PART I —
VISUALIZING RACE

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Exotic/Erotic/Ethnopornographic

Black Women, Desire, and Labor in the Photographic Archive

One of the first courses I taught as a new assistant professor a decade ago was a media production course called "Black Feminist Multimedia." In this class I joined the students in creating short films that engaged issues of identity and politics through black feminist analyses of race, gender, class, nation, and sexuality. My feeble attempt at navigating the video editing software Final Cut Pro aside, I created a ten-minute-long video titled "Desiring Ourselves" using images I had culled from a recent research trip to Paris, France, where I had met a dealer of colonial French photography of African women and girls. Overlaying the photographs with text, my own spoken word poetry, and an unlicensed track from the great Nina Simone, my video attempted to explore the intertwining of violence and desire, along with questions of subjecthood, self-reflexivity, and erotic sovereignty,[1] that made the images so powerful to me personally as an intellectual and a black woman living the legacy of racialized sexuality that emerges from the colonial encounter. Eventually I posted the video on YouTube and received a few hundred likes and comments. Until one day when the video was gone. It had vanished from YouTube.

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With no warning at all, my film was removed by the website for violating Google's terms of service regarding pornography and obscenity. In taking up material that in the original context of its production as part anthropological inquiry into the sexual behaviors and practices of the native woman and part economy of visual materials to satisfy the salacious curiosity of French photographers, audiences, and others, my censored video ultimately exposed at least two levels of meaning attached to this archive of "ethnopornography." First, the representation of the native body, and in this case the black female body, is always already pornographic. As such the black female body is a problem of representation evacuated of merit, a primitive counterpoint to the values of civility, beauty, and innocence upheld in the bourgeois body.[2] In fact, even when we (scholars, educators, artists) attempt to resignify the symbolic power of the pornographic gaze by manipulating the images, or to rethink issues of objectification, commodification, and violence indexed upon the native woman's body in colonial photography, this already pornographic body sutures (some of) us to the position of pornographer, just as it is itself wedded to the place of mimetic pornographic *thing*. How do we contend with the ways in which empire shaped pornography and pornography shaped empire? And more significantly for myself as a supposed (and admitted) black feminist pornographer,[3] I wonder how we might begin to use our analyses and creative tools to challenge the distortions, myths, and obfuscations about the Other that ethnopornographies circulated?

The late-nineteenth-century explosion of sexualized images of black women occurred at the nexus of ethnological, technological, and commercial interests. Emerging primarily from European colonial Africa, and traveling across the Atlantic to the United States and Latin America, a prurient ethnographic scientific gaze produced and consumed images of black women, black men, and those from other colonized, presumably racially inferior groups in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Australia. An economy of images and desires trafficking in fascination and fear shaped how in the nineteenth century colonial imagination black women became "eroticized/ exoticized,"[4] and important figures whose display in public commercial spaces and popular spheres (slave auctions, freak shows, museums, world's fairs) simultaneously titillated and disgusted white spectators. Photographic technology galvanized this circulation of desires by transforming the bodies of black women of the African Diaspora into erotic and exotic ethnographic sites for learned and professional study, particularly for anthropology and its subdiscipline, ethnography, as sciences seeking "authentic"

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images of racial others as if they would reveal a kind of essential truth about racial and cultural difference located in perceived anomalous sexual habits. This technologically enhanced gaze codified women of African decent as the most morally obscene, socially subordinate, and biologically deficient population, and hence ensured the rationale, impetus, and occasion for observers to *keep looking*. The advancement of photography as a form that could be duplicated, reproduced, shared, and sold inaugurated an important convergence of scientific and commercial uses of erotic and exotic photographic images that form an ethnopornographic marketplace.

Yet it is not the production of the black woman's body as pornographic object through the technology of photography—nor the scientific or commercial investments that overlapped in the colonial era—that solidifies black women's relationship to ethnopornography.[5] Ethnopornography offers a lens, a conceptual apparatus, and a method to think about the relationality and economy of images, techniques, discourses, bodies, subjectivities, desires, and state logics that brought the colonized under view in the domain of empire. Pornography did not arise on the margins of empire but was at its core. One could argue that empire was (and remains), in a sense, a kind of pornography. Empire prioritized possession, titillation, and fantasy, and it exploited the idea of the native's limitless sexual potency. Empire mapped the land it stole as a body consumable, appropriated a surveilling gaze, and mobilized the labor of colonized bodies to enact the drama of its imperious command. Yet the erotics of empire relied specifically on the administration of knowledge and relationships of domination; ethnography was a key method in maintaining discourses of power, truth, and control, while pornography facilitated ethnography's purview by opening up the sexual realm to view, providing networks to spread the idea of racialized sexual difference, and unleashing the imaginations and desires of Western audiences for more of what empire holds.

Although much attention has been given to the iconic role of the Hottentot Venus, the ur-text of atavistic animal-human black female sexuality for European scientists, the nineteenth-century photographic archive shows that black women were also figured in the preeminent medical-scientific classificatory projects of the United States.[6] For instance, in the 1850s, a series of daguerreotypes were taken of seven slaves in South Carolina as part of the modern empiricist scheme of categorizing and cataloging deviant groups. The daguerreotypes present five men, Jem, Jack, Fassena, Alfred, and Renty, and two women, Drana and Delia, naked or seminaked in a frontal and profile view soon to be formalized as the "mug shot." They were

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commissioned by Swiss-born scientist Louis Agassiz, the "most famous" natural scientist during his time and "star student" of Georges Cuvier, the French scientist that famously examined and later autopsied Sartjie Baartman, the best known of the many Hottentot Venuses. During his time as a professor at Harvard University, Agassiz engaged a community of scholars and elites in the widely held but debated theory of polygenesis, which posited that racial groups evolved from distinct and unequal species of humankind. A zoologist by training, Agassiz sought to capture images of human specimens to examine as racial "types"; typological images could be studied to decipher how the appearance and proportion of certain body parts explained intellectual, moral, and cultural differences between racial groups. Critical to his study was the innovation of photography, and in this case the use of the daguerreotype, as it captured a truer image of their specimens than illustrations had previously accomplished.

The daguerreotypes, ordered by Robert W. Gibbes and taken by Joseph T. Zealy, of the seven South Carolina slaves were not merely a product of the joining of medical and natural science and technology to organize a visual logic of race. They were also a form of voyeuristic violence. As Brian Wallis observes, "The typological photograph is a form of representational colonialism. Fundamentally nonreciprocal, it masks its subjective distortions in the guise of logic and organization. Its formations are deformations."[7] Typological photographs expose how black bodies became encoded by a body of scientific and cultural thought, through the "unalterable reasons of race," as "morally and intellectually inferior to whites."[8] The nakedness of the people documented in the photographs also exposes the differing gendering of racialized sexuality in what Mary Louise Pratt terms the "contact zones" of empire. In these images we observe a "social space where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other," and the visual evidence of "highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination," of which gender is one dimension.[9]

The men are presented fully naked while Drana and Delia are shown with their calico homespun dresses pulled down to their waists. This differing nakedness offers a view into the desire of the white European and American scientists, the photographer, and the slaveholders located outside the frame of the image as it self-consciously confronts the gaze of the Other. For these elite white men the occlusion of female genitalia presented an ethnopornographic gesture whereby that which is not viewable in fact enhances the desire to look and to keep looking. Beyond mere voyeurism, this looking relationship provides a staged exposure in elabo-

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rating the *process* of undressing that belies any claims of modesty, civility, or respect for the enslaved women's privacy on the one hand and disavowal or repugnance on the other. Instead this partial nakedness ensured that the women remained firmly within an economy of desire and possession that concurrently traded in fear, disgust, and denial. Drana's photograph displays lines of scarring along pendulous breasts—part of the broader sexualized torture of enslaved men and women—showing that she had nursed enslaved babies for the profit of her owner.[10] The daguerreotypes thus present evidence of black female sexual labor under enslavement and a sexual political economy around their bodies.[11]

Moreover, with Drana and Delia's partial nakedness inviting scientific investigation, ethnopornography allows us to read the ways that the essential difference between black female bodies and white female bodies was signified. The chasm between nineteenth-century concepts of ideal white womanhood as essentialized purity, refinement, and aesthetic beauty, and conceptions of grotesque black womanhood are made apparent. Rather than act as aesthetic conventions of adornment, as seen in fine art and photographic portraiture, Drana and Delia's pulled-down dresses elicit an erotic charge through debasement, which again provides for the fantasy of the enslaved woman's sexual labor vis-à-vis concubinage, tourism, and trafficking. At that same time that an ethnopornographic frame reminds us to read the images for the relationships of power that give them context, my black feminist pornographic frame prompts a reading practice that considers how black women may have engaged with the pornographic codes, practices, and gazes taken up by Agassiz and his rowdy band of elite white male voyeurs. What did this visual project mean for the women in the photographs, and how might they have encountered it as an extension of their already ongoing sex work? Although art curator and critic Brian Wallis reads Drana and Delia as "calmly" revealing their breasts, their faces set like masks showing a deliberate "detached, unemotional, and workmanlike" expression, others, such as historian Molly Rogers, see tears in Delia's eyes.[12]

Indeed, looking closely at the frontal-view photograph of Delia, it appears that her eyes are welling up with tears and that she is on the very brink of crying. It is as if Delia is weighted down by an immense and irrevocable despair even as she tries to control her own body from revealing the surely complex emotions ignited by the setting of the photo shoot. The appearance of tears might also have been due to blurring during the nearly twenty-second process of capturing the image to each silver-covered copper plate of the daguerreotype, even though the iron headstand, known as the

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FIGURE I.1 Drana (profile), daguerreotype by Joseph T. Zealy, 1850. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM# 35-5-10/53042.

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FIGURE I.2 Delia (frontal), daguerreotype by Joseph T. Zealy, 1850. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM# 35-5-10/53042.

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“iron instrument of torture,”[13] may have been used to keep the models still. Yet the technology itself could have powerfully registered for young Delia, a slave, like her father, Renty, at the Edgehill Plantation where the primary crop was cotton. Ordered to strip before a room full of men she did not know and who had total power over her life, and told to hold still with her neck in the iron brace, must have been frightening, intimidating, confusing, and uncomfortable, even painful.

It is impossible to know for sure what the diverse subjective experiences of the women in the images entailed, but here I assert that we pause to imagine what these women might have experienced and what their gazes back at the camera may have contributed to the ethnopornographic exchange. Through understanding the context of Agassiz’s project, the shoot itself, and the inability of the enslaved to consent to what was being done to their bodies, while also remaining cognizant of the desire by slaves themselves to live sovereign sexual lives, it is conceivable to imagine that Drana and Delia—as two black women who became figures held captive by the convergence of visual power and pleasure—sensed the mighty weight of an imperial gaze upon them. This gaze may have felt scientific, cold, and distant, yet also probing, prurient, and interested. Perhaps these women understood the scientific gaze itself as part of the “careful stories” that were told that denied a clear, compelling erotic desire to plumb and evaluate Othered bodies.[14] Or perhaps they thought to say, “There was nothing—no secret—to be unveiled underneath my clothes. The secret was your phantasm.”[15] Without their account of the experience we can only speculate about what was behind the gaze that the camera captured in that moment. Drana and Delia’s need to strategically mask over—if Wallis is correct—detach from, or actively obscure their emotions can be understood in the context of their lack of power in the asymmetries of the ethnopornographic relationship. This strategy shows the embodied labor of representation for the objects of ethnopornographic display, and how ethnopornographic praxis is a contact zone for negotiations of dominance and oppression. I argue further that taking seriously the subjectivity and sexualized labor of the ethnopornographic subject means a necessary recovery of the slave or native point of view. Hence, the colonizing camera was not the only gaze in that studio.[16]

Agassiz’s photographs were some of the earliest of American slaves. Later images depicted African Americans as nannies and house servants in portraits with their white owners, or working in the fields growing cotton, the dominant crop in the South in the years leading up to the Civil War, especially in the area surrounding Columbia, South Carolina, where

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Joseph T. Zealy immortalized Drana and Delia in his photographic studio in 1850. Taken during the height of "daguerreotypomania" in the United States,[17] these photographs were markedly different from most images of African Americans or white Americans, who rushed to get their portraits taken as part of an emerging middle-class will to represent themselves. However, instead of being taken home in an intricately decorated, embossed leather holder and treasured, these images were brought to Harvard and presented at the Cambridge Scientific Club.[18] The elite white men of the club would have held the 3¼-by-4¼-inch daguerreotype plates in their hands while listening to Agassiz's lecture describing the ethnological roots of racial difference and comparative anatomical distinctions between those of African descent and those of European ancestry. To these men, the evidence of racial inferiority—whether they agreed with Agassiz's theories of polygenesis or not—would have been visible and tangible. The images of Drana and Delia, Molly Rogers posits, "resemble erotic and pornographic photographs."[19] "Such images were widely disdained in the nineteenth century, and yet they were still produced and consumed. Public nudity was associated with loose morals and so a person who was photographed without clothing was considered the lowest of the low socially. This was especially the case with black women."[20]

The Secret Museum

United States–produced ethnopornographic photography during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth largely consisted of images of Native American women, Asian immigrant women, and Pacific Islanders, but I have discovered in my years of research that a sizable circulation of black women's erotic images emerged from European colonies and imperial occupations in Africa at a time of rising fascination in the United States and Western Europe with the penetration of the African interior, the competitions for territory among nations, and the extraction of resources such as rubber, diamonds, cocoa, and minerals. A compendium of hundreds of ethnographic photographs from the period called *The Secret Museum of Mankind* reveals the vast extent to which imperial centers sought to map the bodies of their peripheries and how the popular interest in native peoples among Westerners was cultivated. The original text is of unknown origins, with no editor or year of publication listed, only a publisher called Manhattan House based out of New York. Booksellers suggest editions were published in 1925, 1935, and

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1941, although the images are from the late nineteenth century up through the 1920s. Interestingly, a new edition was put out fairly recently by David Stiffler and Gibbs Smith Publishers of Layton, Utah, in 1999, which speaks to the ongoing market for such images. The text may be named after or linked to the Museum of Mankind in Britain, affiliated with the Ethnography Department of the British Museum.

And like ethnographic displays in museums, the text is divided into sections for each region of the colonial world. The extensive collection of images reflects the interplay as well as the intensely slippery boundaries between anthropological and ethnographic science, the colonial apparatus of surveillance, and mass-market pornography. Each image is accompanied by a caption, though it is unclear whether the origin of the caption emerged at the time the photograph was produced by colonial anthropologists and photographers or later, in Europe or America, when the photographs were most likely copied and reproduced.[21] The titles and captions are just as salient as the images, I argue, because they claim to decode the image while actually serving to encode it within a normalizing discourse embedded in exoticism, exploitation, and myth.[22]

For example, the photograph *Buttered Beauty of the Negroid North* presents a "girl of Tigré" who has "buttered," or oiled, her hair in an intricate design. The caption tells us that, "at night she sleeps with her head on a wooden rest." Because the image suggests that the presence of the girl, or more correctly, young woman, was a racial type—interchangeable with all the girls of Tigré, and even the "Negroid North" of Africa—she is presented in isolation. She is thus made to represent all the people—a community—that are not visible. The young woman's exposed breasts are presented frontally, while her face is placed in profile—an amalgam of the methods of taxonomic portraits much in use during the nineteenth century following the work of Cuvier and Agassiz. This pose of the model looking over her shoulder, and the placement of her necklace, allows the spectator a sense of access and the ability to observe the model's "buttered" chest, while the painted overlay of the photograph creates an unreal quality to the portrait.

This image is typical in its use of ethnopornographic framing to accelerate the erotic charge of the image for viewers. This description of how the young woman from Tigré uses oils to fashion her hair and how at night she sleeps with a wooden headrest highlights the fascinating difference of her primitiveness in relation to Western practices of grooming and habitation, while it also facilitates an imagined image of the model's body in repose, her skin soft, warm, and oily. The subtext of arousal through the con-

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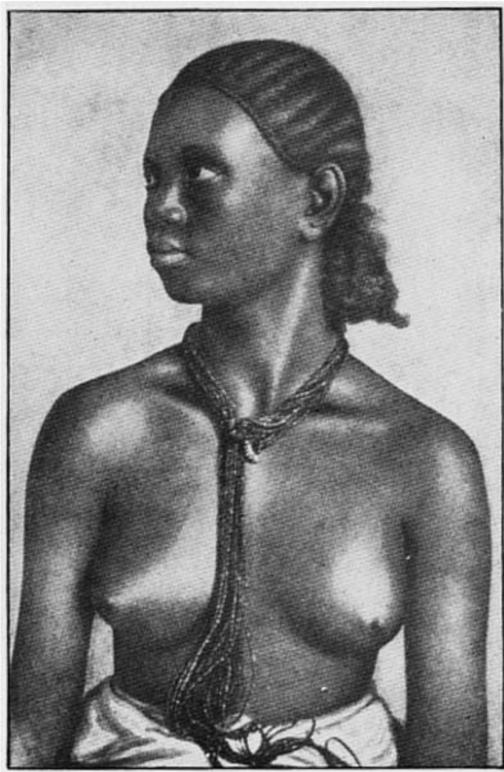

FIGURE I.3 *Buttered Beauty of the Negroid North.* The Museum of Mankind (Manhattan House, 1941 edition).

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struction of the image of the young woman oiling her body in the private quarters of her room or hut is signified through the invisible icon of the headrest. This strategy infuses ethnopornographic images that, as Malek Alloula argues, reference the invisible but embedded fantasy of the native's limitless sexual life for the imperial observer. Like the photographs Alloula controversially reproduced of North African women with their nudity peaking through their veils,[23] referencing the fantasy of the harem, these colonial photographs of sub-Saharan African women suggest an imagined universe of abundant and deviant sexual practices and powers. "What is remembered about the harem," Alloula observes, "are the sexual excesses to which it gives rise and which it promotes. A universe of *generalized perversion* and of the *absolute limitlessness of pleasure*."[24]

By the 1880s the vast expansion of photography, through its transformation into a mass visual form, had broad implications for the production and consumption of eroticized images of black women in Africa and the Diaspora. Postcards became a primary form of visual communication

important for their easy accessibility and affordability, especially for the working classes and rising middle class of the Industrial era. Because postcards communicated through photographs on the front and written messages on the back, they had mass-market appeal; they were "cheap, bright, multi-purpose and pervasive."[25] Between 1894 and 1919 nearly 140 billion postcards were sent worldwide, and an unknown but significant number of these had sexual themes.[26] According to Lisa Z. Sigel, sexual postcards of "domestic" bodies (i.e., white, European or American) could be sent through the mail only if they properly censored men's and women's genitals, but ethnopornographic postcards exposing the uncensored naked bodies of colonial or "foreign" subjects, both women and men, were allowable.[27] Ethnographic postcards featuring "natives" in their "natural" habitats were highly popular and profoundly affected how "foreign" bodies were seen within Western discourses of race, in ways similar to the small daguerreotypes of South Carolina slaves held in the hands of the men at the Cambridge Scientific Club, that were exceedingly tangible. Practices of capturing, circulating, and collecting postcards and other photographic artifacts of exoticized "primitives" were thus normalized for Western audiences.[28] In this way, postcards were an important technology in bringing women of African descent, and others, within the surveying, commercial, and disciplining power of a pornographic empire.

This visual economy of images voraciously consumed by scientific, bourgeois, and working-class audiences rendered indigenous peoples "anonymous and historyless subjects" and photographs of them collectible "image objects" and commodities.[29] Essential to the processes of imperial, capitalist expansion into non-Western lands, the photograph itself expanded the empire's ability to, as bell hooks would put it, "eat the other."[30] Mass-market photographic objects made black women newly viewable, and thus subject to novel forms of visual social control. Fatimah Tobing Rony usefully terms this quite obsessive consumption of the racial Other, made possible by ethnographic image making, "fascinating cannibalism."[31] Drawing attention to the combination of "fascination and horror" that the ethnographic evokes, Tobing Rony explains that "the cannibalism is not that of the people who are labeled Savages, but that of the consumers of the images of the bodies—as well as the actual bodies on display—of native people offered up by popular media and science."[32]

Ethnographic postcards employed a "staged nakedness"[33]—photographers manipulated the women's bodies, the settings, and the photographs themselves in order to emphasize a perceived exotic sexuality.[34] Through this

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heavy manipulation, the Western viewer confronted a spectacular difference. The cannibalistic drive of a kind of sexual tourism reflected a growing hunger for information about "primitive" societies and their ways of life. While these images supported ideologies of white supremacy by indulging the curiosity of people who saw themselves as more advanced than the savages, their main purpose was to depict how nonwhite people lived and to romanticize and exoticize the images in order to make money. Ethnopornography thus involves the merging of the ethnographic and the commercial, a form of voyeuristic and titillating entertainment hidden behind the guise of scientific documentation and innocent curiosity about the lives of racial Others.

Ethnopornography exhibited African women as spectacles, and used their actual bodies and sexual labor to create marketable entertainment for Western appetites at the precise time when European countries were moving to explore, divide, and conquer the continent. Captured mainly by Western male photographers who traveled with military campaigns, scientific expeditions, or alone as entrepreneurs or tourists, or who were stationed or took up residence in colonized areas, the photographs served as travel accounts "through which the world saw the indigenous people" of Africa.[35] The archive of ethnographic postcards from the late nineteenth century remains dispersed across the globe—emerging from time to time in Parisian flea markets, online collectors' forums, and the attics of someone's grandfather's house. They are now artifacts of historical, asymmetrical power relations and violence that provide the context for each image of bare-breasted, young, native girls. Fetishistically made, circulated, and consumed, the images do not depict the violence of colonialism and imperialism but create a fantasy absent of violence and of history. Most of the postcards I discovered from the era were from French-colonized North Africa, though many images of French West African women and girls exist that were circulated in less commercial forms as paper-printed photographs.

I found a postcard in the streets of Paris sent from Tangier, Morocco, to Orleans, France, stamped in 1908 (fig. 1.4). It shows a young woman with short, soft curly hair presented in a traditional medium-view seated pose. Reminiscent of Agassiz's daguerreotypes of Drana and Delia, the photographer has positioned the woman sitting with her hands in her lap and her dress pulled, billowing, down to her waist so as to expose her youthful breasts and part of her flat stomach. This effect of staged nakedness serves to heighten the woman's vulnerability to be visibly possessed for the photographer creating the image, the consumer purchasing the postcard,

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and the final viewer who receives it. Only in this image her body is not shown in a hard scientific frontal view; instead, in the softer erotic view of so many ethnopornographic postcards, she faces slightly away from the camera, and her gaze looks off into the distance, echoing formal tropes in Western painting and portraiture. The rows of beads around her neck and the plain background accentuate her body as the focal point of the image. To allure the viewer, the photographer painted color on the black-and-white image: her skin a deep brown; her patterned dress teal blue, pink, and brown; her beaded necklace pink; her eyelids blue; and her slightly parted lips are painted an impossibly bright, garish red. This coloring—particularly of the lips—creates an image of primitive luridness, and the added makeup marks the model's body as a sight of manipulation and exaggeration, a fantasy text.

The postcard includes the common ethnographic description that marked the women in these images within representations of racial types, such as "Types Indigènes—Une Négresse," "Jeune Négresse," "Jeune Bédouine," "Jeune Mauresque."[36] The caption describes the woman as a "Jeune Esclave Arabe," a young Arab slave. Like so many French postcards of the era, the youth of the girl is noted. This account of age—and many of the images I discovered in my research are of prepubescent girls and young women—is a particular fetishistic device, as it heightens the fantasy of vulnerability, that the model's virginity could be taken by the viewer himself. The comments about the model's imagined status as a black African made into an Arab slave amplifies the quality of vulnerability—she is already owned, and therefore does not own herself.[37]

The back of the postcard is signed simply, "Cordiale poignee de mains, A. Boulet" (A cordial handshake, A. Boulet) (fig. 1.5). Boulet, perhaps a tourist, bureaucrat, or soldier working for the French colonial authority in Tangier, would have sent this card to his friend or colleague ("Monsieur Jean Mathè") as a gesture acknowledging his travels in a primitive land, and his fortunate access as a potential sex tourist to a variety of exotic women and girls. A hearty handshake—such an oddly short message—offers a joke or quip, a kind of bawdy humor referencing the girl in the image, her exposed breasts being nearly a handful and ripe to be held by eager hands.

The immense force of desire in this postcard (including the photograph and the note behind it) reinforces Tobing Rony's concept of "fascinating cannibalism" and what Malek Alloula describes as the construction of exoticized, primitive women as "available, consenting, welcoming, exciting, submissive and possessed."[38] While images of white women in post-

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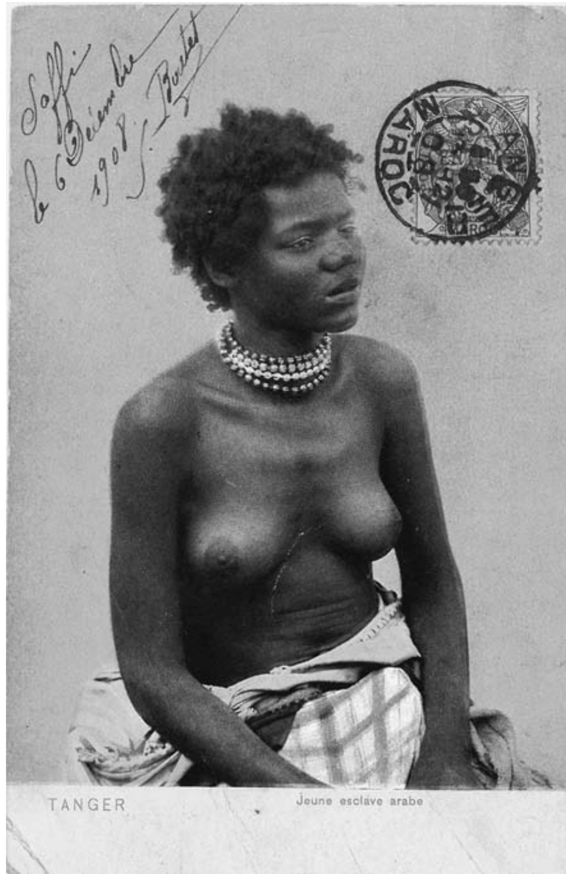

FIGURE I.4 1908 Postcard from Tangier to Orleans (front). Collection of Mireille Miller-Young.

cards from the Victorian era similarly frame them as passive, waiting, and available objects for men's viewing pleasure, women of color represented debased rather than idealized forms of womanhood. The messages written on the backs of these cards often use humor or dismissive remarks to comment on what Europeans at the time generally viewed as the barbaric and anachronistic culture of African people, which was deemed evident in the display of African women's (partial) nudity. These comments poke fun at the idea of African women's desirability but nonetheless show the vast networks through which a desire to consume their images was mobilized. Thousands of postcards of African women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ritually re-created the trope of the exotic Other,

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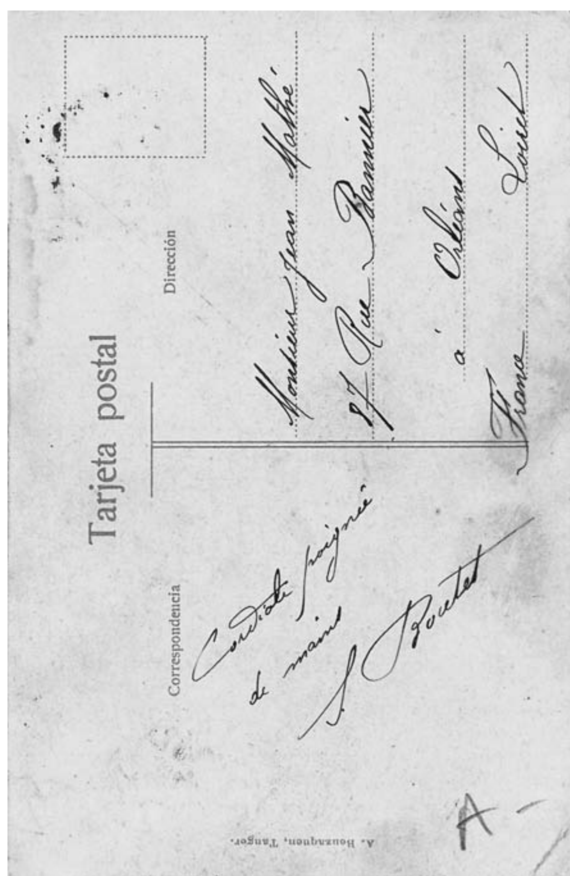

FIGURE I.5 1908 Postcard from Tangier to Orleans (back). Collection of Mireille Miller-Young.

and in the process they ritualized the use of an ethnopornographic gaze to see the imperial landscape expand.[39] Although postcards tended to render native bodies as novelty items for public consumption, there were other forms of ethnopornography that, being even more explicit, were disseminated in less public forums.

