, *The Wall's* influence on Chicago's art scene has not been given much attention in the art historical canon. Specifically, the mutability and evolving nature of *The Wall* has not been acknowledged as a distinguishing characteristic or a significant influence on the subsequent art of the movement. This article will discuss the inception of the mural, key elements of its creation, the mutability of *The Wall*, and the artistic and social influence it had relating to and going beyond its uniquely ephemeral nature. Ultimately, this paper intends to show *The Wall* as a catalyst of the movement and an overarching influence for its manifestation.

The Wall started as an idea in the OBAC Visual Arts Workshop³ when OBAC member and muralist William “Bill” Walker offered the wall of a building, for which he had recently been commissioned to paint a mural, as the site for their work.⁴ The aim of the group was to inspire “positive self-esteem” and “community values” through a Black liberation rhetoric.⁵ The plans for *The Wall* first grew roots in the Visual Arts Workshop's earliest meeting in June 1967, and the painting occurred between August 5th and August 24th, 1967.⁶ Each artist involved in *The Wall* painted in their own style, creating a monumental collage spanning the side of an entire building. *The Wall* was divided into seven sections with an extra section, Dance, painted onto a small structure in front of the building. For each section—Rhythm & Blues, Theater, Literature, Sports, Jazz, Statesmen, and Religion—one or more artists painted as many as twelve different Black public figures. Photos by Black photographers, such as Robert Sengstacke, and text by Black writers were also added to *The Wall*, truly making it a multi-media, multi-artist powerhouse of a monument. In addition to featuring Black leaders, *The Wall's* aesthetic also reflected social commentary and laid the groundwork for subsequent mural art. There was a group consensus not to include signatures on *The Wall* or its various sections, preserving the spontaneous and collaborative nature of its inception.⁷ Additionally, ownership was, in theory, ceded to the residents of the neighborhood as no artist's signature was there to claim the work as their own. Community-driven artistic endeavors were common in Chicago's Black Arts Movement, with many community art centers and

community-based projects being created, run, and supported during this time.⁸ The influx of mural creation that resulted from *The Wall* itself was also an example of the drive to create art by and for the Black communities in Chicago.



Organization of Black American Culture and affiliated artists, *The Wall of Respect*, 1967. 43rd Street and Langley Avenue. Photograph by Robert Sengstacke and courtesy of the Robert Sengstacke Photography Archive and the University of Chicago's Visual Resources Center.

The celebration of important Black public figures was a significant part of *The Wall's* creation; many of those figures were involved in the creation and performance of music, a crucial medium for Black expression throughout history.⁹ The Black Arts Movement often featured different artistic mediums mixing and inspiring one another; the movement in Chicago was no exception and featured many examples of combining musical techniques and references with visual arts.¹⁰ *The Wall's* creation was rooted in this Black musical tradition and culture; two sections of *The Wall* were devoted entirely to Black musical genres, Rhythm & Blues and Jazz. The name of *The Wall* itself was derived from the Aretha Franklin (a figure featured on *The Wall*) song "Respect" which was released earlier that year. Abdul Alkalimat, one of OBAC's founders, stated in his book *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*¹¹ that, "The word 'respect' became a critical reference... We knew that Black unity could only happen if it was based in respect."¹² The Jazz section featured the largest number of heroes and heroines, which was fitting as Alkalimat has further stated that "The Wall was jazz..."¹³ The creation of it embodied the collaborative, spontaneous, and fluctuating harmony that exists within the musical genre and encapsulated the Black liberation sentiment; jazz was the quintessential music of the fight for Black freedom. Jazz musicians play off one another, creating spontaneous and unique music that embraces collaboration and imperfection—the same could be said for the way in which OBAC members went about painting *The Wall*.

Another notable section, perhaps the most infamous and controversial, is the Statesmen section painted by Norman Parish. While all parts of *The Wall*, as previously

mentioned, featured prominent Black figures who were important to the Black community, this section proved to be one of the most contentious due to the climate of Black liberation in Chicago. Certain important Black political figures, such as Martin Luther King Jr., were omitted due to their "soft" views and positions.¹⁴ Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey, Adam Clayton Powell, Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture), and H. Rap Brown (Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin), with Malcolm X emphasized as the biggest portrait, were the leaders who made the final cut and were depicted on *The Wall*. These leaders were all known for their defiant stances and tended to have Black nationalist leanings. This section of *The Wall* was not only rife with tension due to the choice of figures that were depicted, but also because it was the first section to be painted over and changed completely after *The Wall's* dedication.

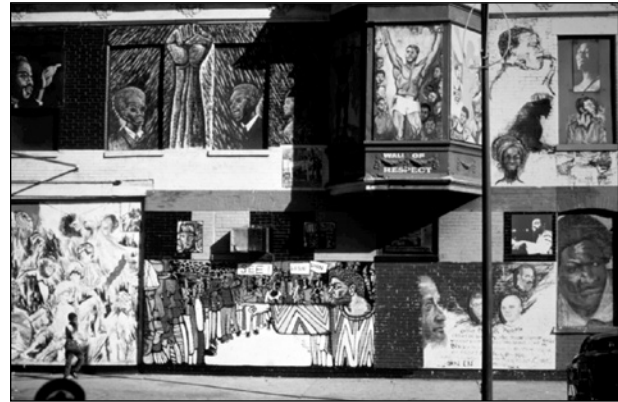
The mutability of *The Wall* was unique. There were multiple versions, with the catalyst being Bill Walker's and Eugene "Edaw" Wade's original intervention, that made *The Wall* ever-evolving until the destruction of the building in 1971 due to fire damage. In addition to the intervention of Walker and Wade, which I discuss below, there are reports of community input and ideas that were considered when creating the mural. OBAC already omitted Martin Luther King Jr. due to their own perceptions of his relation to Black liberation, but they also chose to exclude him because they knew the people of the neighborhood would not want to see a public figure who was less than radical depicted.¹⁵ There were multiple revisions of the list of figures for *The Wall*, with additional figures being added and some being cut altogether.¹⁶ A large factor in this decision-making was the idea of proximity to whiteness and the notion of "soft" ideologies and politics. Wadsworth Jarrell stated in his book that they chose to omit some Black figures who were in relationships with white people or those who showed too much favor toward the white community. This mural was *for* Black people in a *Black* neighborhood; white people did not factor in. Jarrell's comments are a testament to the controversial nature of the Statesmen section, before and after it was ever created or changed: "In hindsight," Jarrell stated, "in my opinion, we were mistaken in considering people's private lives."¹⁷ Thus, *The Wall's* content fluctuated, even throughout the creation process. Though it's debatable how much input from the community mattered or affected the work—the mural is generally thought of as a product of continuous feedback from the neighborhood and responses by the mural's artists¹⁸—it's clear that the anticipated reaction from the community and the perception of their views guided the artists in their process. It encouraged the muralists to edit or change the work to suit the neighborhood's needs and wants. *The Wall's* legacy as a community monument stems largely from the care

and consideration of the neighborhood's residents and tailoring *The Wall* to that specific community.

The revisions to *The Wall* began with Edaw Wade's and Bill Walker's whitewashing and repainting of the Statesmen section, originally painted by Norman Parrish with photographs by Roy Lewis. Wade and Walker allowed the Young Militants, a community organization, to take on the whitewashing task.¹⁹ This action, done without input from Parrish himself or the rest of the OBAC Visual Arts Workshop, effectively granted ownership of the entirety of *The Wall* to Walker.²⁰ Permission from any and all other Visual Arts Workshop members was not taken into account nor asked for before changes were made; this decision to neglect securing group consensus, or even just permission from Parrish himself, implied to the other members that Walker superseded all others in his claim to the mural.²¹ Wade had been repeatedly requesting space on *The Wall* to paint and Walker, under the impression that Norman Parrish left his section unfinished due to the sketchy style he employed for his portrait of Malcolm X, gave him permission to paint over it.²² Wade claims in *The Wall of Respect* that this decision was also due in part to the changing climate of the neighborhood, the residents longing for something more militant and "confrontational."²³ This decision was antithetical to some of the aforementioned key ideas for *The Wall*, including allowing each artist to paint in their own style. Parrish's sketchy portrayal of Malcolm X was deemed too stylized and "unfinished" and was traded out for a more conventional style of mural making, completely spurning Parrish in the process.

The first revisions to *The Wall* were done upon the freshly whitewashed wall by Edaw Wade alone. He painted a Black power fist in the center of the section, surrounded by smaller portraits of Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and Malcolm X. The portrait of Malcolm X had been previously painted by Wade and included his artist signature. This new Statesmen section stood out from *The Wall*, the oversized fist in the center appearing out of place in relation to the several sections that only contained figural representations of actual Black luminaries. The background of this section was completely black with rays of yellow light emitted from the central fist. The section is more "confrontational" after the change, with multiple figures in the act of oration, mouths open and hands raised. This change, though, was not for the better in the eyes of others who had contributed to *The Wall*. Tensions arose around the lone signature belonging to Wade, someone who was not involved in the original creation of *The Wall*,²⁴ which staked his claim and marked his ownership of the mural after the group consensus to omit signatures and cede ownership to the community.²⁵ This repainting resulted in fighting

that eventually led to the end of the OBAC Visual Arts Workshop.²⁶



The Wall of Respect, partial view, after initial changes by Eugene "Edaw" Wade, 1967–1970. Photo by an unknown photographer, possibly Mark Rogovin, courtesy of The University of Chicago's Visual Resources Center and the Georg Stahl collection.

After this initial change, Walker repainted his part of *The Wall* in 1968 by adding figures carrying signs to his original section before completely changing the section altogether. The section, which had originally been the Religion section, was changed to represent "Peace and Salvation" and featured a group of Black figures and a group of white figures confronting each other angrily with the words "Peace" and "Salvation" depicted on a painted frame held up by two hands. The addition of white figures to the mural undermined the idea of the mural only featuring Black figures and Black heroes, and bolstering Black pride in the community; seeing angry white faces was a common occurrence for Black people at this time, depicting them on a mural that was meant to communicate the respect and power of Black people did not fit the theme completely. Alongside this, Walker added the figures of two children onto a door next to Barbara Jones-Hogu's section. Wade also added a large panel of Klansmen under the Statesmen section, serving the purpose of offering additional commentary on Black people's position in America. This, again, was contrary to *The Wall's* initial intention of producing positive imagery and bolstering self-esteem for Black people, but the addition of a stroke of brutal reality was a hallmark of Walker's work.²⁷ Additions, not changes, to *The Wall* were added before and after the initial repainting of *The Wall* by Wade and Walker.²⁸ These included another storefront panel, new figures, and sections of text.²⁹ These additions, big and small, are what created this precedent of a non-static mural. The idea of continual evolution and change would feature in many murals created by Bill Walker after *The Wall*, including his *Wall of Truth* (1969) and *Peace and Salvation/Wall of Understanding* (1970).



The Wall of Respect with all additional changes, 1967–1970. Photo by an unknown photographer, possibly Mark Rogovin, courtesy of The University of Chicago's Visual Resources Center and the Georg Stahl collection.



William Walker and Edaw Wade, *Wall of Truth*, 1969. Photograph by Georg Stahl, courtesy of The University of Chicago's Visual Resource Center and the Georg Stahl Collection.

Due to the nature of murals being public facing, community-oriented art works, changing murals to reflect the changing needs, wants, and beliefs of a community is indeed an innovative notion. With artworks like sculpture and traditional canvas painting, these works can simply be removed and/or replaced once they no longer fit the space in which they are located. A mural—something that can also be painted over and replaced (as seen above) or completely removed by way of demolition and containing the capability of evolving without ever being completely removed—gives agency to those in the community to decide what fits best for them. It maintains the history of the art while recognizing the communal participation and encouraging the public to maintain a degree of direct ownership over the work. This isn't to say that all mutable art relies on the community itself to change it; in Walker's mutable works, the change was enacted by he himself to fulfill the needs of the community in which he was entrenched. His *Wall of Truth* featured a section entitled "Black Laws" to which Walker would paste newspaper pages, ones that he had decided the community would be interested in seeing or needed to know about.³⁰ In his *Peace and Salvation/Wall of Understanding* mural, Walker would return repeatedly to repaint the lower section of the mural, treating it as a "chronicle or newspaper" in and of itself.³¹ Mutability, specifically Walker's mutability, changed the landscape of mural-making in Chicago and allowed public art to supersede the notion of an ending point. There was no final form to *The Wall* itself and there was no final form to Walker's subsequent murals. This ever-evolving nature reflects the ways in which Black liberation movements continue to evolve, each one expanding upon movements of the past.



William Walker, *Peace and Salvation*, 1970. Photograph by Georg Stahl, courtesy of The University of Chicago's Visual Resource Center and the Georg Stahl Collection.

Beyond mutability, *The Wall* influenced art-making both stylistically and organizationally. The visual effect of this collage-like mural was striking. The bold colors and huge portraits of Black icons created an imposing monument that captured the eye immediately. The trope of using well-known public figures in murals was also used later by Bill Walker in his mural, *Peace and Salvation/Wall of Understanding* (1970), where he featured several Civil Rights leaders such as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., and the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Beyond the actual figural depiction of public and historical personages, Walker also simply invoked the names of influential people in his works, such as his mural *All of Mankind* (1972), which was painted on

Strangers Home Missionary Baptist Church. Mitchell Caton and C. Siddha Webber also used the likenesses of popular Black personalities, both local and national, in their two “Sun-Ra murals”³² including *The Philosophy of the Spiritual* (1972). This mural specifically uses both poetry by Webber and monumental depictions of Sun-Ra, which directly references the *Wall of Respect*’s distinctive iconographic elements.³³ Publicly representing powerful and important figures in the Black community became a popular tool for artmaking in the broader Black Arts Movement as well, with artists from AfriCOBRA evoking Black figures from popular culture, the news, and local scenes in their works.³⁴

The collage-like effect of *The Wall* was adopted by other artists in Chicago afterwards as well; murals did not have to follow a narrative anymore—powerful symbols, words, and figures were enough to portray a striking message. *The Wall*’s use of unconventional elements such as text and photographs was seen in murals across Chicago spanning the decades of the ’60s and ’70s. The use of poetry on *The Wall* was innovative³⁵ and inspired many mural-makers in the Chicago area, including Mitchell Caton and William Walker, members of the Chicago Mural Group (now Chicago Public Art Group).³⁶ Caton and C. Siddha Webber’s *Philosophy of the Spiritual* (1972) also features poetry by Webber and a non-narrative composition, including local community heroes like Sun-Ra³⁷ and a local sidewalk prophet.³⁸ The photographs by Roy Lewis, Robert Sengstacke, and Bob Crawford were displayed on walls in the Edgewood and Bronzeville neighborhoods, acting as *Wall of Respects* for their own communities; the photographs thus created murals within themselves.



Mitchell Caton and C. Siddha Webber, *Philosophy of the Spiritual*, 1972. 75th Street and St. Lawrence. Photograph by Robert Sengstacke and courtesy of the Robert Sengstacke Photography Archive and the University of Chicago’s Visual Resources Center.

Countless other murals sprang up across Chicago with an emphasis on collaboration from other artists, school children, and community members. These were community-focused efforts in mural-making and beautification based on the sense of collaboration from *The Wall*. Additionally, several members from OBAC’s Visual Arts Workshop went on to work collaboratively together on other projects. One of the most notable collaborative efforts that came from this group of people was the formation of AfriCOBRA, the African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists. This artist collective was formed by Wadsworth Jarrell, Jeff Donaldson, Jae Jarrell, Barbara Jones-Hogu, and Gerald Williams; Wadsworth Jarrell, Donaldson, and Jones-Hogu were all members of the workshop and painted the R&B, Jazz, and Theater sections of *The Wall* respectively. This group adopted a similar view of collaboration, opting to paint their own works and maintaining their own personal styles but creating art under a set of agreed upon principles.³⁹ The membership of the group fluctuated greatly, resulting in artworks attributed to the group at any given time being vastly different. This variation in style, subject, and membership was its own example of mutability.

In addition to the artistic influence of *The Wall*, its impact on the community was just as significant. In the words of Jeff Donaldson, “... Before the *Wall* was finished on August 24, 1967, it had become an instantaneous shrine to Black creativity, a rallying point for revolutionary rhetoric and calls to action, and a national symbol of the heroic Black struggle for liberation in America.”⁴⁰ Poetry readings, political rallies, tours, and neighborhood gatherings were held by *The Wall*. Poetry by Gwendolyn Brooks (the first Black American awarded a Pulitzer Prize), Don L. Lee, and Eugene Perkins was written about *The Wall* and performed in front of it. In one instance, as noted in Alkalimat’s book, a man leaned his back against it to “get his strength.”⁴¹ The body of a gang leader was laid in front of *The Wall*,⁴² police monitored it for political and activist activity,⁴³ children led white tourists on paid tours of *The Wall*⁴⁴—it was a hub of Black life in all its forms and influenced greatly the tone of the Black Arts Movement in Chicago. It birthed a new mural movement, with *Walls* being created across the nation to inspire and unite Black Americans and, most importantly, it forever changed the landscape of mural-making in Chicago and the nation.

Endnotes

- 1 Abdul Alkalimat and Rebecca Zorach, “Heroes and Heroines” in *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*, ed. Abdul Alkalimat, Romi Crawford, and Rebecca Zorach (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 51–69.
- 2 Larry Neal, “The Black Arts Movement,” *The Drama Review: TDR* 12, no. 4 (1968): 29–30.

- 3 Abdul Alkalimat, "Black Liberation: OBAC and the Makers of the Wall of Respect," in *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*, ed. Abdul Alkalimat, Romi Crawford, and Rebecca Zorach (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 103.
- 4 Ibid., 104.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Rebecca Zorach, "Conflict and Change on the Wall," in *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*, ed. Abdul Alkalimat, Romi Crawford, and Rebecca Zorach (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 275.
- 8 Rebecca Zorach, *Art For People's Sake* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).
- 9 See the Harlem Renaissance, Chicago Renaissance, and the musical innovations of Black Americans in the 20th century. See also musical traditions of enslaved communities in the United States: Dwight Hopkins, *Down, Up, and Over: Slave Religion and Black Theology*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).
- 10 See also the principles of AfriCOBRA's visual arts principles that explicitly reference influences from jazz, African music, and Black musical culture: Wadsworth Jarrell, *AfriCOBRA: Experimental Art Towards a School of Thought* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), xvi–xix.
- 11 Edited alongside Rebecca Zorach and Romi Crawford.
- 12 Alkalimat, "Black Liberation: OBAC and the Makers of the Wall of Respect," 105.
- 13 Ibid., 103.
- 14 Jarrell, "The Wall of Respect," in *AfriCOBRA: Experimental Art Towards a School of Thought* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 60–61.
- 15 Ibid., 60–61.
- 16 "OBAC Documents," in *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*, ed. Abdul Alkalimat, Romi Crawford, and Rebecca Zorach (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 164; This specific document is the notes of Gerald A. McWorter taken during a group discussion, entitled "Who Is on the Wall and Why."
- 17 Ibid., 60–61.
- 18 Zorach, *Art for People's Sake*, 75. Additionally, see Wadsworth Jarrell's chapter "The Wall of Respect" in *Africobra*; Jarrell states that several reports of direct community involvement in changes to *The Wall* were untrue and all revisions he purposefully made were at his own behest.
- 19 Zorach, "Conflict and Change on the Wall," 275.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Jarrell remarked that the whole wall was "Bill's call" but this statement is nuanced by recounts from members such as Alkalimat who recounts their shared responsibility and Parrish who was most affected by his dismissal.
- 22 A recollection from Jarrell in *AfriCOBRA* states that Walker said to Donaldson that the section was "not up to par" in addition to being unfinished.
- 23 Zorach, "Conflict and Change on the Wall," 275.
- 24 Ibid., 274.
- 25 It should be noted that at some point on a later date, Jeff Donaldson, Bill Abernathy, and Elliot Hunter signed the Jazz section and Wadsworth Jarrell also signed the R&B section.
- 26 Parish, in a quote to Jarrell, stated: "...it was the worst thing you could ever do to an artist in no uncertain terms."
- 27 Kimberly N. Pinder, "Black Liberation Theology, Black Power, and the Black Arts Movement at Trinity United Church of Christ," in *Painting the Gospel: Black Public Art and Religion in Chicago* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 83–84.
- 28 Zorach, "Conflict and Change on the Wall," 278–279. There is also something to be said about *The Wall* henceforth being changed and added to by artists who were not part of its original creation. This also factored into some of the bad blood around the legacies of *The Wall*.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Pinder, 87.
- 31 Ibid., 88.
- 32 C. Siddha Webber, "C. Siddha Webber," interview by Rebecca Zorach, *Never the Same*, 2016; the street philosopher, KeRa Upura was specifically featured. The mural was inspired by the environment of the neighborhood, specifically the rampant police brutality from the police station located down the street.
- 33 Ibid. Siddha's poem "Run to the Sun" was painted on the wall and Sun Ra's face was featured on the corner.
- 34 See the AfriCOBRA later in the paper for more context. *The Wall* was the most influential work of art in Chicago at this point utilizing these specific iconographical elements. The influx of art, specifically murals, created after *The Wall's* inception that utilize these same elements were directly influenced by *The Wall*. Additionally, Webber references *The Wall* throughout his interview with Zorach.
- 35 Rebecca Zorach, "Painters, Poets, and Performance: Looking at the Wall of Respect," in *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*, ed. Abdul Alkalimat, Romi Crawford, and Rebecca Zorach (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 21.
- 36 Zorach, *Art for People's Sake*, 215–218; "Mission and History," CPAG, November 14, 2022, <https://chicagopublicartgroup.org/mission-statement/>.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Jarrell, xvii.
- 40 Pinder, 84.
- 41 Rebecca Zorach, "Painters, Poets, and Performance: Looking at the Wall of Respect," in *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*, ed. Abdul Alkalimat, Romi Crawford, and Rebecca Zorach (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 18.
- 42 Ibid., 31.
- 43 Jarrell, 66–67.
- 44 Zorach, "Painters, Poets, and Performance: Looking at the Wall of Respect," 18–20.

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Invisible Spaces: Indigeneity and Climate Change in International Relations

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Abstract

International institutions have been tasked with tackling global existential crises caused by environmental collapse and many have turned their attention to Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) as a potential mediator to address the issue. Drawing on indigenous ontologies of the land, this paper will discuss the concept of indigeneity and IKS within International Relations to understand the extent to which these modalities have a role to play in the climate change battle. I aim to problematise the idea that Indigenous peoples hold all the answers to the world's issues while also highlighting the parallels that exist between IKS and the Western ways of knowing that form the foundations of International Relations.

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"Kuwo wonke amakhosazana ahamba nami k'lendlela ende: oMnyango, Mavundla, Yengwa, Thusini. Ngiyanibonga."

Introduction

Indigenous peoples in many parts of the world, particularly in the global South, have long been locked in battles that are often underpinned by contestations over the encroachment of their ancestral lands by corporations and the destruction caused by environmental collapse. Due to Indigenous communities' close ties with the land and the environment, global political discourse has been interested in their possible relevance within climate change policy. However, this discourse tends to ignore the various challenges that persist in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Western institutions that hope to co-opt their ontologies. This paper will investigate the ideological divide in the relationship between Indigeneity and International Relations (IR), as an academic discipline, and the ways in which this relationship is fraught with power imbalances which play out within climate change discourse. First, I will address the complex nature of identifying as Indigenous which will complicate our perceptions of Indigenous knowledge in the first place. I will then discuss the problematic foundation of knowledge production practices within the academic discipline of IR. Finally, this paper will briefly look into the case of the Maasai Mara peoples of

East Africa and their current contestation over land and conservation rights in order to show that there are major ideological divides between the Indigenous and the international institutions that could hinder possible attempts to create cohesive and inclusive climate change policies. This paper hopes to complicate the notion of indigeneity existing as a mystical presence that holds untapped and hidden knowledge about how to remedy environmental degradation, therefore showing that the Indigenous is a much more complex polity existing within International Relations.