Some images taken by soldiers stationed in West Africa exhibit them posing with tribal girls and young women. Standing with their arms around girls' shoulders, hands grasping their nubile breasts, the soldiers are seen smiling directly at the camera, appearing confident and pleased. The shots are often poorly cropped, showing the amateur nature of the photographer and the makeshift or impromptu context in which the photograph

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was taken. For instance, in figure 1.6, the camera cuts off the man's head. Even if they may have been some of the primary spectators and consumers of postcard, white men, including photographers, soldiers, or colonial officials, who had sexual relations with the women and girls in the images were never visible in postcards. In their own photographs, however, they appear happy to be memorialized in the image and often take center stage. In addition, we can imagine that these shots may have been highly valued mementos for colonial visitors to Africa, as the apparent horizontal crease in the photograph above seems to reveal that someone carried this photograph on his person—perhaps in a shirt pocket—rather than keep it mounted in a frame or album. Alternately, the crease could represent the act of concealing—folding and stashing away—such a revealing and explicit image that places the man not simply as observer of native sexual display but as active consumer and participant in the construction of an interracial colonial sexual relationship.

These "selfie" photographs essentially brag about these men's access to native women—notably in ways that were not allowed for African men and European women—and as a result would have been exchanged and viewed in a more private and underground economy of ethnopornography. In this way, and in their frank acknowledgment of a colonial sex industry, these kinds of images were precursors to the hard-core images we see in later commercial pornographies.[40] Not only does the presence of these European men in the image confess the desire they had for African women—a desire that was normatively disavowed—their inclusion in these collective photographs shows that their interest went beyond a passive fetishization and actually amounted to a sexual relationship (perhaps sometimes violent or coercive but always unequal) with these women in which they wanted to see themselves as agents and actors. In figure 1.7, one man dressed in what is perhaps a military officer or administrator's crisp white uniform stands between two young women who wear matching waist beads, headscarves, and necklaces in front of a straw house. The man is holding the young women on either side of him by the waist, and just inside the doorway of the house we see a bed propped on wooden legs with checkered sheets and pillowcases. While I cannot decipher from this image if this man was visiting a house of prostitution, the placement of the bed and the touristic nature of the portrait raise the possibility.

Photographs of black women and girls in highly sexual poses and contexts, in huts or outdoor settings but also in makeshift studios, were taken not for the postcard trade but for a much more underground market in

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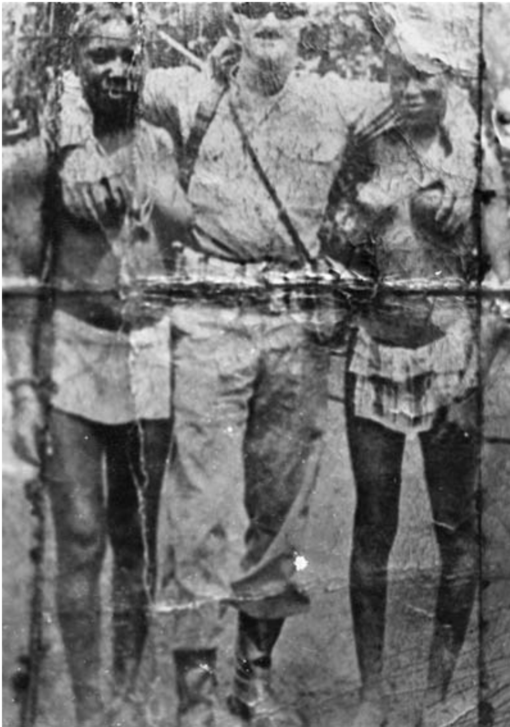

FIGURE I.6 Grasping for Power, Hidden from View. Undated Photograph, Soldier with Hands on the Breasts of Two Women. Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Art, Artifacts, and Photography Special Collection (KIDC 1123).

early pornographic images or for private keeping. Although many West African tribes did not view women as being "naked" without clothing—as long as they wore their prized waist beads or waist clothes they were considered decently attired—the fascination with these women's perceived nakedness by European standards read onto their bodies an obscenity and hypersexualization that was not organic to these communities. These photographs warp, deform, and exploit these women's unclothed bodies, simultaneously representing and misrepresenting the bodies and subjectivities of the colonized women whose bodies they portray. By transforming the meanings around their bodies, the photographs make the women naked through the fascinating cannibalism of a voracious ethnopornographic gaze. Such photographs showed women sitting with one knee up or both knees up and spread, reclining in an Odalisque pose with arms behind the head, the knees open, the camera positioned so as to provide a direct line to the coveted black vulva. Reminiscent of Cuvier's forceful desire to view the "Hottentot Apron"—which he was not able to do until Sartjie Baartman died and he dissected her—these photographers show a

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FIGURE I.7 Revealing a Colonial Sexual Economy? Undated Photograph from Colonial West Africa, Soldier Posing with Two Young Women [M126]. Courtesy of Les Archives d'Eros.

cannibalistic and fetishistic obsession with the "Dark Continent" of African women and girls, especially below their waists, to the fount of mystery and locus of their assumed difference: the dark heart of Africa seemed to be found in their sexual parts.

These images reinforce the violence and exploitation of the ethnopornographic gaze as part of the imperialist project in Africa. They hypersexualize and pathologize black female bodies through a heavy desire that is as much about racialist fantasy, unequal power relations, and the erasure of the history and values of multiple civilizations as it is about visualizing sex. Multiple forces of subjection put women and girls in the position in which photographers used them for pleasure and profit. Yet some of the images can be read as holding more complicated scenarios than simply the abjection of women at the hands of horny and greedy men with cameras. We see moments, frozen in time by the photograph, in which these women appear to challenge the imperial gaze. They gaze back, even taking some pleasure or amusement in posing alone or with other women. We see them smile, scowl, make funny faces, relax, or make themselves comfortable. In

FIGURE 1.8 A Voracious Ethnopornographic Gaze. Undated Colonial Studio Photograph [M024]. Courtesy of Les Archives d'Eros.

the limited artifacts that remain we find evidence of contestation, curiosity, and playfulness in their expressions alongside demonstrations of disgust, sadness, solemnity, fear, suspicion, or boredom.

These complex and varied expressions suggest some level of consciousness and self-awareness by these women that they were performing sexuality for the camera and for someone else's fantasy. It also suggests a kind of erotic subjectivity in what amounts to a form of black women's sexual labor—the labor of erotic performance entailed black women to be "performers, and not just bodies."[41] Here, the faciality of the models matters to our analyses. Facial expressions give clues to the potential emotional and intellectual lives of the models, illuminating a possible range of attitudes and experiences, including curiosity.

These moments of returning the gaze are of course constrained and complicated by the overwhelming context of exploitation and repression in colonial Africa at the turn of the century, especially for women and girls who held the least power in most settings. We do not know to what ex-

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FIGURE I.9 Black Women Do Gaze Back. Undated Colonial Studio Photograph [M020]. Courtesy of Les Archives d'Eros.

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tent these autonomous glances and expressions amounted to any benefit, pleasure, or power for the women captured in time. It is unclear if the women were compensated for their modeling labor, but given the ongoing trade in sexual services in the postcolonial landscape, the enduring nature of sex tourism in relationships of vast inequality and in zones of imperial occupation and leisure, and the deep attachment that photographers and soldiers in the colonies had to their notions of capital exchange and currencies of erotic exchange, it is certainly possible that the models were compensated, either monetarily or with other resources or services. What is vital to confront, in addition, is the possibility of thinking about objectification beyond a one-way, unified, and assaultive gaze. Multiple gazes and subjectivities are possible and probable.[42]

This is not to deny the institutional and systemic power of the pornographic gaze, or to argue to its democratic nature,[43] but to propose instead that the objectifying force and heavy desire of the gaze could have been met with another gaze, and that this other gaze that acknowledged the

ways ethnopornography kept viewers looking, and also looked back, constituted a subjective understanding of the myth of hypersexuality and the means by which one could put that conceptual vice to work. Thus I draw upon my theoretical interventions in my book *A Taste for Brown Sugar*, to argue that, indeed, using a black feminist pornographic reading practice allows us to posit the ways in which black women sex workers (including sexualized women drawn in unwittingly to the labor of sexual representation in ethnopornographies) engaged a politics of *illicit eroticism*.[44] By this term I am asserting that black women mobilized sexual myth and representation for their own uses, including to survive, to gain mobility, to profit, to be titillated, to critique the system, and even to explore the technical and political qualities of image-making devices such as the camera. A black feminist reading practice allows for the prospect of thinking about other types of gazes, black female gazes, as humanizing, sensual, complicit, or oppositional—it unlocks our analysis of black female subjectivity and unbinds these black female subjects from the weight of their representational work.[45]

An exclusive focus on critiquing how and why black female bodies were fetishized as objects of desire and disgust in pornographic visual regimes "all too often leaves in place the process by which" black women were constructed as objects.[46] Moreover, it denies the erotic and embodied political experience of models, as well as their sexual labor, as part of their anticolonial work. And so, too, it obscures rather than reveals the ways in which black women may have located the sexual economy of ethnopornography and the interracial interactions that produced this media as a site of pleasure, excitement, and expression.

Employing an ethnopornographic hermeneutic or method, scholars may begin to consider the ways in which the interplay of science, technology, and commercial interests with nationalist state imperatives to expand empire at any cost produce opportunities to think about these pornographic representations as contact zones for domination and subordination as well as for subversion and resistance. Beyond an easy claim for an always already oppositional gaze, I mean here to push our field to think about ethnopornography not simply as a technique for fixing power but also, when looking from the point of view of the subject of the image, for disrupting power. "People on the receiving end of European imperialism did their own knowing and interpreting," Mary Louise Pratt suggests, "sometimes . . . using the European's own tools."[47] And this is the reason that I have included pornographic images in my work. Rather than refusing the mantel of pornographer that is thrust upon those of us engaging

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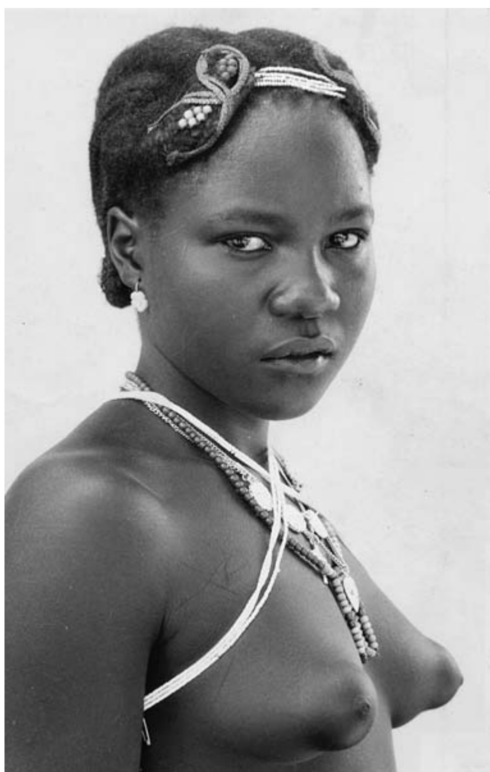

FIGURE 1.10 Ethnopornographic Disruptions. Undated Colonial Studio Photograph [M119]. Courtesy of Les Archives d'Eros.

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closely with these images (by Google, the public, our students, or other scholars), I embrace this identity because it means that I am making visible, tangible, or otherwise understood the very complicated dual work of violence and reappropriation, of exploitation and transformation, and of racist objectification and disruptive subaltern subjectivity.

Notes

1 I develop this concept in Mireille Miller-Young, *A Taste for Brown Sugar: Black Women in Pornography* (Durham, NC: Duke, 2014).

2 Ann Laura Stoller, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 6–7.

3 See my preface, "Confessions of a Black Feminist Academic Pornographer," in Miller-Young, *Taste for Brown Sugar*.

4 T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 7.

5 A number of important books by black feminist theorists have advanced my thinking about black women's representations in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photography, ethnopornographies, and pornographies: Carla Williams and Deborah Willis, *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002); Deborah Willis, ed., *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her "Hottentot"* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010); Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Kimberly Wallace Sanders, ed., *Skin Deep, Spirit Strong: The Black Female Body in American Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002); Michelle Wallace, *Dark Designs and Visual Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Nicole Fleetwood, *Troubling Vision: Performance, Visuality, and Blackness* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Jasmine Nicole Cobb, *Picturing Freedom: Remaking Black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2015); Jennifer Nash, *The Black Body in Ecstasy: Reading Race, Reading Pornography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

6 The article that really opened up the field of study into the Hottentot Venus is Sander Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (autumn 1985): 204–42.

7 Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes," in *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*, ed. Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 54–55.

8 George M. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on African American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1971), 2.

9 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (New York: Routledge, 1992) 7.

10 Shawn Michelle Smith, *Photography on the Colorline: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 47.

11 Adrienne Davis, "Don't Let Nobody Bother Yo' Principle: The Sexual Economy of American Slavery," in *Sister Circle: Black Women and Work*, ed. Sharon Harley and the Black Women and Work Collective (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2002).

12 Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science," 40; Molly Rogers, *Delia's Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 247.

13 Ross J. Kelbaugh, *Introduction to African American Photographs, 1840–1950: Identification, Research, Care, and Collecting* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2005), 16.

14 Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 149.

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15 Rey Chow, “Where Have All the Natives Gone?,” in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*, ed. Angelika Bammer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 145.

16 Here I am indebted to the work of Walter Johnson (*Soul by Soul*) and his rich development of the subjective lives of the enslaved and careful work around agency in the context of slavery.

17 Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 13.

18 Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, 241–47.

19 Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, 246.

20 Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, 246.

21 Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

22 Henrietta Lidchi, “The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997).

23 See Rey Chow's critique of Alloula's use of images in *The Colonial Harem* in “Where Have All the Natives Gone?,” 145.

24 Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1987), 95; emphasis in original.

25 Lisa Z. Sigel, “Filth in the Wrong People's Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880–1914,” *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (summer 2000): 860. Sigel points out that postcards were much more accessible because they did not require a viewing apparatus—such as with stereoscopes and transparencies—and were far cheaper. After the 1890s postcards could be sent easily and inexpensively but with noted censorship. “Obscene” cards would have been placed in an envelope if they were mailed, retaining discretion, rather than sent directly, as government authorities began to police them.

26 Sigel, “Filth,” 861.

27 Sigel, “Filth.”

28 Sigel, “Filth,” 861–62.

29 Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 140.

30 bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992), 21–39.

31 Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 10.

32 Rony, *Third* Eye, 10.

33 Sigel, “Filth,” 862.

34 Sigel, “Filth,” 862.

35 Aleta M. Ringlero, “Prairie Pinups,” in Fusco and Wallis, *Only Skin Deep*, 186.

36 The translations from the French read, “Indigenous Types—A Negress,” “Young Negress,” “Young Bedouin,” and “Young Moorish Woman.” According to this website about French colonial texts, “Négresse” was not a direct translation for

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black woman but was also not the same as saying "Negro" or the epithet "Nigger." It was less offensive than the latter but stronger and more demeaning than "Negro" or "black." See Washington State University Vancouver, accessed August 21, 2015, http://directory.vancouver.wsu.edu/people/sue-peabody/french-colonial-texts.

37 Slavery, having been abolished in the West by 1908, still continued in Morocco, so here we have an anachronistic sentiment toward the young slave.

38 Alloula, *Colonial Harem*, 122.

39 Sigel, "Filth," 864.

40 On the rise of modern hard-core pornography, see Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

41 Rony, *Third Eye*, 24.

42 Maria Sturken and Lisa Cartright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 87.

43 Lisa Gail Collins, "Historic Retrievals: Confronting Visual Evidence and the Imagining of Truth," in Willis, *Black Venus 2010*, 77.

44 Miller-Young, *Taste for Brown Sugar.*

45 On the binds of representation, see Celine Parrenas Shimizu, *The Hypersexuality of Race: Performing Asian/American Women on Screen and Scene* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). On representational work, see Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Open University, 1997).

46 Rony, *Third Eye*, 24.

47 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

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"Hung, Hot, and Shameless in Bed"

Blackness, Desire, and Politics in a Brazilian Gay Porn Magazine, 1997–2008

"You've never seen anything sooooo big." This was the cover caption for the February 2007 issue of *G Magazine*, Brazil's most successful publication directed at a gay male audience. The model was Iran Gomes, a recent contestant on the hit reality show *Big Brother Brasil*. Iran wore a white suit, silk shirt, and straw hat, with gold chains hanging from his neck. With one hand jauntily placed in a pocket, the other seductively pulling aside his shirt, his posture slightly slouched, he would have been recognizable to any Brazilian as a *malandro*, a stock figure of Rio de Janeiro popular culture since the early twentieth century.[1] Frequently imagined as dark-skinned, the malandro is a chronically and willfully unemployed hustler who wears gaudy jewelry, a white suit, and a straw hat and wanders about the urban landscape composing samba songs, supporting himself through odd jobs and cons. The subtext behind Iran's posture and vaguely sullen facial expression, along with the contrast between the shadowy background, the suit, and his black skin, was clear. Black is exotic. Black is dangerous. Black is sex. As one reader commented in an online message board dedicated to

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the magazine, "These big black guys (*negões*) are extremely hung, hot, and shameless in bed."[2]

This chapter analyzes how desires and fantasies about blackness, through both their presence and absence, structured erotic and political representations of African-descended men in *G Magazine*. Between its founding in 1997 and sale in 2008, *G* was Brazil's best-selling publication targeted at an audience identified as "gay," a term appropriated directly from English with its connotations of a globalized identification based upon male same-sex desire. While articles on travel and fashion, as well as LGBT activism, occupied many of the magazine's glossy pages, the engine driving sales was the pornographic photographs (with erections) of straight-identified athletes, musicians, singers, and TV stars, their bodies on display for an implicitly upper- and middle-class audience. In keeping with Brazilian society's pervasive association between whiteness, beauty, and wealth on the one hand and blackness, ugliness, and poverty on the other, the magazine's cover models were overwhelmingly white. Afro-Brazilian men did appear on occasion, but when they did, the magazine's gaze was profoundly ethnopornographic, as it nearly invariably represented eroticized black and brown models as malandros, primitive natives, athletes, samba artists, or manual laborers, their racial and class "other-ness" granting them their value in a capitalist marketplace of same-sex desire.[3]

Yet this was only one facet of how the magazine's editors and readers gazed upon and appropriated black bodies. Paradoxically, alongside these racialized erotic representations, *G* self-consciously advanced a political discourse that claimed to challenge nationalist myths of racial democracy and promote an alliance between Brazil's black and LGBT movements. This tension between desire and identity politics seems odd, even jarring, at first glance. Yet it was at the heart of the magazine's representations of African-descended men and demonstrates that even as Brazil's black movement has successfully brought attention to racism and promoted policies to remedy inequality, erotic representation remains governed by racialized discourses so firmly rooted that even a well-intentioned, politically progressive magazine reinforced them as it represented black bodies as consumable fetishes for a white capitalist market.

If one were to examine only *G Magazine*'s "discourse of desire" via its sexualized photographic and written representations of African-descended men, it would be easy to condemn the magazine as simply another example of the silences and stereotyping that pervade global representations of African-descended people. However, focusing solely on the magazine's

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parallel "discourse of identity politics" could lead to the flawed conclusion that *G* was on the cutting edge of progressive racial politics. This chapter avoids such a dichotomous understanding through an empirical analysis of production and reception, as revealed through a broad range of sources. In addition to analyzing an eleven-year run of the magazine, including photographs, captions, reader-contributed erotic stories, personals ads, and letters to the editor, it uses social media, online interviews, and chat sessions with models. It also incorporates my own face-to-face interview with *G Magazine*'s owner, Ana Fadigas, and her editor, Klifit Pugini, to explore the complex interplay between the representation of race and the production of erotic and political meaning. At the same time as Fadigas and her editorial staff determined the types of models and images that were most likely to sell magazines, they also attempted to promote an antiracist discourse in which they asserted the magazine's solidarity with marginalized Afro-Brazilians and claimed to challenge their absence from Brazilian media.

Models contributed as active subjects by presenting their bodies as sites of desire and drawing attention to their own experiences of racism. Readers in turn participated as they communicated their desires as consumers, contributed content, and weighed in on the political discussion. These negotiations between editors, models, and readers sometimes reinforced and other times challenged Brazilian racial assumptions. While *G Magazine*'s endorsement of a progressive racial politics was unable to displace a discourse of desire that objectified black men as "hung, hot, and shameless in bed," it was also not simply a farce or an attempt to ameliorate the magazine's racially charged erotic representations. Rather, these seemingly contradictory discourses were emblematic of the broader debate about race that continues to rage in Brazilian society, with all the contradictions that entails as a nation that still prides itself on its cordial race relations and fluidity of racial categories grapples with the realization that the black and brown half of its population suffers from structurally enduring poverty and racial prejudice.

Despite nearly a century of studies of race in Brazil, it has only been in the last twenty-five years that scholars have seriously examined Brazilian mass media's gross underrepresentation and stereotyping of Afro-Brazilians. Joel Zito Araújo's 2000 book and 2002 documentary *A negação do Brasil* stand out for their nuanced analysis of both the drastic underrepresentation of Afro-Brazilians in prime-time TV soap operas, a genre that is complicit "with the persistence of the ideal of whitening and the desire of Brazilians to Euro-americanize," and the stereotypical roles

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that are usually assigned to the rare Afro-Brazilian characters.[4] Another rich area for analysis has been the experiences of African-descended women in a country that imagines the mixed-race woman (*mulata*) as the ideal of sexualized beauty while simultaneously casting darker-skinned black women as unattractive and unworthy of romantic relationships.[5] Yet although the representation of blackness in media and the sexualization of Afro-Brazilian women have been addressed extensively, the ways in which Afro-Brazilian men are represented and sexualized in Brazilian popular culture have received virtually no attention at all.

If studies of race in Brazil have seldom examined black male sexuality, studies of male sexuality in Brazil, particularly nonnormative sexualities, have paid little attention to race. For example, anthropologist Richard Parker, in his pioneering study of gay male culture in urban Brazil, argues that race is "generally secondary to, or at best function[s] in concert with, the more sharply dividing cleavages that organize sexuality around the lines of social class."[6] Don Kulick, in his superb ethnography of transgendered sex workers in Salvador, never addresses their color, although his photographs reveal them to be predominantly African-descended, nor the role that race might play in their marginalization.[7] The most important exception to this trend was Nestor Perlongher's study of *michês* (stereotypically "masculine" sex workers) in 1987, in which he identified pervasive racial prejudice among both clients and michês, even though over half of the sex workers he observed were Afro-Brazilian.[8] More recently a new generation of Brazilian anthropologists has studied race and male homosexuality in the neoliberal marketplace. Isadora Lins França has studied the intersection of class, masculinity, and race among working-class Afro-Brazilian men in a gay samba club in São Paulo.[9] Similarly Camilo Braz has examined how a variety of social cleavages, including race, structure interactions between men in São Paulo sex clubs.[10] And Osmundo Pinho has offered tantalizing hints into the ways that paid gay porn websites fetishize and commercialize a mixed-race, hypersexual "Brazilian-ness."[11]

With its analysis of written sources such as print and social media, personal ads, and visual representation, combined with my interview with *G Magazine*'s founder and longtime owner and editor, this chapter proposes a more nuanced analysis of the layers of desire, stereotyping, political conviction, and market considerations that structure the erotic representation and reception of blackness. It stands apart from most earlier work on Brazil by identifying race, not social class, as the focal point for social divisions. That is, rather than arguing that African-descended men are marginalized

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because they are poor, it maintains that there is a set of racially based stereotypes that structures erotic representation and desire in Brazil that operates parallel to but separate (and in very different ways) from social class.[12] It also innovates by looking beyond underrepresentation and stereotypes to examine how these interact with politics.

In contrast with the Brazilian literature, the relationship between race and (homo)sexual visual representations has been explored in great depth by scholars of black cultural studies in the Anglophone world. Going back at least to Kobena Mercer's provocative critiques of Robert Mapplethorpe's famous photographs of black men, which itself builds on a far older tradition of black scholarship that dates to Frantz Fanon, scholars have turned a sharp eye to how black men are sexualized by both white and black artists and authors.[13] Yet these works seldom look beyond the United States and United Kingdom. With over 100 million people who identify as black or brown, Brazil has the world's second-largest African or African-descended population, trailing only Nigeria. With its 350-year use of enslaved labor on sugar and coffee plantations and in gold mining, its peaceful and gradual process of abolition, the lack of any system of legal segregation similar to Jim Crow, mass black and brown migration from north to south in the twentieth century, and a national discourse that glorifies rather than demonizes racial mixture, Brazil offers a fascinating point of comparison to and departure from the United States and helps clarify which manifestations of and challenges to racism and inequality are uniquely Anglo-American and which might be diasporic, perhaps even global. As this chapter's title makes clear, Brazilian sexualized representations of black men are immediately recognizable to North Americans. The ways in which Brazilians recognize and interpret racism and racialized representations, particularly in the context of racial democracy, can be strikingly, even uncomfortably, different.

Finally, I would like to reflect on my role as I have looked at these images for a decade, grinned as I have shown them to shocked and titillated audiences at academic conferences, and write about them now. This project began in 2006, my first year as a doctoral student, in a seminar on Afro-Brazil at Duke University. I had just returned from six months in Brazil and brought back several copies of *G Magazine*, which I'd intended to show off to my gay friends in the United States. During the week our seminar discussed the absence of Afro-Brazilians in Brazilian media, I brought a copy of the magazine with me to class, with a white, green-eyed cover model in the process of removing a suit and dress shirt. The caption said, "This is the

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type of guy you marry!" At the urging of the professor, John D. French (my advisor), I made *G Magazine* the object of my research in a seminar with Pete Sigal on the history of sexuality. Yet as I have presented the project to that class and conferences and invited talks in both the United States and Brazil, I have found myself forced to reckon with the same issues over and over, issues that relate to my own implication in producing and reproducing the ethnopornographic gaze.

First, as I have shown these images and put black bodies—specifically, "big (hard) black dicks"—on display for an audience of largely white academics, have I not reproduced the same ethnopornographic gaze that structures racialized representation in *G Magazine*? Indeed, when we consider the added dynamic of relatively privileged North Americans of any color casting our gaze upon Brazilian Others, is my own gaze not even more complicit with racial, class, and national structures of inequality? Is the point a critical discussion of Brazilian representations of black men, or am I using black bodies to win attention as "that guy who showed naked black guys"? Over the years, I have experimented with several ways to address this. Sometimes I have passed the images out as a handout; other times I have shown them on the screen for only a few seconds, replacing them quickly with a blank slide. For this chapter, however, I have chosen not to show them at all. In part, this is because *G Magazine* was sold in 2008 and ceased publication a few years later. The company it was sold to is also now defunct, complicating my efforts to obtain permission to reproduce the images. Yet I also leave the images out because I want to ensure that my reproduction of black bodies is not the focus. Besides, I am confident in interested readers' ability to execute an online image search if the fancy strikes.

Second, there is the question of what it means not only for an American historian to examine and reproduce pornographic images of black Brazilian bodies but also how my own race and sexual preference fit into the analysis. I am a gay, white man who has dated several black and brown Brazilian men over the years, and my gaze here is informed by the sexual and romantic relationships I have had with these men who are stereotyped as "hung, hot, and shameless in bed," as well as the pleasure and desire I feel when I look at the images in *G Magazine*. Consequently, my own analysis is not just an analysis of the ethnogpornography that pervades *G Magazine*; it is intensely and inescapably ethnopornographic itself. I have no illusions of an idealized objectivity, for, as the introduction to this volume shows, such claims only further the ethnopornographic "Othering" of black bodies. There is no way for me to escape this, but I would be remiss

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if I did not acknowledge it. This is an analysis of white discourses about blackness, written by a white, gay, cisgender male who often finds himself attracted to darker-skinned Brazilians. Undoubtedly the account of a black or brown Brazilian gay, cisgender male scholar would complicate the ethnopornographic gaze in very different ways.[14]

G Magazine: A Pioneer in Brazilian LGBT Media

Launched in 1997 in São Paulo, *G Magazine* distinguished itself by combining soft-core pornography (a staple of earlier gay publications) with information on the gay bar scene in major cities, travel information, fashion tips, body care, workout recommendations, advice columns, and frequent forays into activism. Its format proved popular, but even more importantly, *G* possessed the initial capital to pay famous actors and athletes to pose nude. In August 1998, *G* succeeded in recruiting a well-known *novela* (prime-time soap opera) actor as a cover model.[15] This was followed in January 1999 by the controversial appearance of the African-descended soccer star Vampeta, who played for Corinthians, the most popular football club in São Paulo, if not Brazil, and who would later play on Brazil's 2002 World Cup championship team.[16] The combination of full-frontal nudity (with erections), nonsexually oriented material, and, above all, icons of popular culture was wildly successful. By 2005, owner Ana Fadigas claimed that *G* averaged 110,000 copies sold per month, nearly half the 240,000 copies per month sold by the Brazilian version of *Playboy*.[17] By January 2008, when Fadigas astutely sold the magazine as more and more Brazilians gained access to the internet and its endless variety of pornography, *G* had released over 120 issues and become a staple of urban Brazilian gay culture.

G was popular for at least four reasons. First, it combined pornography, which previous gay lifestyle magazines lacked, with travel, fashion, activism, and other nonexplicit content, which previous pornographic magazines lacked. Second, its format was glossy, professional, and eye-catching. Third, it marketed a cosmopolitan, fashionable, internationally oriented, healthy "gay lifestyle" at a time when male homosexuality was becoming increasingly tolerated in Brazil, as evidenced by the spectacular growth of what would become the world's largest gay and lesbian pride parades and the increasing visibility of gay men and lesbians in the media and entertainment. Fourth, and by far most important, it offered its readers the opportunity to see athletes, actors, reality show participants, and other icons of

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pop culture nude, from the front, with erections. In a 2003 online survey of users of *G*'s website, 59 percent of respondents indicated that their first choice for a cover model was "someone famous, just to see him nude," while only 20 percent preferred "someone attractive, not just his body, but also his face."[18] *G* thus benefited from the same desire that drives the market for celebrity porn—the desire to see what beautiful and famous people have underneath their clothes, for the viewer to gaze upon their image and experience its reciprocal gaze.[19] As the photograph looks back at the viewer, it penetrates him through its seductive gaze—the famous person "enters" the viewer.

The magazine's appeal was increased for many of its readers by the fact that virtually all the cover models were assumed to be (and identified as) heterosexual. The interviews with the models nearly always remained ambiguous, however, using gender-neutral language and carefully avoiding questions about sexual orientation. In one issue, the interviewer asked Iran Gomes (the man dressed as a malandro referenced in the introduction), "Do you often use your body to seduce someone?" Iran responds, "That's normal, isn't it? I've passed by that men's area of *Posto 9* [the gay section of Ipanema Beach in Rio de Janeiro]—then there comes the applause, everyone looking at you."[20] Thus, readers all "knew" that the models were straight, but the magazine avoided any mention of wives or girlfriends and left the interviews ambiguous enough for readers to participate in a fantasy of a sexually attainable straight man.[21]

African-Descended Models in *G Magazine*: Underrepresentation and the Gay Market of Desire

Scholars and black activists alike have long noted the near absence of African-descended people in Brazilian media, even though in the 2010 census over half of Brazilians identified as brown or black. *G Magazine* followed this pattern—as of January 2008, when Fadigas sold the magazine, out of a total of 139 cover models, 121 were white, with only 16 black or brown men. (The two remaining models were of Asian descent.) This is notable not only because of the inflated number of white models compared to the population but also because among the African-descended models, most had prominently "African" phenotypical features; only 4.3 percent of the models demonstrated a visibly mixed ancestry.[22]

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Most of the Afro-Brazilian models appeared in the earlier issues of the magazine, through May 2001. But from June 2001 to April 2007, only five Afro-Brazilian models appeared on the cover, and the magazine once published thirty-three consecutive issues with white cover models, many of them blonde and blue-eyed. This decrease in African-descended models coincided with an editorial decision to refine the magazine's image by reducing its emphasis on sex and nightlife. As the magazine grew in popularity and the editors experimented with various types of models and gauged reader responses, both through letters and sales data, it is possible that they reduced the number of African-descended models accordingly. Marcelo Cerqueira of the Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB), a gay rights organization in Salvador, expressed this view in an interview with *Revista Gold*, reproduced on the GGB's website. "Here in Brazil, editors of magazines directed at the gay public say that *negros* on the cover do not sell magazines."[23] When I interviewed her in 2008, Fadigas agreed, claiming that when she put a black man on the cover, she knew that unless he was very famous, that issue would sell 30–40 percent fewer issues than one with a nonfamous blonde model, but that she insisted on having, on average, one black model per year, because she believed it was important to open up space for Afro-Brazilians in media.[24] *G* was invested in an effort to project a modern, fashionable image of a Brazil that mimicked Euro-North American gay life. Due to the centuries-old association of blackness with lower-class status in Brazil, which squares well with Western standards of beauty that define attractiveness according to European norms, *G* had little space for Afro-Brazilian models.

Letters to the editor indicate that some readers were concerned with the relative absence of African-descended models. The force of these letters was blunted, however, by their publication alongside ones asking for older models, hairier models, more pictures of feet, and more photos of *bunda* (ass). Whiteness, sculpted bodies, and youth remained the norm; any departure from that norm, including blackness, was relegated to the status of fetish.[25]

Considering the near absence of blackness in Brazilian media, the low proportion of black models in *G Magazine* was unsurprising. Although this certainly showed how the dominant aesthetic in Brazilian gay culture assumed whiteness as normative, it is more instructive to explore how *G* represented Afro-Brazilians when they did appear and, in so doing, ask how such representations circulated in the gay marketplace of desire. The following pages analyze images of models, interviews, letters, and erotic stories to

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explore the representation of Afro-Brazilians as desirable in *G*, suggesting how these representations can be interpreted within the context of the sexual marketplace and transnational sexualized representations of black men.

King of a Free Nation—Créo Kellab

The May 2000 issue of *G* featured Créo Kellab, a model and theater actor who had appeared in minor roles in novelas. The cover proclaims him "king of a free nation," and the first page of the photo essay contains a short paragraph to set the stage for the images that follow. "Although he has faced the jungle of the big city with all its competition, it's in the middle of nature that Créo Kellab exhibits his astonishing black beauty in all its fullness."[26] The photographs portray a dreadlocked Créo next to (and in) a river in the rainforest, wearing only tribal jewelry and carrying a brightly colored spear. It is unclear if Créo is "king of a free nation" in the jungles of Africa, or if he is the leader of a maroon community (*quilombo*) in Brazil.[27] Regardless, the representation implies that the black man is "in his element" in the jungle. Ultimately, the urban jungle of Rio de Janeiro, where he actually lives, is not where Créo belongs; the most appropriate environment for the exhibition of his "astonishing black beauty" is the real jungle, surrounded by rocks, trees, and water—a black man in his native habitat.

The placement of Créo in the jungle highlights his supposed savagery and closeness to nature. In most of the images, he appears barely conscious of his nudity, and his penis is erect only in one or two images, heightening the sense that he is a native in his natural environment. However, although Créo may appear unconscious of his own nudity, he is not unconscious of his sensuality and ability to seduce the reader. For despite his unselfconscious nudity, Créo is not merely a primitive object upon whom viewers direct their devouring gaze. Rather, as Todd McGowan points out, "The gaze is not the look of the object, but the point at which the object looks back. The gaze thus involves the spectator in the image, disrupting her/his ability to remain all-perceiving and unperceived."[28] The photos also temper the innocence of his unselfconscious nudity with the spear he carries. Long and erect, it communicates the message of aggression and danger that his penis does not—this "savage" in his native habitat possesses the ability to hunt the reader down with his spear, to penetrate the reader with his weapon and gaze alike.

Reader responses printed in the letters to the editor in the months after Créo's appearance were generally positive, yet they focused almost

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without exception on his color, referring to him as "a god of black beauty," and "well-hung, doing justice to the fame of the *negros*."[29] A female reader stated that the essay took her breath away with "the perfect and inspiring forms of this *negro* stud."[30] Yet another called Créo "a true representative of this delicious race . . . not only beautiful [but also] charming, hot, and erotic to the maximum."[31] These comments gave voice to racialized beliefs about the sexuality of African-descended men that circulate well beyond Brazil, and it was precisely these supposed characteristics that made black men desirable for these readers. Such references to color occurred only when the models were not white; white models might be referred to as "Greek gods," but no one made them representatives of their race.

You've Never Seen Anything Sooo Big—Iran Gomes

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In February 2007, *G* featured former *Big Brother Brasil* reality show contestant Iran Gomes on the cover. As stated previously, the cover caption proclaimed, "You've never seen anything sooo big," establishing from the beginning that it was first and foremost Iran's (black) penis that merited attention and made him a commodity in the gay marketplace of desire. Although all gay pornography exhibits a rather predictable focus on the penis, this preoccupation became an obsession in *G*'s images of Iran. In one picture it hangs innocuously from the open fly of his white pants as he holds onto and leans away from a lamppost on a Rio de Janeiro street. In another, he clutches it, fully erect, as if debating where to aim a weapon, while gazing directly at the camera and, by extension, at the viewer. This direct gaze, together with the hand grabbing the erect penis, invites the viewer to fantasize being penetrated, being possessed, by this aggressive black man and his "big, black dick." In still another, he caresses the tip with his finger as he gazes dreamily at it, eyes nearly closed. Once again, the penis is the focal point—Iran directs his gaze at it and touches it gingerly, while its dull blackness contrasts sharply with the shininess of the rest of his body. In others, Iran holds his hand just next to his flaccid penis, not quite touching it, as if to remind the viewer that, though soft, it is nevertheless ever at the ready.[32] In most of these images, Iran wears the gold jewelry of the malandro—and little else.

The setting is also telling. All the images show Iran on the streets and in the bars of Rio de Janeiro at night. In contrast to Créo Kellab, who although he lived in the city belonged in the jungle, Iran is represented as being completely in his element in the city, evidenced by his carefree posture and cool,

relaxed demeanor. The urban setting is directly connected to his representation as a malandro. After the abolition of slavery in 1888, formerly enslaved Afro-Brazilians migrated en masse to urban centers, especially Rio de Janeiro. They built shantytowns on the steep hills (*morros*) overlooking the city, where they developed a community structure that existed alongside yet was largely separate from the city below, where white elites dreamed of recreating Paris in the tropics.[33] Due to their marginal status the residents of the morros often found themselves excluded from the formal economy. Jobs were scarce and prejudice common; thus, it is not surprising that many African-descended and working-class men did, in fact, wander about the city looking for odd jobs or resorting to petty crime to support themselves.[34] By the 1930s, the figure of the malandro, with his white suit, silk shirt, straw hat, and gold jewelry, had become a Rio de Janeiro icon. He became a constant theme of the songs of the samba culture that was emerging in Rio in the 1930s, and through the growing influence of radio, the malandro of the samba lyrics soon became a national icon as well.[35] The malandro is intimately associated with not only Rio de Janeiro but also blackness. All the attributes of the racialized malandro are transferred to Iran in the photographs—the clothes, the jewelry, the urban setting, but above all, the focus on danger and a legendary sexual prowess with the power to seduce and conquer.

Readers' responses to Iran were similar to their responses to Créo Kellab seven years earlier. On the now-defunct social networking website Orkut (a precursor to Google+, at the time the most popular social networking site in Brazil), readers expressed their opinions on the message boards of the *G Magazine* community, a group organized for fans to share images and discuss the magazine. Even before the magazine hit newsstands, once it had become known that Iran was to be the February cover model, members speculated about what his images might reveal. "When the magazine comes out, could someone post his pictures? He's delicious, and he must be hung."[36] Once the magazine hit newsstands on February 1, several posters to the site, both male and female, speculated about what it would be like to be penetrated by Iran's admittedly large penis. "It's the biggest dick in the history of *G*; anyone who bottomed for him would risk rupturing internal organs."[37] This led to a discussion of precisely how large it was and whether large members were a universal characteristic of black men, along with what other sexual characteristics black men might possess. One poster exclaimed, "I only hook up *negões* [big black guys] because they are extremely hung, hot, and shameless in bed. . . . I only go out with *negros*. In

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addition to being hot, they're also passionate and make me delirious. Who here has already enjoyed a really well-endowed *negão*?"[38] In response, another poster gushed, "*Nossa Senhora* [Our Lady], where would I be without these *negões*? I adore a *mulato*, or, better yet, a *negro*. I've hooked up with four, and of the four, I think the smallest was 20 centimeters."[39]

It is from statements like these, which unlike the letters were not filtered through an editorial staff, that it is easiest to capture the way readers exoticized black men as Other. Readers looked upon the black penis with a mixture of fear, awe, and pleasure. While some posters feared it as something that could cause physical injury, others expressed a strong (and not necessarily contradictory) desire to be penetrated by Iran's penis (or one similarly big and black). Furthermore, through the various discussions concerning Iran and *negros*, it again becomes clear that the *negro* was viewed as someone or something fundamentally Other. It never appeared to occur to any of the posters that black or brown men might buy the magazine or post on the message board; rather, African-descended men were an Other by whose enormous penises the presumably white posters dream of being penetrated, either literally or metaphorically.

Immense Penises and Insatiable Sex Drives—African-Descended Men in Erotic Stories

Paralleling their relative absence from the magazine covers, African-descended men seldom appeared in reader-contributed erotic stories; however, when the stories did mention race, it was nearly always because one of the characters was *mulato* (mixed race) or *negro* (black). When African-descended men did appear, particularly when they were dark-skinned, they were even more racialized than the cover models, represented as brutishly strong, extraordinarily well-endowed, aggressive, sexually insatiable ravishers of meek, smooth, young white men.[40] The stories were nearly invariably told from the perspective of a white "bottom" who lusted after a black "top," and the Afro-Brazilian character was never well-developed—one story does not even give his name, instead alternately referring to him as the negro, the *negrão* (a variant of *negão*), the *afro*, and the taxi driver.[41] The negro (or in one case, mulato) was always the active partner who penetrated the white character with his "immense" penis.

The following story, titled "Sexta-feira 13—O Terror" ("Friday the 13th—The Terror"), is representative. At the end of the semester at a trade school,

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the students throw a costume party on Friday the 13th. The unnamed protagonist relates that all semester he had his eye on Pepeu, "a strong mulato the size of a wardrobe," but that Pepeu never looked twice at him, even though he was "blonde, tan, and [had] an ass that could make girls envious and turn any man on." He encounters Pepeu drunk at the costume party, and Pepeu immediately makes known his desire to penetrate him. They move to a bathroom stall, where the mulato reveals his "immense dick, as hard as a rock . . . thick and dark." "Famished," the "uncontrollable *macho*" sucks and invades the protagonist's ass "with an animalistic fury," devouring his little body. Pepeu penetrates him once, but as soon as they finish, the insatiable mulato is ready to do it again. The blonde, tan protagonist concludes with, "I doubted that fuck, already the second, would be the last. The night was going to be a terror."[42] This story, then, repeats practically every popularly-held belief about black male sexuality and would be easily recognizable in the United States—Pepeu is masculine, well-endowed, sexually insatiable, and, of course, the top.

Erotic stories in *G* featuring white characters or characters whose race was not specified also referred to penis size, but instead of possessing incredibly "immense" penises, white men were simply "well-endowed," "big and thick," or "really big."[43] Unlike Pepeu, however, whose penis was immense, hard, thick, *and* dark, white men were never described as having large *white* penises. This phenomenon is reminiscent of popular attitudes toward the black penis in the United States, where the same intimate association between size and blackness holds true. In his analysis of the place of the black penis in North American gay culture, Dwight McBride states, "It is virtually unimaginable that one might hear in [a gay pornographic] film, 'Give me that big white dick.' . . . The nomenclature of size is so integrated with blackness that when it comes to the pornographic idea of the penis in the imaginary, it is nearly impossible to think of disaggregating the two.[44] Or, as Scott Poulson-Bryant succinctly puts it, "The size is the color. The color is the size."[45]

Regardless of the race of the characters, erotic stories were nearly always told from the perspective of the passive partner, either in the first person or in the third person with an omniscient narrator. In the same way that the direct gaze of the models in the photographs generated a fantasy of possession and penetration by the model in the viewing subject, the near exclusive focus in the erotic stories on the experience of the passive partner likewise encouraged the reader to place himself in the position of the protagonist, to imagine himself seduced and penetrated. The immense,

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insatiable, uncontrollable, and always penetrating, never penetrated figure of the negão was especially well-suited to such a fantasy.

"The Problems a Negro Faces": *G Magazine* and Racial Politics

To summarize, in the context of desire, African-descended men were distinguished in *G Magazine* primarily by race-based markers, which expressed themselves through several different themes or motifs—the sexually aggressive, sinister urban figure and the primitive native, among others. Yet this discourse of desire was only one form that discourses about race took in *G*. Paradoxically, even as the magazine underrepresented African-descended men and portrayed them according to longstanding transnational stereotypes, it also issued strident critiques of Brazilian racism, lamented the socioeconomic marginalization faced by Afro-Brazilians, and pointed out the limited space afforded them in the country's media. On occasion, this political discourse even bled over into erotic representations of African-descended men, representing them quite differently from the manner described above. While the photographs, as the most sexualized feature of the magazine, acted as a site only for desire, columns, interviews, letters to the editor, and erotic stories exhibited both erotic and political discourse. Editors, models, and readers all participated in this parallel political discourse and combined it with the discourse of desire. The results did not cancel out the stereotypical representations the magazine employed; indeed, in a magazine that was bought primarily for its photos, it could never fully supplant sexualized discourses. Nevertheless, they showed that old understandings of Brazil as a racial democracy and black men as aggressive and savage must now share space with admissions of Brazil's deep-seated racism and more humanized depictions of African-descended men.

The editors of *G* encouraged political content about race in the magazine first and foremost by granting African-descended models much greater exposure than they had in other Brazilian pornographic magazines. It could at first appear absurd to claim that *G* granted heightened visibility to African-descended models; after all, between 1997 and 2008, 87 percent of the cover models were white. However, for a Brazilian pornographic publication, 12 percent was actually a high percentage of African-descended cover models. The percentage of African-descended models in the Brazilian version of *Playboy* during the same period was far lower. Out

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of 155 *Playboy* cover models between October 1997 and January 2008, 150 (96.8 percent) were white, with only five (3.2 percent) black or visibly mixed women. The Afro-Brazilian *Playboy* models were usually at the lighter end of the color spectrum and their hair was usually straightened. Although *G* once published thirty-three consecutive issues without featuring an African-descended cover model, Brazilian *Playboy* once published *two hundred* consecutive issues, from 1980 to 1996, without featuring one cover model with African phenotypical features.[46] This far higher percentage of African-descended models in *G* could have been for two non–mutually exclusive reasons. First, *G* could have believed that its target market, gay men, was more open to African-descended models than *Playboy*'s market. Second—and this was the argument made by the magazine's founder—*G* could have been making a political statement by including African-descended models, attempting to express solidarity with the black struggle in Brazil.

The first possibility is intriguing but difficult to prove. My examination of a selection of the personals ads published in *G* between 1997 and 2000 revealed that although 70.3 percent contained a racial description of the person placing the ad, only 17.1 percent of men who placed personals ads specified that they sought men of a particular race.[47] In contrast, a 1984 study of personals ads in the United States found that 42 percent of North American men posting in gay personals specified a racial preference, as compared to much lower percentages of heterosexual men, heterosexual women, and lesbian women.[48] And anyone who has spent any time at all on gay dating apps today knows how often white gay men in the United States say, "Sorry, no blacks. Not a racist, just my preference!" This could mean that Brazilian gay and bisexual men were less preoccupied with race than their North American counterparts, but it was more likely just the result of Brazilian racial etiquette and its desire to avoid the appearance of prejudice. It is telling, after all, that many of the ads requested a photograph, thus enabling the solicitant to reject respondents who did not fit their racial or other aesthetic preferences.

The second possibility, that *G* included African-descended models as a political statement, finds more definitive support within the magazine. *G* occasionally published columns or made editorial comments that expressed the magazine's support for the black struggle and its opposition to all forms of discrimination. For example, in a column titled "Black and Homosexual: A Double Dose of Prejudice," Marcelo Cerqueira asserted that new spaces were opening for those whose racial or sexual identities

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once consigned them to marginality. "Our era is witnessing the affirmation of identities which for centuries were denied or stigmatized: to be *negro* was shameful, to be gay, a hideous crime. Today, 'Black is beautiful!' [in English] and, 'It's cool to be gay!' Human rights have come to include all the 'minorities,' including the ex-slaves and the ex-sodomites."[49]

Yet at the same time, Cerqueira affirmed, "In Brazil, being black alludes to a sad past of exploitation, official racism, slave labor, and forced exile from Mother Africa in the New World."[50] Cerqueira knew that racial discrimination still existed, but the only examples he gave were of immigration agents at airports in Portugal, Chile, and the United States scrutinizing his passport more carefully than they did those of white Brazilians. By the end of the column, however, he admitted that prejudice was not confined to the past or to other countries. "Despite not having much pride in our Brazil, so unjust, corrupt, violent, and prejudiced, it is here that I have chosen to transform our land into a happier, more fraternal, more joyful society, where neither skin color nor sexual orientation are reasons for division, insecurity, or suffering."[51]

Cerqueira thus moved successively from claiming that modern society affirmed formerly marginal identities like never before to admitting that although slavery and official racism were in the past, their memory remained, to asserting that although racism existed, it existed primarily in other countries, and, finally, to expressing disillusionment with Brazil and its social problems, of which racial prejudice was only one. Ultimately, neither the consignment of racism to the past nor its displacement to other countries made Cerqueira forget the prejudice African-descended Brazilians still experienced at home. Yet he held out hope that Brazil could still become the kind of country he dreamed of, that it could turn into the racial democracy it claimed to be. As Robin Sheriff has argued, racial democracy is not simply a myth or form of false consciousness that deceives Brazilians into believing that equality actually exists; rather, it is a yet-unrealized dream of equality that Brazilians believe should and can exist.[52]

Furthermore, Cerqueira directly tied the struggle for racial equality to the struggle for equality for sexual minorities, a connection that the gay rights movement in Brazil and abroad had consistently attempted to make. By linking gay rights to the struggle for racial equality—and by publishing a column by Cerqueira, himself a black gay activist—*G* attempted to posit the Brazilian gay rights movement as a natural ally of Brazil's black movement. In so doing, it exposed its readers to the discourse of the black movement and helped reinforce what many Brazilians have come to accept—that

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racism and prejudice remained widespread in Brazil. By stating that being black and gay exposed one to a "double dose of prejudice," *G* equated the prejudice felt by gay men to that experienced by black men—a problematic claim, to be sure, since white gay men in Brazil and elsewhere still enjoy racial and class privilege, but nonetheless an acknowledgment of the black struggle in Brazil's "racial democracy."

Interviews with models were another politicized medium through which *G* attempted to establish its consciousness of racism and inculcate that consciousness in its readers. When Afro-Brazilian models appeared in the magazine (except as athletes), *G* tended to draw attention to the limited space for them in Brazilian media and entertainment. Interviews were also the most obvious means through which black or brown models participated in political discourse. In an interview with *Big Brother Brasil* contestant Alan, the issue of race comes up repeatedly. Born in the Baixada Fluminense, a sprawling mass of working-class suburbs north of Rio de Janeiro, Alan moved with his parents to Angra dos Reis, a gritty coastal city, when he was eleven. When speaking of his teenage years, Alan recalls that although he attended the best high school in the city, his classmates always saw him as "the *neguinho* [little black kid] who came from the Baixada," indicating that race and class were jointly responsible for his marginalization. People began to accept him only when he started playing basketball for a local team, and as he played sports and built up his body, "that neguinho stuff came to an end."[53]

After being voted off *Big Brother Brasil*, Alan had the opportunity to act in several television commercials, all destined for a foreign market. "In Brazil, it's the same as ever—I don't do commercials." The interviewer asks, "Why? Prejudice?" Alan, however, in a classic manifestation of Brazilian racial etiquette, is reluctant to make such a harsh accusation. "I don't know if that's what it is." The interviewer presses the issue, "The products sold out there exist here too." Emboldened, Alan responds, "Absolutely. For example, you don't see a negão doing a toothpaste commercial, a shaving cream commercial, here in Brazil. And I've done three commercials like this for other countries. In the United States, if the toothpaste commercials don't show a negão brushing his teeth, people won't buy it. There is more exposure [for blacks] there. But not here. As far as teeth go, for example, damn, our teeth are the best. Even so . . ."[54] Finally, when the interviewer asks who his idols are, Alan lists not Brazilian heroes but Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, "those who taught me to pursue my goals."[55]

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Alan expresses a willingness to discuss prejudice but is astute enough to realize that it has seldom done Afro-Brazilians much good to complain about it. The interviewer suggests that his absence from commercials in Brazil may be due to prejudice, and when he equivocates, the interviewer presses him, reminding him that these same products are also sold in Brazil. The interview repeatedly compares the space afforded black men in Brazil negatively with the space available in the United States. Whereas in the United States consumers will reputedly not buy toothpaste unless a black man appears in the commercial, in Brazil, Alan has not managed to appear in one commercial. His idols are the heroes of the North American civil rights movement, implying (incorrectly) that Brazil does not have similar role models who can teach young black men to pursue their goals.

The interview with Créo Kellab similarly draws attention to the prejudice directed at black men in the media and entertainment industries. The interview contains no questions, instead providing a narrative of Créo's career with quotations from the actor interspersed throughout. Créo grew up in Minas Gerais, the son of "a black man who was at the margins of society, who sold fish." He moved to Rio de Janeiro at the age of eighteen to pursue a theater career, but, in the words of the editorial staff, "Créo was not aware of the problems a black actor faces."[56] As Créo recalls,

> For me, prejudice is something that is in people's heads. But soon I realized that there was no one with black skin on the cover of magazines. I would try out for the role of a young man who falls in love with a girl. No one would say so, but it could never be a negro. This hurt me a little. . . . Even so, I used my fear and innocence to become stronger, to conquer things. . . . In the beginning, I was just a black guy who wanted to work. But after I made a place for myself, I started to bother some people. . . . Thank God I had matured by then and learned to let certain situations slide.[57]

Créo qualifies his allegations of racism by stating, "Prejudice is something that is in people's heads," that is, it is an individual problem, not a structural problem. He also asserts that when faced with prejudice, sometimes the best response is to be mature and "let certain situations slide." At the same time, Créo exhibits in his interview a conscious desire to increase awareness of the problems faced by Afro-Brazilians in entertainment. In an online chat between the actor and his fans organized by a Brazilian digital media conglomerate, Créo urged the chat participants to not only

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look at his photos in *G* but also read the interview in order to find out about where he came from and the difficulties he had faced, "because it's complicated for a black man to get on the cover of any magazine. Even as a professional, an actor."[58]

Créo clearly viewed his appearance in *G* as a unique opportunity for a black man to gain access to a medium normally inaccessible to African descendants, and he repeatedly referred to the difficulties he faced as a black actor. At the same time, by quoting Créo's statement that he never saw Afro-Brazilians on the cover of magazines, *G* emphasized that he *was* on the cover of *this* magazine, thus highlighting its own cooperation with the struggle of Afro-Brazilians to carve out a space for themselves in media and entertainment. As a prominent voice of one oppressed group (homosexuals), *G* represented itself as standing in solidarity with another (blacks). This may have served as an attempt to establish solidarity between the LGBT movement and the black movement. It is also possible that *G* used this political discourse to offset the potential negative effects of its racialized discourse of desire and its underrepresentation of African-descended models. That is, an occasional column about the plight of gay Afro-Brazilians, along with a focus in interviews on prejudice in the media and entertainment industry, helped protect the magazine from charges of racism as it racialized and hypersexualized black men while displaying white models out of all proportion to their percentage in the Brazilian population.