The Question of Indigeneity

An attachment to ancestral land is the foundation of the most accepted definitions of indigeneity (Lam 2004, 130). However, this preoccupation with land can likewise be regarded as too simplistic. Indigenous identity comprises many moving parts whereby the historical and hereditary occupancy of a physical territory is only one of the universal factors. The definition of Indigenous does not only include biological inheritance, but includes issues of political self-determination as well. TallBear (2013, 510) offers up a more inclusive definition to the term, when he claims that Indigeneity is in reference to the "biological, cultural, and political groupings constituted in dynamic, long-standing relationships with each other and with living landscapes that define their people-specific identities and more broadly, their indigeneity." This broader categorisation enables many communities to identify with the term, which has led to a rise in the number of people who identify as Indigenous. Essentially, Indigenous people consider themselves a distinct group through their social interconnectedness with ancestral territories (Lam 2004, 140). Significantly, Indigenous identity is found through claiming territory, which is an inherently political act.

The history that shapes Indigenous existence is complex, making the process of identifying as Indigenous equally as complex. When discussing Indigenous peoples in Africa, for example, Kenrick and Lewis (2004, 6) introduce the idea of relativity. Africans typically tend to identify as Indigenous relative to their relationship with colonial powers but also view those who live more traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyles as being Indigenous in relation to them (Kenrick et al 2004, 6). Therefore, urban dwelling Black Africans might identify with indigeneity when comparing themselves to non-black Africans but might not identify with the term in relation to established hunter-gatherer groups like the Khoi people of Southern Africa or Maasai people of Eastern Africa. This flexibility presents a complication for international politics. Simplifying our understandings of who gets to call themselves Indigenous creates an essentialist narrative of the Indigenous, which is often upheld by scholars theorizing indigeneity through the

structures of colonial knowledge production (Cameron et al. 2014, 20). This flexibility also indicates that Indigenous communities are incredibly diverse—and that their knowledge systems would reflect that diversity, thus making it more difficult to implement in global policy. This subsequently leads into having to consider the complications one might face in incorporating Indigenous ontologies into global climate change policy.

The Complications

The idea of the Indigenous has been conceptualised in various ways in academia; the most common amongst scholars, such as anthropologists, would be the idea of the ‘native.’ De Castro (2015, 4) considers the relationship between native and anthropologist as one of observer versus the observed. This binary can be applied to the relationship between the academic discipline of International Relations and Indigenous communities. This relationship is imbued with meaning that is largely dictated and interpreted by the observer rather than that of the observed. Regardless of the fact that indigeneity has taken on a life of its own, the understandings and meanings that society has attached to this identification is largely one of our own creations therefore positing that Indigeneity can be viewed as being constructed through the lens of colonial binaries. This complex identification process gestures at possible epistemological challenges present for International Relations scholars who attempt to bridge the gap between these diametrically opposed institutions, with climate change policy being a possible arena in which these challenges play out. Ignoring these challenges also allows scholars to ‘other’ these communities by imposing deeply colonial representations of the Indigenous within global politics that reproduces images of the exotic ‘Other.’

Scholars of International Relations, in particular, have attached particular aesthetic representations to Indigenous people which effectively exoticizes them (Bowen et al 2002, 23). This aesthetic allows scholars to conceive of and reproduce these communities as otherworldly, wholesome, or ancient. Climate change discourse highlights this well because the image of the exotic ‘Other’ aids in the romanticisation of Indigenous connections with land and the wild, while failing to reckon with the immense burden that this places on communities that are struggling to push back against colonialism, global capitalism, and environmental collapse. This romanticization creates an overly idealistic view of Indigenous connections to the natural world in which Indigenous people are implicitly viewed as holding mystical antidotes to planetary destruction. This romantic narrative also functions to provide comfort to the rising cynicism towards Western ideals of rationalism and science that often underpin core assumptions in

International Relations (Newton and Waldron 2012). The temptation to present Indigenous peoples and knowledge systems as potential cure-all solutions to existential threats such as climate change, even if done in good faith, aids in perpetuating seventeenth-century Western cultural trends which saw “the ‘noble savage’” as being of innate and natural goodness, albeit lacking in agency and complexity (Newton and Waldron 2012). In that vein, the very idea of the Indigenous, as the term has come to be understood, reinforces colonial constructions of ethnic ‘Others.’

According to McIntosh, Colchester, Bowen and Rosengren (2002, 23), the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas marked the shift that created a distinction between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous parts of the population. By Papal decree, the colonial world was divided between Portugal and Spain and within this context, what we now think of as Indigenous communities would have just been people, indistinguishable from other colonized groups. The separation of Indigenous groups from other colonized subjects is a relevant aspect to this discussion as it highlights the various complexities inherent in the definition of Indigenous itself. In addition to this distinction, there is also the issue of scale when conceptualising the Indigenous. Determining authentic Indigeneity is difficult when faced with the reality that most groups of people have been historically dispossessed from their lands (Bowen et. al. 2002, 24). The Philippines, for instance, amongst many others, presents further complications in defining Indigeneity because the Philippines do not have a dominant class of white Western settlers (Paredes 2022, 28). In this case, Indigeneity is not just being defined in relation to colonial settlers but also in relation to other colonised subjects. Therefore, self-identifying as Indigenous is significantly predicated on the idea of being more Indigenous than someone else. Therefore, scholars looking in from outside of these communities or the anthropological ‘observer,’ might be presented with conflicting perspectives of Indigenous identification depending on the context of the community itself. International Relations makes this contention significantly more fraught due to its focus on the global experience rather than more localised experiences of indigeneity. This creates the risk of Indigenous identity being conceived of as being homogenous.

The distinction between other colonised subjects and Indigeneity is that Indigenous groups never assimilated to Western cultural and social norms, such as converting to Christianity and building communities within these stratifications (Paredes 2022, 31). The suggestion here is that having ancestral ties to the land does not necessarily allow a community to identify as Indigenous because factors such as colonial assimilation distinguish one community from another. Highlighting this manner of distinction is

important because it emphasises that Indigenous identification is about more than just land ownership but that there are deep political and social conditions that create and sustain Indigeneity. The colonisation of the Philippines by both the Spanish and the Americans is a relevant example in justifying how colonialism itself aided in creating a distinction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. In separating Christianised Filipinos and Islamized Moros from those who resisted assimilation into monotheistic religions essentially created the caste of people who eventually identified as Indigenous (Paredes 2022, 33). Colonial administration separating the populace into three distinct groups worked to 'other' the Indigenous.

The Politics of Knowledge Production

Literature on indigeneity in International Relations tends to centre Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) especially within discussions on the climate crisis (Knopf 2015, 180; Shaw 2002, 55–81). Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) are simply defined as “the understanding of the local environment by local communities, and the practices, techniques and technologies they use to cope and adapt to climate change and variability” (Jiri et al. 2015, 104). IKS relies on knowledge gained through a historical process of passing down traditional practises and each generation adding their own learned knowledge to what has been passed to them. This creates a continuous flow of knowledge creation that is both place- and context-based. According to Dhillon (2018, 2), IKS is “cumulative and dynamic, adaptive and ancestral,” meaning that it exists within a larger network of factors that function in cooperation with each other. Therefore, IKS is a holistic lifestyle in which one cannot isolate key aspects of and apply it to different contexts. This is the central complication that arises in trying to adapt IKS into much broader and general contexts such as global climate change policy.

The globalisation of IKS within climate change policy does not take into account the process of decolonising these international institutions. As this paper has already established, the process of Indigenous identification is fraught with complications both in its historical and geographical complexities which then results in Indigenous climate change action reflecting these complications by taking up a dizzying array of historical, social, political, and economic contexts within which there exists a collision between settler colonialism and the devastation of the planet (Dhillon 2018, 1). This results in Indigenous peoples being in perpetual conflict with the colonial history of international institutions and subsequently raises questions about how to reconcile the colonizer/colonized, Indigenous/academic binaries that form the foundations of these relationships.

In our attempt to bring IKS into global climate change policy there needs to be a reckoning of the fact that indigeneity works in constant opposition to settler colonialism. This makes it difficult to conceptualise IKS into international institutions that are themselves products of global capitalism, settler colonialism, and Western imperialism. There exists contested intellectual and political boundaries between the way that Indigenous people and settler colonialists conceive of the land (Burow et al. 2018, 57). While settler colonialists “dispossess, commodify and extract economic value” from the land, Indigenous ontologies view the land as having a symbiotic relationship with humans and animals in which cooperation is valued above all else (Burow et al. 2018, 57).

Settler colonialism should also be seen through the lens of temporality to understand why integrating IKS into global politics becomes difficult. The capitalist accumulation that underpinned settler colonialism continues today, further disenfranchising Indigenous peoples (Burow et al. 2018, 59). Indigenous resistance to settler colonialism is also ongoing as the demands of global capitalism continue to perpetuate the dispossession of Indigenous lands (Croisy et al 2015, 161). This highlights the idea that IKS and Indigenous communities do not exist outside of global capitalism but are constantly dealing with its effects on their ways of life. Their knowledge systems are also constantly shifting to accommodate present-day challenges, which complicates the idea that IKS and Indigenous people have ancient, mystical antidotes to planetary destruction, especially with their long history of surviving multiple apocalyptic incursions which makes them more vulnerable to climate change. The Maasai Mara peoples are a relevant example of an Indigenous community that encompasses all the factors discussed thus far in this paper.

A Case Study of the Maasai Mara Peoples

The Maasai Mara peoples of East Africa are primarily located around the border between Kenya and Tanzania, with the bulk of their population living in areas known as Ngorongoro and Loliondo in Tanzania. The Maasai are semi-nomadic pastoralists who subsist largely on their cattle herding (Mittal and Fraser 2018). Much like the Indigenous groups in the Philippines, the Maasai exist within a much larger population group of black Africans who also have ancestral ties to East African landscapes, yet their lack of assimilation into colonial Kenya and Tanzania has bestowed upon them the identification of Indigenous. This aspect of indigeneity is most explicit in parts of the world where the majority of the population are formerly colonised subjects, such as in Africa or Asia. Akin to most Indigenous communities in the Global South, the various challenges faced by the Maasai are compounded by environmental degradation

that decreases grazing space for their cattle and increasing conflict caused by resource competition (Mittal and Fraser 2018, 8). The intersection between the Maasai and climate change is also a revealing indication of the complications between the Indigenous and International Relations.

The shrinking environmental landscape of the Maasai impacts the ways in which this community is able to engage with climate change discourse. According to a report done by the Oakland Institute (Mittal and Fraser 2018, 6), the largest threat to Maasai survival in current times has been increasingly expansionist conservation laws and foreign investment (Mittal and Fraser 2018, 6). These conservation laws targeted traditional Maasai lands for redistribution towards new owners for their ‘protection’ (Mittal and Fraser 2018, 6). One such area is now known as the Serengeti National Park. The Maasai people were then moved by Tanzanian authorities to areas known as Ngorongoro and Loliondo, lands of which they are currently being evicted from to make space for more conservation areas. Where evictions fail, cultivation laws, which restrict already sparse cattle grazing space, and farming are implemented by both state and non-state interest groups (Mittal and Fraser 2018, 7). This makes it difficult to navigate a scenario whereby these state actors then collaborate with Indigenous groups to engage in productive discussions within global institutions to create solutions for issues such as climate change. The reality of the relationship between state and Indigenous communities illustrates a widening chasm rather than a bridge.

Maasai people, who are only one example of many, exist in a perpetual state of being relocated from their lands while foreign actors are given preference over these lands by Tanzanian state authorities, all in the name of conservation. The Maasai are in constant opposition to the Western institutions of which they are required to collaborate with, in ownership of Ngorongoro and Loliondo, but this relationship is fraught with competition over shrinking resources and the inherent differences in the ways that each group approaches conservation efforts (Oakland Institute 2019). The case of the Maasai highlights the fact that Indigenous groups continue to experience marginalisation at the hands of state institutions and that this makes it increasingly difficult to bring indigeneity into global discussions on existential crises such as climate change. The attempts to engage with Maasai peoples on the issues regarding their occupation of these lands as well as the environmental issues they face has largely been on the local level; the Maasai are often left with the challenges of violence and arrests at the hands of state and non-state actors (Mittal and Fraser 2018, 9; Oakland Institute 2019). The increased threat against Indigenous peoples is not unique to the Maasai, with many Indigenous communities in Brazil

and the Philippines facing assassinations, extra judicial killings, and unfair arrests (Global Witness 2022). Therefore, whatever attempts that are made to engage with Maasai people also exposes them to institutional violence. The exoticisation of these groups also erases contemporary experiences of land theft, environmental destruction, and the concerns of Indigenous people. In the quest to find alternative solutions to planetary destruction, Western scholarship risks absolving itself of truly reckoning with the violent history these communities have experienced by exoticizing Indigenous aesthetic and appropriating knowledge systems that require much more consideration. This suggests that much needs to be done in terms of bridging the gap between these communities and state/non-state actors before we can start to understand how IKS can be feasibly implemented in policy strategies.

Conclusion

Indigeneity and Indigenous Knowledge Systems are incredibly complex ideas that require much thought and consideration especially if we are contemplating incorporating these concepts into global policy to tackle climate change issues. Enriching our understanding of IKS within climate change might open a path to finding more holistic solutions but there also needs to be widespread acknowledgment of the tension that could arise from co-opting IKS within contexts that have historically and currently excluded and violated Indigenous spaces. Disciplines like International Relations need to centre Indigenous voices within the discourse to encourage nuanced representations of marginalised communities in order to highlight solutions to global issues, such as climate change, which require more complex responses.

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The Epidemic of Placeless Art: A Critique of Contemporary Placemaking Methods and the Case for a Relational Public Art

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Abstract

In their 1981 book *Placemakers: Public Art That Tells You Where You Are*, Ronald Lee Fleming and Renata Von Tschamer describe the “spectre of placelessness” haunting modern American cities and call upon public artists to remedy it. In the last four decades placemaking has become a common goal among public artists, yet a sense of placelessness persists. Drawing upon Yi-Fu Tuan’s “humanistic” approach to geography this article critiques public art for failing to engage with the way a place is socially constructed through human interactions and proposes relational aesthetics as an alternative placemaking strategy.

Acknowledgements

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“We’re only tourists in this life

Only tourists but the view is nice

And we’re never gonna go back home.”

—David Byrne¹

London, 2019

The Tide opens in London. It is the latest example of the “high line effect”—which refers to a string of elevated parkways constructed across the globe in an attempt to replicate the success of the Manhattan High Line. The newly opened Tide is a sprawling five-kilometer structure that is a park, garden, running track, and social hub all at once. This, combined with its futurist aesthetic and gorgeous view of the Thames River, makes the Tide almost utopian in its aims. Nonetheless, The Tide is derided by the British press as “chewing,” “cheap,” “pointless,” and “placeless” (diamondgeezzer 2019, Mansfield 2019, Wainwright 2019, Lindner & Sandoval 11).

Las Vegas, 2021

I am driving out of Vegas with my family. We stop at Prizm Outlets on the side of the road and are disappointed to find most of the stores either vacant or closed. The one interesting thing about the place is that its self-proclaimed “Mural Oasis,” featuring large murals painted outside of the hollow rooms where businesses should be. A man with a foreign accent I cannot place stops my dad and asks him if this is the only mall nearby. When my dad nods, the foreign man gestures to the murals and says in an exasperated tone: “Is this all there is to see?”

The Epidemic of Placeless Art

Gaston Bachelard defined “topophilia” as the intense sense of belonging one feels to the beloved spaces they inhabit. According to Bachelard, one not only experiences these spaces physically but spiritually as well, as they are “seized upon by the imagination” (Bachelard 19). The house, he claims, not only shelters the individual but their dreams as well, as memories and consciousness reverberate throughout the space (Bachelard 29). While Bachelard was discussing intimate spaces, his notions of topophilia apply to public ones as well. For if a house can shelter the dreams of a man, so too can the city block shelter the dreams of a culture, people, or nation. In this way, public artists are uniquely positioned to reach out to communities by taking advantage of their topophilic preoccupations and yet they have surprisingly neglected to do so.

In their 1981 book, *Placemakers*, Ronald Lee Fleming and Renata von Tschamer called upon architects, sculptors, muralists, and street artists to remedy the “specter of placelessness” that haunts modern landscapes (Fleming & Tschamer 1). However, in the over forty years since *Placemakers* was published, the “specter” has only grown. Attempts to remedy it have yielded little more than an epidemic of placeless art—that is to say public art that lacks a sense of place.

One major cause behind this problem is the serious disconnect between art criticism and place scholarship. For all of its talk of “place” and “placemaking,” the contemporary public art world is largely disinterested in broader discussions about place. In other words, the people who talk about public art (artists, architects, critics, urban planners, etc.) seem to not engage with the people who talk about place (geographers, topographers, phenomenologists, anthropologists, etc.), and the disciplines on both sides are worse off for it. This paper bridges the gap by contextualizing the “spectre of placelessness” within the realm of place studies, namely the work of geographer Yi-Fu Tuan. With this contextualization, I aim to articulate what it means for a work of art to have a sense of place, why most works of art

fail at doing so, and examine alternative placemaking methods.

Problems with Contemporary Placemaking Practices

Critiques of public art often hone in on the visual qualities and content of a piece when evaluating its sense of place. In *Placemakers*, for instance, the authors blame the placelessness of urban and suburban America on the “abstractions” of twentieth-century modern and postmodern architecture (Fleming & Tscherner 19). This is problematic because it assumes that one aesthetic is inherently more placeless than another, failing to take into account the diverse, ever-changing opinions on visual styles. Furthermore, while public art of the last decade has trended away from those modern and postmodern aesthetics towards styles more popular and accessible to a contemporary audience, the “spectre of placelessness” remains. To demonstrate what I mean, I want to return to the two places mentioned at the top of this paper: Greenwich Peninsula (The Tide) and Prizm Outlet.

The Tide itself as an elevated parkway has already been lambasted by critics, not only for its generic, sleek white design but also for its plethora of technical mistakes. “The edges lack the finesse that comes from an architect who looks at the small details,” writes Ian Mansfield in his review of The Tide. “The steps are not entirely finished properly and the painted flooring is showing the all-too-obvious effects of people scuffing over it,” he adds, and “the central section rises ever so slightly above the edges, resulting in another obvious problem, that people can trip over the edges, so now there’s a run of shabby barriers all around it” (Mansfield). The art surrounding The Tide, including several murals and sculptures, are seemingly shallow attempts at decorating the largely empty plaza. They betray a superficiality that is even encapsulated in their titles. Most notably: Damien Hirst’s sculpture of a topless blue mermaid is titled *The Mermaid*, Matt Blease’s mural of a man lying with a book next to the words “dream big” is titled *Big Dreamer*, and Allen Jones’ sculpture of a head in the wind is titled *Head in the Wind*.²

One would hope that among the 34 different artists from around the world featured at Prizm Outlet’s Mural Oasis that some novelty would occur, yet the works are surprisingly homogenous.³ When comparing one piece by Natalia Rak to another by the Bezt Etam, the same street art clichés are on display—abstracted scenery, flowery imagery, and racially ambiguous women. Aesthetically, these works have more in common with a McDonald’s marketing campaign than a Diego Rivera mural, marking a significant shift in the priorities of contemporary public art and the institutions who fund it.

This is not at all a superficial comparison, as the goal of these works is to advertise the shopping outlet. The generic art in both the Greenwich Peninsula and Prizm Outlets certainly do add to the sense of placelessness there, as the developers ignored any opportunities for site-specificity or idiosyncrasy in favor of trending artists and marketable works. The architect Kenneth Frampton once wrote: “[it] is a sign of our times that aesthetic display has come to be used as a form of packaging... called upon to provide nothing more than a set of seductive images with which to ‘sell’ both the building and its product” (Frampton 23). He was discussing architecture here, but the phenomenon he is describing can easily be applied to public art. Increasing a location’s value in the global market is the priority, while cultivating a sense of place is an afterthought.

Now, if the problem is that these works do not engage with their respective places, then the obvious solution is to create art that does engage with place. However, this becomes problematic when artists and designers take an overly literal approach to placemaking. The subtitle of *Placemakers* called for “Art that tells you where you are,” and sure enough public artists have tried to create a sense of place by including references to local buildings or landscapes. It can be safely assumed, for example, that The Tide is called such for no reason other than that it is located above the River Thames. This may very well “tell you where you are,” but having a sense of place does not simply mean being able to give directions or identify landmarks. A GPS can do that, but we would not say that a GPS has a sense of place. A sense of place is a uniquely human, metaphysical concept that transcends any notion of “objective” reality. To understand why most public art fails at placemaking, we must have a more in-depth understanding of what “place” means in the first place.

Yi-Fu Tuan’s humanistic approach to geography reminds us that a place is not a physical space or location. According to Tuan: “Engineers create localities but time is needed to create places” (Tuan 421). That is to say a location may be physically real, but a place is socially constructed. In this view “a street corner is a place but a street is not”; it is only “when a street is transformed into a centre of festivities with people milling around in no particular direction” that it becomes a place (Tuan 411). Tuan’s view here mirrors anthropology’s approach to space, which focuses on the role of social relations in the creation of places. More specifically, his words almost echo Keith Basso’s claim that “people are forever presenting each other with culturally mediated images of where and how they dwell... forever performing acts that reproduce and express their own sense of place” (Basso 110). The idea that a sense of place is “performed” reminds us that placemaking is an

external, relational process and not an internal, individualistic one.

This revelation that places are socially constructed reveals a fatal flaw in the aims of public art as placemakers—that public artists are trying to achieve with objects something that can only be achieved with human relations. From this perspective, it matters not how a piece of art looks or what content it includes. A public art that seeks to create a sense of place must lose its hyperfixation on visual aesthetics altogether, in favor of art that engages with the social construction of place.

Temporality, Relational Art, and the Aesthetics of Social Engagement

Public art that engages with the social construction of place is not a theoretical proposal. Rather, the growing popularity of interactive, site-specific works since the 2000s has proven to be a promising alternative to conventional placemaking methods. In 2019, the Cornerstone Theatre Company's collaboration with Nancy Keystone, *A Jordan Downs's Illumination*, was a multimedia work that commemorated the demolition of the historical Jordan Downs housing project in Watts, Los Angeles. The performance was divided into several different sections, including a clothing line in which Jordan Downs residents could attach handwritten notes (Keystone 14) and another where audience members role-played as city officials tasked with relocating residents displaced by the demolition (Keystone 26).

This work demonstrates what playwright and artist Darren O' Donnell calls an "aesthetic of civic engagement" (O'Donnell 26). Here, O'Donnell borrows Nicholas Bourriaud's notion of relational aesthetics in which the everyday "realm of human interactions" are recontextualized as works of art (Bourriaud 14) and extends Bourriaud's ideas by analyzing how relational aesthetics can be moved out of the private art gallery and into the public sphere. For example, in 2002 Toronto's InteNaractive Project Lab's "documentary oral history project" [*murmur*] allowed audience members to send in recorded messages discussing specific locations in the city, which could then be listened to by the public through ear shaped signs (O'Donnell 29). O'Donnell codified the artistic philosophy behind these works in his 2006 book, *Social Acupuncture*, which remains the most cohesive analysis of relational aesthetics in the public sphere. Yet, what is strikingly absent from the book is any discussion of place. This is especially surprising considering how many works like [*murmur*] and *A Jordan Downs Illumination* revolve around specific locations.