Perhaps this was at the prompting of the editorial staff, and perhaps it was spontaneous on the part of the models, but either way, it is significant that these explicit challenges to Brazil's most treasured national myth received such prominent, albeit occasional, attention in Brazil's premier gay publication. Whatever the editors intended, even when models attempted to qualify or soften their critiques of racism in Brazil, the interviews *did* open discursive space that held the potential to destabilize the Brazilian system of racial etiquette that demands silence about racism and questions the patriotism of those who doubt the reality of racial democracy. The fact that this occurred alongside blatantly racialized visual representations blunts its effects, particularly for foreign readers who may be more shocked by such unapologetic peddling in stereotypes (something not uncommon in Brazilian media), but it does not eliminate them. The interviews show that the African-descended models who posed for *G* were not simply powerless victims whom the magazine subjected to racialized stereotypes to spur sales. Rather, these men were active subjects who, within certain limitations, were themselves engaged in the production of meaning.

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Indeed, there is evidence that the models helped select the actual nude photographs that appeared in the magazine. In so doing, they were capable of appropriating images such as the malandro and the "king of a free nation" and using them to create an exotic, desirable image of themselves. For example, in the February 2007 issue that began this chapter, it appears that Iran had a role in selecting the malandro motif. In his profile on the *Big Brother Brasil 6* website, Iran gave his occupation as *sambista*—that is, composer of sambas. A longtime member of Salgueiro, a Rio de Janeiro samba school that participates in annual Carnaval festivities, Iran composed songs for the school after his appearance on *Big Brother Brasil*.[59] As a member of Salgueiro, Iran gained a reputation as a womanizer, so much so that his teammates on the school's soccer team reportedly joked that they preferred not to shower with him after a game because "that guy is the man—he screws all the women. You can't let your guard down around him, or he'll try to fuck you too."[60] When his teammates told Neneo, a visiting sambista, about Iran's reputation, Neneo and fellow samba composer Paulo Rezende were inspired to write a song titled "Meu Ébano," about a seductive, passionate, dark black malandro, that later played on the 2005 novela *América* and became a national hit.[61] Thus, when *G* portrayed Iran as a malandro, it did not solely use a racialized stereotype to stimulate desire in its readers; rather it used an image that he himself had long cultivated. As the magazine's owner pointed out in our interview, for Iran, the malandro motif was an affirmation of pride in his blackness, not a stereotype, and when he was asked to appear in *G*, he insisted on being portrayed as a malandro and would not be dissuaded.[62] When the magazine depicted him as sexually aggressive, grabbing his penis as though aiming a weapon, it used an image that Iran was proud of; no one even knew that he was the inspiration for "Meu Ébano" before he revealed this detail on *Big Brother Brasil*.

Finally, readers also contributed to the political discourse in *G*, although their contributions were less obvious than those of the editors and models. Readers did occasionally complain about the underrepresentation of black men in the magazine. As one reader put it, "In a country with such rich ethnic diversity as ours, your photo essays are becoming more and more tiresome due to the repetitive tone of the models, who always follow one ethnic and aesthetic pattern. Sometimes it seems like we are reading a gay magazine from Argentina [imagined as white by Brazilians]. We [in Brazil] have white, brown, *mulato*, Indian, black guys—all marvelous. You could diversify more."[63]

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The implication that a magazine with predominantly white models would be more appropriate in another country and was thus not authentically Brazilian was repeated by other readers. "Is this magazine pro-apartheid? Are we in Sweden? Do you think that attractive black men don't exist?"[64] It is possible that these letters reflected genuine concerns with underrepresentation, but it is also possible that their authors were merely using political discourse to demand a type of model that they personally found more desirable. Some letters, after all, did use more explicitly erotic language to request more black male models. "It's always good to see boys who can make your mouth water, well-endowed and handsome black guys who truly complete the magazine."[65] Still, it is notable that when political discourse did appear in letters, it revolved exclusively around the presence or absence of black men. No readers complained about the conventions according to which they were represented when they did appear. Ultimately, the political discourse contained in the letters was predicated upon and influenced by the discourse of desire, which portrayed black men as attractive based on racialized sexual characteristics.

Conclusion

This chapter ends in much the same way as it began, with a representation that at first glance is racially charged, even stereotypical, but this time one that destabilizes such representations. "A Todo Vapor" ("Full Vapor"), unlike other erotic stories in *G*, was told from the perspective of a black character. "I had the luck—and I take pride in this, even with the prejudice that ravages Brazil, and also the gay world—to be born black." Miguel has recently purchased a new apartment, and he frequently uses the building's gym. One evening he decides to visit the sauna and discovers that it is the setting for orgiastic encounters between the building's male residents. Miguel knows the unique allure he possesses as a black man and is proud of his ability to elicit desire. "The white guys I screwed around with [envied] the ease with which I could develop my chest and biceps. Mixing the '*barbi*' look with the *ginga* of a *capoeirista*, I know how to drive guys crazy wanting to try out the delights of this negão."[66] Nevertheless, once the orgy begins, Miguel defies the sexual characteristics usually associated with black men. He performs oral sex on two other men and allows another to penetrate him anally with a finger. He does not become the center of attention as the exotic black man; rather, he is simply another participant in the

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orgy. His race comes up only once, when one of the other men comments, "I love a negão like you."[67] This story is unique for its combination of overt political discourse with a discourse of desire in which hypersexual black men possess unique seductive qualities. Moreover, the discourse of desire, while present, is not dominant, and Miguel participates in activities that do not belong to the repertoire of expected black male sexual behavior. The story thus indicates that it is possible to envision a black man who uses racialized stereotypes to his own advantage but does not restrict himself to prescribed roles.

G Magazine was thus the site of two contradictory yet complementary, nearly separate but occasionally overlapping discourses of desire and politics. They are fused in a way that is often clumsy, even jarring, but they are there all the same. In the discourse of desire, photographs of and erotic stories about black models elicited a specific type of desire in their viewers. Through their penetrating gaze, hypersexualization, and association with exotic types such as the malandro and the primitive native, these representations of black models were intended to make the reader want to be dominated and penetrated by them. In the gay marketplace of desire, this made the black man desirable as the exotic Other to a white standard of male beauty. Through their letters, readers revealed that these were the images of black men that they found desirable, with no objection to such racialized representations. Indeed, during our interview, Fadigas appeared shocked that anyone might take offense at her magazine's representations of black men and claimed there were certain themes that simply worked better with black models. To deny this, to represent everyone the same way—this would be prejudice, she told me.[68]

At the same time, editors, models, and readers participated in a parallel political discourse that recognized the existence of pervasive racism in Brazil. This political discourse did not replace the racialized discourse of desire; rather, it served another purpose by attempting to associate the gay rights movement with the black movement and raise awareness of racism in ways that would have been impossible in Brazil only a generation earlier. These two discourses highlighted the success of the black movement in dramatically raising public awareness of racial prejudice and underrepresentation in cultural representations, but they also showcased the continued impermeability of desire to politics. As the locus of the discourse of desire and the primary engine that drove sales of the magazine, the photographs never questioned the racialization of black men as exotic Others. Only rarely, in a few interviews and erotic stories, did African-descended

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men emerge from such roles and become something other than the Other, or at least more than simply the Other. Whatever the successes of the black movement, the political discourse of equality remains largely unable to touch the deeply engrained discourse of desire that structures erotic representation. And looking beyond Brazil, at a political and historical moment in which discussions about race in the United States have brought fresh attention to well-meaning white "allies," we are reminded that whether we are progressive magazine editors, ethnographers with a genuine desire to protect and learn from indigenous cultures, or white gay guys who have dated black Brazilians and write articles about "big black dicks," sympathy for the struggles faced by marginalized groups does not shield us from our own ethnopornographic desire. Politics don't trump desire, but does desire trump politics?

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Notes

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1 *G Magazine* 113 (February 2007).

2 Orkut, "Communities," *G Magazine*, accessed February 20, 2007, http://www.orkut.com/CommMsgs.aspx?cmm=2041528&tid=2514963010553268732. While all links to Orkut Communities in this essay were valid as of 2007, Orkut, once Brazil's most popular social media network, faded into obscurity as Facebook increased in

popularity. Google, Orkut's parent company, shut Orkut down in 2014 but saved some of its fan pages ("Communities") in an online archive, which was deleted in May 2017. See "Google vai apagar definitivamente arquivo de comunidades do Orkut," *Folha de S. Paulo*, April 29, 2017, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/tec/2017/04/1879806-google-vai-apagar-definitivamente-arquivo-de-comunidades-do-orkut.shtml.

3 In contrast to the United States, which was long governed by the "one-drop rule," the Brazilian racial system is a color continuum with many intermediate categories between *branco* (white) and *preto* or *negro* (black). Only those with the strongest African phenotypical features have traditionally been described as negros, while those with brown skin but more European phenotypical features have often been described with a host of intermediate terms, depending on specific characteristics and personal preference. The Brazilian census (and more than a few scholars) has simplified this system by referring to anyone who is not branco or negro as *pardo* (brown). However, since the 1980s, recognizing that pardos and negros experience similar economic disadvantages and racial prejudices, activists in the *movimento negro* (black movement) have promoted a classification system in which anyone with African phenotypical features is considered negro, which carries a connotation similar to "black" in the United States. For the best work in English on the Brazilian racial system, see Edward E. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006). See also Stanley R. Bailey, *Legacies of Race: Identities, Attitudes, and Politics in Brazil* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009). In this essay, the terms "African-descended," "Afro-Brazilian," "black," and "negro" will refer to anyone whose physical appearance indicates African descent as evidenced by skin color and phenotypical features. This does not constitute a denial of the uniqueness of Brazil's racial classification system; rather it acknowledges the fact that "negro" has become increasingly common to refer to all Afro-Brazilians. The owner and editor of *G* used "negro" in our 2008 interview in much the same sense.

4 Joel Zito Araújo, *A negação do Brasil: O negro na telenovela brasileira* (São Paulo, Brazil: Editora SENAC, 2000), 305; Joel Zito Araújo, *A negação do Brazil*, documentary film (São Paulo: SENAC, 2000), 92 minutes. See also Silvia Ramos, ed., *Mídia e racismo* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Pallas, 2002); and Samantha Nogueira Joyce, *Brazilian Telenovelas and the Myth of Racial Democracy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012).

5 See Erica Lorraine Williams, *Sex Tourism in Bahia: Ambiguous Entanglements* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013); John Burdick, *Blessed Anastácia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Sueli Carneiro, "Black Women's Identity in Brazil," in *Race in Contemporary Brazil: From Indifference to Inequality*, ed. Rebecca Reichmann (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 217–27; José Jorge de Carvalho, "The Multiplicity of Black Identities in Brazilian Popular Music," in *Black Brazil: Culture, Identity, and Social Mobilization*, ed. Larry Crook and Randal Johnson

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(Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 2000), 261–96; and Donna M. Goldstein, *Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence, and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

6 Richard Parker, *Beneath the Equator: Cultures of Desire, Male Homosexuality, and Emerging Gay Communities in Brazil* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 122. See also José Fábio Barbosa da Silva, "Homossexualismo em São Paulo: Estudo de um grupo minoritário," in *Homossexualismo e outros escritos*, ed. James N. Green and Ronaldo Trindade (São Paulo, Brazil: Editora UNESP, 2005).

7 Don Kulick, *Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998). See also João Silvério Trevisan, *Perverts in Paradise*, trans. Martin Foreman (London: GMP, 1986); and Peter Fry, "Male Homosexuality and Spirit Possession in Brazil," in *The Many Faces of Homosexuality: Anthropological Approaches to Homosexual Behavior*, ed. Evelyn Blackwood (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1986), 137–53.

8 Nestor Perlongher, *O negócio do michê: Prostituição viril em São Paulo* (São Paulo, Brazil: Editora Brasiliense, 1987). For a partial exception to the rule, see James N. Green's pathbreaking 1999 history of Brazilian homosexuality. Green notes that in gay communities, "skin color can determine social positioning," and "sharp class divisions and a racial hierarchy have precluded substantial integration" between members of different socioeconomic and social groups. See James N. Green, *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 284.

9 Isadora Lins França, *Consumindo lugares, consumindo nos lugares: Homossexualidade, consumo e subjetividades na cidade de São Paulo* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: EDUERJ, 2012).

10 Camilo Albuquerque de Braz, *À meia luz . . . : Uma etnografia em clubes de sexo masculinos* (Goiânia, Brazil: Editora UFG, 2012).

11 Osmundo Pinho, "Race Fucker: Representações raciais na pornografia gay," *Cadernos Pagu* 38 (2012): 159–95. See also Adriana Nunan, *Homossexualidade: Do preconceito aos padrões de consumo* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Editora Caravansarai, 2003).

12 On the stereotyping of blackness in Brazil, not only sexually but also more broadly, see Viviane Barbosa Fernandes and Maria Cecília Cortez Christiano de Souza, "Identidade Negra entre exclusão e liberdade," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* 63 (2016): 103–20.

13 See, along with his many other publications on the topic, Kobena Mercer, "Reading Racial Fetishism: The Photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe," in *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 171–219.

14 See, for example, the fascinating work of Darieck B. Scott on black-authored comics in the United States. Scott, "Big Black Beauty: Drawing and Naming the Black Male Figure in Superhero and Gay Porn Comics," in *Porn Archives*, eds.

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Tim Dean, Steven Ruszczycky, and David Squires (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 183–212.

15 *G Magazine* 11 (August 1998).

16 *G Magazine* 16 (January 1999). The publicity generated for *G* by Vampeta's appearance in the magazine is reminiscent of the publicity generated for *Cosmopolitan* by Burt Reynolds's nude centerfold in 1972. Of course, Reynolds's nudes were "discreetly posed," while Vampeta's nudes showed him from the front, with an erection; and Reynolds posed for a women's magazine, while Vampeta posed for a men's magazine. See David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution, an Unfettered History* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 2000), 232.

17 Camila Marques, "*G Magazine* muda e público atinge quase a metade da *Playboy*," *Folha de S. Paulo*, May 26, 2005, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/ilustrada/ult90u50966.shtml, accessed 1 March 2007.

18 "Conta pra gente," *G Magazine* 67 (April 2003), 15.

19 On celebrity porn, see Adam Knee, "Celebrity Skins: The Illicit Textuality of the Celebrity Nude," in *Framing Celebrity: New Directions in Celebrity Culture*, ed. Su Holmes and Sean Redmond (New York: Routledge, 2006), 161–76.

20 *G Magazine* 113 (February 2007), 48.

21 In addition to its cover models, *G* also included a "Desejo" (Desire) section each month with a less-known nude model, whose profession was usually listed as model, go-go boy, or dancer. The magazine also occasionally recruited lesser-known athletes such as volleyball players and boxers. It often contained a "Replay" section with additional nude photographs of recent cover models. Finally, it usually contained a "Fetiche" (Fetish) section with themes such as soldiers, policemen, manual laborers, BDSM, and, of course, black men.

22 My statistics here contain an inherent classificatory problem. The census asks Brazilians to self-select their racial category, while my classification of *G Magazine* cover models is based upon my own subjective criteria. However, this problem is mitigated by the fact that the race of very few *G* models would be open to negotiation, even in Brazil—models in the magazine nearly always exhibit markedly European or markedly African phenotypical features, with very few (other than several professional soccer players) falling anywhere in between.

23 Marcelo Cerqueira, "Sexo, raça e relação entre homens gays," undated interview with *Revista Gold*, accessed 24 March 2007, http://www.ggb.org.br/musica_carnaval.html.

24 Ana Fadigas, interview with the author, July 17, 2008. Fadigas also pointed out that the magazine was primarily interested in attracting famous Brazilians and that other than athletes, most famous Brazilians are white.

25 This tendency is not unique to *G Magazine* or Brazilian gay pornography. As Richard Fung has noted, referring to North American gay pornography, "If we look at commercial gay sexual representation, it appears that the antiracist movements have had little impact; the images of men and male beauty are still of *white* men

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and *white* male beauty." See Richard Fung, "Looking for My Penis: The Eroticized Asian in Gay Video Porn," in *Asian Canadian Studies Reader*, ed. Roland Sintos Coloma and Gordon Pon (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 88.

26 Alessandra Levtchenko, Alfredo Sternheim, and Ana Paula Elias, "Negro é lindo," *G Magazine* 32 (May 2000), 43–58.

27 Due to the efforts of the movimento negro to raise awareness about the history of African-descended people, the maroon communities called *quilombos* loom large in the national consciousness. The 1988 Constitution contains a provision granting land to communities descended from quilombos, and Zumbi, leader of an enormous seventeenth-century quilombo in the modern-day state of Alagoas, has been promoted as a national hero. On the historical Zumbi, see Robert Nelson Anderson, "The Quilombo of Palmares: A New Overview of a Maroon State in Seventeenth-Century Brazil," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 3 (1996): 545–66. On the movimento negro, including its appropriation of Zumbi as a symbol of resistance, see Michael G. Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1945–1988* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

28 Todd McGowan, "Looking for the Gaze: Lacanian Film Theory and Its Vicissitudes," *Cinema Journal* 42, no. 3 (2003): 28–29.

29 "Cartas," *G Magazine* 33 (June 2000).

30 "Cartas," *G Magazine* 34 (July 2000).

31 "Cartas," *G Magazine* 34 (July 2000).

32 J. Levis and Ane O'Connor, "Graaaaaande brother!" *G Magazine* 113 (February 2007), 30–47.

33 Nicolau Sevcenko, *Literatura como missão: Tensões sociais e criação cultural na Primeira República*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo, Brazil: Brasiliense, 1985), 28–34.

34 Lisa Shaw, *The Social History of the Brazilian Samba* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), 9.

35 Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello, Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 52–58.

36 Orkut, "Communities," *G Magazine*, February 1, 2007, http://www.orkut.com/CommMsgs.aspx?cmm=2041528&tid=2513324854160506824.

37 Orkut, "Communities," *G Magazine*, February 6, 2007, http://www.orkut.com/CommMsgs.aspx?cmm=2041528&tid=2514205361100382190.

38 Orkut, "Communities," *G Magazine*, February 10, 2007, http://www.orkut.com/CommMsgs.aspx?cmm=2041528&tid=2514963010553268732.

39 Orkut, "Communities," *G Magazine*, February 12, 2007, http://www.orkut.com/CommMsgs.aspx?cmm=2041528&tid=2514963010553268732.

40 Mulatos fall at the darkest end of the pardo category and can also be classified as negros depending on their social class and personal preference. Even if defined as pardos, mulatos look sufficiently African-descended so as to be unable to deny it. See Burdick, *Blessed Anastácia*, 31.

41 "Passivo por vocação," *G Magazine* 32 (May 2000).

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42 “Sexta-feira 13—O Terror,” *G Magazine* 61 (October 2002), 87.

43 See, for example, “Hombre,” *G Magazine* 50 (November 2001), 94; “O esporte faz muito bem,” *G Magazine* 59 (August 2002), 87; “O padeiro,” *G Magazine* 58 (July 2002), 87.

44 Dwight McBride, *Why I Hate Abercrombie & Fitch: Essays on Race and Sexuality* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 109–10.

45 Scott Poulson-Bryant, *Hung: The Measure of Black Men in America* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 75.

46 Playboy Covers of the World, accessed March 10, 2008, http://www.pbcovers.com.

47 “Procurados,” *G Magazine* 2 (November 1997), *G Magazine* 5 (February 1998), *G Magazine* 6 (March 1998), *G Magazine* 15 (December 1998), *G Magazine* 16 (January 1999), *G Magazine* 18 (March 1999), *G Magazine* 22 (July 1999), *G Magazine* 25 (October 1999), *G Magazine* 30 (March 2000), *G Magazine* 31 (April 2000), *G Magazine* 34 (July 2000), *G Magazine* 36 (September 2000).

48 Kay Deaux and Randal Hanna, “Courtship in the Personals Column: The Influence of Gender and Sexual Orientation,” *Sex Roles* 11, nos. 5–6 (September 1984): 369.

49 Marcelo Cerqueira, “Negro e homossexual: Preconceito em dose dupla,” *G Magazine* 58 (July 2002), 98.

50 Cerqueira, “Negro e homossexual.”

51 Cerqueira, “Negro e homossexual.”

52 Robin Sheriff, *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 222–24.

53 *G Magazine* 81 (June 2004), 48.

54 *G Magazine* 81 (June 2004).

55 *G Magazine* 81 (June 2004).

56 *G Magazine* 32 (May 2000).

57 *G Magazine* 32 (May 2000).

58 “Bate-papo com Créo Kellab, modelo e ator,” May 9, 2000, http://www1.uol.com.br/bparquivo/integra/bp_creo_kellab.htm.

59 “Ex-BBB Iran compõe samba para o Salgueiro,” *O Fuxico*, August 8, 2006, http://ofuxico.uol.com.br/Materias/Noticias/2006/08/28710.htm.

60 “Iran inspirou sambista a compor grande de Alcione,” *O Dia Online*, February 20, 2006, http://exclusivo.terra.com.br/bbb6/interna/0,,OI886560-EI6120,00.html.

61 “Iran inspirou sambista.”

62 Fadigas interview.

63 “Cartas,” *G Magazine* 62 (November 2002).

64 “Cartas,” *G Magazine* 6 (March 1998), 64.

65 “Cartas,” *G Magazine* 22 (July 1999), 79–80.

66 The point is that Miguel is muscular and attractive and has a swaying, self-confident gait when he walks. A *barbi*, taken from the English “Barbie doll,” is gay Brazilian slang for a muscular, attractive gay man who, as an effeminized Barbie doll, is the epitome of male beauty. A *capoeirista* is a performer of *capoeira*, an Afro-Brazilian combination of martial art and dance. A *ginga* is “the basic body

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movement in *capoeira*" and "is derived from the word for swaying from side to side," but it also "refer[s] to the signature way in which an individual carries themselves while walking." Definition of "ginga" from John D. French, *Sharing the Riches of Afro-Brazilian History and Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University African and African American Studies Program and the Consortium in Latin American Studies at UNC Chapel Hill and Duke University, 2003), 40.

67 "A Todo Vapor," *G Magazine* 18 (March 1999): 72–73.

68 Fadigas interview.

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The Ghosts of *Gaytanamo*

Popular online sources, from Urban Dictionary to TV Tropes, posit the existence of "Rule 34." Rule 34 states, "If it exists, there is porn of it—no exceptions". In 2007, this "rule" was applied for the first time to an institution integral to the War on Terror: the Guantanamo Bay detention camp. The gay video porn studio Dark Alley Media released their feature-length film *Gaytanamo*. The film follows the abduction of a German tourist by US security forces and his subsequent torture and sexual adventures in Gaytanamo/Guantanamo. According to the studio's description, "Dark Alley mixes political parody, classical music and scorching sex in *Gaytanamo*."[1]

Dark Alley Media claims that *Gaytanamo* was "the most controversial porn film of 2007."[2] Though their claim may be hyperbolic, it may not be far from the mark. The film was widely reviewed by a variety of LGBT outlets, some of which focus solely on porn and some of which do not. All commentators who wrote of the film mention the controversy surrounding the film. Some praised the film. The blog *GayPornucopia!* downplays criticism of the film and describes it as "a genuinely hot fantasy scenario" and being "1 part political parody and 100 parts incredible sex".[3] Gay porn reviewer Vincent Lambert praises *Gaytanamo* in a review

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that begins, "The political gets very personal in Dark Alley Media's latest release, *Gaytanamo*, a gay porn epic that's both sexually explosive and politically charged."[4]

Some found the film distasteful, mostly those outside of the porn review websites. The oldest LGBT newspaper in the country, the *Washington Blade*, titled their review "New Lows in Bad Taste," in which the film is described as "paying nominal homage" to Guantanamo Bay, and that Dark Alley Media is busy "fisting their way out of the Geneva Convention."[5] NarcissusAU, author of the blog *Synthetic Ego*, described his reaction to the film as "unsettled." His introspection continues, "Whilst my initial reaction was to smirk somewhat (as it is a very smart play on the word) I soon became uncomfortable with a porn video which sets its torture in an actual real life torture camp. . . . Does this make me a hypocrite?"[6] Commenters across many websites variously described *Gaytanamo* as "sickening," "trivializing," and "immoral." An anonymous reviewer on the blog *Queerty* wrote that they found the film to be "absolutely inappropriate and offensive." They go on to say that "sensationalizing and sexing up what is happening in Guantanamo Bay is like making a porn called 'Gay-Auschwitz.' . . . These are human beings who are being tortured, their lives destroyed. And you are dismissing them and capitalizing on their horror. If you have any sense of decency, you would withdraw this film and either scrap it or re-title it immediately."[7]

What is striking about the last review/condemnation is that it, like some of the other comments scattered around various blogs, mentions the "human beings who are being tortured, their lives destroyed." One of the most striking features of *Gaytanamo* is that none of the characters or actors is Arab or Muslim, the very men who make up the detainee population of Guantanamo Bay. This absence is noticeable and draws my attention to what is *not* in the film rather than what is.

In her seminal book *Hard Core*, Linda Williams discusses pornography's obsession with the quest for visible evidence of pleasures and bodies, even at the expense of realism or more arousing scenes. She terms this pornographic principle "maximum visibility."[8] As it is an inherently visible medium, those who study visual pornography are often concerned with what is on-screen, with what is contained within a film or set of films. What happens when porn studies strays from the visible, when more attention is paid to what and who are *not* on-screen?

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My project aims to interrogate the absences, rather than the visibilities, within and without the gay porn film *Gaytanamo*. The bodies of Arab and Muslim men, the men who populate the real Guantanamo, are conspicuously absent from *Gaytanamo,* the porn film that claims to parodize the detainee camp. I contend that the absence of these men constitutes more than a mere absence; it constitutes a haunting, specifically an ethnopornographic haunting. According to Avery Gordon, haunting "is an animated state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known, sometimes very directly, sometimes more obliquely."[9] The Arab and Muslim men imprisoned in Guantanamo are still there in the physical world. When they are absented from the pornographic fantasy of Guantanamo, a trace remains, as anyone watching the film knows that they are still imprisoned in Guantanamo. This trace constitutes such a haunting, as they are the bodies upon which the US government has inflicted an "unresolved social violence" and they cannot be so easily disappeared in fiction. What, then, is an *ethnopornographic* haunting? In the introduction to this volume, Sigal, Tortorici, and Whitehead define ethnopornography as "the production of an eroticized facticity" about people different from oneself.[10] I will argue that *Gaytanamo*, through its absenting of Arab and Muslim men, constructs an ethnopornographic narrative and absence that produces an eroticized facticity about *both* those who are and are not present in the film.

Questions of ethnopornographic absence and haunting in pornography animate and drive this project. What happens to a porn studies analysis when the focus shifts from what *is* on-screen to what *should* be on-screen but is not? In this venture, I align myself with gay porn studies scholar John Champagne, who implores us to "stop reading films." Champagne argues against the practice of close-reading gay porn films and for a focus on the social context of the films.[11] As I will later outline, Champagne argues that attention to social context can tell us about the potential political implications of gay porn. Through analyzing the hauntings within *Gaytanamo* and the absences surrounding it, I aim to sidestep the reliance on the visible in porn studies in an attempt to see the unseen social context that so often falls out of view in such practices of reading only presences. Ethnopornographic representations of such spaces of state violence, including what they do and do not contain, have much to tell us about the sexualized and racialized contours of the War on Terror.