This is undoubtedly the result of the problem mentioned at the top of this paper: the disconnect between art criticism and place studies. This disconnect causes both conversations on placemaking in public art to ignore the role of social engagement and conversations on social engagement in public art to ignore its potential for placemaking.

Only when the conversation is contextualized with an understanding of the social construction of place, do the advantages a relational public art has over a representational one become abundantly clear. The representational public artist asks: *What is the ideal version of this place, and how can I represent it?* In contrast, the relational public artist asks: *Who is currently occupying this place, and how can I give them the means to represent themselves?* The former fails as a placemaker because it does not engage with the way place is socially constructed through language, discourse, and exchange. The latter understands the role of human interactions in the construction of place and allows the art to take part in it. It can thus be said to truly embody Bourriaud's claim that "the role of artworks is no longer to form imaginary and utopian realities, but to actually be ways of living and models of action within the existing real" (Bourriaud 9).

Some may object to relational aesthetics as an alternative to visual ones on the grounds of its impermanence. Indeed, longevity is the goal of many representational artists. However, if we wish to create a humanistic approach to placemaking (à la Tuan's "humanistic" approach to geography), we have to acknowledge the inherent ephemeral nature of place. Locations may be permanent but places are not, as local demographics and cultures are always changing. After all, can any major city on the planet today be said to be the same place it was thirty years ago? As a result, permanent public art is ultimately disengaged from the public (which in turn creates a public that is disengaged from it). From this perspective, temporality becomes an asset for public artists. In the words of Patricia C. Phillips, temporal public art offers not a "a modest antidote or a grand solution" but "a forum for investigation, articulation, and constructive reappraisal" (Phillips 331).

When we free public art from a rigid attachment to physical forms by embracing temporality we open up ourselves to more effective means of placemaking. Through relational forms we can create a public art that actually engages communities rather than superficially gesturing to them. A public art concerned with people, not just places, and ideas, not just things.

Endnotes

- ¹ “Everybody Is Coming to My House,” written and performed by David Byrne.
- ² For images, visit <https://www.greenwichpeninsula.co.uk/whats-on/the-peninsulist/damien-hirst-on-the-tide/>, <https://www.greenwichpeninsula.co.uk/whats-on/the-peninsulist/the-peninsulist-meets-matt-blease/>, and <https://www.greenwichpeninsula.co.uk/whats-on/the-peninsulist/allen-jones/>, respectively.
- ³ For images, visit <https://www.prizmoutlets.com/arts/mural-oasis>.

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Black Roots/Black Routes: Applying Deconstructionist and Rhizomatic Theories to African American Identity Formation

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Rose Poku graduated from Smith College in May of 2022, majoring in Africana Studies and Comparative World Literatures. As a Mellon Mays Fellow at Smith, Rose published academic articles in French and Spanish and wrote an honors thesis in the Department of Comparative World Literatures. In the fall of 2022, she began a PhD program at the University of Pennsylvania in Africana Studies and Comparative Literature. Her research interest lies largely in Black women's twentieth-century diasporic writings, produced in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Abstract

This article considers the hypothetical applications of deconstruction and rhizomatic structural theory onto African American identity formation. First exploring Derrida's deconstruction, the article examines how the concept of Africa serving as a structural center for African American people should be deconstructed, in order to avoid distorted, fabricated understandings of self and the continent. It then goes on to propose Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomatic philosophy as a more nuanced and applicable methodology for analyzing Black diasporic identity. Recognizing the many ways in which Black Atlantic and Caribbean theory has often looked toward rhizomatic theory to understand diasporic identity formation, this article argues that U.S. African American identity should also follow this trend. This would allow for the many routes of Black identity to be considered complexly and holistically.

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Introduction

Theories of structuralism contend that every structure has a center that exists outside of the structure itself, yet controls and orients it (Derrida 351). Considering the hypothetical application of structuralism to Black diasporic identity formation, Africa could be considered as this "center," since Africa exists outside of the structure of the Black diaspora, yet it simultaneously justifies and guides the entire structure of Black diasporic identity. African Americans and other Black people of the diaspora often consider Africa as their homeland, even though they might presently reside outside of it. Black diasporic people have ancestries in and connections to the African continent, but the violence of enslavement forced them to leave. Though

Black diasporic people are not physically linked to the continent, there still exists a strong connection to it, and it often guides many understandings of the self, racial identity, and homeland.

According to Derrida's theory of deconstruction, however, centers must be destabilized to allow for freeplay, which he regards as an important act, crucial to rupturing structuralist standards that can limit philosophical thought (Derrida 351). Thus, to deconstruct Black diasporic identity formation, Africa must be destabilized as the center to allow African Americans to have freeplay and creative possibility with their identities. As deconstructionist methodologies would suggest, no one space or region could comprehensively serve as a Black diasporic "center" in a way that could fully encapsulate the complexity of Black diasporic identity. Thus, this essay posits Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's rhizomatic philosophy as a more applicable solution to grappling with Black diasporic identity. Though Black Atlantic theorists such as Édouard Glissant and Paul Gilroy have applied this rhizomatic ideology onto Black Atlantic and Black Caribbean subjects, this essay specifically contends that U.S. African American identity can and also should be considered within this rhizomatic framework. Considering African American identity as a rhizomatic structure allows for a complex and fragmented Black past to exist and be embraced and it also grants creative potentiality to Black Americans, both in their identity formations and literary imaginations.

Africa: An Unstable Center

As Derrida suggests, considering structures as only having one "center" can be incredibly limiting. Accordingly, Africa existing as the one center of Black diasporic identity can lead to distorted understandings of the African continent. Unable to fully access the African center, African Americans often create anachronistic understandings of Africa that appropriate and fabricate authentic or modern African cultures. Black poet, author, and scholar Dionne Brand describes Africa's complicated role in Black diasporic identity formation in her book *A Map to the Door of No Return: Notes to Belonging*, writing: "Africa. It was a place we did not remember, yet it lodged itself in all the conversations of who we were" (16). She furthers by writing that Africa and the Door of No Return¹ already feel "mythic to those of us scattered in the Americas today" (18). Because of Black people's forced displacement, Africa, though certainly a real place, feels fictional to those who can no longer access it.

Examples of African Americans manufacturing African realities in attempts to find their "center" or homeland can be seen, for instance, in the poetry of the Harlem

Renaissance. In African American poet Countee Cullen's 1925 poem "Heritage," he describes his eponymously noted African "heritage" or roots. Cullen repeats the refrain "What is Africa to me?" throughout his poem and answers his question by describing Africa with primal, nature-filled imagery. He writes that Africa is a land filled with "nakedness" and "jungle boys and girls in love" (Cullen). Cullen does not write about Africa with a modern sensibility. Instead, he imagines the continent as an archaic "savage" land, not filled with its contemporary or complex citizens (Cullen). When Africa is considered the authentic or only "center" for Black Americans, they are forced to imagine and claim a place they do not know.

In his book *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Paul Gilroy also explains how frameworks that center Africa in Black diasporic identity formation can lead to an essentialized and incomplete understanding of both Africa and Blackness. Gilroy writes that "some African essence that could magically connect all blacks together" is a fabrication more than a reality (24). He continues by explaining that:

this potent idea [of centering Africa] is frequently wheeled in when it is necessary to appreciate the things that (potentially) connect black people to one another rather than think seriously about divisions in the imagined community of the race and the means to comprehend or overcome them, if indeed that is possible (Gilroy 24).

Gilroy argues that centering Africa is not enough to connect people of the Black diaspora.

Since considering Africa as the "center" of the African American structure proves limiting, deconstruction could thereby serve as a helpful methodological tool to aid African Americans in more complex formations of identity. In "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," Derrida articulates the importance of rupturing structuralist foundations, explaining that structures are not nearly as stable as one might believe them to be. He argues that structure centers can all be destabilized or removed and thus change the meanings of a structure. Derrida refers to this state of destabilization where new meanings are created as "freeplay" (351). He argues for the importance of freeplay, writing that in allowing for freeplay, instead of a fixed center, multiple, supplement truths can exist at once. In this complicated, destabilized world of multiple truths, sliding signifiers can replace one another, and freeplay can occur. Freeplay is an important act done by a bricoleur who Derrida, in agreement with theorist Levi-Strauss, elevates to the status of someone who is not only able to perform "an intellectual activity but... a mythopoetical activity" (Derrida 357). He goes on to write that there is incredible

"virtue (power) of bricolage" (357). Derrida argues that freeplay and the work of the bricoleur are important aspects of deconstruction and he offers deconstruction as a useful methodological tool for literary and philosophical analysis and for generally understanding the structures of the world.

Applying Derrida's theories of deconstruction to African American identity formation, destabilizing Africa as the center would allow African Americans to have the ability to consider the multi-faceted aspects of their complex backgrounds, histories, and cultures. They could serve as bricoleurs of the structures of their identities, and through freeplay, Africa could still be considered as a part of African American identity, but it would not have to become the sole center that guides and defines them.

Applying Rhizomatic Structures to African American Identity Formation

Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of rhizomes could serve as perhaps the most useful and compelling tool for Black diasporic identity formation. In their theory of rhizomes, multiple, scattered roots join together to form a larger structure. They write: "any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from the tree or root, which plots a point, fixes an order" (Deleuze and Guattari 8). Whereas in this tree analogy, Africa might serve as the base or root of the tree from where African American identity must grow, a rhizomatic structure does not depend on one singular aspect (Africa) to be the formative root. Instead, all aspects of African American identity can serve as interconnected roots that work together to form a larger Black identity. This trumps a tree-like root system because when the African "root" is displaced through slavery, the entire "tree" (African American identity) cannot properly grow. With a rhizomatic root system, however, one singular root (Africa) cannot control the entire plant. Thus, Africa can exist within a rhizomatic Black structure, but it does not define who African American people inherently or completely are.

Deleuze and Guattari's theory allows for a fragmented, complicated past to be embraced. As they write: "a rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines" (9). Applying this to the metaphor of Africa as one of the many rhizomatic "roots" of Black identity, this means that Black people's connection to Africa can be broken, yet the entire structure will not dissipate due to this rupture. Thus, even though Black people have been forcibly separated from their African homeland, their whole identity does not become invalidated or uprooted due to this trauma. Rather, a ruptured piece of identity can exist simultaneously with other aspects of their Black identity. A rhizomatic structure,

with its inherent fragmentation, allows for African American people to embrace their own fragmented histories and create more authentic and holistic understandings of their Blackness.

Several Black Atlantic theorists have explored the importance of rhizomatic structures, particularly for Caribbean identity formation. For example, Gilroy articulates the value in Black diasporic identity formation that is routed² in his book. Referencing Deleuze and Guattari, he writes that narrow and essentialist understandings of Blackness can be challenged “in the name of rhizomorphic, routed, diasporic cultures” (Gilroy 28). Gilroy explains that Black diasporic cultures are distinct from one another and rhizomatic in their diversity and complexity. He aptly describes the Black Atlantic as a “rhizomorphic, fractal structure [of] transcultural, international formation” (Gilroy 4). Considering Black diasporic identity formation as rhizomatic allows for the complexities of Black diasporic cultures to be adequately considered. Gilroy argues for rhizomatic routes over tree-like roots when considering Black identity formation, writing: “modern black political culture has always been more interested in the relationship of identity to roots and rootedness than in seeing identity as a process of movement and mediation that is more appropriately approached via the homonym routes” (19). Black identity is not solely centered around African roots, but connected to and interwoven with many diasporic cultures as well. These rhizomatic routes are what form Black diasporic identity.

The renowned Caribbean writer, theorist, and activist Édouard Glissant also considered rhizomatic frameworks as some of the most applicable methodologies for mapping Black diasporic identity formation. Scholar Sanyu Ruth Mulira articulates Glissant’s standpoint, writing that Glissant believed “all diasporic cultures are the product of a rhizome” (117). Mulira goes on to explain that Glissant considered Caribbean cultures in particular to be rhizomatic, inseparable blends of indigenous, African, and European cultures. In his book *Poetics of Relation*, Glissant writes that Caribbean identity has been formed through “conscious and contradictory experience[s] of contacts among cultures” (144). Black Caribbean identity was not formed in solitude; rather, through (albeit oftentimes violent) contact and encounters with other cultures, Black Caribbean identity emerged and thus became distinct from African culture. Though African heritage is an important part of Caribbean and Black diasporic identity, it cannot be considered in isolation. The unique cultures and histories of the Caribbean must also be recognized.

Applying Deleuze and Guattari’s theory further in the diaspora, U.S. African American identity can be

considered a rhizomatic amalgam of African, European, and American cultures as well. Like in the Caribbean, African American identity is also a complex blend of multiple cultures and backgrounds that cannot be distilled into just one “root.” Though U.S. laws such as the one-drop rule, Jim Crow, and segregation have made Blackness appear to be a starkly different or completely unrelated to white or U.S. culture or identity, in reality, like in the Caribbean, African American identity is also, in part, a product of relation. It should be noted that these moments of relation or encounter are not peaceable or innocuous moments. Though Glissant writes in *Poetics of Relation* that “all cultures are equal in Relation,” this essay refutes this notion and instead recognizes that power relations and hegemony impact relation (163). Historical moments of encounter in the Caribbean and the U.S. were mostly violent toward Black subjects. This article thus does not argue that by recognizing relation and embracing rhizomatic structures, one should see blended identity as a natural, non-violent result. Rather, this article argues that embracing a rhizomatic identity includes recognizing this violence as a part of Black identity.

Thus, rhizomatic philosophies allow for all aspects of African American identity to be considered. Importantly, this still includes African identity, but it allows the nuanced histories of fragmentation from Africa to also be a part of full African American identity. As Mulira explains: “the historical climate of a country affects the cultural foundation of its people in different ways. The unique shape of each rhizome is equally as important as the common origin of the roots; it proves that there is no single black or diasporic experience” (117). Thus, rhizomatic understandings of identity would allow for African American people to embrace both their connections to Africa and their diversity. This acceptance of Black complexity, as will be explored, grants immense potential in countering Euro-centric standards.

Rhizomatic identity formation is powerful in its ability to stand in direct opposition to hegemonic, historically violent creations of identity. Glissant considered the idea of a “singular root” (or a singular guiding center of a structure) to be “the foundation for a dangerous sort of nationalism that feeds on colonization to prove its power” (Mulira 118). European nations and the United States often use(d) this idea of a singular culture to promote ethnic cleansing and eliminate differences in their nations. This can be seen, for example, in the United States’ violent histories of lynching and segregation to eliminate Blackness from national consciousness and culture. As Mulira, referencing Glissant, explains, however: “Rather than combating a homogenous and hegemonic idea with a mirrored ideology, it is better to find solace in a complex and woven reality” (119). Black

people should not be reduced to a singular root or center. Rather, rhizomatic understandings of identity that account for the blended, multi-faceted, and complex cultures and identities of the Black diaspora should be embraced. In the United States specifically, this would allow for Black people to not be completely seen as “Other” or un-American; instead, it would complicate both U.S. and Black identities. This grants innovative potentiality to African American identity formation.

A rhizomatic understanding of African American identity that makes space for this creative possibility can be seen in the poetry of African American poet Danez Smith. In his poem “dear white america” (2017), for example, he writes “we did not ask to be part of your America? though are we not America?”. In articulating this, Smith demonstrates how African American identity has both a history of forcible extraction from Africa “we did not ask to be a part of your America,” and is presently a part of the United States and its culture “are we not America?”. Later in his poem, when seeking escape from America’s violent racism, Smith does not look toward Africa for refuge. Instead, he imagines other worlds: “i’ve left Earth to find a place where my kin can be safe,” he writes. By not rooting his identity in a singular and historic root (Africa), Smith is able to imagine Blackness without bounds. In recognizing the rhizomatic, fragmented nature of African American identity, Blackness has more creative possibility.

African American history is inherently complicated; thus, only a complicated structure could genuinely and most accurately embody Black American identity. While Caribbean and Black Atlantic theorists have recognized this complexity and embraced rhizomes to represent Black diasporic identity, this theory can and should be applied to U.S. Black identity as well. Rhizomatic structures rather perfectly exemplify the complexity of African American identity and history. While structuralist theories that center Africa in Black diasporic identity formation can lead to distorted imaginings of the continent as well as inauthentic understandings of self, deconstructionist methodologies should be applied in order to rupture the notion of one center controlling the entire structure. Rhizomatic philosophies can then aptly encapsulate African American identity formation, as they have the power to embrace ruptured pasts in congruence with other aspects of identity. This embrace of a more fragmented and complicated past also grants Black American identity more creative potential. In allowing Black Americans to consider their identity as inherently fragmented and nuanced, reductionist conceptions of Blackness cease to exist. Though through imperialism, U.S. ideologies are often placed onto the Caribbean and myriad other nations, in Black identity formation, these theories predominantly circulated throughout the

Caribbean should be used in the U.S. as well. Applying rhizomatic theory to U.S. African American identity would allow Black Americans to have more freeplay and innovative agency, ultimately making a rhizomatic approach to understanding African American identity the most compelling and powerful methodology for Black identity formation.

Endnotes

- ¹ The Door of No Return is a part of slave castles on the coast of West Africa where the Atlantic Ocean became visible to enslaved people. As eponymously suggested, the enslaved Africans were forcibly sent toward the Americas through this door and never returned to their homelands in Africa.
- ² It is important to note and distinguish here the spelling of “routed.” Rather than “rooted,” which would suggest a tree-like formation, “routed” here implies a rhizomatic formation with multiple routes or ways of forming identity.

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"100 Dollars and Other Valuable Considerations": An Examination of Black Generational Land Ownership in Wilmington, NC

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Abstract

Land and home ownership are topics of much debate, concern, and intervention in both modern Black political thought and Black American history. In this paper, I examine changes in Black generational landownership through the complete histories of six parcels of land in Wilmington, North Carolina. These parcels, accounted for from the 19th to 20th centuries, were the objects of sale, acquisition, and transfer through death, marriage, contract, and coercion. By the end of the period, only two parcels were possessed by Black individuals and only one of those was a direct connection through shared lineage. The chains of title created during this research indicate that wills and end-of-life legal planning best-ensured property were successfully passed from one Black owner to the next, a mechanism that heavily favored families in wealthy, free, Black communities.

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In eastern North Carolina, the city of Wilmington stands as a physical intersection of various overlapping histories. Originally a key asset for the Confederacy in the Civil War, the city served as a destination for Black migration post-emancipation. Wilmington's proximity to the Atlantic offered the opportunity for self-sufficiency and economic access desired so desperately by formerly enslaved individuals. As such, the town's Black population quadrupled from 3,683 (50.7%) in 1850 to 13,921 (76.2%) in 1870.¹ The city's appeal extended from the fertility of its water for crabbing to its booming financial and political prospects for educated and enterprising Black migrants.^{2,3} The city became the stronghold of the biracial Fusionist party, led by Blacks and whites, alike.⁴ With opportunity came the establishment of Black neighborhoods, churches, and schools to act as the center of Black social, religious, and educational life. Wilmington, with its potential for both Black prosperity and power, was a growing hub for Black

mercantile and political activity near the end of the 19th century.⁵

The state of 'Black Wilmington' today is starkly different than that of the post-bellum city. Whereas Black Wilmingtonians composed more than half of the city in 1880, they now make up only 17%.⁶ Where historically Black churches and neighborhoods once stood stands rented and renovated units, with the percentage of Black owner-occupants at less than half its white (alone or combined) counterpart.⁷ Even the location of Cape Fear's only Black-friendly beach resort, Shell Island, is now the site of several multimillion-dollar beach hotels.⁸ Between these two book-ends in time was a formative century of political, economic, and social activity both for the city and the nation.

Black property ownership in Wilmington is as ubiquitous as the city's free Black population.⁹ North Carolina never prohibited Black real property ownership, inclusive of its enslaved population.¹⁰ On the contrary, state courts upheld the right of free Blacks to own property in the face of threat and seizure.¹¹ A large, free Black population and relatively few barriers to homeownership proved sufficient conditions for property ownership to develop. Ten percent of the city's free Black residents (62 individuals) were property owners in 1860.¹² Black property in New Hanover County was also the highest in aggregate value in the state at \$37,720 spread.¹³ It is reasonable to conclude that the relative abundance of capital enjoyed by free Blacks in Wilmington explains the uncharacteristically high rate of property ownership in the city.¹⁴ Statistical analysis of Black ownership reflects positive correlations between literacy and occupation status, echoing John Hope Franklin's early assessment of Black property owners in North Carolina.¹⁵ Constant proximity to whites in Wilmington may have also contributed to positive conditions for Black land acquisition. White slaveholders and Fusionists, both of which were relatively abundant in Wilmington, could facilitate Black property acquisition through familial or personal channels.¹⁶

Even with a legal foundation for Black prosperity, the nadir of American race relations posed a substantial detriment to Black life in Wilmington. Much of the progress of the Fusion party was dashed by the Wilmington Massacre of 1898,¹⁷ which ended in the deaths of between 60 and 100 Black citizens and violent expulsion of countless more.¹⁸ Migration trends inverted, with less Black individuals recorded in New Hanover County in 1900 than the preceding iteration.¹⁹ Drivers of migration only increased with the labor demands of World War I and Black out-migration from the Cape Fear region was akin to an exodus by the 1930s.²⁰

When one imagines the gradual erosion of land from Black citizens, they might imagine seemingly spontaneous fires and Klansmen terrorizing Black landowners to surrender and abandon their property. Alternatively, they might consider opportunistic white land tycoons, eager to exploit death, debt, and foreclosure amongst Black property owners. While several occurrences of these mechanisms of deprivation are substantiated by historical fact, the thread of gradual, sustained land loss through death, sale, and acquisition runs behind accented moments of racialized violence and legalized exploitation. This paper aims to examine changes in Black property ownership in Wilmington in this formative century through the transactional records of several parcels of land across the city. These parcels, particularly how they were acquired and lost, demonstrate the changing economic and political circumstances for Black Wilmingtonians from relative prosperity to gradual decline.

Thirty-nine Black and Mulatto, self-reported real estate owners were identified from the 1860 census of Wilmington. Of these, six parcels were selected as this paper's sample: Lots 2 and 4 on historic Block 294, parts of Lot 4 and 5 and Lot 6 on Block 67, parts of Lots 2, 3, 4, and 5 on Block 250, and Lot 6 on Block 195. Lots were selected for convenience of fact-finding, working towards the center of the largest and smallest lots of the sample. The first lots that could be positively identified for two consecutive transactions were selected until six parcels were identified. After verifying those individuals' identities using Ancestry.com's historical document database, all transactions between individuals with the same first and last name as the identified owners were pooled from the New Hanover County Register of Deeds database. These transactions were then reduced to those properties that met feasibility requirements, namely having been acquired prior to the 1860 Census and bearing similar property values to self-reported totals.²¹ After plausible parcels were identified, 1850s and 1860s city block surveys were used to confirm a parcel as the primary residence and probable subject of an individual's census reporting. Using supplemental historical documents like city directories, wills, probates, census records, and marriage and death certificates, every transfer of the initially identified parcel was recorded from the original acquisition until approximately 1950. Information about the circumstances of sale is included on the deeds in the registry, as well as in individuals' wills when available.²² These records were studied first to analyze the catalyst for a transfer of Black land and to examine the circumstances under which Black property owners were compelled to sell that which held so much value to non-property owners.