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A Detour, a Description

Gaytanamo opens on a rooftop in a city. Classical music plays throughout the credits sequence, as do brief flashes of the sex scenes to come. Three men, two of them masked, all presumably government agents (as they are dressed in fatigues), spy on Danny Fox, a German tourist.[12] They then kidnap him, tie him up, and drive him to what looks like an abandoned warehouse, "Gaytanamo." The setting of the warehouse, or "Gaytanamo," is a rundown, nondescript former industrial site. The lighting inside is darkened throughout the film, and red light bulbs are frequently used. The warehouse interior sports numerous exposed beams and pipes. Inside, the main interrogator, known as "Violator," verbally and physically abuses Danny, berating, pinching, slapping, and punching him. After a brief conversation with an underling in a hallway, Violator decides to torture Danny by forcing him to watch gay porn. The interrogators are dressed all in black, while Danny is now naked, tied to a chair. The interrogators threaten to staple Danny's eyelids open if he does not watch voluntarily. The scene that he watches involves Owen Hawk and Dominik Rider (a white man and a Latino man, respectively). The sex is standard for gay porn, including oral sex (both fellatio and analingus), masturbation, and anal sex in a variety of positions. During this scene, the viewpoint shifts from being inside the sex scene (which Danny is watching on a television) to Danny masturbating. Violator then returns, asking Danny if he knows why he is there, all the while intimidating him with a gun, whipping him with a rope, and generally abusing him. When Danny continually does not answer, Violator returns to the hall with his comrade, who suggests that they use a hallucinogenic drug that will make Danny tell the truth. After they drug him, Danny hallucinates three different sex scenes: one starring Tim Rusty and Tony Diamond (a white man and a black man), a second featuring Matthias von Fistenberg and Demetrius (two white men), and a third starring Owen Hawk and Jason Tyler (two white men). All three of these scenes contain the same standard variations of sex acts as the first sex scene, with the occasional dildo thrown into the mix. In each sex scene, if the performers wear any clothing at all, said clothing consists of either a jockstrap and/or black boots. All of the sex scenes seem to take place in similar surroundings, rooms in a dimly lit warehouse. In the end, despite the surfacing of new evidence that Danny might be innocent, Violator has him thrown into "the hole . . . until we find new evidence to show he's guilty." In the hole, a dark industrial room with no carpet and no furniture,

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Danny encounters a naked Sebastian Cruz (a white man). They have sex, employing the standard sequence of sex acts as outlined above, after which the film ends.[13]

Porn Studies, the Visible, and Absence

The centrality of the visible in porn studies goes back to its modern origins. Linda Williams, one of the founders of contemporary porn studies, uses Michel Foucault's discussion of *scientia sexualis* in her book *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "Frenzy of the Visible."* According to Williams, Foucault describes *scientia sexualis* as "a hermeneutics of desire aimed at ever more detailed explorations of the scientific truth of sexuality . . . *scientia sexualis* . . . constructs modern sexualities according to a conjunction of power and knowledge that probes the measurable, confessable 'truths' of a sexuality that governs bodies and their pleasures."[14] Williams claims that "a desire to see and know more of the human body . . . underlies the very invention of cinema" and therefore of hard-core pornography.[15] She terms knowledge produced by hard-core porn a "frenzy of the visible." For Williams, one of the primary organizing principles of hard-core porn's frenzy of the visible is "maximum visibility," or the principle that visual porn, as a site of knowledge production of pleasure and the body, strives to show ever more of those bodies and pleasures. Visibility remains front and center, summarized by Williams's assertion that hard-core porn "obsessively seeks knowledge, through the voyeuristic record of confessional, involuntary paroxysm, of the 'thing' itself."[16] When so many scholars within porn studies see Linda Williams and *Hard Core* as foundational touchstones, it is no surprise that so much of the field is constructed around the visual and the visible.

Williams does, however, gesture toward the invisible. One of her main arguments is that porn may be "the key genre" for answering the question of how women's bodies have been constituted as a primary site of knowledge, especially concerning sexual difference.[17] In this, she notes something curious about the principle of maximum visibility, which is that "while it is possible, in a certain limited and reductive way, to 'represent' the physical pleasure of the male by showing erection and ejaculation, this maximum visibility proves elusive in the parallel confession of female sexual pleasure." She and those whom she cites describe the place of female pleasure as "secret" and "invisible." She even goes so far as to argue that this drive toward

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knowledge of female pleasure is a central organizing feature of hard-core porn, stating that "the history of hard-core film could thus be summarized in part as the history of the various strategies devised to overcome this problem of invisibility" and "the woman's ability to fake the orgasm that the man can never fake . . . seems to be at the root of all the genre's attempts to solicit what it can never be sure of: the out-of-control confession of pleasure, a hard-core 'frenzy of the visible.'"[18] Williams's bold and somewhat totalizing statements show that, for her, a question of invisibility is at the heart of the entire genre, at the heart of the "frenzy of the visible" itself.

The issue of visibility and invisibility is different, though, from the question of presence and absence. One popular textbook, Gillian Rose's *Visual Methodologies*, has this to say about the topic in its discussion of discourse analysis: "Finally, discourse analysis also involves reading for what is not seen or said. Absences can be as productive as explicit naming; *invisibility* can have just as powerful effects as visibility."[19] This elision belies the differences between invisibility and absence. Invisibility implies that something is present, only unseen. Absence, however, is when the thing is not there. When Linda Williams discusses female pleasure in hard-core porn, she is specifically discussing its invisibility, rather than its absence. Though the question of the presence of female pleasure is often ambiguous and ambivalent, she claims that pornography is looking for proof of something that is there, just unseen. The case of *Gaytanamo* is one of absence, not invisibility. It is not that Arab and Muslim men are somewhere in *Gaytanamo*, only unseen. It is that Arab and Muslim men are absent from a space in which they are present in the real world. How, then, to think about absence in porn, rather than invisibility?

For the question of absence, I turn to Avery Gordon's *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Gordon uses the concepts of haunting and ghosts to discuss socially violent absences. As she describes,

> Haunting was the language and the experiential modality by which I tried to reach an understanding of the meeting of force and meaning, because haunting is one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with (slavery, for instance) or when their oppressive nature is denied (as in free labor or national security). Haunting is not the same as being exploited, traumatized, or oppressed, although it usually involves these experiences or is produced by them. What's distinctive about haunting is that it is an animated

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state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known, sometimes very directly, sometimes more obliquely.[20]

Gordon argues that haunting is political in nature and serves to call our attention to oppressive power systems that might otherwise be obscured. Haunting occurs through the calling attention to a loss or an absence that is the result of these oppressive power systems. I argue that haunting is an important lens through which to analyze the absences of Arab and Muslim men in *Gaytanamo*, as haunting allows us to think about how absences are political and part of larger systems of social violence.

Earlier, I described the haunting as "ethnopornographic." How, then, does the "ethnopornographic" come into play? If ethnopornography were only about "the production of an eroticized facticity," one could argue that most, perhaps the overwhelming majority of, pornography produces such an eroticized facticity. Scholars and activists, including those within porn studies and those who are ardently antiporn, have argued that pornography attempts to produce "facts" and/or to "educate" people about bodies, sexualities, and desires. What makes it ethnopornography is that the eroticized facticity produced is "regarding people deemed different from" the person engaged in the study. My argument is that it is through *ethnopornographic* absence and haunting that *Gaytanamo* produces eroticized facticities about those very people and bodies who are absented from the film. Such ethnopornographic haunting not only produces knowledge about those absented but, through the absence, produces and reinforces knowledge about the people and bodies who are actually in the film.

The actual Guantanamo Bay detention camp exists as part of a larger system of US post-9/11 national security and the War on Terror. The oppressive nature of this system is often denied in official discourses, instead positing that Guantanamo is necessary to protect American citizens and interests worldwide from the possibility of terrorist attacks.[21] In reality, Guantanamo is a prison camp wherein exceptional discourses and practices of indefinite detention are the norm.[22] In a symbolic sense, Bruce Bennett argues, "The prison at the Guantanamo Bay naval base in Cuba has become one of the most symbolically dense sites of the 'war on terror.' Images of the prison have come to communicate not merely the technical processes by which the U.S. military detains selected prisoners of war, but the relationship of the U.S.A. with the rest of the world, a visual rendering of power—cultural, imperial, military, legal and physical."[23]

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In his article, Bennett argues for the power of and potential for critical political engagement with photojournalistic images that come out of Guantanamo, specifically of the Arab and Muslim prisoners held there. He argues that what those images both show and do not show is worthy of our engaged attention. By absenting Arab and Muslim men from *Gaytanamo*, the film denies the real-world oppressive nature of Guantanamo, allowing it to be eroticized as a space of gay sexual pleasure. The ethnopornographic haunting, though, comes through the fact that people watching *Gaytanamo* know that Guantanamo is populated by Arab and Muslim men, yet those men are not on-screen. Those men then constitute the ghosts of what I am calling ethnopornographic haunting. Gordon argues that "the ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing. It gives notice not only to itself but also to what it represents. What it represents is usually a loss, sometimes of life, sometimes of a path not taken."[24] The Arab and Muslim men who *should* be in the space, but are not, haunt the film, as their ethnopornographic absence is necessary for the continued fantasy of *Gaytanamo.* The ghosts of *Gaytanamo*, the Arab and Muslim men missing and absent in the film, represent the violence and oppression of Guantanamo and the broader War on Terror, as well as "knowledge" about the bodies and sexualities of Arab and Muslim men. In what follows, I will use queer of color critique, particularly that of Jasbir Puar and Sara Ahmed, to argue for an ethnopornographic haunting within and constituting *Gaytanamo*.

Fantasy, Orientation, and Disorientation

Fantasy plays a central role in hard-core pornography, gay, straight, or otherwise. Linda Williams claims, "In cinematic hard core we encounter a profoundly 'escapist' genre that distracts audiences from the deeper social or political causes of the disturbed relations between the sexes; and yet paradoxically, if it is to distract effectively, a popular genre must address some of the real experiences and needs of its audience."[25] Hard-core porn portrays a world of endless sexual energy, abundance, and excess. As an example, Williams notes that in some hard-core porn, sexual coercion is always portrayed as pleasurable, with the victim eventually finding pleasure in the coercion itself. Therefore, the fantasy of the impossibility of rape is enacted.[26] Susanna Paasonen also discusses the role of fantasy in porn, particularly in the domestic "pornotopias" of online amateur porn, including how the family home becomes constructed as a space of sexual freedom

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and abundance.[27] When it comes to gay porn, fantasy is also paramount in its constitution and consumption. Richard Dyer, in analyzing the gay porn film *Inch by Inch*, highlights the use of pastiche and fantasy in gay porn to facilitate erotic enjoyment. According to Dyer, the film creates a fantastical space, set in the real world, in which gay male sexuality is uncontrollable, unbridled, and endless.[28] Gay porn also serves to create a fantasy world in which gay sexuality is celebrated, unabashed, and visible, unlike the everyday reality of homophobia and heterosexism.[29] Gay porn often goes further and imagines all-male stereotypically masculine and heterosexual spaces, such as prisons, the military, sports teams, locker rooms, and/or dormitories as completely overrun with gay sex. Gay porn reimagines these spaces as removed from the world of heterosexuality, where men's "true" desires for each other can come to surface, into fruition.[30] Fantasy and the fantastical are central aspects in hard-core pornography that allow its representations to function as supposedly apart from the real world.

Gaytanamo not only presents a pornographic fantasy but specifically presents a racialized ethnopornographic fantasy, as the real-world Guantanamo is an extremely and violently racialized space. Scholars who study the representations of people of color in pornography have noted the centrality of fantasy to such representations. Both Mireille Miller-Young and Jennifer Nash, in their analyses of black women in pornography, discuss racialized ideas of black women's sexuality that are portrayed in pornography, including hypersexuality and aggressiveness. While Miller-Young focuses on how black porn actresses navigate these representations in the porn industry, Nash discusses the potential power of racial fantasies for black women's freedom, counter to standard black feminist narratives of fantasy as wound.[31] Darieck Scott and Kobena Mercer, on the other hand, have argued that, in gay male erotic and pornographic imagery, black men are stereotyped and reduced to an animalistic sexuality, often specifically focused on the trope of the exaggeratedly oversized black penis.[32] These stereotypes in gay porn serve to create a fantasy that orients viewers toward a status quo vision of black male sexuality. All four of these scholars refer to the long history of racist stereotypes of black men and women's sexualities in how such representations function in the context of pornography.

A few scholars have discussed fantasies and stereotypes about Arab men in gay porn, something that is directly relevant to discussions of *Gaytanamo*. Royce Mahawatte and Karim Tartoussieh have argued that the overwhelming majority of gay porn featuring Arab men has portrayed them in a particularly Orientalist fashion. Arab men are portrayed as animalistic, bestial,

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depraved, and sexually voracious, focused on their own pleasure above all else. These stereotypes are taken directly from Orientalist narratives of Arab male sexuality.[33] These stereotypes and narratives then work to shore up the idea of a "civilized" white manhood that is opposed, yet sexually attracted to, the sexuality of Arab men. Such films are an example of ethnopornography. These films produce an erotic "knowledge" of Arab men that may have little, if any, correspondence in the world outside the film. This "knowledge" then sticks to the bodies of Arab men and can have important potential real-world consequences, as all other Orientalist knowledge does. These analyses, though, still focus particularly on porn in which Arab men are present and visible. What, then, is the place of fantasy in the absence of Arab and Muslim men in *Gaytanamo*?[34]

If one takes as a given that gay porn regularly fantasizes about all-male hypermasculine spaces and the potential for gay sex within them, then one can see that that is clearly what is occurring in *Gaytanamo*. The space of Guantanamo is appropriated into the fantasy of the space of Gaytanamo, a secret War on Terror military detention facility in which gay sex and fantasy are commonplace, even expected, especially by the audience. The audience of *Gaytanamo* is primed to fantasize about the space as one overflowing with gay sex and sexuality. The audience and the film, then, are *oriented* toward this space of sexual fantasy. In fact, most of the sexual action of the film takes place in a fantasy within the fantasy. Most of the sex scenes are either on a screen in the film, as part of the "torture" of Danny Fox, or they are Fox's own hallucinations while drugged. The absence of Arab and Muslim men in *Gaytanamo* is therefore necessary to keep the ethnopornographic fantasy of Gaytanamo intact. To include Arab and Muslim men in the space of Gaytanamo would serve to *disorient* the fantasy by aligning it too closely with reality. Seeing Arab and Muslim men tortured within the fantasy of Gaytanamo would serve to disorient that fantasy, as the viewer would know that such torture happens in the real-world space of Guantanamo. Part of the fantasy of *Gaytanamo* is that it represents a self-contained, unreal space of gay sexual pleasure, albeit one that is loosely based on an actual physical space. This space allows for the production of knowledge and reality that is counter to that which is outside of the film, therefore participating in a project of ethnopornography. The inclusion of Arab and Muslim men might orient the film too much toward the well-known images of sexualized torture at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, or toward the indefinite detention of such men in Guantanamo, many of whom are still there.

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Ahmed additionally argues, taking from Frantz Fanon, that bodies of color may have particularly disorienting effects. She claims that "an effect of being 'out of place' is also to create disorientation in others: the body of color might disturb the picture—and do so simply as a result of being in spaces that are lived as white, spaces into which white bodies can sink." Ahmed also notes that "some bodies more than others have their involvement in the world called into crisis."[35] The film *Gaytanamo* is by no means an entirely white space that is disoriented by any bodies of color. There are white, black, and Latino men in the film in various sexual combinations. Notably, the film does not specify the races of the men in the film in the title or any of the promotional material, which is significant, as gay porn tends to classify films with casts of more than one race as "interracial" porn. The nonevent of a multiracial cast, a cast composed of men of a variety of racial backgrounds, in the film constructs a multicultural sexual space of gay porn. Puar, in discussing the work of Rey Chow, describes liberal multiculturalism as "the careful management of difference: of difference within sameness." She goes on to describe how logics of liberal multiculturalism dictate that certain people and bodies of color get folded into a nationalist imaginary, which ends up bolstering white supremacy through the conscription of those people and bodies as exceptional and as docile enough not to upset the racial status quo.[36] There are certain bodies of color, however, that could disorient such a vision within *Gaytanamo*. The ghosts of the Arab and Muslim men who are imprisoned in Guantanamo haunt this multicultural ethnopornographic fantasy. To include them would disrupt the fantasy by bringing the real-world violence of Guantanamo and the War on Terror into the film. The hypervisibility of Arab and Muslim Americans post-9/11 during the War on Terror makes their absence in the film even more conspicuous.[37] The only way to construct a potentially multicultural sexual space in Guantanamo is to absent the people who are actually imprisoned there, thereby taking the racialized violence out of the equation.[38] But they are never truly and completely gone. They still haunt the space, as the knowledge of their absence creates ghosts of them.

Gay Porn and Homonationalism

Terrorism and queer sexuality are tightly intertwined in this film, held in tension by the absence of specific racialized bodies, as they constitute each other. During the first interrogation scene, when Violator first encounters

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Danny Fox in the confines of Gaytanamo and speaks to him in Hebrew, the film provides the audience with subtitles.[10] Violator repeatedly calls Danny a "faggot," while at the same time saying that he is Igor Yugo, the leader of a terrorist group that Violator has been hunting for ten years. By referring to Danny as both a faggot and a terrorist in the first scene, he constructs Danny as both simultaneously. Jasbir Puar and Amit Rai argue that the image of the terrorist is always sexually deviant and the image of the faggot is generally lacking in patriotism.[39] However, despite being tightly intertwined, they are not necessarily viewed as one and the same throughout the entire film. One instance of the opposition of terrorism and queer sexuality in the film is during a conversation between Violator and another interrogator:

> VIOLATOR: He's not talking.
>
> OTHER INTERROGATOR: Igor's a jihadist; he will never give in to the normal forms of interrogation.
>
> VIOLATOR: You're right. We must resort to a more intense form of persuasion.
>
> OTHER INTERROGATOR: What do you have in mind?
>
> VIOLATOR: What does a jihadist hate more than anything?
>
> OTHER INTERROGATOR: Our free way of life!
>
> VIOLATOR: Besides that.
>
> OTHER INTERROGATOR: Women?
>
> VIOLATOR: Close. Homosexuals. Tie him up to a chair, staple his eyelids open, and expose him to graphic homosexual intercourse until he can no longer take it. We will break him sooner than you think.

In this scene, the idea of a "jihadist" and that of a homosexual are conceived of as being mutually exclusive, as completely incompatible. It is noteworthy that this is the only place in which anything remotely related to Islam appears in the film. When it does appear, it is attended by Orientalist stereotypes, that Muslims are inherently homophobic and misogynist.[40] During the next scene, Danny Fox is "tortured" by being made to watch gay porn. As he watches, however, he becomes erect and masturbates. The other interrogator even helps him by stimulating his nipples

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while he masturbates. At the end of the scene, his ejaculation comes along at the same time as the men he's watching. The sequence of masturbation and ejaculation is very important. As Linda Williams has noted, ejaculation, or the money shot, is one of the most significant features of hard-core pornography as it is the culmination of the sexual scene and the visual proof of masculine pleasure.[41] In *Gaytanamo*, this money shot is a moment when the claim that Danny Fox is a "terrorist" most falters. By using the "torture" to get off, he subverts its intended use. He takes the "torture" and transforms it into something pleasurable. This act and scene constructs the homosexual and the terrorist as mutually exclusive categories, in and through each other. If Danny Fox were actually a terrorist or "jihadist," the torture would have worked and he would have been disgusted and told them everything they wanted to know. The fact that it did not work, in a very specific, sexual manner, is evidence that not only is Danny Fox queer but he is also *not* a terrorist.

In a later scene, the interrogators drug Danny with "sulfuric transmuglobin," a fictional compound that is supposed to make one tell the truth after causing intense hallucinations. Danny's hallucinations consist of three different gay sex scenes. After these scenes, the audience meets the two interrogators again. This time, the second interrogator tells Violator that there is new evidence that Danny might be innocent. He holds up the evidence, saying that all they found in his bag was not a bomb but a long, black dildo. In the moment before he shows the evidence, the audience could be led to believe that the queer hallucinations themselves are evidence of innocence. This innocence, then, is constructed through queer sexuality. Also, the black dildo, indicating that Danny is in some way queer, is the physical evidence of his innocence, further constructing innocence through queerness. This evidence works only through an ethnopornographic rendering of the absent Arab and Muslim men as not only not queer but specifically as virulently homophobic, so much so that anything related to being gay, such as a large black dildo or a gay porn film, would be felt as torture. Afterward, Danny is thrown into "the hole" with another presumably innocent man, Sebastian Cruz, where they immediately have sex. Once again, queer sex and sexuality are proof of innocence of terrorism.

The innocence of the white queer man, and the innocence of queerness, can be achieved only through opposition to the figure of the terrorist and the absence of the particularly racialized presence of Arab and Muslim men. The figures of the Arab and Muslim and the terrorist are implicitly one and the same in the film. The term "jihadist" is a heavily racialized

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term in the US context, almost always meaning a terrorist primarily influenced by Islam. Additionally, Arabs and Muslims are conflated with each other throughout the mainstream media.[42] By putting the white queer man in the position where the Arab or Muslim men would be in the real Guantanamo Bay, the film constructs him as out of place. He is not supposed to be there, as is evidenced by his own sexuality and the lack of hard evidence against him. In the film's narrative, he functions as a homonationalist figure. Jasbir Puar coined the term "homonationalism," the fact that some or certain bodies signify homonormative nationalism."[43] Homonationalism invokes the rehabilitation of *some* lesbian, gay, and queer bodies and identities in the War on Terror through a nationalist opposition to racialized and foreign "Others" and "enemies." Puar claims as "a primary facet of homonationalism" "that of the whiteness of gay, homosexual, and queer bodies and the attendant presumed heterosexuality of colored bodies."[44] In particular, she is speaking to how queer and Arab bodies and identities are relegated to separate and distant spaces. This makes it appear to be impossible to be both queer and Arab at the same time. White American queers get folded into the multicultural nationalist narrative within homonationalism, as they become perceived as safe and docile for the aims of the US nation-state, as positioned against Arabs and Muslims. As mentioned earlier, this homonationalist multiculturalism plays out in *Gaytanamo*. By absenting Arab and Muslim men from the narrative, the white queer man can then be recuperated as *not* a terrorist, in opposition to those who are not present, yet haunt the film. The homonationalist multicultural narrative remains intact, though it does so only through the knowledge that the white queer man is not supposed to be there *because Arab and Muslim men are "supposed" to be there*. Their ghosts make his innocence possible, make his queerness recuperable. They continue to haunt the film right up until the end, as the punishment given to Danny Fox is the same as that given to Arab and Muslim men in Guantanamo. Even though there is hard evidence that he is innocent, his interrogators put him in "the hole . . . until we find new evidence to show he's guilty." Though his innocence is crafted in the narrative of the film and by hard evidence, he is still never truly "innocent." There is always the potential for new information to be found, new evidence to be uncovered by the interrogators and the government. Fox's innocence also does not affect the outcome of his capture and torture; he is still subjected to the same punishment. This is a cinematic representation of indefinite detention, a fact of life for many in

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Guantanamo. As Lisa Hajjar, among many others, has noted, there are still hundreds of Arab and Muslim men held in Guantanamo with no real idea of whether or not they will ever be tried in any sort of court of law, much less if they will ever be released, regardless of guilt or innocence.[45] Hajjar notes that the treatment of the detainees in Guantanamo falls outside of any accepted ideas of legality or justice, either domestic or international. Their punishment, despite their absence, haunts Danny Fox and reminds the viewer of the unjust nature of Guantanamo itself.

At the same time that this final scene depicts a very real treatment that many suffer in Guantanamo, it reinscribes the whiteness of *Gaytanamo*. Both Danny Fox and Sebastian Cruz are white, and at least one is held without cause or evidence. Importantly, this is the only sex scene in the film that takes place in the "reality" of the film. All of the other sex scenes, including those featuring men of color, take place on a TV screen as torture or within the drugged mind of Danny Fox. The only men in *Gaytanamo* who get to have sexual pleasure in the "real world" are two white men. This scene reorients the fantasy back to the safety of white queerness through two moves: the total absence of Arab and Muslim men, and the relegation of all other men of color to the realm of a fantasy within a fantasy. The reorientation toward whiteness occurs simultaneously with the enactment of real-world punishment on-screen. While viewers are reminded of such injustice, the potential political weight of that knowledge is blunted by the reorientation toward white queer fantasy.

Conclusion: Porn, Haunting, and Ethnopornographic Engagement

In *Ghostly Matters*, Avery Gordon names three characteristic features of haunting. She states,

> We have seen that the ghost imports a charged strangeness into the place or sphere it is haunting, thus unsettling the propriety and property lines that delimit a zone of activity or knowledge. I have also emphasized that the ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing. It gives notice not only to itself but also to what it represents. . . . We are in relation to it and it has designs on us such that we must reckon with it graciously, attempting to offer it a hospitable memory *out of a concern for justice*. Out of a concern for justice would be the only reason one would bother.[46]

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For Gordon, haunting and ghosts have a distinctly political quality. In particular, haunting has to do with social violences, "it always registers the harm inflicted or the loss sustained by a social violence done in the past or in the present."[47] The violence of the War on Terror, including indefinite detention at the Guantanamo Bay prison, is ongoing. It remains in the present, even as the War on Terror, national security, and global events take new shapes and forms. The ghosts of *Gaytanamo*, the Arab and Muslim men absent in the film yet present in Guantanamo, remind us of the ongoing nature of the War on Terror and of their indefinite detention without trial. They haunt the corridors and torture rooms and cells of *Gaytanamo* because *we know they should be there, though they are not*. No one can deny the reality of Guantanamo and the reality of the indefinite detention of the men imprisoned there, regardless of one's political position. The ghosts and the haunting point to the social violence of Guantanamo, even within the confines of a porn film. In Gordon's words, they "unsettle" the delimited "zone of activity" of the sexual fantasy. Such unsettling is congruent with Sara Ahmed's notion of "disorientation." To unsettle is to disorient, to make things strange.

But the ghosts, as Gordon claims, are not dead; they are very much alive. The Arab and Muslim men in Guantanamo are still alive, waiting for a potential justice that may or may not come. If reckoning with haunting, according to Gordon, is "out of a concern for justice," how are we then to reckon with haunting in a gay porn film about Guantanamo? I argue that the haunting and ghosts of *Gaytanamo* serve to unsettle sexual fantasies that would absent the racialized violence inherent in Guantanamo from the scene of the fantasy. The ghosts remind us that real people exist in a real place, the real place on which the porn is based. They nag at us subtly, yet surely. We know their presence and we know that our sexual arousal is facilitated through ignoring their existence and plight. This is not to say that anyone who watches *Gaytanamo* necessarily derives pleasure from the War on Terror; this is instead to say that we should remain on guard. We should remember that the ethnopornographic absenting of Arab and Muslim men from *Gaytanamo* only serves to bolster a broader agenda of multicultural homonationalism. *Gaytanamo* is an example of ethnopornography that renders knowledge and "facts" about the erotic lives of the absent Arab and Muslim men, as well as the white main characters. Such ethnopornographic knowledge production has ramifications, as it can influence and change how people think about racial and sexual "Others," potentially for better or for worse.

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What, then, is the place of haunting and ghosts in porn studies more broadly? I believe that attention to absence, attention to what should be in a film but is not, can help us to think through the political consequences and meanings of contemporary hard-core pornography. As many porn scholars have argued over time, pornography is a reflection of the broader culture, just like any media form or genre. As Gayle Rubin notes in her critique of antipornography feminism "Misguided, Dangerous, and Wrong," the antiporn feminist focus on porn alone, apart from other media, was and is misguided. She notes that "by 1978 feminists had already spent a decade identifying and criticizing the ideologies that justified male supremacy and that permeated virtually all of Western literature, high art, popular media, religion, and education."[48] She argues that to single porn out as being particularly misogynist, while the rest of cultural production could be argued as equally misogynist, is to miss the point about transforming broader structures of power and oppression. We can take Rubin's argument to also mean that pornography, just like every single other media genre and form of cultural production, is a reflection of the broader culture and society that creates it.

One of the major interventions of porn studies throughout its existence as a field is that pornography is a legitimate subject of scholarship and should be treated like other media genres in terms of the rigor and critical inquiry applied to it. This was one of the key interventions of Linda Williams in *Hard Core* and continues to animate the field. If porn is another genre of media and should be treated as such, porn studies scholars must also engage with the politics woven into pornography. Historically, this attention to the political has been primarily concerned with the politics of censorship and antipornography forces, such as antipornography feminists, religious fundamentalists, and right-wing politicians. More recently, scholars of pornography have moved into more complex issues of the political. For example, Mireille Miller-Young and Jennifer Nash's books on black women in pornography, though different in methodology, purpose, and conclusion, are both manifestations of a concerted engagement with the complex politics of porn. The contributors to the anthology *Porn Archives* write about porn and political topics as diverse as race, history, technological development, and war. This is not to say that these authors are the only scholars paying heed to the varied and complicated political issues of pornography, but they are simply examples in a broader constellation of scholarship.

Haunting, for Gordon, requires an attention to questions of justice, even if that sense of justice seems an impossibility. The absences, the ghosts, the haunting makes us aware of social violences, calls our attention

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to them. The sense of the impossible justice of theories of haunting are what is at stake in these readings of absence in porn. It is not close reading that will get at the meaning of what this text offers us but the context, the ultimate lack of freedom and justice and the violences done to Arab and Muslim men through indefinite detention, among other state practices. *Gaytanamo* itself does not offer us any solutions. The final scene is one of foreclosure of the possibility of freedom. The nonresolution of the film, though, speaks to the systemic oppression that none of us are outside of. The torture and injustice of spaces such as Guantanamo are ongoing, seemingly without end. The ghosts of *Gaytanamo* call our attention to such political and ethical concerns as they haunt the film.

One of the underdeveloped areas of porn studies is absence. I suggest that an attention to absence in and around pornography can reveal much about the construction and constitution of pornography as a politically engaged media form, as *ethnopornography*. What *isn't* there is often just as important as what *is*. Absences sometimes work to hide important issues while they can also work to expose others. Ethnopornographic absences work through negation to produce knowledge about those not present, those without a voice, which always produces more knowledge about those that are on-screen. I find that the framework of ethnopornographic haunting and ghosts serves as a politically engaged model for how to think about absence within pornography. If porn studies scholars and scholarship are to remain politically engaged, an attention to absence through ethnopornographic haunting will be crucial to maintaining "a concern for justice."

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Notes

1 *"Gaytanamo," Dark Alley* DVD. 2010. http://darkalleydvd.com/product.php?productid=16200.

2 *"Gaytanamo."*

3 "The Controversy over Gaytanamo Gay Torture Sex," *GayPornucopia!*, May 4, 2007, https://web.archive.org/web/20070921131253/ http://www.gaypornucopia.com/2007/05/04/the-controversy-over-gaytanamo/

4 Vincent Lambert, "New Release: Gaytanamo," April 23, 2007, http://vincentlambert.blogspot.com/2007/04/new-release-gaytanamo.html

5 "New Lows in Bad Taste," *Washington Blade*, January 5, 2007.

6 NarcissusAU, "Good Taste? . . ." *Synthetic Ego*, March 24, 2007, http://syntheticego.blogspot.com/2007/03/good-taste.html

7 "Gaytanamo Draws Fire," *Queerty*, April 4, 2007, https://web.archive.org/web/20070429004946/http://www.queerty.com/queer//gaytanamo-draws-fire-20070404.php

8 Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 48–49.

9 Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imaginary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xvi.

10 Introduction, this volume.

11 John Champagne, "'Stop Reading Films!': Film Studies, Close Analysis, and Gay Pornography," *Cinema Journal* 36, no. 4 (1997): 76–97.

12 Throughout this chapter, I refer to the actors and characters in *Gaytanamo* by the actors' stage names, as the characters do not have their own individual names within the film.

13 In the original version of *Gaytanamo*, released in 2007, all sex scenes employ condoms. Another version was released in 2009, *Gaytanamo Raw*, which was shot with bareback, condomless sex.

14 Williams, *Hard Core*, 34.

15 Williams, *Hard Core*, 36.

16 Williams, *Hard Core*, 49.

17 Williams, *Hard Core*, 4.

18 Williams, *Hard Core*, 49–50.

19 Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2012), 219.

20 Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, xvi.

21 Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (New York: Verso, 2004), 50–51.

22 Lisa Hajjar, *Torture: A Sociology of Violence and Human Rights* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 5–6.

23 Bruce Bennett, "X-Ray Visions: Photography, Propaganda and Guantanamo Bay," in *Controversial Images: Media Representations on the Edge*, ed. Feona Attwood, et al. (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 67.

24 Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 63–64.

25 Williams, *Hard Core*, 154–55.

26 Williams, *Hard Core*, 164. Williams's analysis does not take into account extreme porn in which the victims are not portrayed as enjoying rape and/or sexual coercion, as this genre came to prominence only in the years after *Hard Core* was published. For examples of analysis of films from this genre, see "Rough Sex" by Eugenie Brinkema in *Porn Archives*, ed. Tim Dean, Steven Ruszczychy, and David Squires (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 262–83; and "'Choke on It, Bitch!': Porn Studies, Extreme Gonzo and the Mainstreaming of Hardcore," by

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Stephen Maddison in *Mainstreaming Sex: The Sexualization of Western Culture*, ed. Feona Attwood (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 37–54.

27 Susanna Paasonen, *Carnal Resonance: Affect and Online Pornography* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 107–108.

28 Richard Dyer, "Idol Thoughts: Orgasm and Self-Reflexivity in Gay Pornography," in *More Dirty Looks: Gender, Pornography and Power*, ed. Pamela Church Gibson (London: British Film Institute, 2004), 103–104.

29 Michael Bronski, *Culture Clash: The Making of Gay Sensibility* (Boston: South End Press, 1984), 161–62.

30 John Mercer, "In the Slammer: The Myth of the Prison in American Gay Pornographic Video," *Journal of Homosexuality* 47, no. 3/4 (2004): 151–66.

31 Mireille Miller-Young, *A Taste for Brown Sugar: Black Women in Pornography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 177–78; Jennifer C. Nash, *The Black Body in Ecstasy: Reading Race, Reading Pornography*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 150–51.

32 Darieck Scott, "Big Black Beauty: Drawing and Naming the Black Male Figure in Superhero and Gay Porn Comic" in *Porn Archives*, ed. Tim Dean, Steven Ruszczycky, and David Squires (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 183–212; Kobena Mercer, "Looking for Trouble," in *The Gay and Lesbian Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (New York: Routledge, 1993), 350–59.

33 Royce Mahawatte, "Loving the Other: Arab-Male Fetish Pornography and the Dark Continent of Masculinity," in *More Dirty Looks: Gender, Pornography and Power*, ed. Pamela Church Gibson (London: British Film Institute, 2004), 127–136; Karim Tartoussieh, "Muslim Digital Diasporas and the Gay Pornographic Cyber Imaginary," in *Between the Middle East and the Americas*, ed. Ella Shohat and Evelyn Alsultany (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 214–30.

34 I argue that an explanation can be found in Sara Ahmed's ideas of orientation and disorientation in her book *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Ahmed argues that, in connecting disorientation with queerness, "disorientation could be described here as the 'becoming oblique' of the world" (162). She also argues that disorientation is "an effect of being 'out of place'" (160). This model of disorientation has direct bearing on absence in *Gaytanamo*.

35 Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 159–60.

36 Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 25–27.

37 Nadine Naber, "Introduction: Arab Americans and U.S. Racial Formations," in *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects,* ed. Amaney Jamal and Nadine Naber (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 1–45.

38 Though this chapter makes a limited foray into the relationship between multiculturalism and porn, the question of multiculturalism or the multicultural, in any

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of its formulations, for pornography has not been taken up within porn studies. Several articles and books discuss racialized pornography of many variations, but an engagement with concepts of multiculturalism has not occurred.

39 Jasbir Puar and Amit Rai, “Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots,” *Social Text* 72, vol. 20 (2002): 118–48.

40 Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 19–20.

41 Williams, *Hard Core,* 117.

42 Evelyn Alsultany, Arabs and Muslims in the Media: Race and Representation after 9/11 (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 9–10.

43 Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 10.

44 Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 38–39, 44.

45 Hajjar, *Torture*, 5–6.

46 Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 63–64.

47 Gordon, Ghostly Matters, xvi.

48 Gayle Rubin, “Misguided, Dangerous, and Wrong: An Analysis of Anti-Pornography Politics,” in *Bad Girls and Dirty Pictures: The Challenge to Reclaim Feminism, ed. Alison Assiter and Avedon Carol* (London: Pluto Press, 1993), 19.

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Under White Men's Eyes

Racialized Eroticism, Ethnographic Encounters, and the Maintenance of the Colonial Order

> My mother used to say that the black woman is the white man's mule and the white woman is his dog. Now, she said that to say this: we do the heavy work and get beat whether we do it well or not. But the white woman is closer to the master and he pats them on the head and lets them sleep in the house, but he ain' gon' treat neither one like he was dealing with a person.
> —Interview with Nancy White

1 A white American man says to me, "You know, they [African men] only want to fuck you because they hate you." I think but do not say, "No. They want to fuck me because they hate you."[1]

2 My boyfriend, a black American man, asks me to talk to him during our intimate moments about the racial implications of our union, about our bodies. He wants to generate and amplify the idea that my body should not belong to him, that in giving in to him, in giving myself to him, I am defying the social order. He says that he craves these ideas; they make him feel powerful and strong.

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3 Discussing erotic subjectivity in my graduate seminar, the class is split on the idea of ethics. "Fucking for facts," one student calls it. "It's ethical only if you marry the person," says another. "But somebody gave you a grant, you're obligated to be professional." "There's always a power imbalance." "Love is love, it doesn't matter where you are." "It depends if you are a man or a woman." "You can't count out the idea of race." "How do you know if they want you for you?"
4 I organize a panel addressing erotic subjectivity at a professional conference. My home discipline, ethnomusicology, has historically been reluctant to engage fully with the subject of erotic subjectivity. On this panel, six female ethnomusicologists speak frankly about the ways that race and sexuality have structured their ethnographic work, writing, and institutional experiences. It was a gratifying intellectual experience for me that was somewhat dampened by a few male colleagues whose thoughts demonstrate why these conversations are difficult to have in the first place. Two white male colleagues say that they feel marginalized by our conversation because they cannot immediately relate to those experiences, and suggest that the topic is unnecessary. One man criticizes my personal story for the details I include, and those that I don't; he suggests that I was both promiscuous and deceptive.

Later, I reflect upon each of these moments and the histories they represent: The white man believed that hate fuels the intimacy and arousal between African men and white women. That the history of colonialism has been so thoroughly internalized that there is no room left for emotional, physical, or spiritual union apart from the web of violence that comprises the discourse of the black sexualized body.

My black American boyfriend was strengthened in emotional and sexual power by the idea of our difference, a difference structured by the histories that have regulated my body and his. By breaking through those histories, or confronting them through direct engagement, a kind of balance is restored for him and a corrective narrative emerges in which he has agency to name and define.

The students struggle with institutional legitimacy, the discourse of power imbalance that they have inherited from anthropology classes and fieldwork ethics. A part of them want direct answers about what they should do, what they can write about, and what people will think. They recognize that there are complicated answers to complicated questions, and they know that they too will be theorizing these issues as they process them

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through their ethnographic encounters. They point to the constraints both professional and personal of intimate encounter, and how to situate those experiences within our work. They rightly point out that it matters, in fact is crucial, how one's gender, sexuality, and race intersect in these conversations. It matters, indeed, not only how we see ourselves but also how the world—comprised of located culturally intelligible lenses—interprets our bodies.

Thinking about negative or critical responses to a professional presentation is useful insofar as it provides an opportunity to examine the context into which we are speaking. Some forms of critique are valuable, obviously, and others reveal more about the critic and the discipline than anything else. But taken beyond the context of an isolated criticism, we can see that particularly when these criticisms rely upon tactics of shaming or accusation, they represent a history of determining whose experiences are given priority and value within the field. I considered our panel successful not only because of the conversations that were had during the discussion but also because many people came to me throughout the week to share similar experiences and thoughts on our topic. However, the response from those colleagues, and my initial reaction to them, showed me how one becomes trampled by voices that do not edit themselves, who feel entitled to the priority of their experience and knowledge, and who will call upon gendered forms of criticism to shame and silence dissent.

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Taken alone, each one of these moments and my reflection upon them represents a historical conflict, institutional parameters both of educational possibilities and of intellectual freedom, and the imagination of bodies and of intimacy. However, they represent somewhat myopic perspectives of the spectrum of arousal and desire that occurs between people. They offer no insight into the power exchange of sexual encounter, or the histories that individuals bring into their sexual lives. And they offer no resolution to the questions of individual subjectivity within these narratives. Within these moments, people are reduced, *products of these histories*, rather than agents within them. We become comprised entirely of discourse—figurines acting out historical scenes of violence. And we are confined in the ways that we can speak back to this discourse. In order to make these moments productive, they need to be set in dialogue with each other.

These configurations lead to some specific questions about the connections between the racialized sexualized subject, intimate encounter, and ethnography. In particular, for me, questions arise about the connections between ethnomusicology, ethnography, and ethnopornography. For in-

stance, what methodological overlap can be found in the history of ethnomusicology as a discipline and the circulating imagination of the encountered Other? What disciplinary mechanisms enable the continued neglect of these histories and the erasure of counternarratives? As I will discuss later, there is disciplinary anxiety about the erotic when it is manifested in intimacy or desire. This anxiety runs counter to the methodological imperative of the ethnographic encounter, such that the disjuncture reproduces specific power hierarchies that have developed alongside and within ethnomusicological thought and method. These reproduced power hierarchies have the effect of silencing dissent, amplifying dismissive voices, and generating ethnographic methodologies that embolden those who benefit from such imbalance.

In analytical terms, how can we best situate the overlapping categories of body, self, and the context through which those realities become manifest? When my black American boyfriend focuses in on racial difference as a means to arousal he is choosing to activate the historical narratives that have defined our bodies, and in doing so reimagines his position of power vis-à-vis those narratives. In order to situate this example, it is crucial not to generalize and give the impression that all black men fantasize along these terms. Such a generalization is both violent and reductive, and serves no purpose here. While I think that performing the theater of dominance and subjugation through those terms might serve as a relief, for him, even temporarily, from a state of aggression that characterizes daily life in a hostile racial environment, it does not mean that that performance is neutral or meaningless. I'm going to avoid an individualized psychological portrait of this man because I think the specifics of his needs and situation are not necessarily instructive in elucidating the psychosexual dynamics that drive such a performance. I think, too, that they are not unique, but rather representative of particular types of sexual encounters. I hope that in using such an example, the ways that the racialized body is eroticized will become more evident, as will the circumstances through which the body shapes our experience of subjective consciousness. I'd also like to point out that in this relationship, although not in every relationship, these moments did not define the union; they were isolated performances. I think that characterizing them as theatrical is useful because they existed apart from both daily experience and moments of intimacy that felt more closely tied to other areas of psychosexual connection.

It can be challenging to have these conversations for a number of reasons, primarily for me because the way that my body is understood as both racialized and sexualized is not only always shifting over time and context

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but also changes from encounter to encounter. Focusing in specifically on my ethnographic experiences in West Africa from 2008 to 2017 will locate the frame of my analysis quite a bit, but there are myriad factors that simply cannot all be attended to here. What is represented here is really my perception of the context through which race and sexuality become meaningful aspects of ethnographic research rather than a precise account of all the possibilities of what other people thought and felt. People clearly do not necessarily articulate around race in every encounter, though it is still an important quality of the experience.

In this chapter I explore the erotic as a framework of analysis through an account of a few experiences conducting field research on the northwestern border of Ghana and Burkina Faso. I interrogate how the explorations of the erotic body, the lived realities of desiring and being desired, and the practices that surround the gendered, racialized, sexualized subject shed light on anthropological knowledge. Although race and sexuality are a meaningful aspect of all ethnography, I prioritize a discussion of encounter between white women and black men in Africa because I am proceeding from my own subjective consciousness and experience. Additionally, generalizations about race and gender offer much less analytical fruit than located and specific case studies, though there are certainly broader implications to be drawn from such examples. Furthermore, the ethnopornographic gaze is already crafted through white heterosexual patriarchal machinery, making corrective accounts more necessary. Finally, the social construction of black men and white women is animated uniquely by such a gaze, and is a source of anxiety in very particular ways.

I begin with an examination of erotic subjectivity as it has been discussed in anthropology, pointing in particular to areas in which I plan to intervene. I then offer thoughts on two types of ethnographic encounter: one of violence/subjugation and one of desire/love. I choose these broad categories of analysis because I think that the borders between viewing and surveillance, desiring and objectifying, and being desired and being observed, are barbed and irregular, particularly as we negotiate the cultural expectations inherent in ethnographic work. In fact, the relationship between these encounters should highlight the proximity between what is pleasing and empowering, and what is prohibitive and violent. I draw from Audre Lorde's theories of the relationship between the pornographic and the erotic in order to help situate located experiences along these lines.[2] I engage her thinking in conversation with that which approaches theories of how an ethnopornographic gaze is generated and reproduced. Ulti-

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mately, I hope to complicate worn notions of difference, while examining how colonial ideas of both black men and white women's bodies remain intact and operative. The reproduction of these ideologies can be potentially subverted through a critique that provides a nuanced analysis of power, race, and sexual encounter. I conclude with a reflection that demonstrates how these scenes reveal the ethnopornographic gaze as a multidirectional entanglement. As we seek to navigate ethnographic terrain, both in research and in writing, we are bound up in colonial histories, in disciplinary expectations, in institutional regulation, and in interpersonal complexity.

Erotic Subjectivity and Gendered Ethnography

As an interpretive frame, erotic subjectivity can be understood as an epistemological position through which the political dimensions of sensuality are made real. Previous anthropological accounts of erotic subjectivity have fruitfully explored intimate encounter as a meaningful aspect of ethnography and as a subject position.[3] These works have productively demonstrated that sexual encounter is a way of knowing;[4] it is a social relationship that is given meaning through culturally grounded interpretive parameters, and is dependent upon an exchange of power, and is therefore always political.

We are directed toward a relationally constructed understanding of subjectivity as we traverse the landscape of desiring and being desired, as well as the culturally specific terms through which desire is produced. Field research becomes a process not only of getting to know another but also of relearning ourselves. The ways in which we experience ourselves as gendered, sexualized subjects must be reexperienced, reexplored, and reconstructed as we seek to connect with others and to learn how they live within their bodies. Negotiating these parameters is always a relational process. Other scholars have productively shown how conflict as well as passion and everyday choices in relationships can have important implications for anthropological knowledge.[5] Thus the choices that are made when revealing shared moments between people are not arbitrary; they point us to other ways of knowing.

Though previous writers have challenged the ethical problems of intimate encounter in the field, they proceed from an assumption of the inherent power imbalance between the researcher and her "subjects." These assumptions do not allow for an adequate examination of the multidirectional power flows and mediations that occur in practice. "All relationships are

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agreements about distribution of power, agreements negotiated in varying degrees of intimacy."[6] The complexity of power distribution is articulated through these struggles. It is rare that one person "has" power, while power is exercised upon another. More often it is balanced by myriad factors, some of which are interpersonal, others of which are based upon social categories. In addition to these problems, the ethnographer's body must be understood as a marked space, and thus also be open to critical interrogation.

I contribute a perspective that represents the historical construction of African bodies but also interrogates the ethnographer's body within this discourse. I recognize how the black male body is both fetishized and pathologized while contributing an analysis of the construction and production of whiteness. In this context, whiteness perpetuates colonial ideology through continuous revalidation and legitimization. This occurs by a culturally specific prioritization of the inherent superiority and aesthetic value of whiteness as sexual power and beauty. This must be understood as a gendered experience, revealing the construction of the white female body as linked to the colonial endeavor.[7] It is clear, here, how the concept of ethnopornography generates the operative gaze around both black men and white women; both categories are inscribed through the circulations of imagery/ideology produced by systematized erotic racial imaginations.

As a white woman my body is subject to scrutiny in particular ways that both enable and impede field research. In addition to the experience of sexual objectification in the field, practices of intimacy remain taboo. Though female Africanists rarely discuss practices of desire, white male Africanists have discussed sexual encounters in field research as a means to verify their masculinity among male community members,[8] or quite commonly make no note of it at all, thus reinforcing the priority of their epistemic positions. White women's sexuality remains under greater scrutiny from the academic community and legitimized forums for knowledge production. This points to a continuing ideology of "otherness" regarding black men's sexualized bodies, which have been pathologized, and white women's bodies as the exclusive property of white men. What this configuration demonstrates is that while ethnopornographic accounts are generally understood to be produced and consumed in a unidirectional fashion by a group of people engaged in particular historical and cultural positions, they are actually produced and experienced in multidirectional and overlapping ways. This is significant because it acknowledges the more complicated power dynamics generated through ethnographic engagements that move us away from simplistic outsider/insider relations or flat-

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tened conceptions of power imbalance. In fact, a more complete analysis of the circulations of ethnopornographic narratives, images, and imaginations would incorporate an intersectional framework coupled with historical and cultural specificity.

From a disciplinary perspective, though much work has been done on erotic subjectivity both in terms of pleasure and violence,[9] I think there is still much to be done in terms of moving from interpersonal encounter to theoretical models of understanding these encounters as epistemically relevant to anthropological knowledge production. If we continue to receive these stories as personal accounts exclusively, we miss an opportunity to glean crucial points of knowledge about how human beings relate to each other and why they relate in those ways. My personal experience tells me that though the topic of erotic subjectivity is no longer taboo, it is quite possible to experience professional and personal retribution for disclosing these accounts. If we don't create space for these conversations either by (1) assuming that these relationships don't happen, or (2) acknowledging that they do happen but have nothing to do with what we know and how we learn it, then we immediately foreclose the possibility of greater insight. As a potentially corrective account, let us turn to two categories that demonstrate the complexities of race, sexuality, and ethnographic work.

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Encounter: Violence/Subjugation

An important aspect to thinking through what constitutes violence/subjugation as distinct from that which is intimate/erotic has been the framework of the pornographic. Audre Lorde distinguishes between the two, writing, "The erotic has often been misnamed by men and used against women. It has been made into the confused, the trivial, the psychotic, the plasticized sensation. For this reason, we have often turned away from the exploration and consideration of the erotic as a source of power and information, confusing it with its opposite, the pornographic. But pornography is a direct denial of the power of the erotic, for it represents the suppression of true feeling. Pornography represents sensation without feeling."[10] She continues, "The erotic is a measure between the beginnings of our sense of self and the chaos of our strongest feelings."[11] Proceeding from her configuration of the erotic as a source of power that requires emotional, spiritual, and intellectual as well as physical connection, the pornographic becomes a harbor of that which is devoid of those connections—that

which is objectifying and dehumanizing, that which can be consumed, that which emphasizes observation or surveillance over engaged and reciprocal viewing. It is crucial at this point to note that this configuration of the pornographic as apposite to the erotic is not absolute or universal. I use the dichotomy in order to both set up the dual encounters of violence and desire, and to theorize the possibilities for agency within ethnopornographic circulation.

This construction of the pornographic helps structure what I consider to be forms of ethnographic violence. Grappling with observation and surveillance, expectations of exchange, objectification, and physical and emotional fear are part of my ethnographic experiences. My body is subject to scrutiny during field research in particular ways that are determined by local discourses on race and sexuality. I work in a rural area on the northwestern border of Ghana and Burkina Faso, though these experiences include traveling and working in major cities in both countries as well. In this context, whiteness is considered a marker of high status and is aesthetically valued. My whiteness also increases my visibility, making me vulnerable to interrogation and regulation. Though people are subjected to various forms of violence during ethnographic work, there are four broad categories to which I want to draw attention:

1. Expectation of exchange
2. Institutional implications of revealing encounter
3. Physical violence
4. Surveillance

It is difficult for me to assess/describe these four categories because I continue to be regulated by a fear of naming and calling attention to these practices, particularly when my work is ongoing. This fear is produced partially by an anthropological discourse that suggests that when we encounter violence we have failed to adequately recognize the cultural cues, contexts, or circumstances that lead to those experiences. And that sense of failure has primarily to do with a gendered and racialized normativity in research accounts. Because white male bodies are governed differently (I'm going to leave aside issues of sexuality for the moment), these categories of violence affect them differently. Certainly men experience violence, and the ways that they are constrained from writing/speaking about that are real and meaningful, but they are also not subjected to the same systemic violence as women and people of color. Once you have to articulate difference, being

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made to feel violated, unsafe, or out of control as part of your research, you are making yourself vulnerable to the scrutiny of "white men's eyes." And that gaze is chilling because you didn't give consent to be watched.

Rather than articulate in detail many experiences that illustrate each of these categories, I am going to offer one that I hope will demonstrate the subtle ways that they become part of field research. This anecdote is drawn from a research trip in the borderland village of Ghana and Burkina Faso where I conduct much of my work:

> I was sitting outside at a drinking spot when he arrived.[12] My friend, Peter (a black Ghanaian), and I had already been there for a while by that time.[13] Though I had tried to avoid being near him, I felt that getting up and leaving would be more inappropriate, and so I decided to stay and behave casually, greeting him and his companions. After some time, he got up, came over, and began stroking my hair, which was pulled back into a ponytail. He started saying, "My wife, my wife," and then began touching my face, even leaning down to kiss my cheek. I recoiled, tried moving my face from his hands, and asked him to stop. He didn't react but went back to his conversation with his friends. I was seething, embarrassed, and angry. Touching a woman's hair or her face in public is unthinkable, especially if she is with another man. It presumes an enormous amount of intimacy. An intimacy that not only did we not share but that I would never want articulated in the way that he was doing it. The public display was intended more to posture towards his friends and Peter than for me, I thought. After he left, I asked Peter directly how he could sit quietly when I was visibly uncomfortable, even to the point of crying out for him to stop. I felt so violated; realizing that I had hoped my friend would protect me made me feel vulnerable and weak. After all these years I still needed a man to intervene on my behalf, to make me safe. It was a gesture of ownership to which I did not agree, that had nothing to do with how I knew him but only with the ways that he wanted other people to see him. Being able to hurt me, to insult me, and degrade me in public made him feel important, and there was no recourse available to me, no option but to say nothing. Who would I tell? What would the complaint be? The truth is that I let this person into my life not seeing clearly who he was or what I was agreeing to by being his friend. And I'll pay for that mistake as long as I remain unmarried—as long as I don't belong to another man. Peter, my friend, calmly explained that he had merely been seeking a

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> reaction from him; had he offered it to him, it would have provoked an extended dispute. By not reacting at all, Peter had sidestepped the conflict. Though I later saw his reaction as thoughtful and reasonable, I was still left with a sense of sadness and shame. Sadness for the loss of what once was an important friendship, sadness that he felt compelled to treat me as property, sadness that I felt he was more concerned with public perception than with anything else.

When I think about this, I cringe; I hate it. But it is not without analytical merit. There are questions that we would never ask, and if we did the responses to them would tell us nothing. But lived experience will reveal people's behavior and thought processes. The interaction here between this man and Peter is particularly revealing of how men engage and respond to each other, and what that says about local ideas of masculinity and status. My emotional response was countered by one that was more firmly grounded in a local model of conflict resolution between men. Just as cultural norms are important, deviation from them is informative; this man's behavior was well outside an appropriate cultural standard, but that tells me something about how men and women address each other and behave toward each other in public and why that is meaningful. It is a performance, even more so because the intention was to shock; it is a heightened example of how intimacy does or does not get performed in public in this community.

Encounter: Desire/Love

Is there a space to discuss intimacy in terms that provide insight into how white women and black men negotiate the historical constructions of their bodies? Can there be intimacy in these terms that circumvents these histories, that is comprised entirely of the subjectivity of two people? Probably not. What happens first in the mind of most readers when they hear a white woman tell a story of desire or love toward a black man during her research? What assumptions are made that inform the way the reader will process and understand that story? I believe that in the minds of most readers there is an assumption that racial difference has drawn you together and is a priority in your relationship, or that you are unaware of the implications of your racial difference and its history, and therefore are incapable of attaining a union on any kind of equal footing. The reader commits the same act of violence that subjects your body to scrutiny and his to pathology.

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I opened this chapter with a quote from Nancy White, in which she elucidates the ways that both black and white women are regulated by white patriarchal dominance.[14] Patricia Hill Collins considers this quote at length, amid a discussion of controlling images.[15] She writes that even when negative images are replaced by positive ones (such as those of white women as desirable, beautiful, or valuable), they are not less damaging, nor will reliance upon them undo the system of domination and control that undergirds them.[16] In other words, there is no way to utilize the type of objectifying and dehumanizing images that are circulated through the ethnopornographic imagination in order to avert that gaze. When white women speak about desire and ethnographic encounter, the controlling images of white women and black men that were generated through the colonial order snap sharply into focus: what is happening is taboo, both of these bodies do not belong to their inhabitants, and arousal can be fueled only by either hatred or the desire to dominate white men's property. And the controlling image for white women is that desire is generated by a need to be transgressive. And those images and their circulation prevent the myriad possibilities of human connection that happen during ethnographic work from being fully discussed. In effect, these images and their attendant ideologies reinstate a colonial mindset—and neither black men nor white women can move away from that predetermined mold that assigns motivation and prevents subjective agency.