The primary catalyst for land sale in the examined parcels was death. Of 60 total transactions across all examined parcels, 15 were the direct result of the death of the

property owner. Thus, wills and estate planning proved crucial to the preservation of land within a hereditary line. The presence of a will allowed heirs to determine the fate of their kin's plot quickly and decisively, without interference from local governance. The impact of a lack of will is most evident in the properties less central to the sample. George Waddell's portion of Block 294, for example, was likely regulated by heirs' property laws after his death without a will.²³ The lack of will complicated the chain of inheritance from Waddell to any of his eligible heirs, potentially allowing the lot's purchase by wealthy, white landowner, John Dillard Bellamy.²⁴ William McNeill's portion of Block 67 was also likely heirs' property, but the heirs remained in possession of the lot.²⁵ The relative prevalence and effect of heirs' property appears consistent with scholarship emphasizing the volume and possible effects of heirs' property on Black property retention.²⁶ The largest estates in the sample, the Anderson Lot on Block 250, and the Hostler Lot on Block 195 (see Chain of Title: Parts of Lots 2, 3, 4, and 5, Block 250 Chain of Title: Lot 6, Block 195, respectively), offered comprehensive and clear wills that designated division between heirs rather than instructing heirs to divide property amongst themselves.^{27, 28} More research is needed to determine if there is a correlation between the size and/or value of the estate and the existence of a comprehensive will for early Black property owners.

Opportunistic, white buyers repeatedly appeared in the transaction history of the lots in this sample. The Bellamy family, a political dynasty in Eastern North Carolina, were one such group of buyers. Employed as doctors, lawyers, lawmakers, and business owners, J.D. Bellamy and his adult children aggressively acquired property across the state in the early 20th century.²⁹ The Bellamy family resembles what Bailey et al. characterized as "white courthouse gangs": wealthy, legally inclined whites eager to make a profit from Black landowners facing foreclosure.³⁰ Queries of Bellamy family members in the New Hanover County deed registry generate hundreds of transactions, both as grantees and grantors.³¹ Though the lots sampled in this paper are not random, the repeat appearance of the Bellamys in a small group of Black property owners may suggest some intentionality in their acquisition pattern. Further research is needed to determine the breadth of all the land the Bellamy family held in Wilmington and the circumstances of their acquisition.

Flavel Foster's purchase of portions of Block 250 represents an alternative fate for formerly Black land. Foster, a prominent Republican businessman, demonstrated no outright hostility to his Black co-constituents. Rather, he repeatedly employed white dog whistles against the threat of supposed "negro rule," or the overrepresentation of Black people in political office. In a statement to a local

newspaper, Foster maintained that the “95%” should control the city of Wilmington.³² This assertion, that Black citizens failed to contribute to taxes whilst controlling the city, appeared on the insurgent Democratic Party’s 1898 platform.³³ The connection between landownership and perceived “negro rule” is most aptly demonstrated by the 1898 headline, “Those Who Own the Property Should Rule.”³⁴ No place in North Carolina did Black people have both the property and some power like in Wilmington. Given Foster’s prominence in the city, Joshua Russ’s decision to sell to him was unlikely to have been in ignorance of his political views.³⁵ Still, we are left to wonder if the sale was one of coercive circumstance or financial opportunity.

While there is no clear evidence of racial violence or intimidation of property owners in the sample, the Wilmington Massacre of 1898 may have led to indirect effects on Black property owners in the area. The North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources’ map of the Wilmington Massacre places violent altercation and death within two blocks of only the residents of Block 294. None of the individuals killed in the insurrection shared a surname with the property owners in the sample, suggesting direct bodily harm to them was unlikely. The same cannot be said about indirect harms. Henry Brewington, a former Fusionist representative and Lot 4 Block 294 owner, may be considered one of those indirect harms. In 1870, Lucy Mitchell’s daughter, Margaret, married Brewington, and the couple and their children lived with Lucy on her lot.³⁶ Brewington’s political career fell victim to the contested election of 1900. A former Republican magistrate, Deputy Sheriff, and Alderman, Brewington was a valet and shoe shiner for the likes of J.D. Bellamy Jr. mere months after the 1898 Massacre.³⁷ Still, while the sale of the Mitchell property should be viewed with the context of changes in Brewington’s station due to the insurrection,³⁸ the insurrection itself does not appear to have had any impact on Black property ownership in the sample.

The Wilmington Massacre, though, may have indirectly affected Black property ownership due to subsequent out-migration. In the years immediately following the Wilmington Massacre, the Black population of Wilmington markedly declined. Whereas there were 13,217 “Colored” individuals in New Hanover County in 1880, there were only 12,107 in the city of Wilmington by 1910.³⁹ Still, the overall population of New Hanover County increased seven percent between 1890 and 1900 and again from 1900 to 1910.^{40,41} This may suggest that the massacre prompted out-migration from Black residents, while non-Black migration was unaffected. If so, Black property ownership likely decreased after 1898. One source from the NC Office of Archives and History claims that property owners were

more likely to stay in the city in the years following the violence.⁴² This would suggest no or a slow decrease in Black landownership in Wilmington. More research is needed to substantiate this claim and evaluate changes in Black property ownership after the Wilmington Massacre.

Wealthy whites were not the only landlords in this sample. Black individuals also stood to make a profit from lower-income Black renters. Henry Sampson, who deeded his daughter what was her childhood home, repurchased the lot after the Black property owner defaulted on their mortgage.⁴³ Many property owners, like John C. Brown or the heirs of Mary Catherine Davis, broke decades-long streaks of Black homeownership for property sale to white buyers.^{44,45} This much necessitates discussion of the possibly anachronistic racial category, “Black,” and feelings of collective belonging in the 20th century. Most of the property owners in the sample are recorded as “mulatto,” suggesting they may be of mixed-race descent. In addition to their differing appearances, free mulattoes prior to the Civil War (which this sample selected for) had greater access to capital necessary for their subsistence.⁴⁶ Many of these property owners ran small- to medium-sized businesses near the city center. The wide variance in appearance, experience, and class prior to the elimination of slavery (and therefore the elimination of the division between the free and enslaved) tests the limits of Michael Dawson’s linked fate heuristic.⁴⁷ As a result, it may be anachronistic to assume that property owners assigned the term “colored” by vital records would see themselves as belonging to a greater network of colored people. This lack of a linked fate heuristic would explain the lack of consistent preference for Black grantees over white grantees. If this much is true, the presence of Black grantees on all parcels may be better explained by residential segregation or existing social networks.

There may have been concerted efforts to keep Black real estate in the family and immediate community that did not belong to a nationwide or partisan ethos about Black liberation. Then, there would be effectively three approaches to selling property for a free, Black individual: 1) sell to a family member when bequeathing via a will is undesirable, 2) sell to another Black community member, or 3) sell to the highest (often white) bidder. Scant documentation makes ascertaining an individual’s motivations for selling property difficult, particularly for smaller, recently emancipated property holders who may have been barely or not yet literate. While the general premise of capital acquisition as the key to Black empowerment is seemingly ubiquitous in Black American history, to suppose free, Black individuals were making concerted efforts to sell their property to other Black people (family or otherwise) may be incorrect.

Lot 4 on Block 294 stands alone from all other parcels included in this paper. Half of Lot 4 remained in Mitchell's hereditary line for the entirety of the examined period. Lucy Mitchell's heirs, even in the absence of estate planning, quickly halved the property for their independent use.⁴⁸ The families lived side-by-side, building, remodeling, and expanding their homes to accommodate their changing households. Lot 4 of Block 294 stands to show that one of the most powerful aspects of Black property ownership is not merely the retention of property inhabited for generations, but the unhindered ability to exercise judgment for the welfare of one's family.

These cases let us examine the factual and imagine the counterfactual. Property once in the hands of successful black families was partially in the hands of wealthy whites by the 1950s. White owners then presumably rented, sold, and leased the land for profit. Block 277, for example, is currently the site of Cape Fear College's Wilmington Campus, still partitioned in the blocks from the city's first map. While the college is not culpable for the circumstances of the acquisition of this land, we are left to wonder how the generational wealth of Block 277's Black residents might have been impacted by selling their land to the college. Through these cases we might imagine what the families on these blocks might look like today if they still owned their property. We might observe if they would be more secure in their community or more resilient against economic shocks. We might dare to ask if they would be better integrated into the American fabric and rooted in their identities as local citizens. Perhaps the history of their homes would be a source of pride: their ancestors' toil made soil and stone.

Endnotes

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- 12 John Hope, Franklin, *Free Negro in the North Carolina, 1790–1860* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 233.
- 13 Franklin notes that this included "some rather valuable town property in Wilmington."
- 14 Collins, William J., and Robert A. Margo. 2011. "Race and Home Ownership from the End of the Civil War to the Present." *American Economic Review*, 101 (3): 357.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 This is not to suggest some prolific sense of charity amongst white slaveholders for the children they occasionally sired, but to acknowledge that inheritance for mixed-race children did occur. The debate over the distinction between "Black" and "Mulatto" land ownership, the latter of which often supposing that mulattoes acquired land due to hereditary connections to whites, appears as early as 1939. Connections to whites is a factor in Black antebellum land acquisition, but the significance of that factor appears to vary by sample and region. For example, see Ellen D. Katz, "African-American Freedom in Antebellum Cumberland County, Virginia."
- 17 The terms "massacre" and "insurrection" will appear interchangeably in this article. This choice reflects both the recent investment in linguistic specificity in historical retelling of racial violence and the term used by author, LeRae Umfleet.
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- 21 As few individuals owned more than one piece of property, determining which property functioned as the primary residence was rarely necessary.
- 22 Due to form restrictions for this publication, the author could not include all chains of title generated for this project. The complete paper and all relevant documents can be found on DukeSpace under the same title. https://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/25480/History_Thesis_Submission_Draft_O._Reneau.pdf;sequence=1.
- 23 Susan Nixon to George C. Waddell, New Hanover County, North Carolina, Deed Book AAA, page 8, 1870.
- 24 Daniel Watkins and wife, Ann Hawkins, Rachel Miller, and Frederick Williams and wife, Minerva Williams, New Hanover County, North Carolina, 1907.
- 25 William A. McNeil to John C. Brown, New Hanover County, North Carolina, Deed Book JJ, page 112, 1860.
- 26 Faith, Rivers, "Inequity in Equity: The Tragedy of Tenancy in Common for Heirs' Property Owners Facing Partition in Equity," *Temple Political & Civil Rights Law Review* 17 (2007): 1–81.
- 27 Martha Anderson, Wills; North Carolina. Superior Court (New Hanover County); Probate Place: New Hanover, North Carolina.

- 28 The will that both emancipates Margaret Fennell Hostler and conveys the slaveholder's land to her can be found in Appendix A.
- 29 The Bellamy patriarch, Dr. John Bellamy, was a known Confederate. One of his homes on Market Street, the current site of the Bellamy Mansion, was returned to his possession by the Bureau of Abandoned Lands only after his sworn declaration of loyalty and presidential pardon. The role of the Bellamy family in the real estate landscape of Wilmington, North Carolina is much in need of additional study.
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- 33 State Democratic Executive Committee, *The Democratic Handbook*, 1898, Documenting the American South, University Library: The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002, 189. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/dem1898/dem1898.html>.
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- 35 Joshua Russ and Wife to Flavel W. Foster, New Hanover County, North Carolina, Deed Book BBB, page 160, 188.
- 36 Lucy Mitchell, 1870; Census Place: Wilmington, New Hanover, North Carolina; Roll: M593_1151; Page: 388B.
- 37 John Dillard Bellamy, *Memoirs of an Octogenarian*. (Charlotte, N.C.: Observer Printing House, 1942), 155.
- 38 William Cobbs and Wife to S. Washington and Wife, New Hanover County, North Carolina, Deed Book 48, page 171–173, 1906.
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- 44 John C. Brown, et al. to R.L. Grady, New Hanover County, North Carolina, pages 432–433, 1906.
- 45 George W. Davis and Wife, Mary C. Davis, Joshua E. Russ and Wife, Sarah Russ (heirs) to Lydia Jocely et al. (Board of Trustees of the Israel Tent Lodge and Priscilla Tent Lodge, New Hanover County, North Carolina, Deed Book BBBB, page 159, 1852.
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- 47 Michael C. Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).
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In the name of God, Amen:

I, George E. Fennell, alias Walker being in good health of body, and of sound and disposing mind and memory, and being desirous to settle my worldly affairs whole, I have strength and capacity so to do, do make & publish this my last will and testament, hereby revoking and making void all former wills by me at any time heretofore made.

1st I hereby constitute and appoint Richard C. Grant of the County of Wilmington the executor of this my last will & testament and it is my will that out of the first monies of mine coming into his hands he shall pay off and discharge all my just and honest debts.

2nd It is my will and I hereby authorize and specially direct my said Executor to cause to be emancipated, as soon as possible after my death, my slave Margaret Ann and her daughter Mary Elizabeth together with all other children which the said Margaret Ann may hereafter bear, (the said Margaret Ann being at present my wife) and it is my will further that my executor shall sell all my personal estate of every description, and all my real estate (consisting at present of one lot devised to me by my mother Appeline S. Walker, being in the Town of Wilmington at the North West intersection of Sixth Chestnut Streets, and at the Southeastern part of Block No. 198) and appropriate so much of the proceeds of said sale to the expenses of effecting their emancipation as may be necessary, and the residue thereof to give to the said Margaret Ann as her sole property upon her emancipation being effected.

3rd But should the said Margaret Ann after full information upon the law and facts touching her emancipation, positively refuse to comply with the conditions and provisions required necessary in Law to effect that purpose, then and in that event I give devise and bequeath to Richard C. Grant, Wm. W. Peden; James T. Miller & W. C. Pethencourt and to the survivors and survivor of them all my real and personal estate property and effects including the said Margaret Ann, and her children now or hereafter born.

In testimony whereof I the said George E. Fennell alias Walker have hereunto set my hand and seal this 11th day of April Anno Domini eighteen hundred & fifty four.

Signed, sealed, published & declared by the said George E. Fennell alias Walker as his last will & testament, in the presence of us, who in his presence, and at his request have hereunto set our names as witnesses:

E. W. Hall
E. A. Anderson

George E. Fennell ^{his} seal
mark.

Appendix A: George E. Fennell Will

State of North Carolina)
New Hanover COUNTY)

WARRANTY DEED:

THIS INDENTURE, Made this 14th day of March, A. D. 1915, by and between
Henry Sampson (unmarried)
of the first part, and Althea Sampson
of the City of Wilmington County of New Hanover
and State of North Carolina, of the first part, and Althea Sampson
of the City of Wilmington in the
County of New Hanover and State of North Carolina of the second part.

WITNESSETH, That the said part Henry of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of Five Dollars, and other valuable considerations to him in hand paid by the said part Althea of the second part; the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, he doth give, grant, bargain, and sell, alien, convey, and confirm, and by these presents he doth hereby give, grant, bargain and sell, alien, convey and confirm unto the said part Althea of the second part and to her heirs and assigns forever, all that certain lot of land, situated, lying and being in City of Wilmington County of New Hanover and State of North Carolina, bounded and described as follows, to-wit:

BEGINNING in the eastern line of Fifth Street one hundred and eleven (111) feet and six (6) inches southwardly from its intersection with the southern line of Harnett Street and at the boundary line between the property of the party of the first part and the property of John D. Bellamy; running thence southwardly along the eastern line of Fifth Street twenty-two (22) feet to the boundary line between the property of the party of the first part and the property of Alfred Thomas and wife; thence eastwardly and parallel with Harnett Street one hundred and sixty-five (165) feet; thence northwardly and parallel with Fifth Street twenty-two (22) feet; thence westwardly and parallel with Harnett Street one hundred and sixty-five (165) feet to the point of Beginning, the same being a part of Lots 2 and 3 in Block 294, according to the official plan of the City of Wilmington, N. C.

Together with all household and kitchen goods located in the house known as No. 916 1/2 North Fifth Street and situate upon the property above described.

Reserving, however, unto the said party of the first part a life estate in the above described real and personal property hereby conveyed.

TOGETHER with all and singular, the lands, tenements, easements and appurtenances thereto belonging, or in anywise appertaining

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the above granted and described premises, together with all and singular, the rights, privileges, easements, tenements, and appurtenances thereto, belonging, or in anywise appertaining unto the said party of the second part her heirs and assigns, in fee simple, FOREVER.

And the said part Henry of the first part, for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators do th covenant to and with the said part Althea of the second part: her heirs and assigns that he is seized in fee of the above granted and described premises, and he has good right to sell and convey the same in fee simple; that the same are free and clear from any and all encumbrances, and that he will and his heirs, executors and administrators shall WARRANT and DEFEND the title to the same against the lawful claims and demands of any and all persons whomsoever.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, the said part Henry of the first part ha th hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal the day and year above written.

Henry Sampson (Seal)
 (Seal)
 (Seal)
 (Seal)

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, County, New Hanover
 I, Davis G. Duffy, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, do hereby certify that Henry Sampson and Althea Sampson, his wife, personally appeared before me this day and acknowledged the due execution of the annexed instrument, and the said Henry of husband touching her voluntary execution of the same, doth state that she signed the same freely and voluntarily, without fear or compulsion of her said husband, or any other person, and that she doth still voluntarily assent thereto.

Witness my hand and seal, this 14th day of March 1915.
 (NOTARIAL SEAL)

My commission expires 2nd day of September 1916. Notary Public.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, New Hanover County.
 I, Davis G. Duffy, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, do hereby certify that Henry Sampson personally appeared before me this day and acknowledged the due execution of the foregoing instrument. Let the said instrument and this certificate be registered.

Witness my hand and seal, this 14th day of March 1915.
 (NOTARIAL SEAL) Davis G. Duffy, Notary Public

My commission expires 2nd day of September 1916.
 Clerk Superior Court

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA—NEW HANOVER COUNTY.
 The foregoing certificate of Davis G. Duffy, a Notary Public of New Hanover County, is adjudged to be correct. Let the instrument with the certificate be recorded.

This 14th day of March 1915. Lois J. Ward, Asst., Clerk Superior Court.

Received and recorded, this 14 day of March 1915 at 12:00 M. [Signature], Register of Deeds.

Appendix B: Sampson Deed

Oiling the Machinery of Policing: Deportation Threats in 1960s Paterson, New Jersey

Emily Sánchez, *Princeton University*

Emily Sánchez graduated from Princeton University in May 2022. She majored in History and earned certificates in Latin American Studies and Latino Studies. This year, through the support of the Princeton ReachOut Fellowship, Emily is collaborating with the New Jersey Hispanic Research Information Center (HRIC) to create a podcast on New Jersey Latino History. Once completed, the podcast will serve as an in-class tool for high school educators searching for ways to add more Latino history to their curricula. Emily plans to apply to PhD programs in History and American Studies this fall.

Abstract

This paper begins to explore the relationship between immigration and policing in the New York metropolitan area by focusing on the place of Peruvians within the 1968 Paterson Uprising. Thus far, scholars of policing have examined how local contexts shaped police states over time. Historian Kelly Lytle-Hernández has contributed to this field by exploring the relationship between mass incarceration, immigration policy, and race in Los Angeles. However, the field has yet to examine the relationship between policing, immigration, and race in the New York metropolitan area. This paper begins to address this gap by exploring how deportations affected the creation of multiethnic/multiracial coalitions in Paterson in the 1960s and 1970s. By drawing from sources gathered during my junior independent project and senior thesis research, I preliminarily conclude that the United States' deportation machine contributed to the longevity of police departments and their brutality in the 1960s and 1970s.

Acknowledgement

This piece would not have been possible without Professors Rosina Lozano, Brian Herrera, Alison Isenberg, my classmates in HIS 465, and the New Jersey Hispanic Research Information Center staff. Thank you for thinking with me and helping me develop this piece into what it is today. I am excited to continue working on this project with you all in the future.

Introduction

“No es nuestra lucha,” a group of Peruvians responded to Puerto Rican community leader Laura Soria after she had asked them to join a police brutality protest in front of the Paterson City Hall.¹ In the days prior to this interaction, on July 1, 1968, police officers Robert O’Keefe and Charles Presta had brutally beaten a Black Puerto Rican man, Expidito Pecal, right outside his home for opening a fire hydrant to relieve his neighborhood from the scathing

summer heat of Paterson, New Jersey. In reaction to this violence, Puerto Rican and African American community leaders, including Soria, organized several protests in front of City Hall to demand an end to police brutality.² As Soria began to learn, several members of the city’s growing Peruvian community refused to join these organizing efforts because it was not their “lucha.” By drawing from oral histories and local newspaper articles, this piece will provide preliminary answers to the following question: Why did the Peruvians in conversation with Soria not view police brutality as part of their fight in 1968? By addressing who did not join this fight against police brutality and why, this piece will begin to reveal what systems have been oiling the cogs of local police institutions across the country.

Although the historical record does not contain several details about the Peruvians who spoke with Soria that early July, stories about encounters with the police from another Peruvian migrant, Anibal Alvarado, suggest that documentation status might have been a factor in determining who joined fights against police brutality. Throughout the late 1960s, the Paterson police department had threatened Alvarado with deportation to scare him out of the city.³ Participation in public protests for undocumented Peruvians in the 1960s likely meant being placed on the radar of a police department that not only had a reputation of violence, but also had a reputation of threatening migrants with deportation. By holding back undocumented migrants from participating in protests about police violence, the ubiquity of deportation threats in the 1960s inhibited the creation of possible coalitions against state violence and helped to sustain the Paterson police department’s power. Ultimately, the case of Peruvians in Paterson begins to suggest that the United States’ deportation machine helped bolster and maintain the power of police departments in the 1960s and 1970s.

Thus far, scholars of policing have effectively examined how local contexts contribute to the creations of police states in cities, including Chicago and Los Angeles.⁴ One historian, Kelly Lytle-Hernández, has also begun to document the relationship between immigration, incarceration, and settler-colonialism in the West.⁵ However, few scholars have examined how relationships between immigration and policing have developed over time in the New York City metropolitan area, beyond the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. This piece aims to address this gap by exploring the relationship between the deportation machine and Paterson’s local police department in the 1960s.⁶ By doing so, this piece also challenges *Latinidad* and questions the idea of a monolithic “Latiné” experience of police brutality.

Background

By the late 1960s, African Americans, Puerto Rican and Peruvian migrants had been toiling alongside each other within Paterson's factories for years. Of the three groups, African Americans were the first group to arrive in Paterson. Although there was an established African American community in Paterson since Reconstruction, hundreds of Black workers migrated to the city in the 1920s and 1930s from the South to escape Jim Crow. Puerto Ricans were the next group to join the city's factory workforce—many had initially migrated to New Jersey as contracted farm laborers before moving to Paterson in the 1940s.⁷ Once in Paterson, Puerto Ricans settled in neighborhoods such as Sandy Hill, Dublin, and Wrigley Park. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Peruvians from the Surquillo district of Lima started migrating to some of these same neighborhoods and began working in the same factories.⁸ The number of African Americans and Latin American migrants moving into the city was ultimately greater than the number of white people moving out and ultimately led to Paterson's growth during a time when cities were shrinking across the country.⁹

The use of the police force as a mechanism to control and divide factory workers in Paterson predates this white flight. Throughout the 1910s, the Paterson police department closely monitored leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), who were organizing local silk factory workers. In 1913, the department even arrested IWW leader Elizabeth Gurley Flynn after giving a speech about uniting workers across ethnic boundaries.¹⁰ By the 1960s, a decade where Paterson's population was shifting from being predominantly white to being predominantly of color, the police department disproportionately surveilled and enacted violence on Black Patersonians. Through the support of organizations, such as the NAACP, Black Patersonians spoke out against this violence, but ultimately met no efforts from the police department and city government to address the issue.¹¹ This inaction, along with the ongoing issues of inaccessibility to affordable housing and stable employment, culminated in the 1964 Rebellion in Wrigley Park. Unfortunately, the municipal government did not act to meet the demands of rebellion participants. The rebellion did, however, bring Paterson to the national spotlight and was recorded as part of the "long, hot summer" of 1964.¹²

As historian Elizabeth Hinton demonstrates in *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime*, the federal government, rather than address the grievances of rebellion participants, supported the growth and militarization of police departments in cities all over the country after 1964. Supporting President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on

Crime," Congress passed the Law Enforcement and Assistance Act in September 1965. This act created the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, which distributed funds to municipalities for the purposes of increasing their individual arsenals with items such as rifles, riot gear, helicopters, and tanks.¹³ While the federal government bolstered the power of local police departments, it cut down funding for community-based antipoverty programs.¹⁴ Moreover, in Paterson, politicians supported the growth of the police departments during their election campaigns.¹⁵ In this context, Paterson's residents rose up to demand an end to ongoing police violence.