Audre Lorde suggests that the erotic requires an engagement with "our sense of self." Though she was referring to love between women, I think that we can equally apply her construction to desire and intimacy between men and women. In the context of ethnographic work, the terrain of desire is peppered with land mines.[17] And in the context of my work in West Africa, those land mines take many forms, but race is often primary because of the heightened visibility of difference and the particular history that it represents. So, as we seek to encounter another person fully, we may not be prioritizing their racial difference, but we are likely to step on a race mine because other people will call attention to and notice that difference. Essentially, race might not be the determining factor in the desire, but it exists whether or not we choose to acknowledge it.

But none of that prevents intimacy in its truest terms. In my personal experience, both love and desire are generative of many forms of intimacy, only some of which are sexual. In some cases, I have experienced a shared and heightened closeness with someone because people on the outside of the union are invested in seeing you a certain way that seems so differ-

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ent from your experience of each other. The desire backs up to violence, though, because it is easy to recognize that social expectation and interaction punctuates the interpersonal in ways that cannot be avoided. And in some ways, both people are placed under the ethnopornographic gaze as people assign desires and motivations to you. And then as a pair you are subject to the consistent mechanisms of regulation and surveillance. I think that the prominence of the violent encounters makes crossing the landscape of desire more difficult, because there is such a burden of institutional and disciplinary convention and regulation that it prevents people from "outing" these relationships or entering into them fully.[18]

Reflection

Both "encounters" offer portraits of possible ethnographic experiences. Taken together they demonstrate how interpersonal relationships are structured by context and informed by located understandings of race and sexuality. This chapter represents a taxonomy of limits: the ways that our bodies generate limitations on people's engagements and responses to us, and how we are limited/restricted by those responses and engagements. We exist within a context through which violence and desire take place, and sometimes within that context we learn interesting things that become difficult to report and effectively analyze because of institutional parameters. Those institutional parameters regulate men and women differently, and when women make claims that challenge those parameters and seek to clarify their experiences, they can be easily silenced by the same voices that uphold the institutional restrictions. Thus, the discipline is governed by invisible rules that come to bear when we try to talk about it. These systemic limitations uphold the white male normativity of the gaze that is being challenged. Ignoring erotic subjectivity is methodologically cynical because it suggests that there are ways that knowledge can be revealed and not revealed, and the idea that some means to knowledge are more legitimate than others ultimately sustains the limitations that are placed on people.

The idea of ethnopornography animates ethnographic encounters and the limitations that are placed on discussing those encounters. Observation has been so critical to anthropology—looking at, watching, scrutinizing, analyzing, studying, and charting. The mapping of another's world is the history of anthropology. Though we have addressed this unilinear model and seek more intersubjective methods of research and writing,

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the challenge remains how to represent multidirectional ways of looking and knowing, of charting each other, and exchanging and encountering and meeting partway and in between. Because there is no one model of power that exists between people, it is always renegotiated and reperformed. And the historical circumstances that inform how we see each other will come to bear differently at different times, and therefore have to be constantly considered. From this standpoint, ethnopornography as understood as multidirectional and historically and culturally specified opens up possibilities both for framing ethnographic encounters and for analyzing them. Disciplines that are grounded in ethnographic engagement, such as anthropology and ethnomusicology, require methodological and theoretical consideration of the production and consumption of racialized, gendered, and sexualized images and their attendant narratives that emerge in our work. This matters not only because the ethnopornographic informs knowledge production but also because it moves us toward more complex and varied portraits of human encounters, our vision of each other, and the stories that we tell and are told. Thus, while ethnopornographic circulations deserve critique, they also produce effective assessment tools through which to situate our work.

Many readers will recognize that the title of this chapter, "Under White Men's Eyes," refers obliquely to Chandra Talpade Mohanty's essay "Under Western Eyes," in which she so deftly critiques the representations of women in the Global South.[19] She effectively suggests that the eyes we look through, the perspective that is validated and understood as the priority, is skewing everything we see, and if we want to know more or know differently, we have to change the lens and the terms through which we evaluate other people's experiences. Though I began the chapter with reference to one white man and the way that he saw my experience, his vision is a stand-in for the institutional and disciplinary codes that consistently and effectively prevent dissent. As Nancy White points out, white women are rewarded for good behavior, but that reward will never be an admission to full subjecthood. And the punishment for deviance can be severe. And the fear of that punishment limits our anthropological engagements and the ways we are able to speak.

In ethnomusicology, a prominent example of the way that women's voices are edited is located in Kofi Agawu's *Representing African Music*, in which he criticizes Michelle Kisliuk for her account of a personal relationship in *Seize the Dance!*, an ethnographic account exploring the musical lives of the BaAka of the Central African rainforests in 1998.[20] Agawu's

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primary criticism was that Kisliuk did not fully account for the nature of her relationship with her field assistant, who is now her husband. Agawu claims that Kisliuk's failure to fully disclose the precise intimate nature of the relationship demonstrates that the author will always place the frame around the research agenda, what is written, and how it is represented, and thus attempts to research and write in ways that lay bare the procedure of knowledge production are not more ethical than more objective ways of writing. Agawu's choice to isolate Kisliuk's text speaks to a perception of reflective research accounts as "personal" when written by women and "introspective" when written by men.[21] The effect of such a critique is undermining because it (1) neglects the theoretical movements that Kisliuk was responding to, effectively portraying it as storytelling rather than a well-grounded research account, and (2) reinforces a gendered divide within the discipline, in which men might choose to share personal information or not, but women will be criticized if they do and paradoxically chastised for not sharing *enough* or the *right information*. Kisliuk responded to this critique with an essay coauthored with her husband in which she not only pushes back against Agawu but reveals a multilayered and rich account of the ways in which their relationship intersects with and is intertwined in both life and work.[22] The notion that one must reveal everything at all times in order to be both critical and reflective is untenable. Ethnography happens in the mind as much as in the physical field, and we process and understand moments and scenes of life in nonlinear and complex ways. No one can represent everything, and not everything is of critical importance at all moments of analysis. The point is not to share everything but to utilize reflexivity and positionality to add to our greater understanding of knowledge production, to situate one's stance, and to prioritize multiple ways of speaking and knowing. When someone suggests that my story is incomplete or that what I choose to tell is not the valuable information, they refuse to hear why I have chosen what I have said and what it might offer. And that refusal speaks to a disciplinary problem and a continued discomfort with erotic subjectivity, particularly when it is a white woman speaking about a relationship with a black man.

I think it is meaningful that I chose to respond to the white man's voice only to myself. That silent response, and the ethnographic details that I cannot include in this chapter, highlight the mechanisms of regulation, or what Adrienne Rich called the "cartographies of silence."[23] The structures of power that determine who has the authority to speak and when they speak and for whom they are making claims become critical in assessing

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the resultant dialogues. And in order to change how we are able to speak back to these regulations, we must call attention to them and consistently question how we hear some voices, what we assume, and how we read those stories. Because if a woman speaks and we criticize her truth, and how she knows, and we make it a personal story, we limit the impact of her knowledge. And if there is information that cannot be included, knowledge that cannot be shared, we must witness that silence as part of the story of anthropology and learn to hear those silences at the same volume as the loudest voices. I suggest that one reason for this continued silencing is that although we have begun to incorporate erotic subjectivity into anthropological accounts, we have not yet linked those accounts to ethnopornography in ways that allow for more profound theorization of the connections between ethnography, colonialism, and racialized erotics. By locating the myriad possibilities of human engagement within the frame of ethnopornography, we will deepen the analytical possibilities of the ethnographic encounter.

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Notes

John Langston Gwaltney, *Drylongso: A Self-Portrait of Black America* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 148. The chapter opening quote comes from an interview with Ms. Nancy White. The quote can also be found in Patricia Hill Collins, "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought," *Social Problems* 33, no. 6 (Dec. 1986): S17. Patricia Hill Collins writes about this quote: "This passage suggests that while both groups are stereotyped, albeit in different ways, the function of the images is to dehumanize and control both groups" (ibid.). The same quote can be found in Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 114.

1 Of course, as I'll show, this is a reductive statement, one intended to draw attention to the relationship established during colonialism that marks out the governance of the black male body by white patriarchal institutions. The man who made this remark did so in the context of trying to reduce interracial relationships to a preformatted mold of desire and violence.

2 Audre Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power," in *Sister Outsider* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1984), 53–59.

3 On intimate encounter as a meaningful aspect of ethnography, see Don Kulick and Margaret Willson, eds., *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork* (London: Routledge, 1995); Fran Markowitz and Michael Ashkenazi,

eds., *Sex, Sexuality, and the Anthropologist* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Gloria Wekker, *The Politics of Passion: Women's Sexual Culture in the Afro-Surinamese Diaspora* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006). On intimate encounter as a subject position, see Ellen Lewin and William Leap, eds., *Out in the Field: Reflections of Gay and Lesbian Anthropologists* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Jafari Allen, *¡Venceremos? The Erotics of Black Self-Making in Cuba* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Jafari Allen, "One Way or Another: Erotic Subjectivity in Cuba," *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 2 (2012): 325–38; Lyndon Gill, "Transfiguring Trinidad and Tobago: Queer Cultural Production, Erotic Subjectivity and the Praxis of Black Queer Anthropology" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2010); Lyndon Gill, "Chatting Back an Epidemic: Caribbean Gay Men, HIV/AIDS, and the Uses of Erotic Subjectivity," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 18, no. 2–3, (2012): 277–95.

4 Lyndon Gill in particular has taken an expansive view on erotics and sexual encounter. See for example, his recent book, *Erotic Islands: Art and Activism in the Queer Caribbean* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

5 Esther Newton, "My Best Informant's Dress: The Erotic Equation in Fieldwork," *Cultural Anthropology* 8, no. 1 (1993): 3–23; Wekker, *Politics of Passion*.

6 Suzanne Cusick, "On a Lesbian Relationship with Music: A Serious Effort Not to Think Straight," in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, ed. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (1994; repr., New York: Routledge, 2006), 71.

7 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

8 Paul Rabinow, *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco* (1977; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

9 See Eva Moreno, "Rape in the Field: Reflections from a Survivor," in Kulick and Willson, *Taboo*, 166–89.

10 Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic," 54.

11 Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic," 54.

12 I have chosen to leave out the name of this man, but for clarification I will mention that he is a black Ghanaian who resides in the area where my work is conducted.

13 I have changed the name of my male companion to Peter for the purposes of this publication.

14 John Langston Gwaltney, *Drylongso: A Self-Portrait of Black America* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 148.

15 Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 114.

16 Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 114.

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17 This chapter owes much to many conversations with Chioke I'Anson. I am particularly grateful to him for helping me clarify my thought process and for offering constructive and thoughtful guidance. I thank him too for giving me the metaphor of "race mines," out of which much of this chapter emerged.

18 See also Patricia Tang, "*Ana sa jëkkër* (Where Is Your Husband?)": Writing Gender out of Ethnography," paper presented at the annual meeting for the Society for Ethnomusicology, Indianapolis, Indiana, November 15, 2013.

19 Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *boundary 2* 12, no. 3 (1984): 333–58; Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "'Under Western Eyes' Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles," *Signs* 28, no. 2 (2003): 499–535.

20 Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Michelle Kisliuk, *Seize the Dance!: BaAka Musical Life and the Ethnography of Performance* (1998; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

21 For further discussion of how women's writing is portrayed as less serious when they employ unconventional research methods or narrative style, see Ruth Behar and Deborah A. Gordon, eds., *Women Writing Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

22 Justin Serge Mongosso and Michelle Kisliuk, "Representing a Real Man: Music, Upheaval and Relationship in Centrafrique," *Emergences* 13, no. 1/2 (2003): 34–46.

23 Adrienne Rich, "Cartographies of Silence," in *The Dream of a Common Language: Poems, 1974–1977* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 17.

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Exotic/Erotic/Ethnopornographic

Black Women, Desire, and Labor in the Photographic Archive

One of the first courses I taught as a new assistant professor a decade ago was a media production course called "Black Feminist Multimedia." In this class I joined the students in creating short films that engaged issues of identity and politics through black feminist analyses of race, gender, class, nation, and sexuality. My feeble attempt at navigating the video editing software Final Cut Pro aside, I created a ten-minute-long video titled "Desiring Ourselves" using images I had culled from a recent research trip to Paris, France, where I had met a dealer of colonial French photography of African women and girls. Overlaying the photographs with text, my own spoken word poetry, and an unlicensed track from the great Nina Simone, my video attempted to explore the intertwining of violence and desire, along with questions of subjecthood, self-reflexivity, and erotic sovereignty,[1] that made the images so powerful to me personally as an intellectual and a black woman living the legacy of racialized sexuality that emerges from the colonial encounter. Eventually I posted the video on YouTube and received a few hundred likes and comments. Until one day when the video was gone. It had vanished from YouTube.

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With no warning at all, my film was removed by the website for violating Google's terms of service regarding pornography and obscenity. In taking up material that in the original context of its production as part anthropological inquiry into the sexual behaviors and practices of the native woman and part economy of visual materials to satisfy the salacious curiosity of French photographers, audiences, and others, my censored video ultimately exposed at least two levels of meaning attached to this archive of "ethnopornography." First, the representation of the native body, and in this case the black female body, is always already pornographic. As such the black female body is a problem of representation evacuated of merit, a primitive counterpoint to the values of civility, beauty, and innocence upheld in the bourgeois body.[2] In fact, even when we (scholars, educators, artists) attempt to resignify the symbolic power of the pornographic gaze by manipulating the images, or to rethink issues of objectification, commodification, and violence indexed upon the native woman's body in colonial photography, this already pornographic body sutures (some of) us to the position of pornographer, just as it is itself wedded to the place of mimetic pornographic *thing*. How do we contend with the ways in which empire shaped pornography and pornography shaped empire? And more significantly for myself as a supposed (and admitted) black feminist pornographer,[3] I wonder how we might begin to use our analyses and creative tools to challenge the distortions, myths, and obfuscations about the Other that ethnopornographies circulated?

The late-nineteenth-century explosion of sexualized images of black women occurred at the nexus of ethnological, technological, and commercial interests. Emerging primarily from European colonial Africa, and traveling across the Atlantic to the United States and Latin America, a prurient ethnographic scientific gaze produced and consumed images of black women, black men, and those from other colonized, presumably racially inferior groups in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Australia. An economy of images and desires trafficking in fascination and fear shaped how in the nineteenth century colonial imagination black women became "eroticized/exoticized,"[4] and important figures whose display in public commercial spaces and popular spheres (slave auctions, freak shows, museums, world's fairs) simultaneously titillated and disgusted white spectators. Photographic technology galvanized this circulation of desires by transforming the bodies of black women of the African Diaspora into erotic and exotic ethnographic sites for learned and professional study, particularly for anthropology and its subdiscipline, ethnography, as sciences seeking "authentic"

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images of racial others as if they would reveal a kind of essential truth about racial and cultural difference located in perceived anomalous sexual habits. This technologically enhanced gaze codified women of African decent as the most morally obscene, socially subordinate, and biologically deficient population, and hence ensured the rationale, impetus, and occasion for observers to *keep looking*. The advancement of photography as a form that could be duplicated, reproduced, shared, and sold inaugurated an important convergence of scientific and commercial uses of erotic and exotic photographic images that form an ethnopornographic marketplace.

Yet it is not the production of the black woman's body as pornographic object through the technology of photography—nor the scientific or commercial investments that overlapped in the colonial era—that solidifies black women's relationship to ethnopornography.[5] Ethnopornography offers a lens, a conceptual apparatus, and a method to think about the relationality and economy of images, techniques, discourses, bodies, subjectivities, desires, and state logics that brought the colonized under view in the domain of empire. Pornography did not arise on the margins of empire but was at its core. One could argue that empire was (and remains), in a sense, a kind of pornography. Empire prioritized possession, titillation, and fantasy, and it exploited the idea of the native's limitless sexual potency. Empire mapped the land it stole as a body consumable, appropriated a surveilling gaze, and mobilized the labor of colonized bodies to enact the drama of its imperious command. Yet the erotics of empire relied specifically on the administration of knowledge and relationships of domination; ethnography was a key method in maintaining discourses of power, truth, and control, while pornography facilitated ethnography's purview by opening up the sexual realm to view, providing networks to spread the idea of racialized sexual difference, and unleashing the imaginations and desires of Western audiences for more of what empire holds.

Although much attention has been given to the iconic role of the Hottentot Venus, the ur-text of atavistic animal-human black female sexuality for European scientists, the nineteenth-century photographic archive shows that black women were also figured in the preeminent medical-scientific classificatory projects of the United States.[6] For instance, in the 1850s, a series of daguerreotypes were taken of seven slaves in South Carolina as part of the modern empiricist scheme of categorizing and cataloging deviant groups. The daguerreotypes present five men, Jem, Jack, Fassena, Alfred, and Renty, and two women, Drana and Delia, naked or seminaked in a frontal and profile view soon to be formalized as the "mug shot." They were

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commissioned by Swiss-born scientist Louis Agassiz, the "most famous" natural scientist during his time and "star student" of Georges Cuvier, the French scientist that famously examined and later autopsied Sartjie Baartman, the best known of the many Hottentot Venuses. During his time as a professor at Harvard University, Agassiz engaged a community of scholars and elites in the widely held but debated theory of polygenesis, which posited that racial groups evolved from distinct and unequal species of humankind. A zoologist by training, Agassiz sought to capture images of human specimens to examine as racial "types"; typological images could be studied to decipher how the appearance and proportion of certain body parts explained intellectual, moral, and cultural differences between racial groups. Critical to his study was the innovation of photography, and in this case the use of the daguerreotype, as it captured a truer image of their specimens than illustrations had previously accomplished.

The daguerreotypes, ordered by Robert W. Gibbes and taken by Joseph T. Zealy, of the seven South Carolina slaves were not merely a product of the joining of medical and natural science and technology to organize a visual logic of race. They were also a form of voyeuristic violence. As Brian Wallis observes, "The typological photograph is a form of representational colonialism. Fundamentally nonreciprocal, it masks its subjective distortions in the guise of logic and organization. Its formations are deformations."[7] Typological photographs expose how black bodies became encoded by a body of scientific and cultural thought, through the "unalterable reasons of race," as "morally and intellectually inferior to whites."[8] The nakedness of the people documented in the photographs also exposes the differing gendering of racialized sexuality in what Mary Louise Pratt terms the "contact zones" of empire. In these images we observe a "social space where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other," and the visual evidence of "highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination," of which gender is one dimension.[9]

The men are presented fully naked while Drana and Delia are shown with their calico homespun dresses pulled down to their waists. This differing nakedness offers a view into the desire of the white European and American scientists, the photographer, and the slaveholders located outside the frame of the image as it self-consciously confronts the gaze of the Other. For these elite white men the occlusion of female genitalia presented an ethnopornographic gesture whereby that which is not viewable in fact enhances the desire to look and to keep looking. Beyond mere voyeurism, this looking relationship provides a staged exposure in elabo-

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rating the *process* of undressing that belies any claims of modesty, civility, or respect for the enslaved women's privacy on the one hand and disavowal or repugnance on the other. Instead this partial nakedness ensured that the women remained firmly within an economy of desire and possession that concurrently traded in fear, disgust, and denial. Drana's photograph displays lines of scarring along pendulous breasts—part of the broader sexualized torture of enslaved men and women—showing that she had nursed enslaved babies for the profit of her owner.[10] The daguerreotypes thus present evidence of black female sexual labor under enslavement and a sexual political economy around their bodies.[11]

Moreover, with Drana and Delia's partial nakedness inviting scientific investigation, ethnopornography allows us to read the ways that the essential difference between black female bodies and white female bodies was signified. The chasm between nineteenth-century concepts of ideal white womanhood as essentialized purity, refinement, and aesthetic beauty, and conceptions of grotesque black womanhood are made apparent. Rather than act as aesthetic conventions of adornment, as seen in fine art and photographic portraiture, Drana and Delia's pulled-down dresses elicit an erotic charge through debasement, which again provides for the fantasy of the enslaved woman's sexual labor vis-à-vis concubinage, tourism, and trafficking. At that same time that an ethnopornographic frame reminds us to read the images for the relationships of power that give them context, my black feminist pornographic frame prompts a reading practice that considers how black women may have engaged with the pornographic codes, practices, and gazes taken up by Agassiz and his rowdy band of elite white male voyeurs. What did this visual project mean for the women in the photographs, and how might they have encountered it as an extension of their already ongoing sex work? Although art curator and critic Brian Wallis reads Drana and Delia as "calmly" revealing their breasts, their faces set like masks showing a deliberate "detached, unemotional, and workmanlike" expression, others, such as historian Molly Rogers, see tears in Delia's eyes.[12]

Indeed, looking closely at the frontal-view photograph of Delia, it appears that her eyes are welling up with tears and that she is on the very brink of crying. It is as if Delia is weighted down by an immense and irrevocable despair even as she tries to control her own body from revealing the surely complex emotions ignited by the setting of the photo shoot. The appearance of tears might also have been due to blurring during the nearly twenty-second process of capturing the image to each silver-covered copper plate of the daguerreotype, even though the iron headstand, known as the

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FIGURE I.1 Drana (profile), daguerreotype by Joseph T. Zealy, 1850. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM# 35-5-10/53042.

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FIGURE I.2 Delia (frontal), daguerreotype by Joseph T. Zealy, 1850. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM# 35-5-10/53042.

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"iron instrument of torture,"[13] may have been used to keep the models still. Yet the technology itself could have powerfully registered for young Delia, a slave, like her father, Renty, at the Edgehill Plantation where the primary crop was cotton. Ordered to strip before a room full of men she did not know and who had total power over her life, and told to hold still with her neck in the iron brace, must have been frightening, intimidating, confusing, and uncomfortable, even painful.

It is impossible to know for sure what the diverse subjective experiences of the women in the images entailed, but here I assert that we pause to imagine what these women might have experienced and what their gazes back at the camera may have contributed to the ethnopornographic exchange. Through understanding the context of Agassiz's project, the shoot itself, and the inability of the enslaved to consent to what was being done to their bodies, while also remaining cognizant of the desire by slaves themselves to live sovereign sexual lives, it is conceivable to imagine that Drana and Delia—as two black women who became figures held captive by the convergence of visual power and pleasure—sensed the mighty weight of an imperial gaze upon them. This gaze may have felt scientific, cold, and distant, yet also probing, prurient, and interested. Perhaps these women understood the scientific gaze itself as part of the "careful stories" that were told that denied a clear, compelling erotic desire to plumb and evaluate Othered bodies.[14] Or perhaps they thought to say, "There was nothing—no secret—to be unveiled underneath my clothes. The secret was your phantasm."[15] Without their account of the experience we can only speculate about what was behind the gaze that the camera captured in that moment. Drana and Delia's need to strategically mask over—if Wallis is correct—detach from, or actively obscure their emotions can be understood in the context of their lack of power in the asymmetries of the ethnopornographic relationship. This strategy shows the embodied labor of representation for the objects of ethnopornographic display, and how ethnopornographic praxis is a contact zone for negotiations of dominance and oppression. I argue further that taking seriously the subjectivity and sexualized labor of the ethnopornographic subject means a necessary recovery of the slave or native point of view. Hence, the colonizing camera was not the only gaze in that studio.[16]

Agassiz's photographs were some of the earliest of American slaves. Later images depicted African Americans as nannies and house servants in portraits with their white owners, or working in the fields growing cotton, the dominant crop in the South in the years leading up to the Civil War, especially in the area surrounding Columbia, South Carolina, where

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Joseph T. Zealy immortalized Drana and Delia in his photographic studio in 1850. Taken during the height of "daguerreotypomania" in the United States,[17] these photographs were markedly different from most images of African Americans or white Americans, who rushed to get their portraits taken as part of an emerging middle-class will to represent themselves. However, instead of being taken home in an intricately decorated, embossed leather holder and treasured, these images were brought to Harvard and presented at the Cambridge Scientific Club.[18] The elite white men of the club would have held the 3¼-by-4¼-inch daguerreotype plates in their hands while listening to Agassiz's lecture describing the ethnological roots of racial difference and comparative anatomical distinctions between those of African descent and those of European ancestry. To these men, the evidence of racial inferiority—whether they agreed with Agassiz's theories of polygenesis or not—would have been visible and tangible. The images of Drana and Delia, Molly Rogers posits, "resemble erotic and pornographic photographs."[19] "Such images were widely disdained in the nineteenth century, and yet they were still produced and consumed. Public nudity was associated with loose morals and so a person who was photographed without clothing was considered the lowest of the low socially. This was especially the case with black women."[20]

The Secret Museum

United States–produced ethnopornographic photography during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth largely consisted of images of Native American women, Asian immigrant women, and Pacific Islanders, but I have discovered in my years of research that a sizable circulation of black women's erotic images emerged from European colonies and imperial occupations in Africa at a time of rising fascination in the United States and Western Europe with the penetration of the African interior, the competitions for territory among nations, and the extraction of resources such as rubber, diamonds, cocoa, and minerals. A compendium of hundreds of ethnographic photographs from the period called *The Secret Museum of Mankind* reveals the vast extent to which imperial centers sought to map the bodies of their peripheries and how the popular interest in native peoples among Westerners was cultivated. The original text is of unknown origins, with no editor or year of publication listed, only a publisher called Manhattan House based out of New York. Booksellers suggest editions were published in 1925, 1935, and

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1941, although the images are from the late nineteenth century up through the 1920s. Interestingly, a new edition was put out fairly recently by David Stiffler and Gibbs Smith Publishers of Layton, Utah, in 1999, which speaks to the ongoing market for such images. The text may be named after or linked to the Museum of Mankind in Britain, affiliated with the Ethnography Department of the British Museum.

And like ethnographic displays in museums, the text is divided into sections for each region of the colonial world. The extensive collection of images reflects the interplay as well as the intensely slippery boundaries between anthropological and ethnographic science, the colonial apparatus of surveillance, and mass-market pornography. Each image is accompanied by a caption, though it is unclear whether the origin of the caption emerged at the time the photograph was produced by colonial anthropologists and photographers or later, in Europe or America, when the photographs were most likely copied and reproduced.[21] The titles and captions are just as salient as the images, I argue, because they claim to decode the image while actually serving to encode it within a normalizing discourse embedded in exoticism, exploitation, and myth.[22]

For example, the photograph *Buttered Beauty of the Negroid North* presents a "girl of Tigré" who has "buttered," or oiled, her hair in an intricate design. The caption tells us that, "at night she sleeps with her head on a wooden rest." Because the image suggests that the presence of the girl, or more correctly, young woman, was a racial type—interchangeable with all the girls of Tigré, and even the "Negroid North" of Africa—she is presented in isolation. She is thus made to represent all the people—a community—that are not visible. The young woman's exposed breasts are presented frontally, while her face is placed in profile—an amalgam of the methods of taxonomic portraits much in use during the nineteenth century following the work of Cuvier and Agassiz. This pose of the model looking over her shoulder, and the placement of her necklace, allows the spectator a sense of access and the ability to observe the model's "buttered" chest, while the painted overlay of the photograph creates an unreal quality to the portrait.

This image is typical in its use of ethnopornographic framing to accelerate the erotic charge of the image for viewers. This description of how the young woman from Tigré uses oils to fashion her hair and how at night she sleeps with a wooden headrest highlights the fascinating difference of her primitiveness in relation to Western practices of grooming and habitation, while it also facilitates an imagined image of the model's body in repose, her skin soft, warm, and oily. The subtext of arousal through the con-

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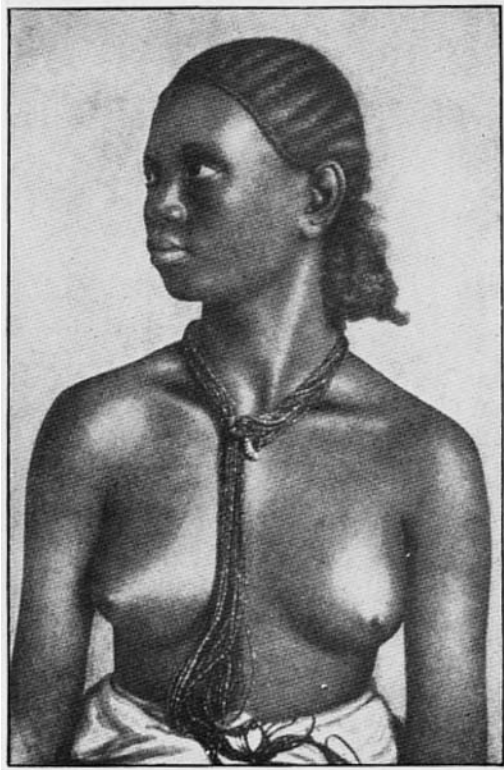

FIGURE 1.3 *Buttered Beauty of the Negroid North.* The Museum of Mankind (Manhattan House, 1941 edition).

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struction of the image of the young woman oiling her body in the private quarters of her room or hut is signified through the invisible icon of the headrest. This strategy infuses ethnopornographic images that, as Malek Alloula argues, reference the invisible but embedded fantasy of the native's limitless sexual life for the imperial observer. Like the photographs Alloula controversially reproduced of North African women with their nudity peaking through their veils,[23] referencing the fantasy of the harem, these colonial photographs of sub-Saharan African women suggest an imagined universe of abundant and deviant sexual practices and powers. "What is remembered about the harem," Alloula observes, "are the sexual excesses to which it gives rise and which it promotes. A universe of *generalized perversion* and of the *absolute limitlessness of pleasure*."[24]

By the 1880s the vast expansion of photography, through its transformation into a mass visual form, had broad implications for the production and consumption of eroticized images of black women in Africa and the Diaspora. Postcards became a primary form of visual communication

important for their easy accessibility and affordability, especially for the working classes and rising middle class of the Industrial era. Because postcards communicated through photographs on the front and written messages on the back, they had mass-market appeal; they were "cheap, bright, multi-purpose and pervasive."[25] Between 1894 and 1919 nearly 140 billion postcards were sent worldwide, and an unknown but significant number of these had sexual themes.[26] According to Lisa Z. Sigel, sexual postcards of "domestic" bodies (i.e., white, European or American) could be sent through the mail only if they properly censored men's and women's genitals, but ethnopornographic postcards exposing the uncensored naked bodies of colonial or "foreign" subjects, both women and men, were allowable.[27] Ethnographic postcards featuring "natives" in their "natural" habitats were highly popular and profoundly affected how "foreign" bodies were seen within Western discourses of race, in ways similar to the small daguerreotypes of South Carolina slaves held in the hands of the men at the Cambridge Scientific Club, that were exceedingly tangible. Practices of capturing, circulating, and collecting postcards and other photographic artifacts of exoticized "primitives" were thus normalized for Western audiences.[28] In this way, postcards were an important technology in bringing women of African descent, and others, within the surveying, commercial, and disciplining power of a pornographic empire.

This visual economy of images voraciously consumed by scientific, bourgeois, and working-class audiences rendered indigenous peoples "anonymous and historyless subjects" and photographs of them collectible "image objects" and commodities.[29] Essential to the processes of imperial, capitalist expansion into non-Western lands, the photograph itself expanded the empire's ability to, as bell hooks would put it, "eat the other."[30] Mass-market photographic objects made black women newly viewable, and thus subject to novel forms of visual social control. Fatimah Tobing Rony usefully terms this quite obsessive consumption of the racial Other, made possible by ethnographic image making, "fascinating cannibalism."[31] Drawing attention to the combination of "fascination and horror" that the ethnographic evokes, Tobing Rony explains that "the cannibalism is not that of the people who are labeled Savages, but that of the consumers of the images of the bodies—as well as the actual bodies on display—of native people offered up by popular media and science."[32]

Ethnographic postcards employed a "staged nakedness"[33]—photographers manipulated the women's bodies, the settings, and the photographs themselves in order to emphasize a perceived exotic sexuality.[34] Through this

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heavy manipulation, the Western viewer confronted a spectacular difference. The cannibalistic drive of a kind of sexual tourism reflected a growing hunger for information about "primitive" societies and their ways of life. While these images supported ideologies of white supremacy by indulging the curiosity of people who saw themselves as more advanced than the savages, their main purpose was to depict how nonwhite people lived and to romanticize and exoticize the images in order to make money. Ethnopornography thus involves the merging of the ethnographic and the commercial, a form of voyeuristic and titillating entertainment hidden behind the guise of scientific documentation and innocent curiosity about the lives of racial Others.

Ethnopornography exhibited African women as spectacles, and used their actual bodies and sexual labor to create marketable entertainment for Western appetites at the precise time when European countries were moving to explore, divide, and conquer the continent. Captured mainly by Western male photographers who traveled with military campaigns, scientific expeditions, or alone as entrepreneurs or tourists, or who were stationed or took up residence in colonized areas, the photographs served as travel accounts "through which the world saw the indigenous people" of Africa.[35] The archive of ethnographic postcards from the late nineteenth century remains dispersed across the globe—emerging from time to time in Parisian flea markets, online collectors' forums, and the attics of someone's grandfather's house. They are now artifacts of historical, asymmetrical power relations and violence that provide the context for each image of bare-breasted, young, native girls. Fetishistically made, circulated, and consumed, the images do not depict the violence of colonialism and imperialism but create a fantasy absent of violence and of history. Most of the postcards I discovered from the era were from French-colonized North Africa, though many images of French West African women and girls exist that were circulated in less commercial forms as paper-printed photographs.

I found a postcard in the streets of Paris sent from Tangier, Morocco, to Orleans, France, stamped in 1908 (fig. 1.4). It shows a young woman with short, soft curly hair presented in a traditional medium-view seated pose. Reminiscent of Agassiz's daguerreotypes of Drana and Delia, the photographer has positioned the woman sitting with her hands in her lap and her dress pulled, billowing, down to her waist so as to expose her youthful breasts and part of her flat stomach. This effect of staged nakedness serves to heighten the woman's vulnerability to be visibly possessed for the photographer creating the image, the consumer purchasing the postcard,

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and the final viewer who receives it. Only in this image her body is not shown in a hard scientific frontal view; instead, in the softer erotic view of so many ethnopornographic postcards, she faces slightly away from the camera, and her gaze looks off into the distance, echoing formal tropes in Western painting and portraiture. The rows of beads around her neck and the plain background accentuate her body as the focal point of the image. To allure the viewer, the photographer painted color on the black-and-white image: her skin a deep brown; her patterned dress teal blue, pink, and brown; her beaded necklace pink; her eyelids blue; and her slightly parted lips are painted an impossibly bright, garish red. This coloring—particularly of the lips—creates an image of primitive luridness, and the added makeup marks the model's body as a sight of manipulation and exaggeration, a fantasy text.

The postcard includes the common ethnographic description that marked the women in these images within representations of racial types, such as "Types Indigènes—Une Négresse," "Jeune Négresse," "Jeune Bédouine," "Jeune Mauresque."[36] The caption describes the woman as a "Jeune Esclave Arabe," a young Arab slave. Like so many French postcards of the era, the youth of the girl is noted. This account of age—and many of the images I discovered in my research are of prepubescent girls and young women—is a particular fetishistic device, as it heightens the fantasy of vulnerability, that the model's virginity could be taken by the viewer himself. The comments about the model's imagined status as a black African made into an Arab slave amplifies the quality of vulnerability—she is already owned, and therefore does not own herself.[37]

The back of the postcard is signed simply, "Cordiale poignee de mains, A. Boulet" (A cordial handshake, A. Boulet) (fig. 1.5). Boulet, perhaps a tourist, bureaucrat, or soldier working for the French colonial authority in Tangier, would have sent this card to his friend or colleague ("Monsieur Jean Mathè") as a gesture acknowledging his travels in a primitive land, and his fortunate access as a potential sex tourist to a variety of exotic women and girls. A hearty handshake—such an oddly short message—offers a joke or quip, a kind of bawdy humor referencing the girl in the image, her exposed breasts being nearly a handful and ripe to be held by eager hands.

The immense force of desire in this postcard (including the photograph and the note behind it) reinforces Tobing Rony's concept of "fascinating cannibalism" and what Malek Alloula describes as the construction of exoticized, primitive women as "available, consenting, welcoming, exciting, submissive and possessed."[38] While images of white women in post-

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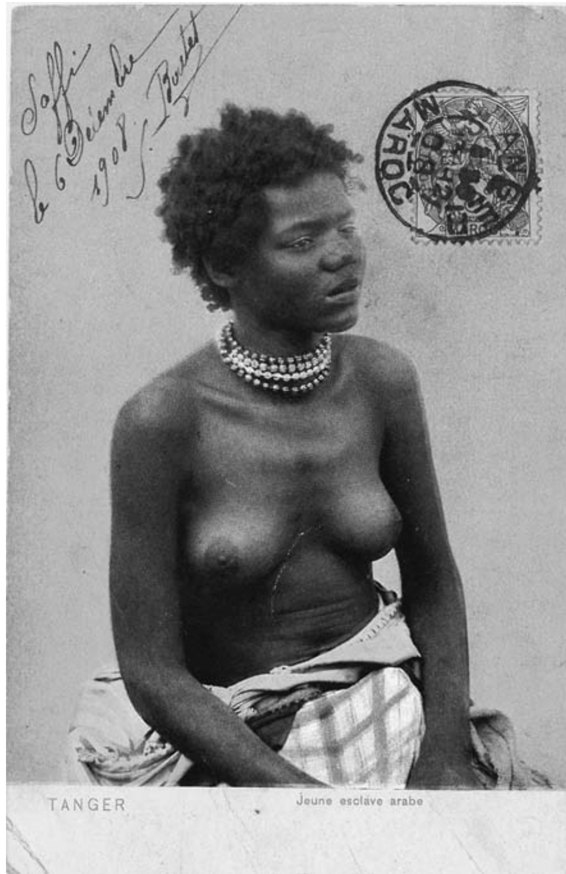

FIGURE I.4 1908 Postcard from Tangier to Orleans (front). Collection of Mireille Miller-Young.

cards from the Victorian era similarly frame them as passive, waiting, and available objects for men's viewing pleasure, women of color represented debased rather than idealized forms of womanhood. The messages written on the backs of these cards often use humor or dismissive remarks to comment on what Europeans at the time generally viewed as the barbaric and anachronistic culture of African people, which was deemed evident in the display of African women's (partial) nudity. These comments poke fun at the idea of African women's desirability but nonetheless show the vast networks through which a desire to consume their images was mobilized. Thousands of postcards of African women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ritually re-created the trope of the exotic Other,

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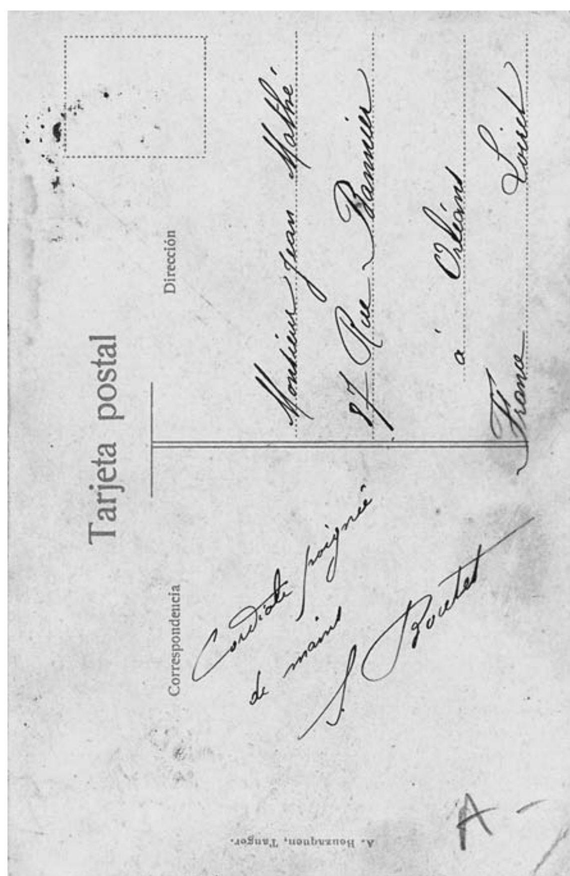

FIGURE I.5 1908 Postcard from Tangier to Orleans (back). Collection of Mireille Miller-Young.

and in the process they ritualized the use of an ethnopornographic gaze to see the imperial landscape expand.[39] Although postcards tended to render native bodies as novelty items for public consumption, there were other forms of ethnopornography that, being even more explicit, were disseminated in less public forums.

Some images taken by soldiers stationed in West Africa exhibit them posing with tribal girls and young women. Standing with their arms around girls' shoulders, hands grasping their nubile breasts, the soldiers are seen smiling directly at the camera, appearing confident and pleased. The shots are often poorly cropped, showing the amateur nature of the photographer and the makeshift or impromptu context in which the photograph

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was taken. For instance, in figure 1.6, the camera cuts off the man's head. Even if they may have been some of the primary spectators and consumers of postcard, white men, including photographers, soldiers, or colonial officials, who had sexual relations with the women and girls in the images were never visible in postcards. In their own photographs, however, they appear happy to be memorialized in the image and often take center stage. In addition, we can imagine that these shots may have been highly valued mementos for colonial visitors to Africa, as the apparent horizontal crease in the photograph above seems to reveal that someone carried this photograph on his person—perhaps in a shirt pocket—rather than keep it mounted in a frame or album. Alternately, the crease could represent the act of concealing—folding and stashing away—such a revealing and explicit image that places the man not simply as observer of native sexual display but as active consumer and participant in the construction of an interracial colonial sexual relationship.

These "selfie" photographs essentially brag about these men's access to native women—notably in ways that were not allowed for African men and European women—and as a result would have been exchanged and viewed in a more private and underground economy of ethnopornography. In this way, and in their frank acknowledgment of a colonial sex industry, these kinds of images were precursors to the hard-core images we see in later commercial pornographies.[40] Not only does the presence of these European men in the image confess the desire they had for African women—a desire that was normatively disavowed—their inclusion in these collective photographs shows that their interest went beyond a passive fetishization and actually amounted to a sexual relationship (perhaps sometimes violent or coercive but always unequal) with these women in which they wanted to see themselves as agents and actors. In figure 1.7, one man dressed in what is perhaps a military officer or administrator's crisp white uniform stands between two young women who wear matching waist beads, headscarves, and necklaces in front of a straw house. The man is holding the young women on either side of him by the waist, and just inside the doorway of the house we see a bed propped on wooden legs with checkered sheets and pillowcases. While I cannot decipher from this image if this man was visiting a house of prostitution, the placement of the bed and the touristic nature of the portrait raise the possibility.

Photographs of black women and girls in highly sexual poses and contexts, in huts or outdoor settings but also in makeshift studios, were taken not for the postcard trade but for a much more underground market in

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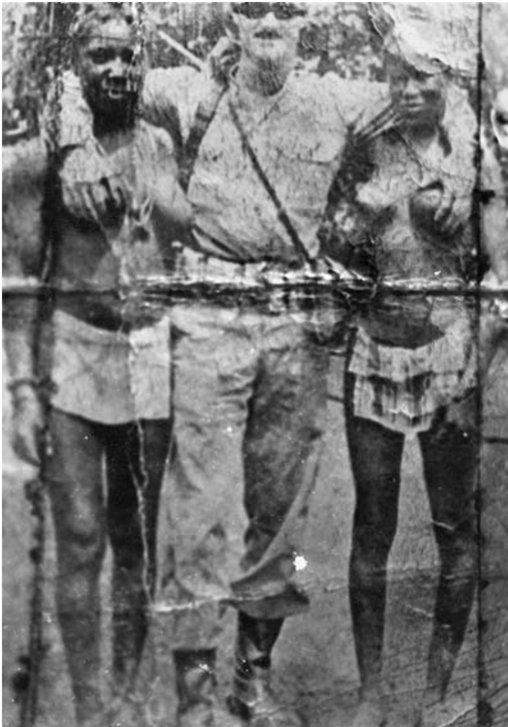

FIGURE I.6 Grasping for Power, Hidden from View. Undated Photograph, Soldier with Hands on the Breasts of Two Women. Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Art, Artifacts, and Photography Special Collection (KIDC 1123).

early pornographic images or for private keeping. Although many West African tribes did not view women as being "naked" without clothing—as long as they wore their prized waist beads or waist clothes they were considered decently attired—the fascination with these women's perceived nakedness by European standards read onto their bodies an obscenity and hypersexualization that was not organic to these communities. These photographs warp, deform, and exploit these women's unclothed bodies, simultaneously representing and misrepresenting the bodies and subjectivities of the colonized women whose bodies they portray. By transforming the meanings around their bodies, the photographs make the women naked through the fascinating cannibalism of a voracious ethnopornographic gaze. Such photographs showed women sitting with one knee up or both knees up and spread, reclining in an Odalisque pose with arms behind the head, the knees open, the camera positioned so as to provide a direct line to the coveted black vulva. Reminiscent of Cuvier's forceful desire to view the "Hottentot Apron"—which he was not able to do until Sartjie Baartman died and he dissected her—these photographers show a

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FIGURE I.7 Revealing a Colonial Sexual Economy? Undated Photograph from Colonial West Africa, Soldier Posing with Two Young Women [M126]. Courtesy of Les Archives d'Eros.

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cannibalistic and fetishistic obsession with the "Dark Continent" of African women and girls, especially below their waists, to the fount of mystery and locus of their assumed difference: the dark heart of Africa seemed to be found in their sexual parts.

These images reinforce the violence and exploitation of the ethnopornographic gaze as part of the imperialist project in Africa. They hypersexualize and pathologize black female bodies through a heavy desire that is as much about racialist fantasy, unequal power relations, and the erasure of the history and values of multiple civilizations as it is about visualizing sex. Multiple forces of subjection put women and girls in the position in which photographers used them for pleasure and profit. Yet some of the images can be read as holding more complicated scenarios than simply the abjection of women at the hands of horny and greedy men with cameras. We see moments, frozen in time by the photograph, in which these women appear to challenge the imperial gaze. They gaze back, even taking some pleasure or amusement in posing alone or with other women. We see them smile, scowl, make funny faces, relax, or make themselves comfortable. In

FIGURE I.8 A Voracious Ethnopornographic Gaze. Undated Colonial Studio Photograph [M024]. Courtesy of Les Archives d'Eros.

the limited artifacts that remain we find evidence of contestation, curiosity, and playfulness in their expressions alongside demonstrations of disgust, sadness, solemnity, fear, suspicion, or boredom.

These complex and varied expressions suggest some level of consciousness and self-awareness by these women that they were performing sexuality for the camera and for someone else's fantasy. It also suggests a kind of erotic subjectivity in what amounts to a form of black women's sexual labor—the labor of erotic performance entailed black women to be "performers, and not just bodies."[41] Here, the faciality of the models matters to our analyses. Facial expressions give clues to the potential emotional and intellectual lives of the models, illuminating a possible range of attitudes and experiences, including curiosity.

These moments of returning the gaze are of course constrained and complicated by the overwhelming context of exploitation and repression in colonial Africa at the turn of the century, especially for women and girls who held the least power in most settings. We do not know to what ex-

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FIGURE I.9 Black Women Do Gaze Back. Undated Colonial Studio Photograph [M020]. Courtesy of Les Archives d'Eros.

tent these autonomous glances and expressions amounted to any benefit, pleasure, or power for the women captured in time. It is unclear if the women were compensated for their modeling labor, but given the ongoing trade in sexual services in the postcolonial landscape, the enduring nature of sex tourism in relationships of vast inequality and in zones of imperial occupation and leisure, and the deep attachment that photographers and soldiers in the colonies had to their notions of capital exchange and currencies of erotic exchange, it is certainly possible that the models were compensated, either monetarily or with other resources or services. What is vital to confront, in addition, is the possibility of thinking about objectification beyond a one-way, unified, and assaultive gaze. Multiple gazes and subjectivities are possible and probable.[42]

This is not to deny the institutional and systemic power of the pornographic gaze, or to argue to its democratic nature,[43] but to propose instead that the objectifying force and heavy desire of the gaze could have been met with another gaze, and that this other gaze that acknowledged the

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ways ethnopornography kept viewers looking, and also looked back, constituted a subjective understanding of the myth of hypersexuality and the means by which one could put that conceptual vice to work. Thus I draw upon my theoretical interventions in my book *A Taste for Brown Sugar*, to argue that, indeed, using a black feminist pornographic reading practice allows us to posit the ways in which black women sex workers (including sexualized women drawn in unwittingly to the labor of sexual representation in ethnopornographies) engaged a politics of *illicit eroticism*.[44] By this term I am asserting that black women mobilized sexual myth and representation for their own uses, including to survive, to gain mobility, to profit, to be titillated, to critique the system, and even to explore the technical and political qualities of image-making devices such as the camera. A black feminist reading practice allows for the prospect of thinking about other types of gazes, black female gazes, as humanizing, sensual, complicit, or oppositional—it unlocks our analysis of black female subjectivity and unbinds these black female subjects from the weight of their representational work.[45]

An exclusive focus on critiquing how and why black female bodies were fetishized as objects of desire and disgust in pornographic visual regimes "all too often leaves in place the process by which" black women were constructed as objects.[46] Moreover, it denies the erotic and embodied political experience of models, as well as their sexual labor, as part of their anticolonial work. And so, too, it obscures rather than reveals the ways in which black women may have located the sexual economy of ethnopornography and the interracial interactions that produced this media as a site of pleasure, excitement, and expression.

Employing an ethnopornographic hermeneutic or method, scholars may begin to consider the ways in which the interplay of science, technology, and commercial interests with nationalist state imperatives to expand empire at any cost produce opportunities to think about these pornographic representations as contact zones for domination and subordination as well as for subversion and resistance. Beyond an easy claim for an always already oppositional gaze, I mean here to push our field to think about ethnopornography not simply as a technique for fixing power but also, when looking from the point of view of the subject of the image, for disrupting power. "People on the receiving end of European imperialism did their own knowing and interpreting," Mary Louise Pratt suggests, "sometimes . . . using the European's own tools."[47] And this is the reason that I have included pornographic images in my work. Rather than refusing the mantel of pornographer that is thrust upon those of us engaging

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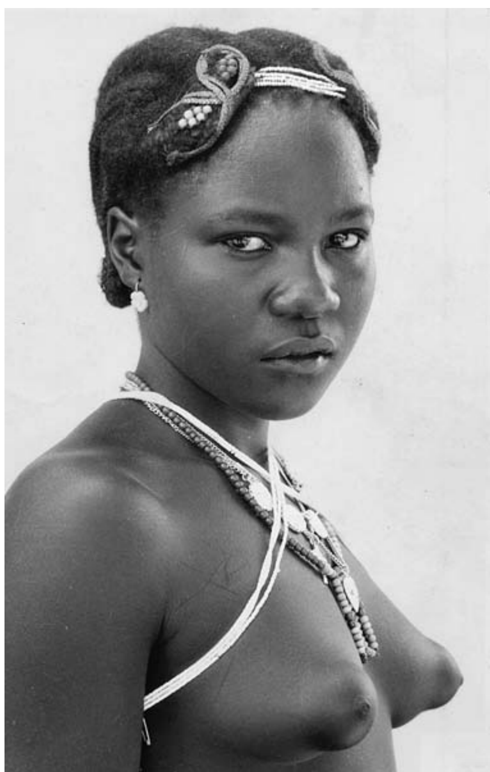

FIGURE 1.10 Ethnopornographic Disruptions. Undated Colonial Studio Photograph [M119]. Courtesy of Les Archives d'Eros.

closely with these images (by Google, the public, our students, or other scholars), I embrace this identity because it means that I am making visible, tangible, or otherwise understood the very complicated dual work of violence and reappropriation, of exploitation and transformation, and of racist objectification and disruptive subaltern subjectivity.

Notes

1 I develop this concept in Mireille Miller-Young, *A Taste for Brown Sugar: Black Women in Pornography* (Durham, NC: Duke, 2014).

2 Ann Laura Stoller, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 6–7.

3 See my preface, "Confessions of a Black Feminist Academic Pornographer," in Miller-Young, *Taste for Brown Sugar*.

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4 T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 7.

5 A number of important books by black feminist theorists have advanced my thinking about black women's representations in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photography, ethnopornographies, and pornographies: Carla Williams and Deborah Willis, *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002); Deborah Willis, ed., *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her "Hottentot"* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010); Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Kimberly Wallace Sanders, ed., *Skin Deep, Spirit Strong: The Black Female Body in American Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002); Michelle Wallace, *Dark Designs and Visual Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Nicole Fleetwood, *Troubling Vision: Performance, Visuality, and Blackness* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Jasmine Nicole Cobb, *Picturing Freedom: Remaking Black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2015); Jennifer Nash, *The Black Body in Ecstasy: Reading Race, Reading Pornography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

6 The article that really opened up the field of study into the Hottentot Venus is Sander Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (autumn 1985): 204–42.

7 Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes," in *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*, ed. Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 54–55.

8 George M. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on African American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1971), 2.

9 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (New York: Routledge, 1992) 7.

10 Shawn Michelle Smith, *Photography on the Colorline: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 47.

11 Adrienne Davis, "Don't Let Nobody Bother Yo' Principle: The Sexual Economy of American Slavery," in *Sister Circle: Black Women and Work*, ed. Sharon Harley and the Black Women and Work Collective (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2002).

12 Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science," 40; Molly Rogers, *Delia's Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 247.

13 Ross J. Kelbaugh, *Introduction to African American Photographs, 1840–1950: Identification, Research, Care, and Collecting* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2005), 16.

14 Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 149.

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15 Rey Chow, "Where Have All the Natives Gone?," in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*, ed. Angelika Bammer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 145.

16 Here I am indebted to the work of Walter Johnson (*Soul by Soul*) and his rich development of the subjective lives of the enslaved and careful work around agency in the context of slavery.

17 Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 13.

18 Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, 241–47.

19 Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, 246.

20 Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, 246.

21 Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

22 Henrietta Lidchi, "The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997).

23 See Rey Chow's critique of Alloula's use of images in *The Colonial Harem* in "Where Have All the Natives Gone?," 145.

24 Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1987), 95; emphasis in original.

25 Lisa Z. Sigel, "Filth in the Wrong People's Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880–1914," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (summer 2000): 860. Sigel points out that postcards were much more accessible because they did not require a viewing apparatus—such as with stereoscopes and transparencies—and were far cheaper. After the 1890s postcards could be sent easily and inexpensively but with noted censorship. "Obscene" cards would have been placed in an envelope if they were mailed, retaining discretion, rather than sent directly, as government authorities began to police them.

26 Sigel, "Filth," 861.

27 Sigel, "Filth."

28 Sigel, "Filth," 861–62.

29 Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 140.

30 bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992), 21–39.

31 Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 10.

32 Rony, *Third* Eye, 10.

33 Sigel, "Filth," 862.

34 Sigel, "Filth," 862.

35 Aleta M. Ringlero, "Prairie Pinups," in Fusco and Wallis, *Only Skin Deep*, 186.

36 The translations from the French read, "Indigenous Types—A Negress," "Young Negress," "Young Bedouin," and "Young Moorish Woman." According to this website about French colonial texts, "Négresse" was not a direct translation for

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black woman but was also not the same as saying "Negro" or the epithet "Nigger." It was less offensive than the latter but stronger and more demeaning than "Negro" or "black." See Washington State University Vancouver, accessed August 21, 2015, http://directory.vancouver.wsu.edu/people/sue-peabody/french-colonial-texts.

37 Slavery, having been abolished in the West by 1908, still continued in Morocco, so here we have an anachronistic sentiment toward the young slave.

38 Alloula, *Colonial Harem*, 122.

39 Sigel, "Filth," 864.

40 On the rise of modern hard-core pornography, see Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

41 Rony, *Third Eye*, 24.

42 Maria Sturken and Lisa Cartright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 87.

43 Lisa Gail Collins, "Historic Retrievals: Confronting Visual Evidence and the Imagining of Truth," in Willis, *Black Venus 2010*, 77.

44 Miller-Young, *Taste for Brown Sugar.*

45 On the binds of representation, see Celine Parrenas Shimizu, *The Hypersexuality of Race: Performing Asian/American Women on Screen and Scene* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). On representational work, see Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Open University, 1997).

46 Rony, *Third Eye*, 24.

47 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

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