Paterson's "First Responders" to Police Violence

When Sharon Ann Mincy Pecal heard the yells of her husband from inside her apartment on July 1st, she rushed outside to find Robert O'Keefe and Charles Presta beating Expidito Pecal.¹⁶ She immediately urged the police officers to stop. Instead of heeding Sharon Ann's demands, O'Keefe and Presta pushed and insulted her, and then returned to beating Pecal.

Although the police did not listen to her, several passersby did and started forming a crowd around her in protest of the violence. Other passersby decided to keep walking and spread the word about a violent beating on the corner of Essex and Madison Streets.

By the time O'Keefe and Presta had driven Pecal down to the police headquarters on Washington Street, the crowd on the corner of Essex and Madison had grown to include about 300 Puerto Rican and African American youth. All 300 people followed the path of the police car to Washington Street in the Downtown district, shouting, "No, no, no," along the way. They stayed at the headquarters until 11:00 p.m.—the time when Pecal was released on bail.¹⁷

In the next days, between July 2 and July 3, Puerto Rican and African American community leaders also joined the efforts to find justice for Pecal and to bring an end to police brutality in the city. On July 2, James Webb, field secretary for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) national branch, spoke to a crowd of 300 people in front of Paterson City Hall. While standing alongside Puerto Rican community leader, Ralph Soria, Webb urged the crowd to "tell police and Kramer [Paterson mayor] they're wrong" and to tell the community "they could do something if they'd get together."¹⁸ Director of the local Neighborhood Youth Corp, William Kline, also spoke in front of the crowd and explained that, Puerto Ricans and African Americans, by uniting in the "struggle for freedom and equality," could see their goals become a reality.¹⁹

Multiracial and multiethnic coalitions had the power to dismantle Paterson's police state, in Webb's and Kline's perspective. The next day, more leaders of the Puerto Rican and African American communities gathered at the local SCLC headquarters to strategize ways to end the city government's ambivalence towards police brutality and to bring an end to the violence once and for all.²⁰

Ultimately, to the African American and Puerto Rican communities in Paterson, Pecal's beating was not an isolated event. It was representative of the violent police state both communities had been attempting to dismantle for years.

The Case of Peruvians in Paterson

The Peruvians who were in conversation with Laura Soria likely understood Pecal's beating as part of the city's longer history of police violence as well. They had been living on the edge of the Downtown Business District, a predominantly Puerto Rican area, for several years.

By living in a predominantly Puerto Rican neighborhood, they likely heard about stories of police violence and about the 1964 Rebellion from their neighbors.²¹ It would have been very difficult for them to not know about the history of Paterson as a police state. Thus, ignorance about the issue of police brutality in Paterson cannot explain their response. What can begin to do so is an exploration of the constant threat of deportation within the Peruvian community.

The Deportation Machine's Attacks on the Peruvian Community

As historian Andrew Goodman documents in his book, *The Deportation Machine*, between 1965 and 1985, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) made deportation an everyday reality for undocumented immigrants in cities across the country.²² Some Paterson police officers took fear campaigns into their own hands.²³ After opening his auto body shop in the late 1960s, Peruvian community leader Anibal Alvarado faced extreme amounts of police surveillance, mainly in the form of frequent visits from Paterson police officers. During these visits, the police often arrested Alvarado and, in several cases, threatened him with deportation. Surrounding white proprietors seemed to have "sent" the officers to Alvarado because they viewed him as a threat due to their economic success. They hoped that the police could threaten him out of the neighborhood. Their plan failed, to a certain extent, because Alvarado stayed in the neighborhood with his business for almost a whole decade. However, he did ultimately leave the city for Florida in 1977 because he could not take the surveillance anymore.²⁴

It is possible that the Peruvians in conversation with Soria were undocumented and had heard about Alvarado's experiences with the police. They might have feared that their own participation in protests like the one of 1968 would have placed them on the police department's and INS's radars. Participation in the "lucha" against the police might have risked their very existence in Paterson and the United States.²⁵ The ubiquity of deportation threats in the 1960s seems to have inhibited, at the very least, the creation of public coalitions against police brutality between several ethnic minority groups with varying documentation statuses, and ultimately helped to sustain the power of the local police department.

In the months and year following the uprising, the Paterson police department comfortably held onto its power. None of the police officers involved with the case were found guilty of their actions. On the contrary, the magistrate court found Expidito Pecal guilty of "resisting arrest" and "causing malicious damage to the hydrant."²⁶ Moreover, the police department and the mayor did not follow up on most of the demands made during the uprising. These demands included an immediate end to police brutality, the addition of fire hydrant sprinklers for use in several parts of the city, recreational programs for non-English-speaking residents, assignments of more Spanish-speaking policemen to predominantly Spanish-speaking neighborhoods, and the appointment of Puerto Ricans to all city boards.²⁷ The only demand the police department attempted to meet was the assignment of more Spanish-speaking police officers to predominantly Spanish-speaking neighborhoods. Specifically, in the weeks following the uprising, the police department started providing free tutoring to African American and Puerto Rican residents for the Civil Service exam. However, the efforts to increase the amount of African American and Puerto Rican officers did not eliminate the issue of police violence in Paterson and surrounding areas.²⁸ As Julio Rubiani, the president of the Paterson area Council of Puerto Rican and Spanish Organizations, said in March 1969, "nothing has changed" since the Pecal beating.²⁹

Conclusion

Thus far, scholars have yet to examine the relationship between policing, punitive immigration enforcement, and race in cities away from the physical borderlands, like Paterson, New Jersey. This piece begins to fill in these gaps by exploring the deportation machine in the context of Paterson's 1968 Rebellion. During the decade of rebellion, the Paterson police department threatened Alvarado with deportation just because surrounding white proprietors felt threatened by his presence. Given the small and growing size of the Peruvian population at this time, it's likely that

the Peruvians in conversation with Laura Soria knew about Alvarado's encounters and said "no" due to fears of being placed on the police department's radar. By hindering the creation of public coalitions between residents of color with varying documentation statuses, the threat of deportation seems to have functioned as a control mechanism that sustained the power of the local police department.

In my future research, I will continue to explore how the relationship between immigration enforcement and policing developed over time in Paterson and the greater New York metropolitan area. While conducting this research, I hope to address the questions of when did multi-racial/multi-ethnic coalitions against police brutality form and why? Who specifically formed part of these coalitions and why? How did policing and immigration policy at a state and municipal level shape these movements? And, how did transnational anti-Black sentiments affect immigrants' engagement in these protests as well?

Endnotes

- 1 "No es nuestra lucha," translates to "It is not our fight." Laura (Soria) Freytes, interview by Karla Matta, April 18, 2012, transcript, New Jersey Latino Oral History Project, New Jersey Hispanic Research Information Center, Newark, NJ.
- 2 "Puerto Ricans, Kramer Agrees to Try Talks," *Morning Call*, July 3, 1968; "Youth March on City Hall," *The News*, July 2, 1968; "Minorities Pressure City Hall," *Morning Call*, July 4, 1968; "City Bows to Strife, Shifts Two Policemen," *Morning Call*, July 4, 1968.
- 3 The pseudonym Anibal Alvarado is being used to protect the identity of the interviewee. Anibal Alvarado, in discussion with author, August 2020.
- 4 Felker-Kantor, Max. *Policing Los Angeles: Race, Resistance, and the Rise of the LAPD*. Justice, Power, and Politics. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018; Simon Balto, *Occupied Territory: Policing Black Chicago from Red Summer to Black Power*, Justice, Power, and Politics (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).
- 5 Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965*, First Edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017).
- 6 To learn more about how Black Puerto Ricans led fights against police brutality in New York City in the 1960s and 1970s, see Johanna Fernández's *The Young Lords: A Radical History*.
- 7 It also important to acknowledge that Paterson, by the 1920s and 30s, already had an established African American population. As historian Jimmy Richardson outlines in his book, *Slavery at the River's Edge*, a free African American community developed along the Passaic River in the twenty-five years post Gradual Emancipation. The city's African American population also grew significantly following WWII; Jimmy Richardson, *Slavery at the River's Edge*, Freedom Boulevard, 2021, 8; "Migration North after World War II," webpage, Library of Congress; Isham Jones, *Puerto Ricans in New Jersey*, New Jersey State Department of Education, Division Against Discrimination, Newark, NJ, July 1955; Casto Maldonado, interview by Kimberly Garnick, July 27, 2006, transcript, New Jersey Hispanic Research Information Center Archive, Newark, NJ.
- 8 Giancarlo Muschi, "U.S.-Peruvian Business Relations and Their Effects on the Pioneer Migration of Peruvians to Paterson, New Jersey 1920–1950," *The Latin Americanist* 65, no. 2 (2021): 287; Giancarlo Muschi, "From Factory Workers to Owners: Informality, *Recurseo*, and Entrepreneurship in the Formation of the Peruvian Community of Paterson, New Jersey 1960–2001," PhD dissertation (University of Houston, 2019), 140; Emily Sánchez, "Forging the Path to Pan-ethnicity: How Peruvians Became Hispanic in Paterson, New Jersey, Late 1950s to 1979," Junior Independent Project (Princeton University, 2021), 9.
- 9 George Lipsitz and Richard E. Polton, *The 1964 Paterson Riot—Three Days that Changed a City* (North Jersey Media Group Books, 2014), 29.
- 10 Steve Golin, *The Fragile Bridge: Paterson Silk Strike, 1913* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 12–13.
- 11 "NAACP Opens Registration Drive Today," *Morning Call*, September 18, 1961, 24.
- 12 Lipsitz and Polton, *The 1964 Paterson Riot*.
- 13 Elizabeth Hinton, *From The War on Poverty to The War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016), 59, 79, and 88–89.
- 14 Hinton, *From The War on Poverty to The War on Crime*, 79.
- 15 "Mayor Calls Kramer's District Police Station Plan 'Completely Ridiculous,'" *The News*, October 7, 1966, 13.
- 16 "Puerto Ricans to Meet with Kramer," *Morning Call*, July 3, 1968.
- 17 "Youths March on City Hall," *The News*, July 2, 1968; "Puerto Ricans, Kramer Agrees to Try Talks," July 3, 1968.
- 18 "Puerto Ricans to Meet with Kramer," *Morning Call*, July 3, 1968; "City to Shift Police," *Morning Call*, July 4, 1968.
- 19 The main goal outlined by community leaders at rally in front of city hall was to bring police brutality to an end, "Puerto Ricans to Meet with Kramer," *Morning Call*, July 3, 1968.
- 20 "Paterson Calls in 50 State Police," *Morning Call*, July 4, 1968.
- 21 Soria mentioned that the Peruvians she was in conversation with lived on Jersey and Grand Street, which were both on the edge of the Downtown Business District; Laura (Soria) Freytes, interview by Karla Matta, April 18, 2012, transcript, New Jersey Latino Oral History Project, New Jersey Hispanic Research Information Center, Newark, NJ; Amilkar, Velez-Lopez, "Map: Areas of High Puerto Rican Concentration, as Indicated by School Enrollment," 1968, Amilkar Velez-Lopez Papers, New Jersey Hispanic Research Information Center, Newark, NJ.
- 22 Adam Goodman, *The Deportation Machine: America's Long History of Expelling Immigrants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 104; "Illegals Journey Rewarding but Risky," *The News*, May 6, 1974; "Clifton, Bergen raids net 16 illegal aliens," *The Herald News*, February 6, 1974.
- 23 "The Alien Problem," *The Herald News*, September 11, 1972; "Illegals' Journey Rewarding but Risky," *The News*, May 7, 1974; "Clifton, Bergen Raids Net 16," *The Herald News*, February 6, 1975; "Restaurant Owner Arrested," *The Herald News*, November 17, 1967.
- 24 Alvarado returned to Paterson the following year because Florida did not provide the same close-knit Peruvian community he had grown used to in Paterson; Anibal Alvarado, in discussion with author, August 2020.
- 25 Unfortunately, I did not find data on the number of undocumented immigrants in Paterson in the late 1960s. I hope to get an estimate of the Peruvian population in my future research by consulting factory records.
- 26 "District Court Hears of Pre-Riot Hydrant Incident," *The News*, August 23, 1968.
- 27 The last demand, to place Puerto Ricans on all city boards, was particularly important considering the context of Paterson's city government. Up until the mid-1970s, Paterson operated under a strong mayor form of government, where most of the power to make city-wide decision belonged the mayor and the city boards (the members of which were appointed by the mayor). "Puerto Ricans, Kramer Agrees to Try Talks," *The Morning Call*, July 3, 1968.

- 28 “Police Aid Minorities to Join the Force,” *Morning Call*, July 16, 1968; “Bricks, Bottle Aimed at Hoboken Police Cars,” *The News*, September 10, 1971; “Man Claims 2 Paterson Cops Assaulted Him during Arrest,” *The News*, June 11, 1979.
- 29 “Puerto Ricans, Kramer Agrees to Try Talks,” *Morning Call*, July 3, 1968; “Spanish Leaders Stressed Unity, Understanding,” *Morning Call*, March 26, 1969.

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Urban Indigenous Self-Expressionism: Horace Poolaw's Contribution to Contemporary Indigenous Identity Formation

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Abstract

An excerpt from my honors thesis, this paper aims to study how urban North American Indigenous communities represent their identities and cultures; specifically, I focus upon Horace Poolaw's photographic journey as a Kiowa man in the 20th century. His works monumentally shaped Indigenous identity prior to and through the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the late 1960s. More specifically, I will utilize the frameworks from the fields of visual studies and Native studies in formulating my work. I assert that Poolaw's photography encouraged the rise of Native representation, which has forced the American public to reconcile with contemporary self-representation which has subsequently shaped modern Native and urban Native identity.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to the Stanford Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity for providing such support in crafting this project, and many thanks to Linda Poolaw and the Bancroft Estate for their permission to include photographs. Thank you to my family and friends for being constant pillars of encouragement.

As Native identity is increasingly discussed in modern politics and media, representation of Native cultures is paramount in the broader implications of Indigeneity. Forms of representation, such as self-representation through portraiture and photography of Indigenous persons by Indigenous persons, is necessary in reconceptualizing the contemporary formations of Native culture and identity in the current era. As scholar Mark Rifkin writes, "Native peoples occupy a double bind within dominant settler reckonings of time. Either they are consigned to the past, or they are inserted into a present defined on non-native terms."¹ Native persons are rarely given the power or opportunity to represent themselves in both history and the present, and representations have been historically curated by non-Native persons and were not accurate depictions of Indigenous identity or culture. The lens and prioritization of self-representation (with consideration to the complexities of the pan-Indian narrative) is crucial throughout this research because it

repositions the power of the perspective.² Rather than representation being defined implicitly by the lens of someone not sharing the same identity, self-representation allows Indigenous persons to highlight specific forms and intimate ways of identity that may not be noticed by persons that do not share such connections to culture. Photography in particular is an important medium to analyze self-representation as reclamation. White settlers historically utilized photography to shape and "perpetuat[e] the exoticization of the American Indian, as well as reinforcing the negative stereotypes of the Indian's alterity to the dominant white discourse."³ Wanda Nanibush writes that "photography, which developed hand in hand with colonialism, has largely been responsible for the continued stereotype of the noble savage."⁴ Understanding the intentionally harmful ways in which photography has been used to subjugate Native persons by forcing them into a settler temporal lens underscores the importance of Indigenous photographers. Contemporary Native photographers, such as Horace Poolaw, have reshaped the lens of representation, specifically in relation to organizing and the momentum of the American Indian Movement, and are reimagining and redeveloping agency over urban Native identity through their works.

Horace Poolaw was born in 1906 into his Kiowa family. Poolaw first began to photograph in his early teens, beginning with life events between his friend and family, but then began to document his Native community more broadly.⁵ Because of his positionality as a Native person, his photos are "compensating imbalances," a term coined by Indigenous photographer Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie, who states "no longer is the camera held by an outsider looking in [...] we document ourselves with a humanizing eye."⁶ I refer to this "humanizing eye" as a form of intimacy displayed through Poolaw's work. His ability to unapologetically capture authenticity of Native existence in an ever-changing era, as well as capture the intimacy displayed between Native persons is significant in examining the role of portraiture in representation. Poolaw's photo from the late 1920s of three Kiowa persons depicts such intimacy.



Lela Ware (Kiowa), Paul Zumwalt (Kiowa), and Trecil Poolaw (Kiowa). Carnegie, Caddo County, Oklahoma, 1928–35. Photograph by Horace Poolaw.

The black-and-white photo centers a man in his car, gazing softly into the lens and leaning his arm partially out the window. The man is centered and in the middleground, but it is the two women on either side of him that truly create the compositional detail. A young woman stands to his right, left in frame, with her elbow resting on the rolled-down window frame, close to the man's. Her gaze is playful, as her body faces the right of the frame, and her eyeline rests on the third person in the shot. The third person, Poolaw's sister Trecil, confidently stares at the camera with wide smile; Trecil has her left hand on her hip with her body rotated a small way towards the left of the frame; notably, her right arm hangs deeply into the window frame, as she grabs the interior car frame from the inside. Her hand placement, as well as the two women's body language conveys familiarity with one another, while the wide range of emotions convey familiarity with Poolaw and his positionality as photographer. All three of the subjects wear white, which contrasts with the darker car and trees in the frame. This photo is an important example of the way in which Native photographers are able to capture such intimacy and accurate representation of Native lifestyles due to their identity and place in the tribal nation: the photo is of Poolaw's fellow tribal members. He has this access because of his own identity as a Kiowa man.



Eula Mae Narcomey Doonkeen (Seminole) in the American Indian Exposition Parade. Anadarko, Oklahoma, ca. 1952. Photograph by Horace Poolaw.

In addition to capturing such intimacy of identity, Poolaw also recorded specific moments of the celebration of Native culture. Arguably his most famous photo, Poolaw shows a black-and-white image of young Seminole woman Eula Mae Narcomey Doonkeen from the 1941 American Indian Exposition Parade in his hometown of Anadarko, Oklahoma.⁷ Doonkeen has her back and right shoulder

turned to the lens, emphasizing the beadwork and ribbons on her top. Her face is in profile, with a beaded and designed headband, streaming with ribbons in the back and with a feather standing up to the sky. She looks off-frame to the right, while her regalia takes the spotlight. Similar to the display of intimacy and familiarity, Poolaw's respect and illustration of Doonkeen's Seminole culture displayed visually through Poolaw's eye relies heavily on his positionality. Ultimately, Poolaw and his work demonstrate the role of self-representation in understanding and redefining Native identity in the contemporary era.

Poolaw's work and impact have been recently recognized by scholars in the field. Author Laura E. Smith writes that viewers should see "Poolaw's photographs as representations of twentieth century life and communal identity and not as static portrayals."⁸ In contrast to the still shots that white photographers took of Native subjects to indicate modernity or civility, Poolaw's photos capture movement and liveliness of their subjects whilst still maintaining such cultural significance. As Holland Cotter from the *New York Times* writes, "No more savage, no more timeless, no more vanishing. Instead, we saw Native American life from the inside, people inventively fusing a complex cultural past with [an] equally complex modern present."⁹ Though Poolaw's work prior to the American Indian Movement (AIM) is important to see to affirm that this work has always existed, as also illustrated by the self-portraiture in industrial schools, Poolaw's work during the beginning stages of AIM shows the growing mainstream recognition that Poolaw has always seen in his subjects.

Due to the immense media recognition of AIM, the movement is well-documented, but there are a few photographers in particular that played pivotal roles in archiving many of AIM's important moments, including Dick Bancroft, Vince Maggiora, and Bob Fitch. Dick Bancroft produced an anthology of photography spanning AIM's trajectory, while Vince Maggiora was the *San Francisco Chronicle* photographer for the Alcatraz Occupation. Bob Fitch was a wide-spanning activist photographer who was inspired by multiple campaigns throughout the Civil Rights Movement, including the New Mexico Navajo Protest in 1974. All three men painted a wide-ranging experience of the Native activism throughout and concurrent with AIM; however, it is important to note that all three of the men are non-Native-identifying. To truly underscore the insider intimacy and importance of self-representation through photography in comparison to outside perspectives, I will supplement and contrast the analysis of their art with later works from Horace Poolaw. While the three non-Indigenous artists play critical roles in redeveloping the representation of Indigenous peoples through AIM, the distance between artist and subject is evident.

Dick Bancroft first began working with AIM in 1970 after Pat Bellanger, a White Earth Reservation member, urged him to use his photography skills to document the rising efforts of the organization.¹⁰ Notably, Bancroft does not identify as Native, but rather as a visual advocate for the movement, having been invited into the space by its Native leaders. Though his photography is therefore not self-representation of Indigenous identity within the movement, it provides an important and otherwise not well-documented experience within AIM with the support and encouragement of its members. Many of his photos illustrate the lesser-seen or lesser-acknowledged parts of the movement.



Lisa Bellanger, Pat Bellanger's daughter, dancing at a powwow in Lac Courte Oreilles, Wisconsin, August 1971. Photograph by Dick Bancroft.

Within Bancroft's photographic history of AIM, he includes a photograph of a young girl, Lisa Bellanger, wearing a traditional shawl and hairpieces. She is dancing at a powwow the night before a direct action in 1971. Her red shawl contrasts the nature and woods in the background and Bellanger appears concentrated on her next step. In addition to Bellanger and other youth highlighted throughout the anthology, Bancroft also includes intimate portrayals of elders in communities that he photographs. For example, in categorizing his experiences in South Dakota throughout the American Indian Movement, he features a photo of spiritual elder Bill Eagle Feather Schweigman.¹¹ The photo is a close shot of his face with his hands perched; it is filtered in black-and-white so as to emphasize the incredible detail of his facial and hand features, such as his wrinkle lines and pronounced nose. Schweigman has a soft smile with his lips pursed as he looks off into the distance.

The inclusion of Bellanger and Schweigman is significant in this narrative. What is often focused upon within

the narrative of AIM are the young persons directly involved or the leaders that took the brunt of organizing. However, within Bancroft's visual anthology are photographs of children, elders, and all those who played pivotal roles that are often not given recognition within the more mainstream narrative. That is, Bellanger and Schweigman's inclusion in the narrative are not the exception but rather the normality in Bancroft's book, as he is able to capture a holistic visual experience of the movement. These photographs directly contrast the more volatile photos often utilized in media of AIM, such as the photos of direct actions; while direct actions were key tactics utilized, the visual prioritization of these events in media mischaracterize and represent the movement as a whole and help to shape the narrative or misperception of the movement as a violent or aggressive series of actions. In fact, these visual and verbal portrayals from media helped identify AIM as potentially a domestic terrorist organization.¹² Bancroft's narrative storytelling through his photographs illustrate the hidden parts of the movement not often seen or visible by outside observers. They allow the reframing of the movement with a more humanistic approach, centering participants of all ages and in all formats, whether that be through dancing like Bellanger or ceremonial leading like Schweigman. However, though Bancroft's photographs are intimate at times in their portrayals, there is a tangible sense of distance seen between the photographer and the subject due to his identity as a guest in these spaces, as a non-Native participant. Poolaw's positionality as a Native photographer, as previously noted, allows his photographs to contrast against Bancroft's in regards to their intimacy of portrayal.

Poolaw's extensive collection of photography from the early 1920s into the 1970s illustrate such familiarity in his works, but this intimacy becomes especially apparent through his photographs from the 1930s to the 1950s. One of his later portraits from 1955 highlights a woman, Lucy Whitehouse Beaver, and her daughter, Donna Beaver, from his own Kiowa Tribe. The young woman is adorned in traditional dress and accessories, with an eagle plume upon her head, a beaded medallion necklace, and a dress made of "five brain-tanned deer hides."¹³ Her child sits on her left hip, to the right in the frame, wearing detailed beaded leggings. Both Lucy and Donna gaze at the viewer, with Lucy donning a smile and Donna looking intently. The familiarity felt in the photograph is noticeable: the subjects are challenging the viewer through direct eye contact; in Bancroft's photos, the viewer is often looking elsewhere. While this may also be due to their different styles of photography, with Poolaw's being more staged and Bancroft's being more candid, eye contact in photography is significant in acknowledging comfort and intimacy between photographer and subject.¹⁴



Roy Rogers (Choctaw), Maria Doty (Navajo), Dale Evans, Robert Goombi, Jr. (Kiowa) in the American Indian Exposition Parade. Anadarko, Oklahoma, 1967. Photograph by Horace Poolaw.

Around the same time Bancroft was taking his images in the beginning of AIM, Poolaw continued his documentation efforts, particularly of Native expositions. In Poolaw's visual anthology is a photo he took in 1967, at the American Indian Exposition Parade in Anadarko, Oklahoma.¹⁵ The photograph centers a convertible car's hood and windshield, with a man (Robert Goombi, Jr., Kiowa) standing up in the driver's seat with his arms raised high. He is wearing a feathered headdress and arm ribbons, with three other persons dressed traditionally sitting up on the back seats. Notably, the man to the left (Roy Rogers, Choctaw) in the back seat's posture indicates respect, as he holds his hat on his head, with his head tilted down; the fringe on Rogers's beaded jacket is in movement, despite the inherent stillness of the image. On all sides of the car are crowds of persons participating in the parade, most of whom are either photographing/filming the subjects of the photograph or gazing at them and their presence. The photo captures a sense of energy and excitement from the moment in the parade, in part due to its skilled imagery but also due to the liveliness of the subjects and the parade's participants.

Though Poolaw did not necessarily document the connected or structured events of AIM, his photography throughout the era provides a more holistic view of the state of Native America at the time. Poolaw repeatedly asserted that he did not wish to live on through his photographs, but rather he wished for the subjects and their cultures to carry on.¹⁶ Though his photography did refine over the decades he captured Indigenous persons in their most authentic forms, his style remained fairly stagnant, involving mostly portraits of individuals in their traditional and ceremonial attire. As scholar Ned Blackhawk aptly writes, "[Poolaw] subverts the representational power of early American

photography, challenging the naturalized and timeless suggestions made about Native peoples."¹⁷

While Poolaw's work is momentous in capturing significant moments of his community and larger Indigenous events, such as the 1941 American Indian Exposition Parade, it is important to remember that part of his intention was simply to document his friends and family. It was mostly through the novelty of his work as a renowned Native photographer capturing everyday life of Indigenous communities that his work was propelled into the forefront of Native representation in photography. Had there not been a need for this counter-representation, Poolaw's work would likely not have created such an impact. Poolaw's photographs show that self-representation intertwines itself with the dominant narrative while working against it. Ultimately, the role of self-representation is still deeply significant in creating and shaping positive impacts on contemporary North America Indigenous identities. There are nuances of familiarity and intimacy in Native artists' self-representational work that are missing from outside perspectives that portray Indigenous communities as vanishing or within a specific trope. Individual photographers and Native-led institutions that foster this art form provide additional visibility and support for Native communities and allow for greater representation and positive self-imagery. In promoting such work, Indigenous self-representation can and will develop its own arc independent from portrayals imposed from beyond Indigenous communities.

Endnotes

- 1 Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).
- 2 I want to acknowledge that this lens does implicitly center the pan-Indian narrative by indicating that any production of art of a Native person by a Native person is self-representative. Donald Fixico writes that "since the late nineteenth century, outside pressures on Indians to assimilate into the American mainstream have played an important role in altering the identity of Native people from tribalness to a generic Indianness." However, I contend that this definition can empower Native artists rather than further contribute to the narrative, especially when the artists' explorations of self-representation insert agency into the historically-forced pan-identity. Additionally, there is a notable difference between the generalization of Indigenous identity versus the power of acknowledging similarities due to shared trauma. Thinking through such rhetoric, I call on Indigenous scholar Gerald Vizenor's concept of "postindian" and how this ideology is "bound in a relationship with the public's perception of Natives and then uses this relationship to displace beliefs and perceptions circulating in public discourse." In Vizenor's words, the term "postindian" is a condition in which "[Natives] now work and speak, and communicate in playing language after the invention of the Indian" by colonial standards." See: Bell, Fixico, and Miles.
- 3 Burkhart, "Native Stories: American Indian Representation and Self-Representation in Rhetoric and Literature," 27. The utilization of photography in the late 19th and early 20th century reinforced the "savage" representations of Native peoples and cemented such beliefs because of the seeming objectivity of the medium. White photographers such as Edward Curtis revolutionized this exploitation of representation through photography. In addition to individual photographers like

- Curtis, institutional photography, such as before-and-after photos from industrial schools, was key in shaping historical representations of North America Indigenous peoples. See: Burkhart and Margolis.
- 4 Wanda Nanibush, "Notions of Land," *Aperture*, September 27, 2019, <https://aperture.org/editorial/indigenous-artists-visual-sovereignty/>.
 - 5 "For a Love of His People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw, NY," *National Museum of the American Indian*, <https://americanindian.si.edu/explore/exhibitions/item?id=899>.
 - 6 Strathman, "Student Snapshots: An Alternative Approach to the Visual History of American Indian Boarding Schools," 729.
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Enfleshing Gender: A Decolonial Engagement with Trans Methodology

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Abstract

In this paper, I critique a model used within transgender politics to describe and validate non-binary people's identities known as the "beyond-the-binary" model. I primarily base myself within the work of Talia Bettcher as she identifies the failures within trans models to be their adoption of dominant interpretations of gender. I further explore this adoption by recognizing it as a perpetuation of colonial logic. Here, I draw from the work of María Lugones's decolonial feminism to accompany my critiques with an analysis of gender as a colonial introduction. Gender, here, becomes understood as systemic, as heterosexuality violently marks the flesh through categorical organizations of biology, creating a marginal acceptance of non-binary people and their realities. It is here that I question what does being trans mean on the body? Particularly on the bodies of non-binary people? In exploring this question, I am guided by M. Shawn Copeland and her concept of enfleshing freedom, enabling me to play with a concept that I inherit and identify as "enfleshing gender": gender as fused to one's racialized flesh and thus mutable by local history.

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In navigating my trans non-binary identity, I, like many other queer and trans people, search for accounts and models to support our self-identifications and political visions. Thus, this paper is a reflection of my own coming to consciousness as a white, LatinX, queer non-binary person within the United States.

Beyond the Trinary

The most popular framework within transgender politics for non-binary people is the *beyond-the-binary model*. In theory, this model acknowledges those who exist beyond or between the dichotomous realms of the binary gender identities, using non-binary as an umbrella term for those who identify in this way. In practice, however, it often ironically results in non-binary individuals being forced back into the binary. An "inclusive" dating app, for example, allows me to choose from the various labels for gender and sexuality, yet follows this option up with the following questions: "Who would you like your profile to be shown to? People looking for men or women?" Despite the categorical variety, the reality is a marginal acceptance of non-binary people with respect to the binary, which is made more obvious by *biologically organized* spaces such as medicine. Non-binary people, for example, continue to remain largely invisible in healthcare and research as these spaces boil down to one's assigned sex at birth: "A review of the current literature of Richards et al. (2016) showed that [gender-queer and non-binary] people keep the nonbinary concept of their gender hidden, and present themselves as a binary trans person in the hope of increasing their chance to access treatment" (Burgwal et al. 2019, 219).

Despite forcing non-binary people to translate themselves by embodying a binary identity for recognition, this does not mean that the beyond-the-binary model respects the identities of trans men and women. In "Trapped in the Wrong Theory: Rethinking Trans Oppression and Resistance" (2014), transfeminist philosopher Talia Bettcher recognizes the beyond-the-binary model to claim "that because transgender people don't fit neatly into the two dichotomous categories of man and woman, attempts are made to force them into this binary system" (384). In other words, this positions all transgender people in direct opposition to the gender binary. Thus in practice, she argues that this model medically regulates transsexuality, as it fails to create space for trans people who self-identify as women and men. With this, she understands the problem to not lie within the rigidity of the binary gender categories, but rather within the assumption that there is only one interpretation of gender: "to say that trans people are marginal with respect to the binary is to locate them in terms of the categories "man" and "woman" as dominantly understood" (Bettcher 2014, 390). Additionally, to understand trans bodies as "mixed" or "in between" also assumes a dominant interpretation of gender (Bettcher 2014, 390).

While Bettcher's account focuses on trans women and men in particular, I find that her critiques help me to identify a deep-rooted issue within the model that creates problems for non-binary identities as well. Through her

work, I understand the heart of the model to fail in sustaining the validity of self-identifications, as it follows the dominant interpretation of gender's *biological logic*, or, in the more precise words of Oyèrónkẹ Oyèwùmí, "bio-logic" (1997, 31): "biology is destiny... destiny is biology" (Oyèwùmí 1997, 1). Thus, this model serves to reinforce simple dichotomies between everything cisgender and transgender without truly destabilizing the assumed Western gender categories to enable different and appreciable meanings of gender. In doing this, we continuously center cisgender, heterosexual perspectives. At best, the beyond-the-binary model results in a trinary under which all trans and non-binary people are lumped together. Therefore, by lumping all genderqueerness into an umbrella that is "outside" of the binary, we ultimately fall vulnerable to the creation of a third gender category for alternative gender identities, a *trinary* that fails to properly challenge heterosexism: what María Lugones understands to be a "key part of how gender fuses with race in the operations of colonial power" (2007, 186). This fusion enables us to better understand non-binary identities and our resistance as we position ourselves within what is called the "colonial difference" (Lugones 2010, 751)—our ability to create fractures within Western cosmology.

Thus, I further critique the beyond-the-binary model through a Lugonian decolonial feminist framework from a non-binary standpoint. I deliberately keep this discussion personal and local to avoid universal application for other non-binary people in particular and trans people in general. Here, I am able to sketch my understanding of trans non-binary resistance and oppression where I begin to rethink, in the words of M. Shawn Copeland, "what being human means on the body" (2010, 1), most particularly on the bodies of diverse non-binary identities. With this question, I, in the words of Kristie Dotson, *inherit* Copeland's concept *enfleshing freedom* to play with an experimental concept that I call *enfleshing gender*. I believe that Copeland's understanding of what it means to *enflesh* challenges a system of power that Lugones identifies as the "coloniality of gender" (2007, 186), a systemic understanding of gender, which I understand to continuously pervade the models of trans methodology through heterosexism.

Briefly Historicizing Gender in Trans Philosophical Methodology

In "Gender and Universality in Colonial Methodology" (2020), María Lugones argues that new thinking about gender creates critiques of the binary without unveiling the relation between the "coloniality of power and its collusion with our contemporary understandings of race, gender, and sexuality" (Velez and Tuana 2020, 6), a relation she conceptualizes as the *coloniality of gender*. I

understand this failure to recognize coloniality to contribute to the adoption of dominant interpretations of gender within current trans political visions, such as the beyond-the-binary model. This assumption accepts that colonialism *did* impose "precolonial, European gender arrangements onto the colonized" (Lugones 2007, 186)—here, universality is tied to the concept of gender (Lugones 2020, 25). I recognize these assumptions to also assume a colonial methodology, which favors the thinking of more sexes and genders than two with respect to the binary (Lugones 2020). That is, to critique the gender binary without understanding these relationalities is to understand gender itself as "the socialization of reconceived sexual differences, remembering that not all sexual differences have been unambiguously socialized" (Lugones 2020, 30). In this understanding, a bio-logic is assumed, as the construction of more social categories within gender is bound to follow Western society's historical centrality and persistence of the body in these constructions (Laqueur 1990). Thus, the historicization of gender is required to avoid a colonial methodology in alternative models that aim to support the various meanings of gender within the multiplicity of trans worlds.

It is at this point that I am led back to arguments of Talia Bettcher. In the same article, I interpret her to recognize the beyond-the-binary model's assumption that one's body and identity must align according to heterosexuality in order to be a part of the gender binary or relate oneself to it. This ultimately creates a model that perpetuates the privileging of cisgender people and problematically positions trans people to the gender binary: "[A]t best, the genitally post-op trans person is admitted into the category woman only marginally, owing to a decision to take her self-identity seriously. Besides that, she's actually very close to the border between male and female" (2014, 386). I understand the beyond-the-binary model to position trans people in-between male and female, rather than within a different understanding of gender that does not respect the Western gender binary.

Another consideration I pose to accompany Bettcher's critique is the marginal acceptance of trans non-binary people who do not undergo surgery to remove the 'markers of their sex' such as breasts. This causes non-binary people to be forcefully placed into the binary, as with "visibly" trans people in order to reinforce transmedicalism. Bettcher recognizes the lack of underlying political visions sustaining the support for definitive self-identities: "The beyond-the-binary model doesn't sustain the centrality of self-identity—or at least it doesn't do so in a way that views such a move as at all politically laudable, since the truly resistant position, in this model, is to make a challenge from a position beyond the binary" (2014, 387). Gender here, fails to create a resistant meaning and practice that

enables diverse senses of being human that do not rely on one's bio-anatomical body, but rather perpetuates the privileging of the *visual sense*; One's body is always "*in view and on view*" (Oyěwùmí 1997, 2).

Rethinking Trans Models: Enfleshing Gender

By grounding ourselves within the historicization of gender, we can begin to stray away from the dominant interpretations of gender and allow room for other appreciable understandings of what it means to be human at odds with the Western gender system.

To start, Talia Bettcher rethinks trans resistance and oppression through María Lugones's concept of *multiple worlds of sense* (2003). She uses this concept to argue that we need to recognize multiple "worlds in which terms such as "woman" have different, resistant meanings; worlds in which there exist different, resistant gender practices" (2014, 403). From this position, we can begin to recognize "a multiplicity of trans worlds in relation to a multiplicity of dominant ones" (Bettcher 2014, 390). Here, I believe that Bettcher creates what Ofelia Schutte calls (2011) a *conceptual home*. In this general space, I begin to discuss a non-binary world of sense and my understanding of non-binary resistance through what I call *enfleshing gender*. Enfleshing gender is an experimental concept guided by the work of M. Shawn Copeland that I am in the process of fully developing and elaborating upon, but I will present my ideas thus far as an example of its application.

To *enflesh*, here, is in reference to American womanist and Black Catholic theologian, M. Shawn Copeland. Copeland focused on what it means to *enflesh freedom*, which examined the Christian question "of what being human means on the body, most particularly on the bodies of black women" (2010, 1). Here, she recognizes black women's bodies as a prism to understand the relation between the social body and the physical body:

In other words, while interaction and engagement with others is crucial to realizing essential freedom, that realization in large measure hinges upon cultural perceptions of social (political, economic, technological) responses (affirmation or rejection or indifference) to the physical body (Copeland 2010, 8).

Therefore, attention to black female embodiment enables her to address the position and condition of the black body in general, and black women's bodies in particular, within Christian theological anthropology (Copeland 2010). Copeland's understanding of what it means to *enflesh* already understands the fusion between race and gender under heterosexuality within colonial logic.

The question she examined paralleled my own journey in navigating my non-binary identity, where I too questioned, *What does being trans mean on the body, particularly on the bodies of non-binary people?* This does not perpetuate the centrality of the body, what I understand as *gendered corporeality*, but rather recognizes the body's ability to shape "human existence as relational and social" (Copeland 2010, 2)—what Lugones recognizes as *body-to-body* engagement (2003). From my understanding, gendered corporeality solely focuses on the physical, material body abstracted from one's spirit and self-identifications for the sake of heterosexual, colonial social categorization. This causes the dominant interpretation's social body (biology) to constrain the way that the non-binary physical body is perceived. So enfleshing here recognizes the body as an essential quality of the soul that does not detach the embodied person from their local historical contexts (Copeland 2010). Thus, my use of the word "enfleshing" in conjunction with gender, enables us to understand the non-binary identity in particular and transness in general, to require an enveloping environment, the body, and more particularly, one's race. Here I follow Lugones's decolonial feminist methodology by understanding race and gender as fused, so that we can begin to decolonize the constructions of categories and models that misconstrue non-binary people. This is necessary to begin basing queer and trans politics upon an "analyses of power rather than a fraught sense of shared identity" (Snorton 2017, x).

In *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity* (2017), C. Riley Snorton examines and explains "how the condensation of transness into the category of transgender is a racial narrative" as they reveal how blackness has historically found articulation within transness (8). Here, I understand transness, and gender in general, to be unable to be understood in isolation from race. Snorton refers to the arguments of Susan Stryker, Paisley Currah, and Lisa Jean Moore who recognize "trans-" to encompass the "categorical crossings, leakages, and slips of all sorts" (Snorton 2017, 8). He also refers to Moore's notion of "doubly trans-" which describes "certain modes of inquiry that, while referencing "transgender," move "beyond the narrow politics of gender identity" (Snorton 2017, 8). This also highlights a double relation, which I understand to be Lugones's recognition of race and gender as fused under coloniality of power and thus gender. Snorton depicts this fusion in the following quote:

"Trans" is more about a movement with no clear origin and no point of arrival, and 'blackness' signifies upon an enveloping environment and condition of possibility. Here, trans- in each of its permutations- finds expression and continuous circulation

within blackness, and blackness is transected by embodied procedures that fall under that sign of gender” (Snorton 2017, 2).

Drawing on various archival materials, Snorton reveals how slavery and the production of racialized gender lay out the foundations for an understanding of gender as mutable. Snorton recognizes the Western narrative of gender within its historical contexts through the bodies of black trans people. Their bodies enable a prism to understand black and trans as associated signs, more specifically as fungible under the logics of the transatlantic exchange. Black trans bodies, here, reveal that black gender is open to rearrangement, thus challenging heterosexuality through black modernity.

Through both Copeland’s and Snorton’s work, I can begin to understand transness through enfleshing gender as a decolonial feminist site for trans methodology. This understands gender as a sense of shaping, maintaining the intermeshed nature of *be-ing* (enfleshing) with one’s race through the context of colonial history. What I mean is, enfleshing, from my interpretation, makes real or concrete our different, yet appreciable meanings of what it means to embody gender necessarily transected by race. This enables gender to be a sense of shaping ground that recognizes each person’s relation to power through their fused identities: a prism that addresses the position and condition of trans bodies. Trans politics from this position avoids Cathy Cohen’s critiques of queer politics and its reinforcement of simple dichotomies between everything queer and heterosexual (1997). Enfleshing gender requires the destabilization of these dichotomies in order to properly theorize resistant models for trans people in general, and non-binary people in particular, to enable multiple worlds of sense for various identities fused with transness.

Conclusion

Enfleshing gender is a framework to begin a decolonial feminist philosophical-historical approach of queer and trans scholarship with a slight theological underpinning to center trans self-identifications and double relations. Lugones’s decolonial feminist framework historicizes gender to maintain the relation between the socio-historical body to the physical, racial body. The focus here is to understand the way the flesh animates transness and vice versa through the relationalities of colonization, race, and gender as well as through resistant body-to-body engagement in the colonial difference. Here, heterosexuality is properly challenged through the fusion of identities rather than the creation of more gender categories to recognize different senses of being. I understand this fusion to blur

and thus resist the overprivileged visual sense, the gendered gaze, within the coloniality of gender.

In future research, I plan to further investigate other translations of genderqueerness to heterosexuality. For instance, I understand there to be issues with the English language and its rethinking of gender due to its translation points being man and woman. Throughout this paper, I have attempted to articulate gender through the lens of a verb—enflesh-ing, be-ing—to demonstrate the movement of transness and to resist the way English, a noun-based language, deadens and distorts gender’s mutability through sterilized biological terms. By positioning gender within the imagination of a verb, we can begin to further decolonize dominant interpretations of gender.

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Challenging Chicano Nationalism: Reclaiming and Reimagining La Virgen de Guadalupe as a Queer and Feminist Icon

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Abstract

La Virgen de Guadalupe's presence in the Latine community is unparalleled. Her impact extends beyond Catholicism as she plays an integral role in Latine culture, identity, and politics, including U.S.-based Latine-led movements like the Chicano Movement. She represents domesticity, sexual purity, and upholds conservative and religious values. This interpretation of La Virgen is disputed by many within the Chicane community, however, as queer and feminist artists have reimagined her imagery and symbolism to reflect anti-colonialism. One such colonial ideology that La Virgen is involved in is Chicano nationalism's *la familia*. This familial standard, which is modeled after the Catholic holy family, has damaging effects on Chicana/Mexicana identity. This paper examines the impact of three Chicana-made artworks which feature La Virgen de Guadalupe and argues that the icon is reclaimed through disidentification.

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The Chicano Movement¹ catalyzed new identity formations and cultural understandings for the U.S.-based Latine community. The movement was not only calling for civil rights and social justice for Latines, but it also pushed forward a cultural agenda that gave rise to Chicano nationalism. At the frontlines of the movement was La Virgen de Guadalupe. Deemed the patron saint of Mexico, La Virgen is a symbolic maternal figure to many Catholic Latines. Her presence alone in the Chicano Movement speaks to the impact of her image, as she has transcended religious borders and is involved in Latine politics and social struggles. Yet her meaning is a source of contention within the Latine community as opposing sides believe she is for or against

ideals presented by Chicano nationalism. To conservative² Catholic Latines, La Virgen is a role model for the ideal Latina, one who follows heteronormativity, maintains their virginity, and falls under Chicano nationalism's construction of *la familia*. However, a wave of pioneer feminist Latina artists have contradicted this interpretation of La Virgen by transforming her Catholic image to express radical feminism, queerness, Indigeneity, and anti-colonialism.

Alma Lopez and Ester Hernandez are two such Chicana artists who have been at the forefront of reimagining La Virgen's symbolism. Their renditions of La Virgen strongly oppose the values enforced by Chicano nationalism, particularly that of *la familia*. Latino/a Studies scholar Rosa Linda Fregoso in her book *MeXicana Encounters* scrutinizes this ideology and examines the negative impact *la familia* has on Mexicanas' and Chicanas' self-expression. This paper will explore how La Virgen is reclaimed and weaponized against *la familia* by arguing that Hernandez's "Wanted" and "La Ofrenda" and Lopez's "Lupe & Sirena in Love" function as acts of disidentification with the religious icon.

Disidentification and La Familia

Coined by queer theorist and scholar Jose Esteban Muñoz, disidentification is "descriptive of the survival strategies the minority subject practices in order to negotiate a phobic majoritarian public sphere that continuously elides or punishes the existence of subjects who do not conform to the phantasm of normative citizenship" (Muñoz 4). To practice disidentification is to reclaim what colonialism took away; it signifies acts of resistance against oppressive systems that impose colonial culture and standards. Fregoso outlines how Chicanos attempted to disidentify with Western familial models with the establishment of *la familia* during the Chicano Movement. She explains that *la familia* was advertised as "'a critical force in [the] opposition to internal colonialism' and as such an alternative to the white European-American (colonialist) family" (Fregoso 75). What was meant to be an act of disidentification that decolonized Western familial standards backfired as Fregoso finds that both Western and Chicano families uphold nuclear heteronormativity and misogynistic gender roles. When analyzing an image titled "La Raza" from a Chicano newspaper, Fregoso connects the family shown in the image to traditional depictions of Saint Joseph, the Virgin Mary, and baby Jesus. The image in the newspaper portrays a man facing forward and his wife is "sheltered not just in a shawl but in the man's embrace" (Fregoso 74). She writes, "Occupying the symbolic place of the Virgin Mary, the Chicana mother is enshrined in motherhood and domesticity; her subordination is thus understood as a 'divine' fact" (Fregoso 74). Furthermore, she goes on to explain how the "Catholic holy family serves as the backdrop, providing

sacred legitimacy” to la familia (Fregoso 77). This model places La Virgen as the emblem for Chicanas’ roles as domesticated, submissive housewives who accept and uplift toxic masculinity, ultimately fortifying La Virgen as a defender of la familia.

Modeling la familia after La Virgen’s family comes with the assumption that she is a domesticated woman herself. Chicana visual artist Ester Hernandez begs to differ as evidenced by her print “Wanted” (see Figure 1). Known for her radical feminist artworks which mostly feature Chicanidad and La Virgen, Hernandez released the controversial print in 2010 in wake of Arizona’s proposed law, SB 1070. Hernandez was inspired by the activism led by Brown Latines to revoke the law, otherwise known as the “Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act.” The law sought to legalize racial profiling and xenophobia against Brown Latines as it declared that police were allowed to demand “papers” and arrest anyone who they deemed was undocumented (ACLU). The print is a wanted poster for La Virgen de Guadalupe and features two mugshots of her, a frontal one and a side one. She wears her iconic star-themed green shawl and is holding her hands in a praying position. It details her birthdate as 12/12/1531, referencing the legend where La Virgen appeared to Indigenous Mexican Juan Diego in Tepeyac, Tenochtitlan. Hernandez details La Virgen’s race as Amer-Indian and notes that she can speak Spanish as well as many Indigenous languages. The poster says her occupations include being a human trafficker, a cult leader, and a terrorist, with a criminal record of “For over 160 years, La Virgen de Guadalupe has accompanied countless men, women and children illegally into the USA. She has given limitless aid and comfort to unidentified suspects at the time of their death, especially in the desert areas near the U.S./Mexico border” (Hernandez). Hernandez’s depiction of La Virgen shows her with Indigenous features, dark brown skin, and a defiant facial expression.

“Wanted” provides multiple instances of disidentification, most clearly with La Virgen’s imagery transitioning from that of a religious, submissive woman to a criminalized, rebellious hero. The language and images in the art piece present La Virgen as a powerful enemy of white supremacy. Hernandez’s choice to charge La Virgen with masculinized labels such as “terrorist” and “cult leader” is intentional as doing so rewrites her character and purpose to be that of a revolutionary who guides and uplifts the immigrant Latine community. The claim that she has provided “limitless aid and comfort” affirms La Virgen as a solace to undocumented migrants, especially to those who do not survive the journey. Hernandez referencing the desert areas that make up the borderlands is significant. Scorching hot and deadly, the desert at the border

continues to claim many lives. Placing La Virgen alongside migrants attempting to cross the desert repurposes her as a guide to survival and a better life. Moreover, the fact that Hernandez created the print as a direct response to SB 1070 speaks to how La Virgen’s defense of Latine migrants does not end once they have made it to the U.S., but rather that her protection is ongoing and everlasting. La Virgen’s mugshots display her with Indigenous features and in a defiant pose, which is in and of itself an act of disidentification with the Catholic version of her. Traditionally, La Virgen has her hands clasped in prayer and is looking down. Her Catholic rendition also lacks many of the Indigenous features highlighted in “Wanted,” most notably her skin color. La Virgen in Hernandez’s print similarly has her hands pressed together, but she is looking straight ahead. Her brown skin and facial expression contradict Catholic portrayals of her; this rendition is Hernandez’s way of redrawing and disidentifying with her physical appearance.

Fregoso’s attention to how the Catholic family has been established as the model for Chicano families is significant as it raises questions about what La Virgen is supposed to represent. In la familia, La Virgen embodies what a “good” Chicana wife should be: submissive, sexually pure, and domesticated. La familia affirms that masculinity is necessary for a Chicano family to thrive. However, Hernandez’s version of La Virgen in “Wanted” refutes this notion as she is reimagining the religious icon to be a rebel. The fact that she holds a defiant face and looks straight ahead contradicts the Catholic rendition that Fregoso describes. Hernandez’s Virgen is not the same as the one “sheltered... in the man’s embrace” as she is the one doing the embracing. The print directly challenges Chicano nationalism’s views on women’s and gender roles as La Virgen is taking the place of what should be the Chicano/Mexicano man’s position. She alone is the provider of safety and comfort to her people who are considered her family. Contextualizing La Virgen in an unholy setting expands her capabilities and thus onto Chicanas/Mexicanas in general as she is now a feminist icon who inspires her followers to resist la familia’s constraining beliefs.

Queering La Virgen

Like Hernandez, lesbian Chicana artist Alma Lopez regularly centers Latine iconography and La Virgen in her artwork. She is considered a pioneer in establishing the queer Chicana aesthetic and her portrayals of La Virgen greatly complement Hernandez’s work. Lopez’s print “Lupe & Sirena in Love” demonstrates a creative and controversial way to bring two Latina icons together (see Figure 2). Made in 1999, the print features La Sirena from the Mexican bingo game, Loteria, layered above the traditional version of La Virgen. La Virgen’s left hand is groping one of La Sirena’s

breasts and her right hand is holding onto La Sirena's waist. A monarch butterfly stands below both figures, seemingly in place of the cherub that usually accompanies La Virgen. The print combines different mediums as the background is a photograph of downtown Los Angeles and the frame around it is drawn. Three baby angels hold up the drapes that make up the frame and there are multiple patterns of differently colored roses. On the bottom portion of the print there is a photograph of an extending wall which has graffiti and a mural of La Virgen. The text on the bottom left reads "mapa de la guerra de E.U. con Mejico" (Lopez).

The print references multiple themes which are relevant to the artist's identity and general Mexican culture. The monarch butterfly is widely used as the symbol for Latine immigrants; Lopez could be referring to her own immigrant experience moving from Mexico to LA. The fact that an urban, bustling downtown L.A. serves as the background of the print places La Virgen in a chaotic setting. Adding to this chaos is the sexual and queer nature of being positioned scandalously alongside La Sirena. Conservative Catholics deem the piece as sacrilegious given the "deviant" sexuality that La Virgen is participating in. Not only is La Virgen ironically breaking her virginidad, but she is doing so with another woman. Irene Lara in her article "Goddess of the Americas in the Decolonial Imaginary" remarks on the sexual binary La Virgen is forced in by Catholicism. Lara highlights how La Virgen is deemed the opposite of La Malinche, a Mexican figure who holds an unyielding negative reputation as she is regarded as Guadalupe's "monstrous double" (Lara 109). She attributes this division to a "rigid Western dichotomy between good and evil and an ideology of distrust toward women, especially racialized women" (Lara 100). Replacing La Malinche in this dichotomy is La Sirena, who because of her nudeness and promiscuity, can be interpreted as La Virgen's antithesis. By situating La Virgen in a romantic and sexual relationship with La Sirena, Lopez is expanding La Virgen's meaning to reimagine her as a queer symbol.

This queer version of La Virgen undoes the rendition followed by Chicano nationalists and la familia. The text in the print mentions that the piece is showing a map of the U.S.'s war with Mexico. Perhaps this war is not a literal one, but rather Lopez's way of discussing how Western colonial standards are pushed by American culture and influence homophobia in Latinidad. Homophobia stems from colonialism and cishet supremacy has propelled it to infiltrate la familia and therefore the way one interprets La Virgen. The connections between Catholicism and cishet supremacy have limited La Virgen's image to be purely reflective of systems of oppression. In "Lupe & Sirena in Love," Lopez is re-envisioning the message of La Virgen and disidentifying with her as she is drifting from

conventional portrayals and instead creating imagery which caters to queer Latinas.

Another piece by Hernandez that challenges la familia's interpretation of La Virgen as a symbol for family nuclearity and heteronormativity is her 1988 print "La Ofrenda," or "The Offering" (see Figure 3). The serigraph print portrays a young woman's naked upper body with a navy-blue background. She has a large, colorful tattoo of La Virgen de Guadalupe which covers most of her back. La Virgen is wearing the classic green shawl and red dress with her hands in a prayer pose. A hand holds up a pink, rose-like flower to La Virgen on the woman's back. La Virgen is represented traditionally, but the body which holds her is not. The woman's hair is especially intriguing as she wears a short haircut with dyed streaks and shaved sides. This hairstyle alongside a skull and dagger earring communicates opposition to gender expectations, particularly those that are pushed on Latinas by Catholicism and la familia. This representation of womanhood also relays queerness as the woman is disrupting heteronormative expectations with her visual features.

"La Ofrenda" serves as an additional example of how Chicanas have disidentified with La Virgen and rebuilt her symbolism to represent queerness and feminism. Similarly to "Wanted" and "Lupe & Sirena in Love," this print challenges the machismo and suppressive gender roles that are imposed by la familia. The woman in the print has La Virgen in tattoo form, something which is inherently controversial in the Latine community. Tattoos hold a damaging reputation as they are associated with criminality and for a woman to have one is considered scandalous. As explained by Guisela Latorre in her article "Icons of Love and Deception," tattoos of La Virgen de Guadalupe are more accepted if they are seen on Chicano men and "are often regarded as a symbol of Mexican masculinity" (Latorre 148). Latorre goes on to discuss the impact of "La Ofrenda," arguing that the Chicana in the print has "not only transgressed the gendered expectations for Chicanas but also likened lesbian desire to divine love" (Latorre 148). This transgression greatly disrupts not only La Virgen's symbolism, but also the sexual binary that la familia upholds. The nature of her being captured in a tattoo on a queer Chicana's bare back conveys her position as a supporter of queer people and feminism. This is an act of disidentification with La Virgen as the Chicana in the print is engaging with her in a way that is not culturally accepted. She is subverting what Catholicism claims La Virgen represents by reflecting her own beliefs and identity. This interpretation of La Virgen undoes the one promoted by la familia and instead rebirths a new version of La Virgen which is pro-queer and pro-feminist.

The Intersections between Feminism and Queerness

Altering La Virgen's role in Chicanidad simultaneously remodels the positions of Chicanas in la familia. As the symbol for Chicanas and Mexicanas, the standards La Virgen holds similarly fall on the women that look like her. In "Wanted," Hernandez is communicating that Latinas are capable of being revolutionaries without the aid of masculinity. Lopez's "Lupe & Sirena in Love" offers queer Chicanas recognition and representation in a way that confronts the restrictions placed on them and La Virgen by la familia. "La Ofrenda" offers a unique way to honor La Virgen and showcase her allyship to queer Chicanas. These three artworks reveal the extent to which Latina artists have been able to disidentify with la familia's interpretation of La Virgen. In their portrayals of La Virgen, queerness and feminism do not exist independently from one another, but rather support each other in radicalizing La Virgen's symbolism. Chicano nationalism's refusal to accept a radically feminist and queer familial model proves Fregoso's point that la familia is indeed a colonial ideology disguised under a cry for decolonization. Fregoso's discussion of la familia's dysfunction includes mentioning the impact it has on young girls who are expected to adopt Chicano nationalism's values. She quotes Chicana/o Studies scholar Yvette Flores-Ortiz's when she explains the "parentification of children," which is "a dysfunctional pattern in physically abusive Latino families [that] involves saddling children with the responsibilities of the parents" (Fregoso 87). Chicana girls are culturally obligated to become heteronormative and submissive women in order to follow the example set by La Virgen. It seems, though, that reclaiming La Virgen and radicalizing her symbolism offers opportunities for Chicana girls and women to break free from the constraints of la familia and instead have agency over their own lives. They no longer have to imagine themselves as second-class citizens of Chicanidad but rather as what Hernandez's and Lopez's versions of La Virgen embody: power.



Figure 1: Ester Hernandez
Wanted, 2010,
Screenprint on paper Smithsonian American Art Museum



Figure 2: Alma Lopez
Lupe & Sirena in Love, 1999

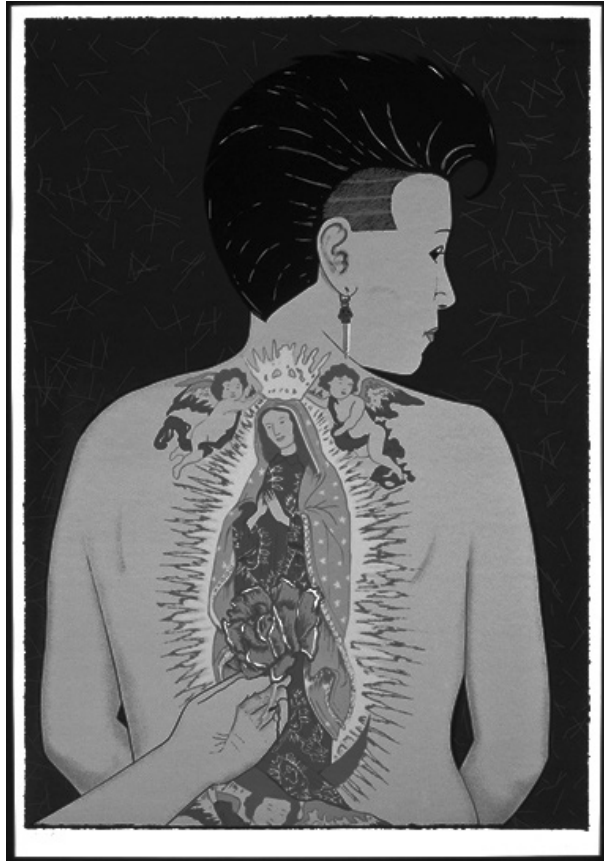


Figure 3: Ester Hernandez
La Ofrenda/The Offering, 1988
 Serigraph National Museum of Mexican Art Permanent Collection

Endnotes

- ¹ The Chicano Movement (also known as El Movimiento) was a Mexican-American-led series of protests advocating against various social justice issues such as police brutality, racism, and educational disparities. Historian Ernesto Chavez in ¡Mi Raza Primero! situates the crucial years of the movement to be from 1966–1978 and asserts that the movement gave rise to a new racial and ethnic identity. The adoption of “Chicano” as the new label for those of Mexican descent in the U.S. also provoked conversations about what it means to be part of “la raza,” “carnalismo,” and “Aztlán” (Chavez 5). For more information on the complexities of the Chicano Movement, see: Ernesto Chávez. “Those Times of Revolution.” *Mi Raza Primero! Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966–1978*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 2005, pp. 1–8.
- ² For the purposes of this article, I define conservative as a cultural ideology informed by Latine traditional standards and practices, such as gender roles and heteronormativity. Although I am discussing conservatism in a cultural sense rather than a political one, Geraldo Cadava in *The Hispanic Republican* theorizes that “conservative” and “Republican” are “terms [that] are like concentric circles with a larger degree of overlap, but not total overlap” (Cadava xx). For more information on the Latine conservative political ideology, read: Geraldo L. Cadava. “Introduction.” *The Hispanic Republican: The Shaping of an American Political Identity, from Nixon to Trump*, Ecco, an Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, New York, NY, 2021, pp. IX–XXVIII.

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On *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*: Erotic Power and Representative Thinking

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Abstract

Audre Lorde conceptualizes the erotic as an inner resource. For oppression to perpetuate itself, she argues, it must distort the inner resources of oppressed groups since those resources may provide “energy for change.” Thomas Hardy’s *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* reflects many of the repressive realities Lorde describes. This paper explores Tess’s erotic suppression through the lens of Audre Lorde. In lieu of merely observing the oppression of the protagonist, however, the paper aims to develop a response to this oppression, drawing from Namwali Serpell’s work on the limitations of empathetic reading. Serpell argues that the lens of empathy can encourage complacency in readers. She endorses instead the model of “representative thinking,” which compels readers to “inhabit the position” rather than the person. I take up Serpell’s premise that art should compel its spectators to productive responsiveness rather than cathartic inaction, interpreting Tess’s oppression in light of this presupposition. Specifically, I argue that while we can glean some readings that point to Tess’s cultivation of her own erotic power, Hardy’s language consistently suppresses the erotic in her character. I suggest that, for this reason, we might turn to representative thinking, which allows the reader, equipped with interpretive agency, to inhabit Tess’s position, and in so doing, counteract the textual representations that limit her.

Acknowledgements

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The 19th-century novel *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* begins with an epigraph: “a pure woman faithfully represented by Thomas Hardy.”¹ The author aims, as his statement suggests, to defend his heroine Tess, who is seduced and raped as a young girl, against condemnation, judgment, and blame. Some scholars commend Hardy on the basis of this apparent aim. Mary Jacobus, for example, takes Hardy to demonstrate “compassionate identification with his heroine,” and Irving Howe sees him as a “character” who “hovers and watches over Tess...like a stricken father.”² He is “clearly invested,” according to Karin Koehler, “in a project

of challenging the cultural idealisation and production of women’s [sexual] ignorance.”³ Other scholars, on the other hand, criticize the novel’s treatment of Tess. Penny Boumelha argues, for instance, that the narrator demonstrates a sexual attraction to the protagonist, mirroring her lovers, and Kristin Brady similarly claims that the narrator exhibits “undeniable erotic fascination with Tess.”⁴ While we cannot necessarily equate the author with the narrator here, they are at least closely connected in that Hardy himself frames the relationship between Tess and the narrator. The novel, it would seem, exists in tension with its epigraph. Indeed, Hardy’s noble aim does not emancipate his narrative from complicity with sexual suppression; his language ultimately constrains Tess and her body. Hardy’s narrative, as Audre Lorde might put it, suppresses the erotic within his protagonist.

In *Uses of the Erotic*, Lorde conceptualizes the erotic as an inner resource—as a source of power, information, and knowledge, particularly for women. For her, the erotic denotes a creative energy rooted in feeling rather than mere sensation; whereas the pornographic suppresses love, the erotic embraces it. To cultivate the erotic, Lorde asserts, is to cultivate one’s capacity for joy, purpose, and meaning in all realms of life. For oppression to perpetuate itself, she argues, it must distort or corrupt the inner resources of oppressed groups since those resources may provide “energy for change.”⁵ Lorde offers a helpful lens through which to read *Tess of the D’Urbervilles*, for she recognizes the possibility of sexual oppression beyond that which is explicitly sexual; since the erotic is capable of manifesting itself in all realms of life, *so can its suppression*. Lorde, in other words, might help us identify forms of sexual suppression within the narrative which we might otherwise overlook.

This paper explores Tess’s erotic suppression through the lens of Lorde. In lieu of merely observing the oppression of the protagonist, however, the paper aims to develop a response to this oppression, drawing from Namwali Serpell’s work on the limitations of empathetic reading. Serpell argues that the lens of empathy can encourage self-righteous complacency in readers. She endorses instead the model of “representative thinking,” which compels readers to “inhabit the position” rather than the person. Adopting this framework, I take up Serpell’s premise that art should compel its spectators to productive responsiveness rather than cathartic inaction and interpret Tess’s oppression in light of this presupposition. Specifically, I argue that while we can glean some readings that point to Tess’s cultivation of her own erotic power, Hardy’s language consistently suppresses the erotic in her character. I suggest that, for this reason, we might turn to the model of representative thinking, which allows the reader, equipped with

interpretive agency, to inhabit Tess's position, and in so doing, counteract the textual representations that limit her.

According to Lorde, the erotic involves an awareness of "how acutely and fully we can feel in the doing."⁶ To cultivate the erotic, in other words, is to cultivate holistic joy in all of our life endeavors. In *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, we find that despite the trauma of her rape at the hands of Alec, Tess manages to find joy in the tasks of daily life. After returning from The Slopes to her home in Marlott, she takes up agricultural work, seeking the fullness of feeling that in Lorde's view characterizes the erotic. Despite the "clock-like monotony" of the sheafing, for instance, Tess holds "the corn in an embrace like that of a lover."⁷ The comparison here between manual labor and the comfort of an embrace lends itself well to Lorde's conception of the erotic; Tess experiences a loving, purposeful, and satisfying union with her work despite, and perhaps because of, its demanding nature. Hardy even characterizes the "field woman" as "a portion of the field."⁸ In depicting Tess as one with the work she finds meaningful, he perhaps unwittingly acknowledges the erotic at play in her character. At other points in the text, however, Hardy's language suppresses the erotic within her.

In portraying Tess as "full of zest for life,"⁹ perhaps Hardy acknowledges her life force and creative energy, but he also seems to distort the source of her desires. Two years after losing her child, Tess decides to leave Marlott. And according to Hardy,

It was unexpected youth, surging up anew after its temporary check, and bringing with it hope, and the invisible instinct towards self-delight. . . . "[T]he irresistible, universal, automatic tendency to find sweet pleasure somewhere, which pervades all life, from the meanest to the highest, had at length mastered Tess.¹⁰

With Lorde in mind, we might interpret Tess's search for joy here as a cultivation of her erotic power—a force that fundamentally emerges from within. Some of Hardy's language, however, suggests that he sees the "instinct towards self-delight" as externally motivated. The "irresistible tendency" toward "sweet pleasure" masters her, he asserts; it forces her to obey.¹¹ Even if we concede to the notion that impulses often undercut the will, which might give us grounds to question the supposed strength of human volition, we might still plausibly claim that both impulses and the will come from within. Hardy counterintuitively depicts Tess's search for joy and satisfaction as elicited by an external force; he paints her as the passive recipient of her own desire. Lorde claims that living according to "external directives" rather than "internal knowledge and needs" distances us from the "erotic guides" within such that our

lives become "limited by external and alien forms."¹² Perhaps Hardy's recognition of a woman's capacity for desire at all is in itself an accomplishment. Yet under Lorde's framework, his conception of the source of her desire as extrinsic rather than intrinsic undermines the emancipatory potential of his admission of its very existence.

Indeed, there are some instances in which Hardy appears to acknowledge Tess's internal drive for satisfaction, but fails to do so definitively. When she starts working at the dairy, for example, he claims that "she appeared to feel that she really had laid a new foundation for her future. The conviction bred serenity, her pulse slowed."¹³ Here Hardy implies that to a certain extent, Tess takes control of her life. But we cannot be certain that he really espouses that view; whereas he presents the ostensibly extrinsic nature of her impulse toward joy as fact, he treats her conclusion at the dairy as merely *her* conviction, not his. And while he neither confirms the soundness of her conclusion nor decries it as misguided, he does not actually admit that she has agency. He solely says that she *thinks* she does. On the other hand, perhaps Hardy's tacit refusal to evaluate Tess's belief in her own agency need not be read as repressive. In his silence on the matter he seems to leave room for the following conclusion: Tess's mindset may be one of self-determination but her social reality precludes any substantial capacity for self-reinvention. But Tess herself knows this; she is not naive to the consequences of her "tainted" status. Indeed, after the rape, she accepts that she "would be the dairymaid Tess, and nothing more."¹⁴ In any case, we cannot rule out the possibility that Hardy either implicitly dismisses the weight of Tess's internal directives or regards them as non-existent. For while his ambiguous language in implicitly erotic moments may allow us to give him the benefit of the doubt, his language in the more explicitly erotic moments give the reader stronger grounds for suspicion.

By framing her sensuality around passivity, Hardy robs Tess of sexual will, suppressing the erotic in her character. When Angel "claps[s] her in his arms," for example, Tess "yield[s] to his embrace with unreflecting inevitableness."¹⁵ And as she falls in love with him, she drifts along "without the sense of a will," responding to his suggestions with "passive responsiveness."¹⁶ To minimize consent is to suppress the erotic in another person. For the erotic involves agency; if exercising the erotic means, in part, living by internal directives, then failing to recognize someone's capacity and right to choose what to do with her body necessarily dismisses and stifles the erotic within her. As Lorde puts it, "use without consent of the used is abuse."¹⁷ Hardy frames Tess's desire for Angel around submission. In doing so, he suppresses her agency, and by extension, the erotic within her.

Perhaps, one might argue, Hardy is merely *exposing* a gendered, 19th-century conception of desirability. If Hardy aims, as his epigraph suggests, to vindicate Tess's purity by vilifying those who violate her, then it would be a mistake to presuppose that he is endorsing the violent sexual treatment of women—especially if we realize that he may have seen no contradiction between condoning the prevailing ideal of feminine desirability and attempting to condemn male violence against Tess. After all, he presumably means to paint her in the best possible light and he chooses to depict her with such a prevailing ideal of desirability. But, as Roland Barthes reminds us, to “give a text an Author,” or to presuppose that the author bears the final authority on the meaning of a text, is to “impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing.”¹⁸ What Hardy did or did not intend, in short, does not and should not have the last word; his language might still functionally suppress the erotic in his heroine, regardless of authorial intent.

Hardy suppresses the erotic in Tess not only in his representation of her desires, but also through those of her male counterparts. Hardy characterizes male desire for Tess as sparked and reinforced by her vulnerability, submission, and lack of agency. He consistently presents Tess as most feminine and desirable when she is semi-conscious or asleep.¹⁹ As scholar Elissa Gurman notes, “Alec violates Tess when she is asleep at the Chase and Angel first kisses Tess when he spots her milking a cow in a ‘trance’ state of ‘dream-like fixity.’”²⁰ This sort of male desire for Tess transcends Hardy's fictional characters; he *himself* sexualizes Tess throughout the narration.²¹ He claims, for instance, that when her face is

flushed with sleep, and her eyelids [hang] heavy over their pupils, the brim-fullness of her nature breathe[s] from her. [During this] moment.... [her] woman's soul [is] more incarnate than at any other time; sex takes the outside place in the presentation.²²

Here, Hardy exemplifies an erotic fascination with Tess. Her “sex” or womanhood manifests itself most strongly, in his view, during her sleeping hours. At another point he even claims that Tess loses “her strange and ethereal beauty” as the “sunbeams” and the “day [grow] strong.”²³ She is more beautiful, he implies, during the hours of slumber than those of peak sunlight.

Having unmasked Hardy's suppression of Tess, we might be tempted to halt the discussion here. Sifting through Hardy's language, we've located moments that reflect a suppression of the erotic in our heroine, and we know, from Lorde, that such a suppression is detrimental to women's sense of power and well-being. “What more can we do?” we might ask. After all, Tess is a fictional character.

Hardy has molded her and she is, to a great extent, constrained by his language; she cannot rebel against his authorial choices.

Serpell might help us move beyond this somewhat paralyzing conclusion. She emphasizes the task of productive engagement, claiming that art should propel us into action. “Art should not be a release valve,” she insists, “but a combustion engine.”²⁴ In her view, experiencing a work of art through a lens of empathy can mean succumbing to an “emotional mind-meld” with the person in question, allowing one to experience a sense of moral superiority as a substitute for ethical action.²⁵ She instead advocates Hannah Arendt's model of “representative thinking,” in which we stay within ourselves and simultaneously “enlarg[e] [our] mind[s] to encompass the positions of others.”²⁶ “Rather than virtually *becoming* another,” we “imagine using” our own minds but from the other's position.²⁷ Literature, in Arendt's view, is rooted in a “disinterested pursuit of truth.”²⁸ The role of the novelist, then, is to reveal things as they are.²⁹ Fiction, of course, involves fabrication, but when it illustrates things as they are (or does not manage to do so), it activates the human faculty of judgment—the capacity to discern truth.³⁰ The lens of empathy shifts our focus away from truth, judgment, and action, to mere catharsis. Representative thinking, on the other hand, allows us to evaluate truth with clarity, opening the way for action. This is not to say that feelings necessarily cloud judgment or that judgment on its own is always enough to spur action. It is merely to emphasize the notion that the empathy model encourages complacency and that action under such a mind-set is never possible.

So how can we apply Serpell's model of representative thinking to *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*? Hardy aims, as his epigraph suggests, to elicit empathy for Tess. But employing an empathetic lens means shifting our focus away from truth and discernment to mere sentimentality and paralysis. Moving our gaze away from truth is tantamount to accepting Hardy's terms, to succumbing to his suppressive constructions of desire and desirability. We cannot, under the empathetic lens, effectively speak truth to power—we are much too consumed by the “mind-meld.” By alternatively inhabiting Tess's position, and recognizing the existence of her erotic power and potential as (an albeit fictional) human being, perhaps we can resist those terms. Lorde writes that,

Recognizing the power of the erotic within our lives can give us the energy to pursue genuine change within our world, rather than merely settling for a shift of characters in the same weary drama.³¹

By virtue of her limited fictional nature, Tess herself cannot break free from the bounds of her “weary drama” and

explicitly recognize the erotic within herself. But perhaps as readers we can do that for her. We can inhabit her position—all the while remaining in our own—and posit the existence of her erotic power in an act of productive recovery.

But how is this act of recovery fundamentally different from unmasking Hardy's suppression of the erotic in Tess? Revealing her suppression and positing the existence of the erotic in her character are admittedly two sides of the same coin. However, these actions differ in character: to use gender theorist Eve Sedgwick's language, the former is paranoid or destructive, and the latter, reparative. Associated with the hermeneutics of suspicion, the paranoid lens embodies a defensive approach to criticism; characterized, among other things, by anticipation, reductionism, and negative emotion, it presupposes catastrophe, often destroying in its own turn.³² The reparative lens, on the other hand, centers restoration and emancipation, offering a generative approach to interpretation. In a simple act of recognition—of acknowledging with certainty that Tess *has* erotic power, even if it remains largely suppressed by the narrative—perhaps we take a step toward productive interpretive action, letting Hardy's language function as a “combustion engine” rather than “release valve.”

Endnotes

- 1 Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (London: Penguin Classics, 1998), lxxviii.
- 2 Mary Rimmer, “Troubling the Tragic Paradigm: Genre and Epigraph in Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*,” *Journal of Victorian Culture: JVC* 25, no. 3 (2020): 382, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jvcult/vcaa011>.
- 3 Karin Koehler, “Late-Victorian Polemics about Sexual Knowledge in Thomas Hardy and Sarah Grand,” *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920* 63, no. 2 (2020): 220, muse.jhu.edu/article/743942.
- 4 Elissa Gurman, “Sex, Consent, and the Unconscious Female Body: Reading *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* Alongside the Trial of Brock Allen Turner,” *Law and Literature*. 32, no. 1 (2020): 159.
- 5 Audre Lorde, *The Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power* (Tucson: Kore Press, 2000).
- 6 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 7 Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 88.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 *Ibid.*, 104.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 100–103.
- 11 It is worth noting here that Hardy claims that the tendency toward pleasure “pervades all life.” In that sense, his assertion is not particularly gendered. However, I believe we should refrain from interpreting the passage as equalizing of male and female desire in light of other moments in the text in which Hardy more explicitly dismisses female agency.
- 12 Lorde, *The Uses of the Erotic*, 3.
- 13 Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 108.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 100.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 151.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 203.
- 17 Lorde, *The Uses of the Erotic*, 3.

- 18 Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, trans. S. Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), 147.
- 19 Gurman, “Sex, Consent, and the Unconscious Female Body,” 156.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 158–159.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 159.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 158.
- 23 Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 131.
- 24 Namwali Serpell, “The Banality of Empathy,” *New York Review*, 2019, 13.
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- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 Lorde, *The Uses of the Erotic*, 3.
- 32 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 130.

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Centering Positionality and the Reality of Fieldwork Methodologies: A Reflexive Account at a South African Clinic

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Abstract

Qualitative researchers are responsible for analyzing their impact on the data collection process (i.e., methodology). How researchers apply methodologies in the field is contingent on their abilities to reflexively analyze and navigate their positions among the very interlocutors, communities, and behaviors they seek to interpret. Existing epistemologies of positionality distinguish “insider” and “outsider” statuses that are assumed as consistent across every research encounter. I argue that centering diverse interpretations of positionality is essential to understanding any methodological pursuit. I expand on existing definitions of positionality to study what aspects of one’s positionality are salient and subject to change and in what contexts. As novice researchers, positionality remains a valuable concept to continuously analyze difficult moments in fieldwork encounters and expand on existing epistemologies of applying research methodologies in the field.

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Introduction

“We are firmly in all aspects of the research process, and essential to it.” (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009)

Positionality, or the “individuals’ sense of who they are and what their positions are in relation to others” (Avcı 2016), is essential to the application of fieldwork

methodologies. In qualitative research among interlocutors, researchers uncover culturally sensitive information in diverse and often changing circumstances that challenge their own worldviews and cultural understanding. In dynamic environments where social, political, cultural, and historical processes entangle with one’s identity and those of their interlocutors, researchers must navigate real-time barriers and dilemmas throughout their data collection process (Dodworth 2021). Existing epistemologies of positionality distinguish “insider” and “outsider” statuses among their research groups that are *dichotomous* and *consistent*. I build upon discussions of positionality to account for inconsistencies in fieldwork methodologies grounded in the fluidity of one’s identity which make salient certain characteristics of one’s positionality throughout the research process.

This paper is a retrospective account based upon a fieldwork experience and internship at an HIV clinic in Cape Town, South Africa. I utilize the term “multi positionality” (Aberese-Ako 2017, Dodworth 2021, Ryan 2015) to discuss how aspects of my positionality were implicated in my methodologies (i.e., ethnography, interviews, qualitative research). I also promote reflexivity, or “thinking about the ways in which our social positions, or positionality, shapes our entrance, interactions, and conversations within the field” (Reyes 2020), as an essential factor of data collection and analysis. For novice and experienced researchers, positionality remains a fruitful site to complicate existing epistemologies and reveal nuances between the “researcher” and “researched” to gain deeper insight into one’s fieldwork experiences.

A Case Study of a Novice Researcher

Influenced by ethnographic case studies in healthcare clinics and community centers (Kerstetter 2012, Aberese-Ako, 2017, Johnstone 2019), I was curious how cultural ideas of disease and epidemics intersected with patient care and access to health resources in clinics. I was drawn to the idea that a clinic both shapes and is shaped by participants, cultural ideologies, current medicine, and histories from the community. To pursue these questions, I embarked on a ten-week internship at an HIV clinic funded by the Mellon Mays fellowship. For eight of the ten weeks, I lived with a host family in a community located across from an urban township on the southern half of the Cape Peninsula. As an intern working in the participant recruitment and retention unit, my day-to-day tasks included data management and scheduling of participant appointments, observing visits, and through my initiative, accompanying fieldworkers on home visits to screen potential participants. I documented my daily experiences, conversations, and lists of questions in a variety of formats, such as daily note-taking, diary entries, audio and visual recordings, participant observations, and

semi-structured conversations with staff and fieldworkers. I developed my question around the barriers of participant recruitment through the fieldworkers' experiences in and outside of the clinic.

I also relied on my volunteer experiences in the community to strengthen my understanding of the social and cultural processes tying the clinic and the township. Through volunteering at a children's after-school organization, I gained access to various community activities and became familiar with the ecological landscape of the township. As a novice researcher, I had difficulty separating my objective methodologies (i.e., MMUF research) and the lived reality of fieldwork encounters. In different situations, I was seen as an Asian person (mainly Chinese), Western-educated, or American. It became critical in my methodologies to understand how aspects of my identity were evaluated by my interlocutors and on what terms did that influence the information presented. At this point, my research question turned to disentangling nuances of my positionality within specific methodological encounters.

Positionality in Qualitative Research

Post-colonial scholars have complicated dichotomies of "insider" and "outsider" statuses to develop terms for positionality located in the "space between" (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009). Terms such as "fluid identities" (Razon and Ross, 2012), "hybrid insider/outsider position" (Paechter, 2013), and "multipositionalities" (Ryan, 2015) are used to convey a researcher's intersectional identities and its changing position across different situations. I build upon positionality as 1) a multilayered concept of performed and imposed self-presentations, and 2) an unstable concept that must be negotiated according to specific contexts. Composed of the "presentation of selves" and the "imposed selves," prominent Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman writes that the researcher engages in an ongoing process of negotiating imposed "selves" within ethnographic encounters (Goffman, 1959). These imposed presentations of the researcher by their interlocutors attempt to frame the researcher's existence within the interlocutor's worldview. In many cases such as mine, these presentations conflict with how a researcher chooses to present themselves and complicates the distinction of "methodology" and "findings."

Researchers have identified a number of personal characteristics contributing to positionality, such as gender, race, affiliation, age, sexual orientation, immigration status, personal experiences, linguistic tradition, beliefs, biases, preferences, theoretical, political and ideological stances, and emotional responses to participants (Berger 2013). Venkatesh (2006) describes how his South Asian identity gave him an "indeterminate and unthreatening presence"

since he "was neither white nor black...[he] was not immediately identified with the police (white) or as a resident of the community (black)" (Reyes 2020 on Venkatesh, 222). Noh, a recent graduate and researcher in Bangladesh, indicated that being viewed as an 'Asian' nuanced an "insider" status that was not Western (outsider) and not local (Noh 2019). These case studies demonstrate that linguistic background, citizenship, and roles as a student, intern, or researcher can interplay at various degrees in a research encounter (Noh 2019). In a sociopolitical terrain as dynamic as a clinic in a South African township,¹ foreign researchers must navigate changing cultural perceptions among their self-presentation with their interlocutors that impact their ongoing analysis and future methodological steps.

Several competing aspects of one's identity may take precedence at different moments in the field. Concepts like multipositionalities are productive gateways to understanding "the simultaneous membership of multiple groups...[and] that such groups are inherently in flux" (Dodworth 2021, 170). The confluence of multiple positions may change in different social contexts and determine what power dynamics are leveraged among one's interlocutors. Throughout my data collection process, I overlooked important interactions of heightened attention towards my identity as an American, English-speaking, Asian researcher. The two-part process of sorting through analytical insight and personal encounters can take a decisive toll on the emotional and personal welfare of the researcher. In healthcare settings or organizations where researchers are involved in multiple roles (researcher, intern, employee, translator, etc.), the duplicity of roles and the tension between different parts of her 'identity' can yield a profound dislocation, emotional exhaustion and dissatisfaction in never fulfilling any one role (Dodworth 2021, Kondo 1986). What aspects of one's positionality make salient access to certain types of information? How do you interpret an interviewee's responses through their perceptions of the researcher? When in contact with particularly undesirable and imposed identities, how does one's methodologies adapt in different situations, moving forward?

Methodology: Addressing Inconsistencies in the Field

Feelings of "othering," invariable access to participants and spaces, and a disillusioned sense of self are the realities of ethnographers when navigating their positionality in the field. In scholarship, it is generally uncommon to come across case studies that utilize failed attempts at data collection as tangible findings. "Muddiness," "obstacles," "failures," and "differing expectations" are common labels at generalizing methodological attempts in a researcher's environment. I had attempted to separate internal struggles, emotions, and unsavory interactions from the formal

“methodology.” However, certain positionalities became more pronounced than others, leading to salient insights on the broader social and cultural contexts. I was unprepared for the ways my identity would change and interact with various interlocutors in the field. While I observed the recruitment and retention trends of participants in clinical vaccine trials, my data was framed within the unique interactions changing across interlocutors. Some would observe my identity as primarily Asian, or “Chinese” as an umbrella term. Others, upon hearing my American accent, would have a different perception of my education, language proficiency, and upbringing. In developing my research question, I came to the conclusion that I couldn’t ignore these interpretive markers. Framing my positionality in unconventional, yet rich interactions remained a critical task to retaining the integrity of my information. Furthermore, the process of reflexively analyzing methodological dilemmas offers unique and creative epistemologies to unpacking complex and intersectional differences between the researcher and their environment.

Unexpected Possibilities and Leveraging Aspects of Positionality

“I was less prepared, and aware, of how my position would actually make me feel about myself, how it would shape the way I presented myself in the field, enable different kinds of relationships, and consequently, most profoundly construct data with research participants.” (Johnstone 2018, 59)

I had high hopes that my entry into the clinic and township would be swift and easy; within the first week, I was enfolded into the team for recruitment and retention where I worked administrative functions to aid the growing workflow of participant forms and clinical trials. By my third week, I accompanied a fieldworker on a home visit to recruit a participant. As a Western-educated student from the U.S., it was obvious to me that these markers would be the first and only identity which could be in question. I came in with no method of reckoning with being subject to racial remarks as an Asian in an urban township. It was a hard adjustment; at one moment I would be warmly greeted by several Mama’s and their children and the next I would face racial remarks yelled at me from across the street on the way home. It was a process of “othering” that made it difficult to understand and observe the world around me. While walking through the township, I was inactively being approached and imposed upon by random interlocutors interested in my ethnic background. It was apparent that my positionality conflicted with various imposed perceptions by my interlocutors. I took careful note of these emotions and interactions in written and oral logs; I also corresponded frequently with my advisor on similar cases in

her fieldwork in Cameroon. Over time, I realized the necessity to continuously confront my positionality to reckon with my identity amid diverse social and cultural worldviews.

Without entry into the field outside of a clinic setting, I wouldn’t have been exposed to the landscape barriers, interpersonal relationships of a recruitment process, and the barriers associated with recruiting participants every day. Further considerations on the interplay of racial identity as an Asian-presenting Westerner may have confused participants in inquiring whether to trust or distrust my presence during recruitment, but also reassure them in other ways that I was not a “local” nor white person. Being accompanied by fieldworkers was beneficial to understanding the daily experiences, but they could not control the ways my out-of-place appearance set me apart in the township. Comments commonly heard on the street (“nihao!”), accompanied by stares, were disorienting. These perceptions constantly shaped my renegotiation of “othering” outside of the clinic while complicating my methodologies as a researcher.

Language also was an issue. Xhosa was the commonly spoken local language and most affairs both in and outside of the clinic were conducted in Xhosa. In many heated discussions over participant recruitments, the fieldworkers spoke in Xhosa amongst each other and translated their conversation in front of me and my advisor to English. I also couldn’t speak with the participants, many of whom weren’t confident speaking in English and had to have the questions translated. This offered an interesting finding; as the clinical trial was introduced and coordinated by international universities and organizations (Brown University), many local intricacies were overlooked. Language and added time to translate put an additional burden on fieldworkers during their recruitment visits. Each question for a 2-hour screening test had to be translated and thus only 3–4 visits could be executed a day at most. This did not include time it took to call the participant, travel to their location, and interview both guardian and parent.

While we were out in the field, one of the fieldworkers candidly mentioned their annoyances outside of the clinic. Meeting weekly recruitment quotas was often at odds with the complex, inefficient reality of recruiting participants. She lamented the lack of reliable communication to schedule follow-up appointments and the difficulties in accessing both guardian and child due to conflicting work and school schedules. Beyond the boundaries of the clinic, the fieldworkers shared their insights, lived realities, and dilemmas regarding their work that would be seen at odds with the clinic. My position as a figure unaligned with the

clinic enforced trust between myself and the fieldworkers outside of the clinic.

Language, race, and citizenship are only a few of the range and variability in which positionalities inform personal methodologies. As anthropologists expand into transnational biomedical and public health realms, the consistent methodologies will be scrutinized to ensure the validity and salience of research findings. Commonly treated as illegitimate, “soft” or self-indulgent to the analysis, unveiling moments of multipositionalities is integral to the processes of negotiating barriers in the field and reimagining epistemological approaches that account for reflexivity in *all* phases of the research process.

Conclusion: Linking Positionality with Methodology

When I first approached my fieldwork research, I was on a mission to understand the *what*, and quickly overlooked the *how*. I was naive to think that such sensitive information could be “collected,” without necessary and continuous reflection on my positionality. Therefore, I center on dynamic definitions of positionality to reflexively navigate qualitative methodologies in the field and its essentiality throughout the research process.

What are the necessary prerequisites that a researcher must take prior to a fieldwork experience? Is it familiarizing oneself with the local language and histories? The current political climate, health and social crises, or logistical problems such as weather, living situation, safety, and transportation? Or is it the detailed research plan, thorough bibliography, and well-intentioned, fly-on-the-wall approach which suits a dynamic social landscape? With many questions—logistical, personal, and research-related—I sought an opportunity to apply my knowledge in practice. The skeleton of my plans was to reside in a homestay directly across from a suburban township, intern at the local HIV research clinic, and gain a basic understanding of social and health knowledge in the community. A seemingly foolproof outline that would certainly glean access to important information. However, qualitative research is both an emotionally-draining and methodologically-rigorous endeavor. A large portion of my research was separating what was my experiences from the research. It would be simple to overlook the execution of the methodology and proclaim my findings as my report’s focus and the internship’s success. Once I began integrating my positionality in each methodological encounter, I began to understand how intertwined my positionality was in the actual data collection process. This continuous exercise occurred frequently in my fieldwork experience in order to adjust my methodological strategies, build rapport with my

participants, and reckon with my own identity in the broader context.

Discussions posed in this paper are by no means exhaustive or conclusive. My retrospective account is an opportunity to reflect upon an abbreviated fieldwork experience and to offer support to other researchers in the field. Despite various factors impeding the quality and duration of my internship (including my own lack of experience), I gained profound firsthand insight into the trials of qualitative research and the resilience needed to overcome unpredictable and othering factors and produce academically-rigorous work. Reflexively analyzing my positionality in difficult and inconsistent moments was essential to adapting my methodology in the complex, changing contexts of my workplace and upholding research standards. Through continuously assessing the outcomes of different ethnographic encounters, I produced more fruitful methodological questions: How did my positions interact with and disrupt local perceptions of race, language, education, trust, and authority? What positions become salient in access to these field sites, conversations, and observations and how do they change over time? Where does ethnography separate methodology and positionality or can they mutually enrich and inform each other in all stages of the research process?

As we find that the number of transnational studies and ethnographers both increase, existing epistemologies do not answer a growing list of methodological dilemmas that ethnographers face in diverse, conflicting situations. The study of multipositionalities is integral to the process of understanding and reflexively adjusting one’s methodologies according to their specific environments that change throughout the research process. Future researchers may realistically express limits, inconsistencies, and uncertainty through the lens of positionality in order to ground their work in the reality of fieldwork methodologies and productively recapture its epistemological potential.

Endnote

- ¹ A township, equivalent to a favela or shantytown, is a type of informal housing in which residents build their houses from expendable material on non-governmental subsidized land. These houses are prone to overcrowding, with no running water or electricity and subject to natural disasters such as flooding or fires.

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